

Natural Phenomena

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Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East

Edited by Diederik J.W. Meijer

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PREFACE

Natural phenomena leave no one untouched. Physically or mentally, every living person has to deal with them, consciously and unconsciously. They were experienced especially strongly in Amsterdam by the participants in the symposium entitled "Natural Phenomena, their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East", held from July 6-8, 1989.¹

The symposium was organized to honor Maurits N. van Loon on the occasion of his statutory retirement from the chair of Archaeology and Prehistory of Western Asia at the University of Amsterdam, in September 1988. Although originally planned for that point in time, the meeting had to be postponed because of financial difficulties.

The present volume, containing all of the papers read at the symposium but one, is a celebratory one rather than a *Festschrift* in the usual sense of the word: it has a central theme and, also, Maurits van Loon himself contributed a paper.² Its theme was chosen because on the one hand little work had so far been done on weather and other natural phenomena in the Ancient Near East, and on the other hand it promised a rich source for one of Maurits' main interests, iconography. The papers collected here range from history through philology and mythology to art history, and shed light not only on the phenomena themselves but also on how they were experienced and interpreted. The important role played by the sun and the moon in people's lives and minds, symbolism concerning the all-important rain and its origin (the thunder god and his consort) as well as its results (rivers, the sea), the mythical origin of nature - all these aspects are discussed from various points of view.

¹ Papers were read by, in alphabetical order, Pierre Amiet (Paris), Dominique Collon (London), Govert van Driel (Leiden), David Hawkins (London), Philo Houwink ten Cate (Amsterdam), Maurits van Loon (Amsterdam), Paolo Matthiae (Roma), Machteld Mellink (Bryn Mawr), Winfried Orthmann (Saarbrücken), Edith Porada (New York), Marten Stol (Amsterdam), Klaas Veenhof (Leiden) and Frans Wiggermann (Amsterdam). Last-minute obligations prevented P. Matthiae from attending; at the meeting his paper was read by the editor.

²In 1989 a *Festschrift* appeared, edited by O.M. Haex, H.H. Curvers and P.M.M.G. Akkermans, entitled *TO THE EUPHRATES AND BEYOND. ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN HONOUR OF MAURITS N. VAN LOON*. Rotterdam/Brookfield.

The production of this volume was delayed by several circumstances. Many contributors had other pressing engagements, preventing them from finishing their manuscripts promptly. Most manuscripts had to be retyped in Wordperfect 5.1 by the editor, who also spent some time on the design of a suitable system for the diacritical marks used in the transcription of the Hittite, Akkadian and Sumerian texts, to be usable in WP 5.1 on IBM-compatibles.

The organizer and the participants are extremely grateful to the *Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences (Amsterdam), for a very generous subvention as well as for the use of a comfortable conference room; these made the symposium possible without too much delay after the initial difficulties encountered elsewhere. The Academy's willingness to publish the results is also gratefully acknowledged. In particular Dr. P.M. Kwantes and his staff, whose organisational capacities yielded a smooth meeting, as well as Mr. F.C. Bos and Mr. H.W.F. Ketelaar of the *Edita* department deserve our gratitude for their unstinting and generous help.

D.M.

Introduction: Natural Phenomena and Interpretation

Natural phenomena are physical processes. Mentioning or depicting them constitutes a snapshot where a film would be in order: a single εἰκών, whereas the context as a whole would really be needed to establish identification, working and function. General and ubiquitous concepts like "earthquake", "rain", "moon" present little difficulty on the cognitive level, but knowledge of the context in which they are used is necessary if one wants to 'understand' them: the *quod significatur* is a prerequisite for the *quod significat*. However, in Archaeology, History and Philology the cultural background of an item, whether artifact, "fact", picture or word, often has to be induced from (our definition of) the significant. Perhaps this is not so different in other sciences, such as physics, where an isolated phenomenon also gives rise to theories about the underlying principles and causes. In reconstructing and understanding ancient societies or other cultural contexts different from our own, as in other disciplines, the greatest pitfalls lie in definition and in classification.

The attempted understanding can be of several kinds. It can pertain to formal aspects (the identification of an artifact as a hand axe; asserting that Alexander the Great died in 323 B.C.; the translation of Akkadian *šarru* as 'king'), or to functional ones. In the latter case, utilitarian and symbolic function can be distinguished.

If we understand iconography as the isolation, description and interpretation of icons - understood in the widest sense of the word - all essays in this volume are iconographical. For instance, Orthmann's analysis of the Halawa paintings, Matthiae's identification of the god Yam and van Loon's ideas on the rainbow may be viewed as formal iconographical understanding (i.e. what Panofsky calls pre-iconographic description). Van Driel's account

of the weather would classify as utilitarian-functional, and Wiggermann's paper as symbolic-functional understanding.

According to Panofsky, iconography is the explanation of figures, stories and allegories. In the case of scientific endeavour, this explanation is by way of words. Our language plays a paramount role: "...the relationship between words and images reflects, within the realm of representation, signification, and communication, the relations we posit between symbols and the world, signs and their meanings."¹ Since the languages used in this volume, and those that yielded many of the concepts discussed during the symposium (Sumerian, Akkadian and Hittite), are very different or even not yet well-known, a consensus on any of those relations might seem difficult to reach. However, on the cognitive level, natural phenomena, both in verbal and pictorial representation, do admit of clear relations between sign and meaning. One of the unchangeable facts of life for a human is nature, and it gives rise to the ubiquitous experience and convention that rain means wetness, that the moon rises and wanes, and that earthquakes leave one no place to feel safe in.

It is of course on the more abstract level of surpassed human control that (especially symbolic) meaning or function is attached to nature. Rain that is too abundant in terms of human manageability should be 'explained away'. Powers called gods apparently have reasons for their actions, and these reasons are found in the shortcomings or sins of the not so powerful ones.

This translation of cause and effect into powerful-powerless, together with the subsequent attempts at appeasement by the powerless, gave rise to the creation of humanity's own "extra power": magic. In the minds of the powerless as a social group, their leader should be able to mediate between them and the powerful, whence the emphasis in the ancient Near East on the qualities of a ruler as a civil, social and religious engineer. In the mind of an individual, the mediation is assigned to 'lower' divinities. In both cases, the intermediary has both human and divine characteristics. Hence, also the mediation takes

¹W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology*. Chicago 1986, p. 43.

place in an extraordinary fashion. Both in words (e.g., prayers, that have a formulary markedly different from ordinary speech, giving them something 'magical') and in pictures (e.g. in the Çatal Hüyük hunting scenes to propitiate a successful outcome, or simply in adoration scenes) man uses a special, magical set of signs to address the 'magic' forces surrounding him.

The symbolism in which natural phenomena are clothed and the magic used in addressing them become merged. The embodiment of this merger is called mythology; there is no mythology where humans do not play at least some kind of role, and I think myths can be seen as the stories resulting from the tension between symbolized natural phenomena and magical attempts by man to control them. Whereas the controlling is done in the myth, the myth itself is an attempt at explanation.

The phenomena to be explained seem clear and unequivocal, but the explanations always entail elaboration and justification. Perhaps this is the reason for the fact that so few actual rain showers, lightning flashes, earthquakes or eclipses are mentioned or depicted. Their greater importance lay in the meaning attached to them (the symbolic function), in their perpetrators, and in the surest way to counter them. This focus by the early artists on the "meaning" often led to a stylization or short-hand version of the described phenomenon, while the pictorial emphasis lay on the attached symbolism - always a cultural convention difficult to fathom by those not belonging to that culture.

The essays in this volume are hoped to constitute one possible way out of that quandary. Cultural relativism is *en vogue*, and every student attacks his subject matter with his own preconceived ideas, which are determined by his own culture. Yet, it is by finding conventions and regularities within that subject matter, and by following their behaviour in their own context that we try, heuristically, to enter into an understanding: Landsberger's program for a way out of the *Eigenbegrifflichkeit*. It would seem that the study of those phenomena that are experienced by all people throughout their whole life, i.e. natural phenomena, is one of the promising avenues toward understanding different cultures.

The required distillation and understanding of the conventions used by the ancients, both in verbal and in pictorial art, might be called 'iconology', and their application to specific pieces of those arts, in analyzing and understanding them, iconography. Thus, when the essays collected here are iconographical in content, the volume itself may perhaps pave part of the way towards an Iconology of the Ancient Near East.

Le dieu de l'orage dans l'iconographie des sceaux cylindres d'Ugarit

La mythologie presque complètement révélée par la littérature d'Ugarit accorde au dieu de l'orage désigné principalement par son titre de Baal, une place de premier plan, dans un pantheon dont il n'est cependant pas le chef. Cette primauté de fait, que l'on retrouve par la suite à Byblos et dans la tradition biblique, correspond bien à l'image imposante, désormais désignée comme celle de *Baal au foudre*, qui est sculptée sur la plus grande des stèles trouvées par Schaeffer près du temple attribué, du coup, à ce dieu. Cette image est caractérisée par sa sveltesse juvénile quelque peu égyptisante, son casque à pointe et à longs rubans tombant dans le dos, son pagne court et surtout son attitude guerrière, un bras levé brandissant une masse d'armes, l'autre tendu en avant pour tenir la lance interprétée comme un foudre. Une image très proche, en dépit de variantes, figure sur les sceaux-cylindres du Bronze Moyen, où le dieu tient très souvent la hache et une arme courbe à la place du foudre, et a pour animal-attribut traditionnel un jeune taureau qu'il tient en laisse¹. On peut noter que le poignard passé à sa ceinture peut avoir la pointe recourbée², comme sur la stèle. Il faut toutefois noter que son attitude peut être une caractéristique ambiguë, dans la mesure où d'autres dieux, notamment Reshef, ont pu être représentés ainsi³, et par suite, vraisemblablement par quantité de petits bronzes trouvés à Ras Shamra et ailleurs, et dont les attributs ont disparu, en dehors de la tiare. Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est certainement le dieu de l'orage plutôt qu'un quelconque "dieu combattant", qui est représenté sur une série de sceaux-cylindres en hématite, trouvés à Ras Shamra et déjà publiés par Schaeffer. Le jeune dieu y figure face au roi⁴, à la déesse nue⁵, à la "déesse syrienne"⁶ ou à la fois à une déesse armée et ailée et à la déesse nue⁷. Ces cylindres sont proches-parents

d'empreintes et de cylindres d'Alalakh⁸ sensiblement contemporains, et d'une nombreuse série de provenance inconnue.

Le dieu guerrier juvénile a ceci de remarquable qu'en dépit de son attitude belliqueuse, il ne combat jamais personne. Il lui arrive seulement de trucider un serpent monstrueux⁹ pouvant représenter Lotân, ou la Mer vaincue par Baal¹⁰, et que l'on retrouve dans la mythologie hittite.

La déesse devant laquelle le dieu se manifeste doit être considérée avec lui. Elle peut être regardée comme son épouse, surtout quand elle est portée par le taureau, emblème du dieu¹¹. Mais de telles images évoquent autant l'apparition, voire la naissance de la déesse, patronne privilégiée de la fécondité. Le dieu de l'orage et cette déesse forment le couple des divinités juvéniles, agents actifs par excellence de l'ordre cosmique. Ils s'opposent ainsi aux divinités âgées, théoriquement supérieures en dignité mais inactives, et partant, objet d'une popularité bien moindre. C'est ce qu'illustre l'hommage que rend, sur de rares documents, le dieu de l'orage à celui des flots dont l'image, empruntée à la Babylonie, pourrait avoir été attribuée dans les pays du Levant au vieux dieu El, chef du panthéon¹².

Je pense que cela illustre le thème mythologique des deux générations divines successives, thème qui a été adapté aux conditions de climat de chaque grande région du monde proche-oriental. En Mésopotamie, les créateurs de la tradition iconographique, à l'époque d'Agadé principalement, avaient ainsi représenté Enki/Ea, maître de l'abîme des eaux douces, bienveillant autant qu'inactif, honoré par le jeune dieu solaire foncièrement guerrier¹³, auquel a été substitué celui de l'orage, dans les pays du Levant. Et la déesse guerrière, compagne des combats du dieu solaire, a reçu dans ces derniers pays, des transpositions assez diverses, guerrières et ailées, mais qui mettent, dans la déesse nue ou qui se dévoile, un accent inconnu de l'iconographie mésopotamienne, sur son rôle de maîtresse de la fécondité.

L'iconographie que l'on peut définir comme *classique*, au Levant du Bronze Moyen, a été élaborée à une époque nettement plus ancienne que la littérature d'Ugarit, qui est pratiquement la seule à laquelle nous puissions la comparer, et datée des XIVE et XIIIe siècles. Cet éloignement relatif dans le temps peut expliquer en partie la rareté des concordances précises de cette iconographie avec cette littérature. En principe, une confrontation plus probante devrait pouvoir être proposée entre la littérature et l'iconographie contemporaines, du même royaume d'Ugarit. L'iconographie du Bronze Récent est pratiquement inédite, en dehors de quelques bas-reliefs tels que celui de la stèle dite du dieu El et de rares sceaux-cylindres en hématite, publiées par Schaeffer.

Le plus beau de ces cylindres¹⁴ ne met pas en scène le dieu de l'orage. Il paraît illustrer une variante du thème des deux générations divines, avec une grande déesse ailée, "aux larges épaules", vêtue, trônant sur un taureau, et qui assiste à l'apparition de la jeune déesse, nue, assistée par deux acolytes. Certains détails stylistiques, notamment dans l'aspect des lions, ont conduit Edith Porada à proposer une origine chypriote pour ce document, daté de la première moitié du XIVE siècle¹⁵. Le dieu de l'orage ne figure pas davantage sur les autres cylindres publiés de cette époque¹⁶.

La grande masse des autres, en pierres diverses, principalement des chlorites ou stéatites, est encore inédite. Je voudrais ici donner un aperçu des seules scènes mythologiques où pourrait figurer le dieu de l'orage et éventuellement sa compagne. Comme pouvaient le faire présager les cylindres contemporains trouvés à Tell Atchana¹⁷, ces sceaux-cylindres, jamais utilisées pour sceller, sont d'une pauvreté artistique et même souvent technique qui implique une profonde décadence. La facture, le mode de gravure, le dessin et le modelé sont étrangement divers, de sorte qu'il est difficile de regrouper des séries stylistiques. Les meilleurs pièces portent la marque de l'influence égyptienne; celle du monde égéen est curieusement exceptionnelle, et un seul cylindre, particulièrement mal gravé, peut être attribué aux Hittites.

1. Un premier cylindre, RS 8.056 (154), très mal gravé, renoue cependant avec la tradition du classicisme syrien. On peut en effet y reconnaître une déesse nue, encadrée par deux personnages dont l'un au moins est vêtu de l'ample manteau vraisemblablement royal, à lourdes bordures. C'est là un thème bien attesté au Bronze Moyen¹⁸, auquel il a survécu dans la série dite *mitannienne commune* des cylindres en faïence¹⁹. On peut penser que les deux personnages royaux honorent la déesse ou tiennent la place des petites acolytes de la jeune déesse lors de son apparition, sur le beau cylindre supposé chypriote, mentionné plus haut. D'autre part, la déesse est saluée par un dieu guerrier très maigre, à haute tiare, qui peut être identifié sans trop d'imprudance avec le maître de l'orage dont cependant il n'a pas les attributs précis. Il assisterait donc à l'exaltation de la déesse.

2. Un cylindre mieux venu, RS 21.34 (146), assez caractéristique de la production relativement bonne de Ras Shamra, a été trouvé à faible profondeur (40 cm); il est attribué à l'Ugarit Récent 2, soit entre 1450 et 1350: c'est là un exemple de la tendance du fouilleur à dater trop haut des découvertes qui remontent essentiellement aux XIV^e et XIII^e siècles. On retrouve le dieu guerrier, coiffé de la tiare à appendice bulbeux d'où s'échappe un très long ruban; un bras fait un geste menaçant, sans brandir d'arme; l'autre tient une pique dressée, donc dans la position inverse de celle du "Baal au Foudre". On peut cependant admettre qu'il s'agit du dieu de l'orage, car le personnage mal gravé qui lui fait face semble bien être sa parèdre, assise "en amazone" sur un taureau, animal-attribut de ce dieu. La comparaison avec le thème déjà mentionné, illustré au Bronze Moyen, invite à cette identification avec la déesse. Il s'agirait donc du face à face des deux divinités juvéniles.

3. Un dieu assez semblable à celui que nous venons de voir figure sur un des très rares cylindres inscrits, RS 1.05 (143)²⁰. Il a été trouvé à Minet el Beida et porte en cunéiformes alphabétiques le nom *š d q n*. Le dieu coiffé de la tiare à long ruban, comme celui de la stèle de Maimi²¹,

apparaît, entre les ailes de deux génies faisant fonction de chérubins, ou jouant le même rôle d'acolytes que les déesses mineures protégeant et aidant la jeune déesse lors de son apparition, sur le cylindre supposé chypriote mentionné plus haut²².

Une série de cylindres parmi les mieux gravés de cette époque porte un décor perpendiculaire à leur axe, selon une tradition remontant aux origines du sceau-cylindre, à Uruk et à Suse. Et c'est le *héros nu*, acolyte du dieu des flots, puis personnification de ces derniers, qui a été représenté ainsi horizontalement, en Mésopotamie²³. Comme le dieu de l'orage a été plusieurs fois représenté de la sorte à Ugarit, il est permis de supposer que cela est intentionnel, bien que beaucoup moins évident.

4. Un premier cylindre de cette série, RS 9.273 (158), représente le dieu comme le "Baal au Foudre" de la stèle, quoique avec beaucoup moins d'élégance, tenant le "foudre" pointé vers le sol. Mais il porte pour tiare non-pas une paire d'énormes cornes, comme le croyait Schaeffer, mais certainement une paire d'ailes, empruntée à la symbolique hittite. Faut-il en déduire qu'il s'agit du dieu de l'orage "céleste" précisément comme chez les Hittites? Cela est fort possible.

5. Un autre cylindre, RS 8.088 (157) représente sans doute le même dieu, porté par un lion, armé de deux lances et coiffé de la tiare ovoïde, dépourvue de ruban. L'intérêt de cette image est de nous apprendre que le lion a pu être attribué au dieu de l'orage²⁴, qui pourrait donc avoir été représenté bien plus tard, sur la stèle d'Amrith.

6. Un cylindre, RS 25.175 (161) représente un dieu dépourvu d'attributs, mais empoignant des serpents dont l'un, curieusement, semble avoir un petit aigle à la place de tête (?). Il est peut-être peu prudent d'en déduire qu'il s'agit d'une image nouvelle du dieu de l'orage: je reste dans l'expectative.

7. Cependant, un cylindre qui porte une rare scène mythologique, RS 22.251 (144) gravée pauvrement, comme le plus souvent à cette époque, représente un dieu-dompteur de serpents, dans lequel je verrais volontiers une nouvelle image de Baal, soit en tant que vainqueur du serpent monstrueux, soit en tant que "Seigneur de la Terre". Il se tient debout, derrière un dieu assis, donc apparemment supérieur en dignité, et coiffé comme lui de la tiare ovoïde dépourvue de ruban. Il est permis de reconnaître là le dieu âgé, "père" du jeune dieu actif et comparable au dieu supposé El de la stèle de Ras Shamra.

8. Un cylindre pauvrement gravé, mais dans un style encore différent, RS 7.146 (186) représente une divinité trônant sur son animal-attribut, et le dieu de l'orage bien reconnaissable à son foudre, dont l'aspect rappelle un caducée anguleux. Ce foudre, variante de celui qui a la forme d'une fourche de lignes brisées, bien attesté en Babylonie²⁵, est le seul attribut qui soit directement identifiable. Il est exceptionnel en Syrie, et unique à Ras Shamra. Le dieu brandit d'autre part un animal mort, qui pourrait le désigner comme un chasseur. En effet, plusieurs cylindres représentent un dieu-chasseur sous un aspect apparenté²⁶:

9. Un cylindre relativement soigné, RS 30.259 (166) caractérisé par l'horreur du vide de la composition, représente un tel dieu, une hache à digitations contre l'épaule, et frappant un lion de son épieu semblable au "foudre" habituel, à côté d'un serpent.

10. Un autre cylindre, RS 10.038 (167) est au contraire grossier. Il représente avec beaucoup de vivacité un chasseur qui court à grande enjambée pour frapper sa proie, à côté d'un dieu debout, qui ressemble davantage à l'image habituelle du maître de l'orage, armé d'un "foudre" fourchu à son sommet. Les deux dieux rendent hommage à un dieu trônant, mais dépourvu de tout attribut. Entre ce dernier et l'animal chassé, une rangée de globules doit être rapprochée de l'écran de globules dressé entre le dragon du dieu de l'orage et un serpent cornu, sur une empreinte de Nuzi²⁷. De même, une masse de globules entoure les flots crachés par l'attelage du dieu de l'orage, sur le vase en

or de Hasanlu. Cela semble illustrer un mythe évoquant la maîtrise des pierres par le dieu de l'orage, qui s'en sert pour en faire une protection contre une puissance maléfique. Un rapprochement avec Ninurta dressant une digue de pierres, selon l'épopée *Lugal.e*, est aussi vraisemblable²⁸.

Finalement, toute l'iconographie des sceaux-cylindres du Bronze Récent à Ugarit est assez décevante, en comparaison de celle de l'époque du classicisme syrien qui donnait des dieux un "portrait" bien plus conforme à ce qu'évoque la littérature d'Ugarit. Cela tient surtout à ce que je n'ai pas hésité à définir comme une décadence profonde de l'art de la gravure des sceaux, qui pourrait avoir été aussi celle de toute une civilisation, à la veille d'un effondrement qui dut résulter bien plus d'une "crise" interne que d'une attaque extérieure.

NOTES

1. Par ex.: Porada 1948 nos. 964-968. Teissier 1985 no. 476, 477 etc. Collon 1975 pls. XXV-XXVI.
2. Collon 1975 no. 35.
3. Pritchard 1954 no. 474; 476.
4. Schaeffer 1983 RS 5.175
5. *ibidem* RS 21.020
6. *ibidem* RS 28.025. Sur cette appellation: Collon 1975 179-181.
7. *ibidem* RS 21.020
8. Collon 1975 pls. XXV-XXVI. Collon 1982 nos. 20, 21
9. Eisen 1940 nos. 158, 159. Delaporte 1923 A.918. Bossert 1951 no. 852
10. Cacquot, Sznycer, Herdner 1974:239 (=I A B) "Quand tu frappes le Serpent fuyant..."
11. Porada 1948 nos. 967 etc.
12. Delaporte 1923 A.914. Von der Osten 1957 no. 293. Amiet 1982:29-30 et fig. 10.
13. Amiet 1976 no. 92 et pp. 46, 49 et 55.

14. Schaeffer 1983, RS 5.089.
15. Porada 1973: 264ss., et pl. XXXII-3.
16. Schaeffer 1983, RS 6.182 et 29.114.
17. Collon 1982 nos. 92-119.
18. Teissier 1985 nos. 436, 440, 446.
19. Par exemple Schaeffer 1983, RS 25.380.
20. RS 1.05. Inscription publiée par R. Dussaud (1929); cf. Bordreuil 1986:392 n.5.
21. Schaeffer 1931:pl. 6. De même le dieu Mikal de Beisan et Seth, sur la "Stèle de l'an 400" de Tanis.
22. Cf. note 14.
23. Amiet 1980:nos. 1284; 1287-1295; 1450; 1477-1480; 1599; 1759.
24. De même Collon 1975:no. 210 (niveau IV).
25. Frankfort 1939:pl. XXIIc,h,i,j. Collon 1975:no. 13.
26. Parrot 1951:185 fig.4.
27. Porada 1947:no. 738.
28. Bottero et Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme* (Paris 1989):353, ll. 349ss.; cf. Amiet 1965:244.

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1



2



3







The Near Eastern Moon God

The Mesopotamian moon god Nanna or Sin was indisputably one of the major deities in the Sumerian and Semitic pantheons. It is interesting, therefore, that although his symbol the moon's crescent, sometimes set on a standard, is ubiquitous, the moon god in anthropomorphic form is rarely identifiably depicted. This is in direct contrast to the situation as regards deities representing other heavenly bodies or natural phenomena, such as the sun god, the morning star Ishtar, the storm god and, though for a limited period, the god of subterranean waters. In this paper I propose to investigate some of the representations of the moon god and to seek an explanation for their sporadic occurrence and I have much pleasure in dedicating this "natural phenomenon" to Maurits van Loon in gratitude for over twenty years of friendship.

With our background of Greek and Roman mythology we tend to consider it more normal for the lunar deity to be a goddess, particularly as the moon's phases operate on roughly the same time-scale as a woman's menstrual cycle. However in world religions and myths the moon is more often male and the sun female (Hastings, 1921). Despite paucity of identifiable representation, the Mesopotamian moon god was indeed a major deity, the son of Enlil and Ninlil, and the father of the Sumerian sun god Utu and goddess of reproduction and war Inanna (Jacobsen, 1987, p. 226 n. 25; Hall, 1985, p. 148). The names Nanna and Suen (later Sin) were used by both the Sumerians and the Akkadians but the former was preferred at Ur and by the Sumerians generally, and the latter by the Akkadians (Hall, 1985, p. 41). Nanna first appears in the late 4th millennium BC and Suen (written Enzu) is attested from c. 2600 BC in Fara period texts from Fara and Girsu (Hall, 1985, p. 36). It is interesting to note that Eannatum (c. 2450 BC) used the name Suen on the Stele of the Vultures and calls him "the frisky calf of

Enlil" thus affirming that he was already thought of as Enlil's son.

Nanna had temples at Tuttub, Girsu, Sippar and Susa but at Ur, where he was the city god, his temple was preeminent and in the last centuries of the 3rd millennium BC other temples to Nanna were built in that city. Various priests and priestesses administered his cult but the most famous were the en-priestesses at Ur. Enheduanna, daughter of Sargon of Akkad (2334-2279 BC), was the first of a series royal princesses to hold this post, but Irene Winter has drawn attention to earlier representations of similarly dressed priestesses (Winter, 1987) and the title *munus-zi-nanna*, attested at Fara, was "probably a forerunner of the title of the En-priestess" (Hall, 1985, p. 99). Royal princesses were installed as en-priestesses at Ur at least until the reign of Rim-Sin of Larsa (1822-1763 BC), probably as a political move to unite the country; the title was revived in the 6th century BC by Nabonidus for his daughter. Rim-Sin and Sumuabum (1894-1881 BC) built temples to Nanna at Larsa and Babylon respectively, although the name Sin was used in theophoric names, and temples built at Mari by Iahdun-Lim and at Ischali were dedicated to Suen (Hall, 1985, pp. 209-10).

We have descriptions of many precious objects dedicated to Nanna at Ur by kings from the Ur III period onwards, but why Ibbi-Suen (2028-2004 BC) should have thought that the "likeness of a red dog of Meluhha" was an appropriate dedication is not clear (Hall, 1985, pp. 117-26). Statues of the god are frequently referred to and Shuilishu (1984-1975 BC) records bringing back the statue of Nanna from Anshan whither it had presumably been taken at the time of the fall of Ur in 2004 BC (Hall, 1985, p. 199).

The crescent moon was the moon god's most common attribute, and the clearest representations of the moon god are those which show him with a crescent on his head-dress, although this should not be confused with the horns of the divine tiara. He was also associated with a complex series of other attributes and imagery discussed by Stol (this volume). The shape of the crescent moon in the latitude of Iraq is not sideways-on as in Europe but looks, when it is

waxing, like a boat. Although Stol has shown on the basis of mathematical texts that the boat represents the gibbous moon, in public imagination it was certainly a boat viewed from the side and is so depicted (nos. 7 and 12). When it is waning the Mesopotamian moon appears as an inverted boat and this is the shape adopted, presumably for practical reasons, in amulets and jewellery.

It was in the Akkadian period that the iconography of deities first developed and Boehmer, in his study of Akkadian glyptic (1965, p. 130), drew attention to the fact that the earliest certain representations of the moon god in anthropomorphic form dated to this period. Seal impressions from Tello (No. 1) bearing an inscription naming Enmenanna, daughter of Naram-Sin of Akkad (2254-2218 BC) and *en*-priestess at Ur,¹ depict the moon god and his consort seated facing each other and holding shallow cups. Behind each deity stands a goddess with one hand raised. The moon god is identified by the crescent between the single pair of horns of his divine head-dress; he is bearded, wears a flounced robe and sits on a throne consisting of a series of indentations which are probably meant to represent a mountain (cf. Boehmer, 1965, Abb. 725 and Abb. 250, 300, 302, 405). His consort has her hair in a long curl beneath a head-dress with multiple horns, wears a flounced robe and sits on a low-backed chair. A green 'marble' seal of much the same date has recently been found in a grave at Nippur (Gibson, 1989, pp. 1, 4). It is inscribed with the name of the owner, Lugal-dur, a scribe. The scene depicts a seated god who faces left and is approached by the moon god, the storm god and a male figure, presumably Lugal-dur himself; all the figures raise one hand. The moon god is bearded, wears a flounced robe and is identified by a crescent between the horns of his head-dress. He carries a lion-scimitar over one shoulder and stands between two mountains; on the foremost mountain is a lamp-stand - presumably denoting night - to which is fastened an enigmatic object which the excavator, McGuire Gibson, thought might be a sandal.² Another seal of less good quality (No. 2) comes from Ur and depicts the seated

¹ See addendum.

² See addendum.

moon god facing two approaching gods and a worshipper(?). Boehmer has also suggested that a deity grasping a crescent standard on another Akkadian seal from Ur may be the moon god (Boehmer, 1965, Abb. 437)³ and so might the seated god beneath a huge crescent moon on a seal in the British Museum (Boehmer, 1965, Abb. 507) where he faces a small lute player, the vizier of the water god, and Ea himself; however the identification of the moon god in both these cases is open to doubt.

The most famous monument purporting to depict Nanna is the stele of Ur-Nammu (2112-2095 BC) found in fragments during excavations at Ur. It was reconstructed in the University Museum in Philadelphia but a recent study by Vorys Canby (1987) has demonstrated that the crescent on the head-dress of the figure generally taken to be the god (No. 3a), does not in fact belong there and no satisfactory position for it has so far been found. Furthermore the god holds a figure on his knees and although a plaque from Girsu (Vorys Canby, 1987, Fig. 11) provides a parallel for a scene in which a goddess sits on her divine husband's lap, the scene on the stele is fragmentary (No. 3b) and could illustrate the divine parentage of the king. The inscription on the stele names Ningal as Nanna's consort and "Mother of Ur".

Representations of the moon god from southern Mesopotamia in the 2nd millennium BC are rare. No. 4 is a seal impression identified as Columbia 216 (Porada, 1950) dating to the reign of the Old Babylonian king Apil-Sin (1830-1813 BC). Here the figure is not clear, nor are the animals on which it stands, but despite its flounced robe and crescent-topped horned head-dress it is obviously subsidiary to the main scene. The second example (No. 5) is a fragmentary impression (Delaporte, 1923, Pl. 117:6) on a tablet dating to the thirty-seventh year of Ammiditana (1683-1647 BC); preserved are a deity with a crescent-topped head-dress and the smiting storm god, standing back to back and depicted in the late Old Babylonian drilled style. Although Sin was the most popular theophoric element in Old Babylonian names, very few cylinder seal inscriptions name him. Interestingly enough, some of the exceptions

³ See addendum.

are stylistically related presentation scenes with generally a worshipper led before a seated goddess, and "dsuen" framed as a terminal; they are unfortunately unprovenanced but were probably the products of the same workshop which must have been active in the first century or so of the 2nd millennium BC (Collon, 1986, p. 23 and Nos. 97, 98; Porada, 1948, Nos. 335-6; Buchanan, 1981, No. 695; Lambert, 1979, No. 16, and an unpublished seal in the Israel Museum, no. 65-178 R-123). The inscriptions of the seals of "Enanedu, en-priestess of Nanna at Ur, daughter of Kudur-Mabuk, sister of Warad-Sin, King of Larsa" and of "Ur-Nanna, the gudu-priest of Nanna's abzu, son of Kunigal, Nanna's Keeper of Accounts, servant of Warad-Sin" have been published but not, alas, their respective designs (Kärki, 1980, pp.117-8).

Surprisingly northern Mesopotamia and Syria seem not to have suffered from the same apparent reluctance as southern Mesopotamia, as regards depicting the moon god in the 2nd millennium BC. The famous wall painting from the Audience Chamber, Room 132, at Mari has two main registers depicting rituals before the seated Ishtar above and the seated moon god below. The moon god (No. 6) is identified by a large crescent on his cap-like head-dress. His seat is cut into the mountain-side and behind him stands a huge black bull. There is a libation scene before him and an enigmatic panel showing a black figure with outstretched arms against a starry background. This part of the palace and the painting have variously been dated to the late 3rd millennium BC or to the reign of Iahdun-Lim of Mari in the 19th century BC (Parrot, 1958, pp. 76-81, Pls. XVII, E). A so-called "Cappadocian" seal in the British Museum (No. 7) shows a mixture of Old Assyrian and Syrian motifs of the 19th century BC (Collon, 1987, No 141). A seated deified king, with a nude goddess standing behind him, is approached by a suppliant goddess, by the moon god standing in a boat - identified by a crescent on his head-dress and by the crescent-topped axe and crescent standard he holds - and by the storm god on his bull. On one of the fragmentary seal impressions from Tell Leilan (No. 8; Parayre, 1988), the seal of Shamash-ilum-dannum, servant of Himdiya (king of Andariq c. 1765 BC), the moon god wears a cushion-like cap topped by a crescent (similar to that on the Mari painting) and sits on a throne on the back of a bull, facing the king; the bull,

however, is facing the other way towards a second bull which supports a kneeling hero who holds a lion above his head. A seal at a dealer's in Beirut early in 1989 (No. 9) shows a worshipper before the moon god. The god wears a kilt, a crescent-topped head-dress and holds a crescent-standard. The crescent on this standard is interesting in that it has the pairs of lines that appear later in Hittite texts as the Hittite phonetic complement -mi attached to the inverted crescent. The standard ends in a trident spearing a fish.⁴ A seated deity on a seal impression from Alalakh holds a similar trident spearing a fish but the upper part of the standard is missing and so is the deity's head-dress so that he or she cannot be identified (Collon, 1975, No 135). Both seals probably belong to the second half of the 18th century BC. A somewhat later seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library Collection (Porada, 1948, No. 1011) shows a god in a flounced robe, standing on crossed bulls and holding a crescent-topped trident spearing a fish. A female and male worshipper stand on either side and a storm god on a bull faces another worshipper or male deity.

A series of Syrian seals of haematite, probably dating to the latter part of the 18th century BC, depict the moon god in a variety of costumes, with a variety of attributes, and associated with a variety of deities and figures, many of them royal. In every case it is the crescent on the head-dress which identifies the moon god. On a seal in the Ashmolean (No. 10; Buchanan, 1966, No. 871) the moon god seems to be the king's tutelary deity; he holds a cup and wears a mantle with heavy rolled borders. He wears a similar garment on an unpublished seal in the Seyrig Collection, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; here he is the focus of the scene and is approached by figures with bird, animal and plant offerings but he holds, unexpectedly, an Egyptian adze. He is again the focus of the scene on a seal in the Moore Collection (Williams Forte, 1976, No. 63; Metropolitan Museum, New York, L.55.49.201) where a small seated figure, a winged deity and an Egyptian goddess face him; however he is kilted and holds a bow. On a seal in the Marcopoli Collection (Teissier, 1984, No. 446) the moon god wears yet another type of dress: a fringed mantle over a

⁴ See addendum.

horizontally-ridged kilt. He holds a curved weapon and faces a similarly-dressed figure who wears the tall, oval head-dress of Syrian kings; between them is a goddess who is revealing her nudity. The moon god and king also appear on a seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library Collection (Porada, 1948, No 959); the king wears a flat cap, the god brandishes a mace and holds a curved weapon and behind him stand a winged deity and a small Syrian goddess. According to the latest study by Boehmer (1988, pp. 37-8), the famous Tyszkiewicz stamp-cylinder (No. 11) would date to approximately this period. The moon god, wearing a crescent-topped head-dress and a flounced robe, and carrying a short sword and a lituus, is the last in a procession of gods approaching a cult scene.

A most unusual seal was recently found at Samsat (No. 12; Özgüç, 1987, pp. 436-8, Fig. 13). Its style is Middle Assyrian of the late 13th century BC but its iconography is unparalleled. It shows a worshipper before the moon god who is in a boat. The god is identified by the small crescent-standard he holds and, apparently, by a reference to him in the unpublished inscription. He also holds the enigmatic omega symbol - perhaps confirmation of Duchesne-Guillemin's somewhat doubtful suggestion that the omega symbol was a representation of the lunar nodes (Duchesne-Guillemin, 1986). However the omega symbol is also associated with the goddess of childbirth and, as we shall see, the moon god appears in childbirth rituals at precisely this period. The boat is particularly interesting because it is not crescent-shaped as we would expect but has the same scroll-like ends as No. 7. Both seals probably originated in much the same area and may illustrate a local myth.

By the second half of the 2nd millennium BC the Hittites had developed a standard iconography for the moon god (the Hittite Arma and Hurrian Kishuh). He is depicted winged, wearing an open robe, shoes with upturned toes and a pointed head-dress with a superimposed crescent. He is identified by a hieroglyph resembling an amulet-shaped crescent with points downwards and a suspension loop. This is his appearance in the 13th century BC rock-cut sanctuary at Yazılıkaya (No. 13) where he follows Shaushga and her

handmaids but comes before the sun god in the procession of deities (Akurgal, 1962, Pl. 79, bottom left). He is also depicted in this way on 13th century seal impressions - one of a stamp seal from Boğazköy (Boehmer and Güterbock, 1987, No. 176) belonging to Arma-wa-ra/i the scribe (No. 14), and the other of the cylinder seal of Matkali-Dagan from Emar on the Euphrates (Beyer, 1982, p. 67 Fig. 12) where he stands on a lion and faces the storm god on his bull (No. 15). On a relief from Malatya (Akurgal, Pl. 104, top), recently redated by Hawkins (1988) to either the mid-12th or the mid-11th century BC, the moon god is also winged, his trapezoidal, decorated head-dress is topped by a crescent, and he wears a long, fringed robe and shoes with upturned toes (No. 16). He holds a club over one shoulder and an unidentifiable triple symbol (also held by the sun and storm gods) in his right hand which he extends towards king PUGNUS-mi-li (whether the first or second of that name is not known) who wears a horned head-dress and pours a libation for him. Here again he comes in front of the sun god. Further east, however, the figures on the Hasanlu gold bowl from Marlik in north-western Iran, generally dated to the 12th-11th centuries BC, belong to another tradition. Here a figure with a horned file around his head (No. 17) is probably to be identified as the moon god since he and the sun god form a pair and both ride in what are probably horse-drawn chariots (Porada, 1965, pp. 98-9 and Figs. 63-4). However here the moon god follows the sun god.

In the 1st millennium BC the Hittite preeminence of the moon god over the sun god survives in a 10th century BC Neo-Hittite relief from Carchemish where both deities stand on the back of the same couchant lion (Hawkins, 1972, Fig. 4c and cf. p. 70 Fig. 7; Akurgal, Pl. 116). Again the moon god is winged and he wears a horned head-dress topped by a crescent above a disc, his robe is long and he holds an axe and some other weapon or symbol, now unidentifiable (No. 18). Subsequently Assyrian iconography was adopted but it is surely significant that one of the two Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals from Bogazköy (Boehmer and Güterbock, 1987, No. 318 and cf. 319) should depict the moon god (No. 19). It probably dates to the late 8th century BC.

In the 1st millennium BC the Assyrians and Babylonians frequently depicted the moon god. Sennacherib's rock reliefs at Mal'tai show Sin (No. 20) with a crescent inscribed on a disc on his head-dress, standing on a creature resembling a winged lion with bull's horns, holding a curved weapon (also held by Assur) and the rod and ring which are symbols of divinity (Boehmer, 1975, Abb. 30-33, 51, 65, 83, 87). He stands immediately behind the national god Assur and his consort Ninlil, and in front of the other deities (Anu or Enlil, Shamash, Adad, Ishtar). This prominent position, together with the practice of carving a pantheon on a rock face, may indicate that the representation of the moon god was revived as a result of contact with the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of north Syria.

Five seals in the British Museum which depict the moon god (Nos 21-25) can be taken as representative of the iconography of the moon god in the first half of the 1st millennium BC. No. 21 shows him with a crescent on his head, and holding a crescent and a curved weapon as at Mal'tai. On No. 23 he stands on a lion-dragon and wears a cylindrical head-dress topped by the lunar disc while the sun god, identified by a winged disc, faces him and stands on a couchant bull. Three other seals show his body rising from a crescent, as it does on numerous stamp seals (e.g. Porada, 1948, No. 811), and he wears a cylindrical head-dress topped by a crescent or a lunar disc. The latest of these seals is probably No. 25 which must date to the period of Neo-Babylonian domination when, under the impetus of Nabonidus (555-539 BC) the cult of the moon god was particularly in favour, both at Ur and at Harran. Yet here again the representations of the moon god's symbols are far more numerous than representations of him in anthropomorphic form.

We cannot attribute the scarcity of representations of Nanna or Sin to a representational taboo since the texts bear witness to numerous cult statues. It may be that the moon god was identified by symbols or attributes, other than the crescent, which lack any particular meaning for us. In Old Babylonian times, for instance, there are frequently-represented deities, such as a god with an extended arm and another god in a ladder-patterned robe, of whose identity we are in ignorance (Collon, 1986, pp. 25 and 27). Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the crescent head-dress was

used to identify the moon god, at least on the earliest monuments (Nos 1-3) which are all connected with Ur, we would expect this obvious symbol to be prominent in other representations. W. G. Lambert (personal communication) has pointed out to me that deities are frequently identified by hand-held symbols and it may have been the lack of such a symbol in southern Mesopotamia that led to Sin's absence from the represented pantheon - an absence which he shares with other great gods. However crescent standards were a symbol of the moon god from Akkadian times onwards and a hand-held version appears on Nos 7, 9, 12, 19 and 21).

The sun god's early iconography relates to his mythology but it is hard to think of an equivalent, prevalent, mythology-based and so far unidentified representation of a deity which could be applied to the moon god.⁵

Although it is difficult to explain why the moon god was so rarely identifiably depicted in Mesopotamia, his relative popularity in the Hittite world may be due to his being linked there with birth rituals - an aspect which is not generally stressed in extant literature from Mesopotamia before the second half of the 2nd millennium BC. In this context it is interesting to note that the Mesopotamian myth of Sin and the Cow, used in childbirth incantations, is first attested in a version found at Boğazköy in about 1300 BC (Lambert, 1969). It may have been the growing importance of Sin in childbirth rituals which was responsible for the comparative abundance of representations of him in Mesopotamia in the first half of the 1st millennium BC.

ADDENDUM

As a result of discussions with Eva Braun-Holzinger I have come to the conclusion that some Akkadian cylinder seals previously thought to depict the sun god should, in fact, be seen as representing the moon god. For instance Boehmer (1966), Abb. 548 (another seal of Enmenanna - see No. 1) shows a god with a tripod-candelabrum and "slipper" similar to those on the Nippur seal (Gibson, 1989, pp. 1, 4), and a gazelle; Abb. 376 and 427 show him

⁵ See addendum.

with a gazelle-horned altar, resting one hand on a tripod or stick, and on the latter seal he is associated with a gate. It is therefore proposed that gods resting on a tripod or stick, sometimes with gates and rays like the sun god (e.g. Abb. 430, 437, 488) are, in fact, the moon god. I have developed the argument more fully in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, s.v. "Mondgott" (forthcoming). This iconography does not seem to have had any impact in later periods with the possible exception of the tripod which may be echoed by the trident on No. 9 and related seals.

Note

I should like to thank I. L. Finkel, J. D. Hawkins and W. G. Lambert for their helpful comments and suggestions; A. R. Millard sent me details of the Nippur seal and B. Teissier drew my attention to some of the Syrian examples of the moon god. Dates are according to Brinkman, 1977.

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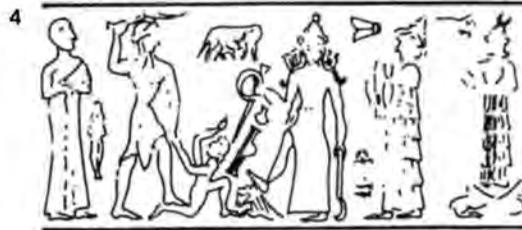
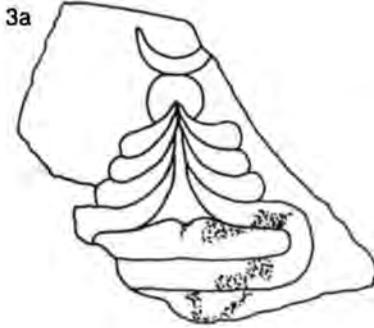
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5. Seal impression dating to the reign of Ammiditana (1683-1647 BC). After al-Gailani Werr, 1980, p. 80.
6. Detail from the wall-painting in Room 132 at Mari (late 3rd millennium or 19th century BC). After Parrot, 1958, p. 77.
7. Cappadocian cylinder seal (19th century BC). Haematite, 2.1 x 1.4 cm. BM 22963.
8. Unpublished seal impression from Tell Leilan (revision of the preliminary drawing in Parayre, 1988). I am grateful to Dominique Parayre and Harvey Weiss for permission to publish this drawing.
9. Seal at a dealer's in Beirut, early in 1988 (second half of the 18th century BC). Probably haematite, 2.2 cm. Inscribed Ammi-eshar, son of Isharti-ilu, servant of the god Sin (inscription read by I. L. Finkel). Drawing made from an impression kindly supplied by Madame Claude Doumet.
10. Syrian cylinder seal (late 18th century BC). Haematite, 2.6 x 1.0 cm. Ashmolean 1893.192.
11. Anatolian stamp-cylinder (late 18th century BC). Haematite, 2.9 (5.4) x 2.2 cm. Tyskiewicz collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
12. Cylinder seal excavated at Samsat (late 13th century BC - I am indebted to Donald Matthews for this information). Chalcedony, 3.6 x 1.4 cm. After Özgüç, 1987.

13. Yazılıkaya (13th century BC). Detail of rock relief.
14. Boğazköy (13th century BC). Stamp seal impression. After Boehmer and Güterbock, 1987, No. 176.
15. Emar (13th century BC). Cylinder seal impression. After Beyer, 1982, p. 67 Fig. 12).
16. Malatya (mid-12th or mid-11th century BC). Detail of relief.
17. Hasanlu (12th-11th centuries BC). Detail from gold bowl.
18. Carchemish (10th century BC). Drawing kindly supplied by J. D. Hawkins.
19. Boğazköy (late 8th century BC). Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal. Brownish-pink agate, 3.2 x 1.65 cm. After Boehmer and Güterbock, 1987, No. 318.
20. Maltai (ca. 700 BC). Detail of rock relief.
21. Cylinder seal (8th-7th century BC). Blueish chalcedony, 2.25 x 1.1 cm. British Museum, WAA 129545 (1945.10.13, 89, ex-Southesk collection Qc 8).
22. Cylinder seal (8th-7th century BC). Yellowish-green chalcedony, 3.95 x 1.7 cm. British Museum, WAA 89334 (1772.3.15, 420, ex-Sir William Hamilton collection).
23. Cylinder seal (ca. 7th century BC). Blue chalcedony, 2.65 x 1.1 (1.3) cm. British Museum, WAA 134769 (1966.2.18, 30, ex-Spencer Churchill collection).
24. Cylinder seal (ca. 7th century BC). Blue chalcedony, 2.75 x 1.65 (1.7) cm, set in Victorian setting (visible top and bottom in the impression) as part of Lady Layard's necklace. British Museum WAA 105119 (1913.2.8, 9, ex-Layard collection).
25. Cylinder seal (ca. 6th century BC). Agate, 2.9 x 1.7 (1.8) cm. British Museum WAA 89780 (1983.1.1, 305, but already in London in 1847).

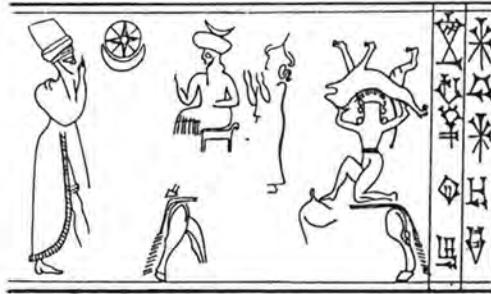


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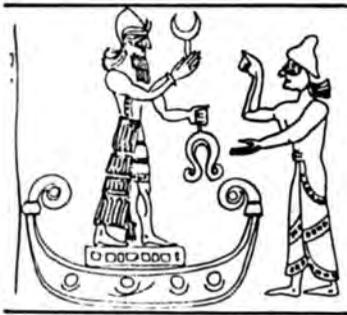
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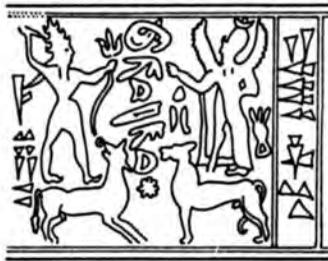
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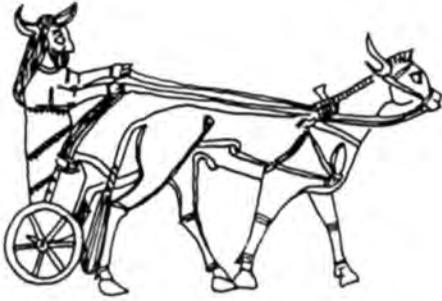
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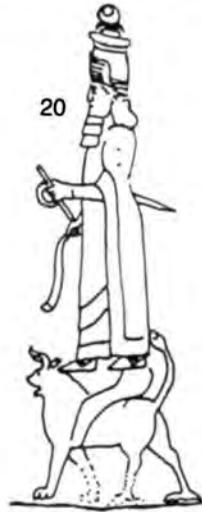
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Weather: Between the Natural and the Unnatural in First Millennium Cuneiform Inscriptions

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS¹⁾

The organizer of this colloquium, which I have not, unfortunately, been able to attend in full, has charged me with a discussion of the phenomenon "weather in Ancient Mesopotamian context". The subject is huge, it encompasses everything from ecology through mentality to iconography, but many of its aspects are untreatable, at least for the moment. Both the textual and the iconographic material confronts us more with 'Mesopotamian mentality' than with 'Mesopotamian weather'. The slow reconstruction of ecological conditions in Ancient Mesopotamia will ultimately tell us much about Mesopotamian climate. But that is a future goal. This, of course, does not mean that the ancient Mesopotamians did not observe weather conditions. The astronomical (or rather, still astrological) diaries, a first instalment of which has been published by Hunger, contain systematic observations of weather phenomena, with a specialized, detailed and difficult shorthand vocabulary. This is being studied in Münster by Hecker and Kamminga, and, especially as Hunger has published a synopsis of their results²⁾, it would be unthinkable to encroach on their field. However, in the end the diaries might provide us with real insights into the weather pattern in the Babylon area in the second half of the first millennium BC. The reconstruction of the pattern is made possible by the fact that the observations are dated: they constitute their own series and can be assessed independently, even without reference to contemporary interpretation. There are, furthermore, no signs that the weather observations were supplemented artificially as the astronomical observations in these texts were. But these diaries constitute a special type of text. In general I should like to make three preliminary remarks on texts and weather:

a. *observations*: no pattern can be constructed from undated, isolated observations. No progress is possible beyond the obvious "in winter it snows in the mountains".

b. *systematization*: in omen collections especially, an artificial expansion of observation is found: rain falls in all colours, lightning strikes in a similar manner on all sides etc. I will not concern myself with this type of literature.

c. in many texts the observed is not explained as a *natural* phenomenon, but it is the bearer of a message which can be understood, exploited or manipulated. This does not mean that in general the actual observation is not accurate.

Though we can, perhaps, reconstruct the meaning of natural phenomena for "the Mesopotamian" - whoever he may be - this brings us little nearer to the weather which affected him, nor do depiction and description contribute much to the essential reconstruction of the pattern of Mesopotamian weather. The best we can hope for is a reconstruction of the slow change in the relation between Mesopotamian agricultural society and a generalized picture of Mesopotamian seasonality. The yearly fluctuations which determine actual events are, in general, outside our reach, unless the density of our evidence is so great that a real reconstruction of the actual calendar is possible, comparable to what Parpola has done for the last years of Esarhaddon and the first of Aššurbanipal. The erratic "system" of intercalation makes almost all dates found in the texts approximate in relation to our calendar.

There can be little doubt that in the strictly agrarian ancient Mesopotamian society the rhythm of the agricultural cycle dominated life. That it in its turn was dependent on the natural phenomena is also self-evident. Having been obliged to deal with the Southern agricultural year recently, I had to study a considerable number of texts, leases, documents about payment of rents, court cases etc., in which natural circumstances are hardly ever referred to directly, though they determine every development and every action the texts deal with. Practical documents never state the self-evident, or what conforms to pattern. If we want to study weather in a systematic fashion, a study of the actual delivery

dates of agricultural products in administrative texts is a much better method than trust in the occasional reference to abundant rain in a royal inscription or a letter. The prospects for this type of approach are good, provided that the archives are reconstructed or, when excavated, published completely and not as segment A in museum Y only. Careful comparison of these delivery dates with the pattern of expenditure will be equally instructive.

2. ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS AND THE WEATHER

As the title of the paper promises a treatment of inscriptions, agriculture must be put aside. The Assyrian royal inscriptions constitute an important corpus of texts, which, while it cannot be classified as practical, still contains a considerable amount of information on the functioning of the Assyrian state, especially in the military field. Though it is, from the outset, evident that conclusions do not range further than "in winter it snows in the mountains" I propose to look at the seasonality of Assyrian campaigning, but I will add a small "practical" excursion, in an attempt to make clear that there is a marked difference in mentality between text genres. I would, of course, have preferred to look at Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, as they emanate from the same type of society as the administrative documents referred to earlier. But the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions constitute a text corpus resulting from a mentality not contributing to our purposes.

Expectations should be tempered by the realization that actions are described at an elevated level in which weather and similar daily humdrum affairs are not expected to interfere with His Majesty's intentions. Weather is supposed, so is determined by the gods, to be supportive, even if one is lucky on days which the hemerology declares unlucky: 2) *a-ram-mu šá eli* ^{URU}*Up-pu-me āl šarrūti-šú ú-šak-bi-su* 3) *ina* ^{IT1}*kislīmi U₄ 21 KĀM u₄-ḥul-gál-e U₄-mu lem-nu i-lit-ti a-sak-ki* 4) *ina qul-ti mu-ši a-ram-mu [šú-]a-tú nap-ṭu is-luḥ-u-ma id-du-u IZI* 5) *ina qí-bit* ⁴*Marduk šar₄ ilāni.MEŠ i-[zi]-qam-ma* ^{TU15}*iltānu ma-nit bēl ilāni.MEŠ ṭa-a-bu* 6) *EME* ⁴*Gira mun-na-aḥ-[zi] a-na* ^{URU}*Up-pu-me ú-sa-ḥir-ma*³⁾ etc. "The ramp which I

caused to be constructed against his residence Uppume (in Šupria) on the 21st of Kislev (IX), an unlucky, bad day, the brood of the devil spread naphta on the ramp and set fire to it in the dead of night. On the orders of Marduk king of the gods the favourable north wind of the lord of the gods blew for me. It turned back the tongues of fire to Uppume" (which burnt down and was taken). In practice an accidental natural phenomenon, the blowing of the north, or rather north-western wind, served Assyrian purposes, so it is assigned to the gods.

The reference to the unlucky day is perhaps typical for Esarhaddon, but hemerological considerations must in general not be underestimated in Assyrian tactics. It is a contribution of the irrational which in a certain sense limited the iron grip of the seasons. Accidental, provoked or manipulated omina will have worked in the same way.

If weather conditions bestow additional favours that is only a plus point: on the 8th of Adar, an *eššešu*, so a favourable day, Esarhaddon entered Nineveh after the civil war against his brothers and sat down on the throne. The additional benefit of the blowing of the south wind, that of Ea, suitable for the exercise of kingship is an acknowledged bonus. The selection of an hemerologically suitable day was no doubt the first step, the cooperation of nature was of secondary importance. All references to lucky and unlucky days in the Assyrian royal inscriptions are quotations from the *inbu* series⁵⁾. The provoked or manipulated omina are of course less easily detected.

Yet Esarhaddon provides us with a rare occasion in which adverse weather is mentioned in connection with campaigning: 66) *šal-gu kuš-šu* ^{ITI}Šabāṭi *dan-na-at kušši* (EN.TE.NA) *ul a-dur* "snow and cold of Šebaṭ (Month XI, January-February), the intense winter I did not fear⁶⁾. The situation was exceptional. Esarhaddon had to fight for the throne against his brothers. But the gods encouraged him, which probably means that he had received favourable solicited omina. Campaigning in winter, a result of political circumstances, is sanctioned by divine assent. The words used to describe the situation underline the determination of the pretender. In reality he had no choice.

This contrasts with a passage in Sanherib's prism. When in Elam towards the end of this 7th campaign he ordered his troops to take the road to Madaktu, but 7) ^{IT1}*tam-ḥi-ri* EN.TE.NA *dan-nu e-ru-ba-am-ma* 8) *šá-mu-tum ma-at-tum ú-šá-az-ni-na ŠEG.MEŠ šá ŠEG.MEŠ ú šal-gi na-aḥ-lu na-at-bak KUR-i a-du-ra*⁷⁾ "a severe cold started in Tamḥiri (variants explain that this is Tebet, month X, December/January)⁸⁾, it caused much rain, I feared the sleet and the swollen mountain torrents." - So Sanherib went home. A rare confession of failure⁹⁾.

3. A MILITARY SEASON AND "INITIATIVE"

The passages quoted from Esarhaddon and Sanherib indicate that campaigning especially in the mountains¹⁰⁾ during Tebet and Šabaṭ (December-February) was unusual, which is perfectly understandable. Campaigns were either not pursued or they were forced upon those who undertook them as they had to react to pressure exercised upon them. In those "abnormal" circumstances in which the enemy was unwilling to cooperate "the military season" in the calendar of the Assyrian year could not be maintained.

The clearest indications for a "military season" are found in a number of inscriptions from the period in which Assyria freed itself from Aramean pressure and began to expand. Expansion meant loss of initiative, which in its turn meant that the Assyrians had to react and could not impose the scheme which their own calendar made preferable. As soon as the Assyrians became enmeshed in the Babylonian quagmire, fighting became endemic and constant.

Inscriptions ranging from the Broken Obelisk, which is generally assigned to Aššur-bel-kala (1074-1057) to the Kurkh Monolith from the early reign of Shalmaneser III are (occasionally) very precise in giving dates of occurrences in military context, especially for the start of an undertaking. That the luxury of a special military season is connected with 'initiative' is clear from the Broken Obelisk. The text makes it clear, once more, that before all we must have an idea of how the calendar functioned.

The calendar shows a number of peculiarities in that the Babylonian month names are used. They are roughly tied to the seasons through a system of intercalation, whereas the year, or rather the period in which one person served as eponym still seems to follow the traditional Assyrian lunar system, without intercalation. As the name 'Broken Obelisk' indicates, the text is damaged. Yet enough is preserved from column III to show that the Assyrians were in the main reacting continuously to Aramean razzia's (*ḥarrānu*'s). The year in which Aššur-ra'im-nišešu was eponym seems to start with Šabaṭ, the XIth month of the Babylonian calendar, so January-February, with an Assyrian attack on Dur-Kurigalzu. But in the same year, that is eponym year, two Aramean razzia's were stopped near the Kašjari mountains in Ajjar (II) and one in Siwan near the Tigris (III), followed by similar incidents in Abu (V) and Elul (VI). In his edition King supplies (III 19) Marcheswan (VIII) for another action, probably because a new eponym, Ilu-iddina is mentioned for Kislev (IX), so month VIII must be the last of the previous year. In terms of the Babylonian calendar the eponym year ran from Kislev to Araḥšamna, and the Aramean raids are registered from Ajjar to Kislimu or April to December. Only the wettest period, December to March is left to the Assyrians, who used it in their turn for attacking their Southern neighbours. We should retain these points for a moment: not only the winter campaign to the south, but also the fact that the nomads were otherwise occupied in this period, or rather could find enough fodder in the steppe and stopped raiding.

4. SYRIA

Only in the 10th century did initiative return to the Assyrians. There is a clear predelection for starting a campaign in the third month, Siwan, May to June: Adad-nirari II: KAH II 84, 91 and 98, Tukulti-Ninurta II, Annals 13, Aššurnaširpal II Annals II 51, 86, III 1, 27 and 50, with a shift to Ajjar for the two last campaigns known (III 56, Ajjar 8th) and II 92 (Ajjar 20th)¹¹⁾. A secondary campaigning period in the second half of the year is less well attested: Adad-nirari II (KAH II 83 rev.6) Araḥšamna, month VIII and Tukulti-Ninurta II (Annals 30) Tešrit (VII), each once.

The basic pattern seems to be clear. The ordinary campaign of the 9th century started in the second half of May, later on under Aššurnaširpal II in later April. In general they went to the west, though Aššurnaširpal II mentions for 881 Mazamua, the higher foot hills in the Lower Zab area. By the second half of May, much of the harvest in Assyria might have been over, the rainy season had ended in general, but vegetation serving as fodder was still available. When Aššurnaširpal II in the course of his reign began to prefer Ajjar, second half of April or early May for the start of his campaigns, we can understand his motives. Though an earlier date reduced the amount of labour available for harvesting, it increased the possibilities of inflicting damage on enemy harvests and more fodder was available for cavalry and baggage train.

The tendency towards earlier campaigning seems to be confirmed by the few dates from the early reign of Shamaseser III from the Kurkh Monolith and the Balawat Gates. His later system using *palū's* only cannot be connected with the calendar. In the 6th *palū* the expedition to the Baliḫ left Nineveh on Ajjar 14th according to the Kurkh monolith. In the 9th *palū* the expedition to North Babylonia started on Nisan 20th, early April, again from Nineveh. Expeditions to Babylonia seem, in general, to have left earlier than those to the West: Aššur-bēl-kala's raid on Dur-Kurigalzu took place in Šabaṭ, month XI, as we have seen, and Tukulti-Ninurta II went South along the Tartar (Ann. 41) from 29th Nisan onwards. This indicates that weather/water considerations played their role in Assyrian planning, as is to be expected. Šamši-Adad V (Nimrud Stèle III 71) was late when he left on Siwan 15th, end of May, for Babylon and crossed the Turnat, Diyala *ina milīša* "at high water". But he went through the territories East of the Tigris; "winter expeditions" probably followed the Tartar route.

Shalmaneser III's campaigns can otherwise only be dated indirectly. The tendency of Assyrian Royal inscriptions to use stereotype phrases imposes a need for restraint. Most of Shalmaneser's campaigns went West, so he had to cross the Euphrates. Reports on the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 6th, 25th and on the 28th *palū* when the turtan led the army, remark upon the fact that the river was crossed at high water, *ina mi-li-ša*. If this is accepted literally it would mean crossing in May to early June, which again

suggests Ajjar for the start of the spring campaign. To cross a river at high water is more of an achievement than doing so at low water: only the fact that the phrase is not used for every crossing gives some credence to the idea that it is used for specific cases. The speed and route of the Assyrian army are of course imponderables, but three to four weeks would seem reasonable for an army to cross the Jezira.

5. THE MOUNTAINS

A preference for campaigns in the mountains in autumn (September-October, Tešrit) is not well marked: Assurnaširpal II's second campaign in the year when Aššur-idin was eponym (881), Annals II 33, through the Babite pass and Tukulti-Ninurta II's, Ann. 30, to Kašjari could be mentioned, but Sargon II left for his 8th campaign through Mannajja to Urarṭu in month IV, Du'uzi, June-July. It is clear, however, that some campaigns in the mountains ended late. The Babylonian Chronicle states that Šuprija was conquered by Esarhaddon in Tebet (IV 19) of his eighth year, but the Esarhaddon Chronicle (line 24) mentions Adar 18th¹²⁾. The evidence for a short autumnal campaign in the mountains is not very extensive. Yet the motives would be understandable: the intention in general was not to occupy these regions, but to carry off booty. In this case cattle and especially sheep. They would have started their movement down from the mountains from September onwards, and thus come within Assyrian range. We will see that it was also a suitable moment for delivery of tribute.

6. EGYPT

The Babylonian chronicle might indicate an understandable preference for winter campaigns in Egypt, not so the inscriptions which give little in exact dates during this period: 7th year of Esarhaddon defeat of the Assyrians in Egypt on Adar 5th, 10th year Assyrian army to Egypt in Nisan, 12th year Esarhaddon dies on the road to Egypt on Araḫšamna 10th. (Nov 669). But on the other hand the Assyrian army left in Du'uzi¹³⁾, July, in Aššurbanipal's 2nd

year. In all these matters the degree of initiative is of course very important.

However slight the evidence there seems to exist a vague but understandable pattern, in which certain periods of the year are preferred for certain areas. Winter for Central Babylonia, (if the Tartar route is taken) April-May for Syria, winter for Egypt, autumn for short undertakings in the mountains, with late spring as an alternative in the case of longer expeditions. The dry Tartar route and the desert would have held most water in winter, Syria would be attractive in spring especially if the enemy harvest could be spoilt or taken. In the mountains snow in the passes would be the overriding factor, but that would have disappeared long before the late summer. It explains Sargon's delayed departure in month IV for the 8th campaign. We must return to this later on.

The royal inscription as a text genre does not allow the expression of practical considerations, even though there can be little doubt that ecological factors influenced, or rather determined, the conduct of civil and military affairs in the Assyrian Empire. We can turn to only a few practical texts for support of the obvious.

7. EXCURSION: PRACTICAL TEXTS

Practical texts, e.g. letters, occasionally mention weather conditions in the Eastern mountains. ABL 241¹⁴⁾ deals with the tribute to be delivered in Babylon by a certain Aššur-bēl-ušur, who is either a local potentate or an Assyrian "resident" at the court of such a ruler somewhere in the Median area. The tribute is that of month X (Kanūnu/Ṭebet) but the royal letter ordering delivery arrived only on 3 XI (Šabaṭ). The surprise is not so much that communications were difficult, rather that they were possible at all in January-February. In the previous year (rev.7) a tribute for Babylon had been due or given (? *ni-ti-di-ni*) in month I (March-April) but the king had ordered delivery in VII (September-October). The author of the letter declares that oxen and sheep are available, but that people do not bring them on account of the cold (TA *pa-an ku-ú-ši*) and the rivers (TA *pa-an*

ÍD.MEŠ). The king is exhorted to change the date of delivery to Tešrit (September-October) again - otherwise the sheep will not survive transport. The other letter from the same author, ABL 242, does not mention the period of the year, but complains again about the cold which makes roads impassable for chariots, as a result of which delivery of tribute becomes difficult.

Difficulties regarding horses which had to be present at the "inspection" (*mašartu*), are the subject of a royal order (*abat šarri*) to Bēl-šar-ušur. The gist seems to be that sending the animals in Šabaṭ would mean that they would die from cold, they will be brought in Adar to arrive in Nisan, March-April¹⁵⁾. As many of the horses for the Assyrian cavalry came from the East, weather conditions in the mountains mattered. The horses were, no doubt, being collected for a new campaign. (In Ajjar therefore?)

NL 63, which possibly belongs to 61¹⁶⁾, is written by an Assyrian official who has entered Kalḫu on the 1st of Nisan (about the middle of March). He relates that he is forced to open the roads (cf. 8) *ḫu-la-a-ni ni-pat-ti*) because they are filled with snow. The broken line 11 could suggest that he has been underway since the 13th (or 23rd?) of Šabaṭ (that is over five or six weeks, if the join with NL 61 is confirmed) with horses, some of which have died with the men accompanying them on account of the cold and the swollen rivers.

It was not only in the Assyrian North that animal transports were a constant worry. The Neo Babylonian (so post-Assyrian) letter TCL 9,88, from Uruk warns that cattle should not be moved before Šabaṭ 20th, or their quality will greatly deteriorate. The point is no doubt, not as CAD M/1 p.433L suggests, that warmer weather is to be awaited, but to the contrary, that it must become cooler. The verb is *pašāru* "to make loose", with the probably rather neutral meaning: "to improve".

The as yet anonymous letter ABL 544, possibly from near the Urartian border, states that it is too cold to transfer "saplings"¹⁷⁾ to Dur-Šarrukin (*qu-up-pu qar-ḫu dan^{an}*) before the beginning of the first month (end of March). This is one of the rare occasions we hear something about the practical difficulties

of the Assyrian experiments in transplanting plants and trees from their natural habitat. Too much delay means planting in the dry season, which was of course undesirable. Babylonian tree planting contracts occasionally insist on planting in month XI, before the winter with its rain; in the North the cold is, however, the determining factor.

Assyrian officials and subjects were obliged to report anything that might be of interest. Interest both in the immediate practical sense, but perhaps also for further interpretation.

ABL 112 is a well-known letter by Urad-Sin to the Palace Herald, which was probably forwarded to the central administration. The Cimmerians had invaded Urarṭu from Mannajja, against which the Urarteans were mobilizing (rev.9), which in turn required an Assyrian reaction: 9) *e-mu-qi ú-pa-ḥu-ru* 10) *ma-a i-su-ri* 11) *ki-ma ku-pu-u* 12) *i-di-i-ni* 13) *ma-a ni-za-qu-pu* 14) *ina muḥ-ḥi-šu*: "They gather their forces: must we, as the cold increases, take up a position in front of him (i.e. the king of Urarṭu, Sardur)?" The writer asks for orders, but adduces wintry conditions as a reason for limited reaction only. The same seems to be the case in NL 39, from Dur-Aššur, who uses the cold conditions as a pretext for explaining why he has not written sooner, stating that he has sent out spies (^U*da-a-a-lim*), who will, however, on account of the cold weather, not achieve much. NL 100 uses heavy falls of snow (line 6-7) as an excuse for non-execution of orders, cf CT 53, 158:6-7. In other letters the direct relation between copious rainfall and good prospects for the harvest makes rainfall the subject matter for a report, but here we are definitely approaching the ideological level¹⁸⁾.

The ideological aspect of rain finds a clear expression in the well known letter ABL 2 (=LAS 121, according to Parpola LAS II p.104 from early 666), written by the exorcist Adad-šum-ušur. He mentions "the felicitous era that has arrived", indicated by, amongst other signs, "copious rains and abundant floods". A connection, as also stressed by Parpola, with the golden age claimed in the introductory passage of his prisms to have started with the accession to the throne of Aššurbanipal is obvious. Adad let flow

his rains, Ea let forth his floods, with abundant harvests, increase in flocks and low prices as a result¹⁹⁾. We have, as yet, not the means to verify these claims, but there is a decent possibility that the early years of Aššurbanipal indeed showed an above average rainfall - which was interpreted as a sign of the arrival of a new golden age.

Assyrian ideologists were no less nimble than their later counterparts, we cannot but admire their efforts. LAS 300 + 109 is a letter written by Akkullānu²⁰⁾, another learned member of the circle to which Adad-šum-ušur belonged. It is dated by Parpola to May 1st, 657. Assyria suffered under the onslaught of the Cimmerians in Syria - a fact not so much carefully expurgated from the Assyrian annals as passed over in silence - and there was so little rain that the cereal harvest had been an absolute failure. Surely a bad sign. Not to the ingenuous Akkullānu who knew his sources. He has unearthed a report about 500 years old by a certain Ea-ušallim to the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe (1098-1081) which is given the interpretation that scant rain indicates the personal well-being of the king. This type of blatant manipulation of the meaning of the phenomena is of course completely different from the pious ascription of favourable developments to "the gods of the king": e.g. CT 53, 156: p.9-10 (sufficient water in the river for transport of trees).

If we want to use the Assyrian-Babylonian evidence on weather and related meteorological phenomena we must endeavour to separate real observation from systematization and interpretation. While the practical observation is as a rule trustworthy, the interpretation and the systematization tell us more about mentality than reality. Useful observations can be used only when they are dated, that makes it difficult to get further than "water is wet", "in winter it snows", as I hope to have made clear.

But we must also recognize from the increased knowledge of ecological circumstances that we are dealing with a Mesopotamia that looked very different from what we observe now.

At least down to Samsu-iluna conifers were cultivated in the South. In the days of Shalmaneser III the last elephant lived in the Euphrates valley, though, as we learned a few days ago, on the Khabur the native poplar was so scarce, that, incredible though it may seem, conifers had to be imported to roof even simple dwellings.

NOTES

1) As the density of the text material is not sufficient, in general, for a reconstruction of the intercalary system, all dates are, of course, approximate. For the later reign of Esarhaddon and the first years of Aššurbanipal cf. Parpola *LAS 2* (AOAT 5/2 Neukirchen-Vluyn (1983)) p. 428-320.

2) A.J.Sachs, H.Hunger, *Astronomical diaries and related texts from Babylonia I*, Wien 1988, esp. pp. 27-34.

3) R. Borger, *Esarhaddon*, AfO Beiheft 9 (1956) p. 104, "Gottes-brief" II 1-7.

4) *ibid* p. 45 Epis. 2 II 87 (cf II 20).

5) G. van Driel, *Cult of Assur* (Assen, 1969) note 38 on p. 156-7.

6) Borger, *Esarhaddon* p. 44, Epis 2, 66.

7) Sanherib, Luckenbill OIP 2 Chicago 1924, p. 41 Prism V 6-11.

8) Sanherib Nebi Yunus Slab = IR 43 lines 42-44; Walters Slab, Grayson AfO 20 (1963), p. 91 obv 39 and VS I 77 obv 23'.

9) The passage has been treated recently by P. Naster, *Acta Orientalia Belgica V, Humour, Travail et Science en Orient*, p. 31-37. He discusses the question of the exact month in detail.

10) Esarhaddon uses the obsolete term *Ḥanigalbat* for the region NW of the Assyrian nuclear area. The term is rather vague and does not necessarily indicate a really mountainous territory.

11) The only time Adadnirari II mentions Nisan (KAH II 84:94) we deal with the Assyrian response to an attack and under Tukulti-Ninurta II (Annals 41) a minor force under the turtan is sent once. Abu, 5th month, is mentioned once, but that was in his first full year.

12) Parpola *LAS 2* (note 1) p. 428 indicates November-December.

13) Parpola *LAS 2* p. 430.

- 14) cf. N. Postgate, *Taxation, Studies Pohl ser. maior 3* Rome (1974) p. 266 W.
- 15) ABL 302. It is difficult to differentiate the real order from the contents of an earlier letter to which is referred.
- 16) cf. K. Deller, *Or NS 35* (1966) p. 187.
- 17) ^{GIS}zigpi; CAD M/1 p. 404. During the meeting of the colloquium J.D. Hawkins suggested that the author of the letter was using obstructive tactics. A cold spell in winter with night temperatures well below freezing point for the Mosul area cannot be excluded, cf. *Geographical Handbook, Iraq and the Persian Gulf* (B.R. 524), 1944 ed., p. 172-3 and p. 620.
- 18) "Practical" letters are NL 565 reporting incessant rain for several days, ABL 128, dealing with rain in Media and ABL 157, near Arrapha. In ABL 231 Sanherib reports high water levels to his father Sargon.
- 19) e.g. Prism A I 41-51.
- 20) Parpola LAS II p. 307 f.

What does the Hittite Storm-God Hold?

In presenting this paper, my principal aim is to attempt to resolve some iconographic-graphic confusion regarding the logogram used in Hier. Luwian to write the name of the Storm-God, and its relation to the symbols carried by him in representations on seals and sculpture of the Hittite Empire and Neo-Hittite periods. Connected with this graphic problem is that of the Hier. sign for "lightning", which in turn leads on to the Luwian word for "lightning" and further to a consideration of the position of the "Storm-God of the Lightning". I hope that the dedication of this article to Maurits van Loon in a volume in his honour is appropriate, since his own great contribution to scholarship has always lain in his ability to solve problems and illuminate our field by the wide range of his vision. I must further hope that this contribution will not fall too short of his own exacting standards.

The object normally held by the Hittite Storm-God in his left hand stretched out before him is then our first object of inquiry. It will be seen that it differs between representations of the Empire Period (mostly on seals, also on a few rock or dressed stone reliefs) and of the Late Period (all reliefs on stelae, orthostats, etc.). The motive behind this enquiry is an attempt to resolve a serious confusion in this question which occurs in Laroche's *Les Hieroglyphes Hittites* (Paris, 1960), namely between his signs HH nos. 196 and 199, treated by him as essentially identical, variant forms of the same sign. This identification, argued in the present contribution to be mistaken, has a considerable pre-history before it received its "canonical" form in *Les Hieroglyphes Hittites*. The clearest statement on the subject is from Laroche, in *Ugaritica III* (1956), p. 124 with nn.5, 6, and the figure reproduced here (Fig. 1a). Here the opinions in favour from Meriggi, Gelb, Alp and Akurgal are recorded, along with doubts from Güterbock. The crucial

error in this statement, as will be shown, is the identification of the second and third signs of Fig. 1 (b, c) (relief and incised forms of the hieroglyph *HH* no.196) with the first sign, an element of the iconography. It was unfortunate that this basic confusion was perpetuated and extended by Vanel, in his *L'Iconographie du Dieu de l'Orage* (Paris, 1965): see especially p. 112 ff.

It must be pointed out straight away that Laroche and his predecessors are not to be blamed for this confusion. The evidence available to them before 1960 was itself confusing and ambiguous, and it is greatly to Laroche's credit that it was he himself who pointed the way towards a resolution of the confusion in some of his work since 1960, although he did not carry it as far as the evidence now permits.

This evidence, which has become available since 1960 - but mostly only since 1988 - makes it clear that the two signs *HH* nos.196 and 199, so far from being variants of the same sign, have actually nothing to do with each other, and must be kept absolutely separate, in spite of an occasional superficial resemblance to each other, especially in their less clear appearances. Laroche's confusion of the two signs had led him to misallocate functions, values and occurrences between the two, and it is my aim here to rearrange these in detail. It may be noted that Meriggi latterly did *not* confuse the two, treating *HH* no.196 (his no.149) simply as the syllabogram *há*, and no.199 (his no.398) simply as the logogram for the name of the Storm-God, but then he did not advance so far as Laroche in his elucidation of *HH* no.196.

THE SIGNS *HH* NOS. 196 AND 199 AND THE LIGHTNING-TRIDENT

We are now in a position to distinguish clearly three elements combined by Laroche:

1. the Hieroglyph 196, a three-pronged sign (Fig.1, b-c),
2. the Hieroglyph 199, a W-shaped sign (Fig.1, d-e),
3. the trident-like symbol carried by the Storm-God in Neo-Hittite representations: this is *not* a Hieroglyph (i.e. a script element), but an element of the iconography. Fig.1a, is a misrepresentation of this sign, based apparently on the object held

by the Malatya gods (see below). For the forms of the object actually occurring in this context, see Plate 2.

1. The sign *HH* no.196. We may now state with certainty that this sign has nothing to do with the other two, in particular that it has nothing to do with the trident of the Storm-God, is not carried by him, and does not represent thunder or lightning. Our sole evidence for its usage shows that in the Empire Period inscriptions it is used to write *HATTI* (also perhaps *HATTUSA*), as was shown by Laroche in 1969/70, and in ligature with *li* to write *HATTUSILI*, as was shown by Güterbock before the Last War. These propositions have since been amply confirmed, but the former only very recently. For the Late Period, the sign's only established use, apart from survival of the writing in *HATTUSILI*, is as a syllabogram *há*, alternating with *ha*, as was established by KARATEPE (see below). Its phonetic value is perhaps derived by acrophony from *HATTI/HATTUSA*; we have at present no evidence that it was used as a syllabogram *há* in the Empire Period, so it is best regarded and transcribed as a logogram for this period (thus *HATTI* (or *HATTUSA*) URBS/REGIO rather than *HÁ* URBS/REGIO, *HATTUSILI(+li)* rather than *HÁ+LI*).

2. The sign *HH* no.199. This has suffered less from the confusion, and its recognition as the Hieroglyph standing as a logogram for the name of the Storm-God is not in doubt, for which we use the transcription TONITRUS. But the confusion with *HH* no.196 led Laroche to attribute also a phonetic value to it, which is certainly incorrect and must be deleted. Its usage may be summarized in a preliminary way here. During the Hittite Empire period it is found regularly in the glyptic carried by the formal Storm-God figure in his left hand (when, as normally, he faces right) held out before him. Such seals with the figure of the Storm-God are rare at Boğazköy, really only the seals of Muwatallis; more common at Ras Shamra (Amanmašu, Ini-Tešub, Pihaziti, Talmi-Tešub: see below *HH* no.199.I.a); and now extremely common from Meskene with many published examples (see below, *ibid.*), and many more unpublished. We should note also now a definitive presentation of the type on the seal of Kuzi-Tešub, king of Karkamis, which was found at Lidar Höyük (see below, *HH*

no.199.I.b). Besides appearing on the glyptic it is also, but rarely, attested in the same context - held by the Storm-God - on monumental sculpture: YAZILIKAYA no.42, the clearest example; ALACA HÖYÜK 1, in a somewhat divergent rendering; on the İMAMKULU relief accompanying the figure of the god in his chariot; also on the uncertainly dated ÇAĞDIN stele (for these, see below, HH no.199.I.b, I.c.6). Its other usage is of course in the inscriptions: for the Empire Period in EMİRGAZİ, and the newly available inscriptions YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG. For a consideration of what this sign may actually represent, see below and note 4.

It is the rendering of this sign which is partly to blame for the confusion. Its clearest form, always in relief in the Empire Period, is of a continuous snaky line including a distinct central loop (see Fig.2, a-b). However, more cursory rendering shows it with an undivided central prong in place of the loop (see Fig. 2, c-e). As such it becomes more easy to confuse with the three-pronged *HATTI* sign. Wherever the two are clearly distinguished, we see that the *HATTI* sign is long and slender with straight(ish) prongs splaying outwards from a narrow base (see Fig.3); while the *TONITRUS* sign is comparatively squat and thick-set with a broad base, strongly outward-curving side prongs and a central loop (at clearest) or an undivided prong (confusing).

3. The *trident*, identified as an element of iconography not of writing, and representing the lightning. I begin with the assertion that to the best of my knowledge, in the regular glyptic of the Empire period and in the closely associated though rarer monumental sculpture, the standard Storm-God figure carries only the *TONITRUS* Hieroglyph, never the *lightning trident*, much less the *HATTI* sign. Put another way, he carries in all clear cases the *TONITRUS* sign, and then there are unclear cases; but there are *no* clear cases of him carrying the *lightning trident* or the *HATTI* sign. This gives a strong presumption in favour of identifying the unclear cases too as *TONITRUS*.

In the Neo-Hittite Period, however, the situation changes completely. Now the Storm-God figure, found only in monumental sculpture, orthostats and (principally) stelae, but no seals, holds only the *lightning trident*, never the *TONITRUS* sign. The sole

exception to this, Malatya 10 (Relief C) is perhaps significant, and requires special consideration in the Malatya context (see Plate 3).

The gods on the Lion Gate sculptures from Arslantepe (Malatya) are mostly identified by Hieroglyphic epigraphs, as is also the figure of the king; these are not held in the hand in the Empire style, but simply placed in the field normally in front of their faces. The great Storm-God relief K has the epigraph Malatya 8 placed between the two manifestations of the god (one showing him arriving in his chariot, the other standing before the king to receive libation). In his standing form, the more usual rendering, he holds in his outstretched left hand a three-pronged element which is not self-evidently the *trident*, though it is often so identified without discussion (e.g. by Orthmann, *USK* (1971), p.235 Malatya A/11). While this identification may be correct, we should note that at Malatya most of the gods carry the same symbol: the god on the Stag (Relief G with epigraph MALATYA 5), Sarruma (Relief J with MALATYA 7), the Moon and the Sun (Relief E with MALATYA 12), and Karhuhas (MALATYA 13). It would certainly seem very heterodox for gods other than the Storm-God to hold the *trident*, representing as it does the lightning, so possibly the three-pronged symbol represents something more neutral such as a plant.*

It is the two special Storm-God reliefs B and C with epigraphs 9 and 10, which require our attention in the context of the statement that in the Neo-Hittite period the *trident* symbol replaces the TONITRUS Hieroglyph in the hand of the Storm-God representations. On relief B, the regular figure of the Storm-God appears, holding in his outstretched left hand like the other Lion Gate gods the uncertain three-pronged element (*trident?*). His name, in the epigraph MALATYA 9, reading "Storm-God of the city KARAHÖYÜK (ELBISTAN)"¹, is written in relief in front of his face and repeated incised below. In the relief epigraph the DEUS.TONITRUS has been placed exactly and symmetrically over the three-pronged

*The resemblance of the element to the Empire Period *HATTI* Hieroglyph is striking; Machteld Mellink, after reading this article in manuscript, ingeniously suggested that this is no coincidence, i.e. that the object does indeed represent *HATTI*, and is held by the Malatya relief gods to symbolize the concept that they are refugees to Malatya from the destruction of Hattusa.

element, as if emphasizing the juxtaposition of the two. In its paired Relief C, however, the Storm-God, identified as "of the city MALATYA", is not holding the three-pronged element but only his DEUS.TONITRUS relief epigraph (MALATYA 10), being, as noted, the only post-Empire representation of the Storm-God to do so. Whether or not the Malatya three-pronged sign is the same as the later *lightning trident*, this pair of Malatya representations marks the transition away from the old Empire style of the Storm-God holding his TONITRUS Hieroglyph.

DISCUSSION

It could have been argued that the *lightning trident* and the TONITRUS Hieroglyph from a common origin gradually differentiated during the Empire Period into elements of the iconography and script respectively, but this does not appear to be the case. Alternatively, it could also have been argued that the *lightning trident* which replaces the TONITRUS Hieroglyph on the Neo-Hittite stela was descended from the TONITRUS Hieroglyph, but this does not appear to be the case either. The three-pronged lightning symbol seems more likely to be descended from a two-pronged form found specially in the glyptic of early - mid second millennium Mesopotamia.

To substantiate these observations it is necessary to dismantle and reassemble Laroche's entries 196 and 199, and to adduce the new evidence. HH no.196 requires the following corrections (each passage is prefaced by Laroche's observations in bold type followed by my own, offering comments now appropriate):

196  1. "FOUDRE" 2. *ha*

"FOUDRE" should be deleted and replaced with *HATTI (HATTUSA?)*, and the entry recast -

1. (Empire)  "*HATTI (HATTUSA?)*"
2. (Late)   *há* (diacritical to conform to my system of transliteration).

Foudre à trois branches

Delete *Foudre* (and replace with "Object inconnu").

Variantes: 

Delete the first three forms: these, as noted above, are not Hieroglyphs but forms of the Storm-God's trident symbol, elements not of the script but of the iconography, i.e. they are *not* found in inscriptions. See Plate 2.

I. **Symbole et id. du dieu de l'orage, porté au-dessus du poing.**

Delete: these entries are either the trident symbol held by the Storm-God in the Late Period, which has no place in the signary of Hieroglyphic, or the TONITRUS sign held by him in the Empire Period and to be entered under *HH* no.199. Details follow.

Sceaux: RS 17.226, CIEL.FOUDRE

Inspection of the photograph and drawing of this seal onf Talmi-Tešub (*Ugaritica* III, pp. 29, 30 figs.36-37) permits us to identify FOU DRE as the TONITRUS sign and thus to transfer this entry to no.199.I.a, with which Laroche indeed compares it. Many more such examples are now available from Meskene (see below under no.199.I.a). It must be admitted that the form of this TONITRUS sign on seal-impressions is not always very clear, which led to the confusion with the *HATTI* sign. It is however here asserted that the new inscriptions YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG do clearly establish how very different the signs are, and also permit the observation that the *HATTI* sign, which is much longer and slimmer than the TONITRUS sign, is nowhere found on seals except in the name *HATTUSILI(+li)*. Of the other examples listed by Laroche here, Hogarth 164 is very unclear; Hogarth 196 (for a drawing of which see now Boehmer and Güterbock, *Boğazköy-Hattuša* XIV, p.54 Abb.39) has two clear examples of the TONITRUS sign and two seated deities holding three-pronged elements which cannot be identified as Hieroglyphs; Newell 373 has two three-pronged elements in no defining context, not certainly to be identified as Hieroglyphs.

Yazılıkaya 41: ^dFOUDRE Ha?^{viii}

not the *HATTI* sign but may be the *TONITRUS* sign, in which case it should be booked under no.199; see further below, Appendix.

Babylone = CIH I 5 etc. ...

These are all Neo-Hittite representations of the Storm-God, which show him holding the *trident* symbol, forms of which were incorrectly entered above under "Variantes". Like the latter, they should be removed from the signary. See Plate 2.

(We may note that the following representations might be added to the list: KÖRKÜN, KÜRTÜL, NIĞDE 2, MARAŞ 11, BOROWSKI 3, GAZIANTEP).

Noms theophores:

Of these, *SBo* II 121, Hanyeri and Išputahšu should certainly be transferred to *HH* no.199 f (i.e. the relevant sign is certainly *TONITRUS* not *HATTI*). *SBo* II 22 should probably also be transferred: in any case the sign is *not HATTI*.

All of no.196.I has thus been removed from this entry, either transferred to no.199, or removed from the signary altogether on the grounds of belonging not to the script but the iconography. As has been stated above, the syllabographic value *há* is established *only* for the Late Period, while for the Empire Period the sign can *only* be shown to write *HATTI* (or *HATTUSA*), and *HATTUSILI*(+li). This will become apparent from the following reorganization of the material, which includes the decisive new attestations marked *.

II. Valeur phon. *ha* ²

A. Empire Period *HATTI/HATTUSA, HATTUSILI*

Peut-être Nişantaş 11-13; *Ha*[†] -x^{viii*}

Laroche himself corrected this key entry which set the enquiry on the right track and has since been amply confirmed: see his treatment of *NIŞANTAŞ*, *Anatolica* 3 (1970), pp.93-99, pls. V-VII, esp. 93, 95, where he established for *NIŞANTAŞ*, 3-4 and 10-11, the cuneiform correspondents *LUGAL KUR Hatti*, "king of the land Hatti". As noted above, it cannot be shown that at this date the sign is a

syllabogram *há* rather than a logogram *HATTI*; the *há* value may be a late acrophonic derivative from *HATTI*. Thus this entry will read: NİŞANTAŞ, 4-6, also 11-13: *HATTI*.REGIO REX.

Karakuyu 2: ^{mont}*Tu Há*^{ville}, "mont Tudhaliya de Hattusa"

Doubtless correct with the proviso that the sign should be treated as logographic, where the use of the determinative URBS would point to a reading *HATTUSA*, while REGIO would point to *HATTI*.

Ha x li = Hattusili (N.B. This is *HH* no.197).

Again correct, this is the earliest usage of the sign to be recognized. Because it cannot be shown to be the abbreviated syllabographic writing *Há+li*, we should, following what has been said above, transcribe *HATTUSA+li*.

Under *HH* no.197 some new attestations may be added:

(1) Nom royal

*BOĞAZKÖY stele (Neve, *Anatolica* 14 (1987), p.84)

*YALBURT, block 1 (Özgüç, *Inandıktepe* (1988), pl.91.3)

(2) Autre personnage

ANCOZ 4 (frag.: Özdoğan, *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey* (Istanbul, 1977), p.101 f., pl.106)

*MALPINAR, 11.1 (twice), 2, 4 (Kalaç and Hawkins, *An.St.* 39 (1989), pp.106, 109).

New attestations of *HATTI*.

*YALBURT, block 4: MAGNUS.REX-zi/a *HATTI*.REGIO

"the Great Kings of Hatti-Land" (Özgüç, *Inandıktepe*, pl.90.2)

*BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, 11.1, 3 (twice), 4: *HATTI* alone, "Hatti"

(see Fig.3,a)

ibid., 1.2: DEUS.TONITRUS *HATTI*, "Storm-God of Hatti"

(see Fig.3,b)

ibid., 1.2: DEUS *HATTI*, "the god(s) (of) Hatti(?)" (see Fig.3,c)

ibid., 1.3: FINES-zi/a *HATTI*, "the frontiers of Hatti"

(see Fig.3,d)

These new attestations confirm beyond doubt Laroche's identification of *HATTI*(REGIO) as the writing of "Hatti-land". In particular the YALBURT context makes it quite clear, reading in full: "to those lands the Great Kings of the Hatti-land, my father(s) (and) grandfather(s), not anyone had run".

On the BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription, the most important attestation for our purposes is the "Storm-God of Hatti", in which writing the signs TONITRUS (199) and *HATTI* (196) by their juxtaposition emphasize their distinctness. This is in marked contrast to the DEUS.TONITRUS TONITRUS(URBS) (for which see below, ÇAĞDIN stele).

B. Late Period syllabogram *há* ³

Karatepe 39: Pa-ha+r-wa-ná-i^{vill*} "de Pahar(a)" = phén. p^cr
Certainly establishes the useful equivalent Hier. *há* = Phoen.^c.

Alterne, à basse époque, avec *há* (no. 215), surtout dans les éléments grammaticaux *-ha* "et", *-ha*, 1^{re} sg. prêt.

Essentially correct. We should note that this alternation is only common in the very late KARATEPE (e.g. Hu/Ho 48, 60, 91, 129, 135, 144, 146, 152, 158 etc.). The earlier inscriptions of KARKAMIS have very few examples: A6, §§15, 17; cf. A13d, §2; also CEKKE, §§9, 10: A5a, §§2-4 (verbal endings). The earliest probable example is found on the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ inscriptions, the uncertain date of which is likely to be revised substantially upwards into the period immediately succeeding the fall of the Hittite Empire by the observation of their close links with YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG. Of these inscriptions the name of the author, normally read *Hartapus*, is always written with initial *há+ra/i-*, thus apparently attesting the syllabographic usage of *há* as early as perhaps the 12th. century B.C. This very early dating of the usage does suggest that it is not impossible that it may in future be recognized also on Empire Period inscriptions.

Turning to Laroche's *HH* no.199, we find the following corrections (additions and subtractions) necessary:

199 1. Dieu de l'orage

Essentially correct, but it is this sign, not 196, which should have been transcribed FOUORE, if indeed it really does represent the thunderbolt (we have transcribed as TONITRUS, but perhaps FULMEN would have been more appropriate). In fact, if we dissociate this sign from the lightning trident, as suggested above, evidence as to what exactly it represents lapses. Note the attachment of lightning jags to this sign to represent pictographically "lightning" (see below, on HH no.200). The problem of what the sign actually represents has not in my opinion been definitively established.⁴

2. *ha*

No, this sign is a logogram only and has no syllabographic usage; see further below, under II, for details.

Forme cursive du FOUORE (n° 196)

No, the sign is unconnected with 196, but unlike the latter, it may indeed represent FOUORE (FULMEN).

Variantes

Correct. It is the third variant which has a central, undivided prong, instead of a full loop, which has led to the confusion with HH no.196 (*HATTI/há*).

I. Symbole et id. du dieu de l'orage

It is not really a *symbol* but simply the *logogram* used to write the Storm-God's name.

Se lit, selon le cas, Tešub ou Tarhunda ou Datta(?)

The reading *Datta* has been decisively rejected by Edmund Gordon (*JCS* 21 (1967) pp.82-85). It is unfortunate to find this discredited identification continuing to appear in standard Hittitological works (e.g. Otten, *StBot* 24, i 27 and passim in translation; Del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. *Tataša/i*; also especially any publication by Kammenhuber).

a) Symbole porté par le dieu au-dessus du poing

Essentially correct, except that, as has been pointed out, it is properly a Hieroglyphic sign, not a symbol. To the listed Ras Shamra seals of Amanmašu (RS 17.28A, *Ugaritica* III, p.42 ff.), Ini-Tešub (RS 17.158, *Ugaritica* III, p.26 ff.), and Piha-ziti (RS 17.248, *Ugaritica* III, p.40 ff.), should be added that of Talmi-Tešub (RS 17.226, *Ugaritica* III, p.29 f.), transferred from *HH* no.196.I (see Plate 1). A large number of new examples of seals showing the Storm-God carrying his Hieroglyph are now available from the Meskene tablets published and unpublished: e.g. the seals of Hišmi-Tešub (Msk. 73.57), Matkali-Dagan (Msk 74.327), Kabi-Dagan (Msk 73.95, 75.12) - see *CRAIBL* 1983, pp. 14-15 figs.2-4; *Meskene-Emar* (ed. D. Beyer; Paris 1982), p.66 fig.11; 63 fig.3. A large group of Meskene tablets in Japan with seal impressions to be published by K. Ishida will provide many more examples. Cf. also e.g. J. Huenergard, *RA* 77 (1983), pp.18, 22 texts 3 and 4 (seals of Še'i-Dagan and EN-GAL (Ba'al ...)).

b) Id. du dieu

What distinguishes these entries from (a) for Laroche is that here the logogram appears with other Hier. signs. Yet the seals in this group are hardly to be separated from those in (a), nor is the recently discovered seal (impression) of Kuzi-Tešub from Lidar which belongs here, nor the closely related sculpture of Yazılıkaya 42. We should regroup and add as follows:

(i) seals and sculpture

SBO I, 38-41 (now also as Beran, *Boğazköy-Hattuša* V (1967), nos.250-252): MAGNUS.TONITRUS.CAELUM, "Great Storm(-God) of Heaven".

LĪDAR (Li.85-F.Nr.246-247) (see Sürenhagen, *MDOG* 118 (1986), p.184 f.; and here, Plate 1b): (DEUS)TONITRUS, "Storm-God".

TARSUS 42: [(DEUS')]TONITRUS, "Storm-God". Collation might establish the damaged first sign, given alternatively as CAELUM by Laroche.

YAZILIKAYA 42 (see now Güterbock, in Bittel *et al.*, *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (1975), p.169 f. with n.17, Taf.26, 27.1, 28). Güterbock asserts that the form of the sign is HH no.196 rather than no.199, but in this he was misled by the confusion between the two signs, which was quite understandable until recent discoveries served to separate them. In fact the Yazılıkaya figure of the Storm-God should now be compared with that on the Lidar seal of Kuzi-Tešub, with which it agrees closely in all particulars. This comparison should allow us to identify also the pair of Hieroglyphs carried by both figures. LİDAR-YAZILIKAYA 42 are indeed the point at which the seals and monumental sculpture approach most closely. See here Plate 1a, and Fig.2c.

ALACA HÖYÜK 1 (for good recent reproductions, see Akurgal, *Art of the Hittites* (1962), pl.93 (lower); also Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb.221). The figure of the Storm-God is not that of his most standard representations, being seated, clad in a long robe, and holding a cup. His name is written with the standard TONITRUS sign below an unusual form of the sign DEUS (if that is really what it is: see Laroche, *HH* no.361; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3, no.55, p.308).

İMAMKULU (see M. Wäfler, *MDOG* 107 (1975), p.21, Taf.3 (cf. the remarks of J. Börker-Klähn, *ZA* 67 (1977), p.64 f.); K. Kohlmeyer, *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 (1983), pp.84, 141 Taf.29).

The apparent reading is (DEUS)TONITRUS CAELUM TONITRUS as made clear by the publications of Wäfler and Kohlmeyer. The repetition of TONITRUS after (DEUS)TONITRUS CAELUM remains difficult to explain. We might follow the lead of the ÇAĞDIN stele (see below, I.c.6) and interpret "Celestial Storm-God of Tarhuntašša", but this combination does not seem very probable.

(MALATYA 8 (post-Empire): (DEUS)TONITRUS, "Storm-God" - see above).

(ii) inscriptions

EMİRGAZİ altar A 11.5, 6 // B 11.2, 3: (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM, "Storm-God of Heaven". It is noteworthy that this manifestation of

the Storm-God does not reappear on the two newly available Empire Period inscriptions YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG.

KIZILDAĞ 4,1.1 // KARADAĞ 1, 1.1 (twice) (see Sedat Alp, *Anatolian Studies ... Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), pls.VII Abb. 13-14, IX Abb.17-18)⁵: (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM, "Storm-God of Heaven". This recurrence of this manifestation of the Storm-God in exactly the same writing as on EMİRGAZİ is only one of the links which now bind the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group of inscriptions to those of the Empire-Period (other features now connect them closely with YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, also KARAKUYU and again EMİRGAZİ).

GÜRÜN, §§1, 7: MAGNUS (DEUS)TONITRUS, "Great Storm-God". The claim of the author of GÜRÜN to be the grandson of Kuzi-Tešubas, "Great King, Hero of Karkamis", appears to pull this and related monuments from Malatya back into the 12th. century B.C. In the context (as one of a divine triad with Hebat and Sarruma) the Storm-God here may well represent Tešub, as Laroche observes.

ALEPPO 2, §§2, 14; CEKKE, §§4, 24; KARKAMIS A11b + c, §§9, 25; TELL AHMAR 2, §22: CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS(-sa).

KARKAMIS A4a, §13; KARATEPE, 389: "CAELUM" (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sa.

KARKAMIS A13d, §10: CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS-ti-i.

TELL AHMAR 1, §§2, 21, 25: "CAELUM"-si-i-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-sa // ["CAELUM"]-sa-na [(DEUS)]TONITRUS-hu-ti // "CAELUM-si"-i-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS[...].

Of these last three groups, the first provides no evidence for the reading of the god's name and epithet and is thus similar to the Empire and post-Empire writings of EMİRGAZİ and KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ. The second shows that the god's name was *Tarhunzas*; but only the third provides evidence for the full reading *tipasasis Tarhunzas*. Because TELL AHMAR inscriptions are stylistically so close to the early KARKAMIS group, there is little reason to doubt that these phonetic indications are valid for the whole group.

Indeed it is also likely that this reading lies behind the EMIRGAZI and KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ inscriptions too.

c) dieux de l'orage locaux

1. d'Alep ...

2. d'Alapa ...: le même?

Certainly the same. "Alep" represents the logographic writing of the city name (see below IIa). *Alapa* (now read *i-la-pa*-(URBS)), is the phonetic writing of the same. Add to this joint entry KÖRKÜN, §5, HALPA-*pa-wa/i-ni*-.

6. de Hattuša? Çağdin

No, it is now clear that TONITRUS(URBS) does not write *Hattuša*; see below, IIb. The ÇAĞDIN writing (DEUS)TONITRUS TONITRUS(URBS)⁶, as Güterbock long ago saw, required the city name to be the same as that of the god: his ^D*Datta*: ^{URU}*Datassa*, modernized according to more recent recognition to *Tarhunta* of *Tarhuntašša*, is surely correct, and was already so read by Bossert (*JKF* 2 (1952), p.107 f.), though his inference that ÇAĞDIN provided evidence for the location of *Tarhuntašša* at Gaziantep cannot be accepted, unless there was a second city of that name. Laroche's reading Storm-God of Hattuša (*Hatti*) for this group is conclusively ruled out by the recent appearance of that god on BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, 1.2, written (DEUS)TONITRUS *HATTI* and the clear distinction observed in that inscription between TONITRUS.URBS.REGIO, "land of the city *Tarhuntašša*", and *HATTI*.REGIO, "land of *Hatti*" (see above, *HH* no.196.A, under BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG; and for illustration, Plate 4a-b).

7. de Barga?

This toponym is perhaps now to be read (*349)*sà-ma_x'+ra/i-ka(-wa/i-ni)*-(URBS), and is tentatively identified with the Empire Period place-name *Išmerikka* (Melchert, *An.St.* 38 (1988), p.37).

d) épithètes ou attributs de dieux de l'orage

Possibly a separate category should have been included here for the Storm-God of Heaven. It would have included (from Ia above) the seal of Talmi-Tešub (RS 17.226); (from Ib above) *SBo* I 38-41

(seals of Muwatallis); EMIRGAZI altars A 11.5, 6 // B 11.2, 3; İMAMKULU; KIZILDAĞ 4 1.1 // KARADAĞ 1 1.1; and the group of Late attestations from KARKAMIS, TELL AHMAR and KARATEPE.

3. "fort"⁷

Add to this epithet (*muwatali-*), KIZILDAĞ 2, FORTIS DEUS.TONITRUS ... "The mighty Storm-God" (see H. Gonnet, *Hethitica* V (1983), pp.21-27, where the reading and interpretation of J. Börker-Klähn are decisively refuted).

6. Karadağ 6 gauche⁸

No, delete: this has been shown to read simply DEUS.TONITRUS AMPLECTI, "beloved of the Storm-God" (Hawkins, *An.St.* 22 (1972), p.113 f. and fig.6; Alp, *Anatolian Studies ... Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), p.24 f.).

Additional epithets are *upatitasi-*, "of the *upatit-*" (MARAŞ 4, §3); *irniliza-*, "of the *irnili-*" (ADIYAMAN 1, §§2, 3); DOMUS.LOCUS-*ta-ta-la-si-* (= **pita(n)talasi-*?), "of the precinct" (KAYSERİ, §1).

e) Flexion du nom de *Tarhun(da)*

We may note here that the new readings *zi/za* and *i/ia* give the following forms:

Nom.	<i>-hu(-u)-za-sa</i> (and variants),	= <i>-hunzas</i>
Acc.	<i>-hu(-u)-za-na</i> (and variants),	= <i>-hunzan</i>
Gen.	<i>-hu-ta-sa</i> (and variants),	= <i>-huntas</i>
(Adj.	<i>-hu-ti-i-sa</i> (and variants),	= <i>-hunti(ya)s</i>)
Dat.	<i>-hu-ti-i</i> (and variants),	= <i>-hunti</i>
Abl.	<i>-hu-ta-ti(-i)</i> (and variants),	= <i>-huntati</i>
Adj.	<i>-hu-ta-sá-ti-i</i>	= <i>-huntasati</i>

f) Noms propres théophores

Additional names transferred from *HH* no.196 above, as noted. There are of course many new names, but it would be too large a job to collect them within the context of this article.

5. Kargamis, A30h: [x]-*pi-w* = *Duppi-Tešub??*

Luwian reading [...] DARE.TONITRUS, *Piya-Tarhunzas*, considered more likely (Hawkins, *An.St.* 31 (1981), p.161).

6. Darende B: ^dw

No, read instead AVIS (=Arnuwantis) (see Hawkins, *Iraq* 36 (1974), p.77 fig.1).

Gürün 2.1: W-sa₅

No, read *ku-zi-TONITRUS-sa₅*, *Kuzi-Tešubas* (as also on İSPEKÇÜR: see Hawkins, *An.St.* 38 (1988), p.101).

7. Bulgarmaden 1 et 4

New readings give TONITRUS-*hu-na-(LITUUS)á-za-*, *Tarhunaza-*, for which cf. TONITRUS-*hu-na-za-*, KULULU lead strips (Hawkins, *An.St.* 37 (1987), p.160).

8. Eğrek

New readings give TONITRUS-*hu-wa/i+ra/i-i-sa_i*, (*Tarhuwaris*), and TONITRUS-*za-+ra/i-ma-sá*, (*Tarhuzarmas*, for which see Neumann, *KZ* 90 (1976), pp.139-141).

14. Cekke, rev.5, 6

Note also *Tarhuntiwaris*, *Tarhuntawaris*, as for EĞREK (above, 8); the onomastic element appears to be *wari(ya)-*, "help".

18. Kargamis, A11b2, c5

The new readings give MAGNUS+*ra/i-TONITRUS-tá/ta-sa-za*, i.e. *Ura-Tarhuntasanza*, genit. adj., dat. plur., "to (those) of Ura-Tarhunzas".

19, 20, 21. Cekke, rev.7; Boybeypınarı 1.1, Kargamis A 7 e.

(New readings give *-hunzas* throughout (cf. above, (e)).

22. Karahöyük - Elbistan 2.

New readings give *i(a)+ra/i-TONITRUS*, probably to be interpreted as *Ir-Tešub*.

II. Valeur phon. *ha*.

(a) dans *Ha-l(a)-pa*, graphie constante du nom d'Alep

No. Laroche's transliteration represents the group TONITRUS.*85-*pa-*, but there is no evidence for a phonetic value *l(a)* for *85, thus no support for a phonetic value *ha* for TONITRUS. Meriggi agnostically treats the pair of signs TONITRUS.*85 as logograms and transcribes *HALPA*, which is much to be preferred. In fact the sign *HH* no.85 shows in its more pictographic forms a "kneeling leg", which suggests the possibility of a *rebus*-value *HAL*, associated with Hitt. *haliya-*, "kneel". TONITRUS would then be an additional element (determinative?) indicating the city's status as cult-centre of the Storm-God. The phonetic writing of the toponym is undoubtedly the *i-la-pa*-(URBS) of KARKAMIS A24a2+3, 6, 11. Because of doubt about the reading of *HH* no.85, I prefer the non-committal transcription of the logographic writing as TONITRUS.*HALPA-pa*-(URBS). Note that TONITRUS is omissible from the writing, which supports its determinative character: KÖRKÜN, \$5, writes simply *HALPA-pa-*.

b) abrègement de *Hatti, Hattusa?*

No, this is the confusion with *HH* no.196.

Çağdın: ⁴w *Ha*^{vill}

No, this has been shown above to represent "Tarhunta of the city *Tarhuntaşša*", in clear contrast to the recently found DEUS.TONITRUS *HATTI*, "Storm-God of Hatti" (BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, 1.2). See above *HH* no.196.II.A; 199.I.6; and illustrated, Plate 4a-b.

SBo I 106-108: *Ha*^{vill}x *li* = *Hattusili* ou *Hattili*??

No. The distinction now clear between *HATTI*(URBS/REGIO), "Hattusa/Hatti", and TONITRUS(URBS), "Tarhuntaşša", would suggest that we should read here TONITRUS.URBS+*li*, *Tarhuntaşšili*, a proper name derived from the city (unfortunately lacking corroboration from a Cuneiform attestation).

Karakuyu 2: MONT *Tu Ha*^{vill} *w/Ha??-tú-sà?*

No. The first part was interpreted by Laroche, no doubt correctly, as "Mount Tudhaliya of the city Hattusa", which we would now transcribe (MONS)*tu HATTI*(URBS), thus belongs under *HH* no.196

(see above, no.196.II.A). The second part remains "très incertain": we would transcribe TONITRUS.PURUS.X; note that the second sign is the logogram "pure" (Hitt. *suppi-*, Luw. *kummi-*), no longer to be confused with the syllabogram *tu*; the third sign is unidentified, certainly not *sà*, probably not *sa*, possibly a pictogram writing what it represents. What this group could signify we may only guess: "Tarhunta's pure thing"?

c) Khorsabad: SCEAU (de) W-*pa-s*

No grounds for reading *Halpas*, which would not in any case support a syllabic value *ha*. Read TONITRUS-*pa-sá*, probably to be taken as a personal name, *Tesubas/Tispas*, for which cf. -TONITRUS-*pa-sá* // -*ti-sa-pa-sa/sá* (KARKAMIS A7d/f, g, i); cf. Meriggi, *Glossar*, p.128, s.v. *Tesup-pa*.

THE SIGN HH NO. 200 = FULGUR

In the context of the present enquiry, it is also appropriate to offer some amplification and clarification of Laroche's HH no. 200 which have been made possible by recent advances in understanding.

200.  "PUISSANCE"

We may now identify the logogram as representing a jag of lightning attached to either side of the Storm-God's symbol. This is suggested by the identification of the word lying behind the sign and the elucidation of this word in Cun. Luwian, all of which ties in well with this rather obvious interpretation of the pictographic intent of the sign, which on these grounds may now be transcribed FULGUR.

1. "Puissance", compl. phon. -*has* (morphologie obscure).

Karatepe 297' ...TOUT-*mi-sà-i'* PUISSANCE-*ha-ś*

Read now ... OMNIS-MI-*ma-za'* FULGUR-*ha-sá*, and identify the stem lying behind FULGUR as *piha-* (from following entry). The latter word is qualified by OMNIS-MI-*ma-za'* (*tanimanza*), thus is like it acc. sing. N. The ending -*ha-sa* as (nom.) acc. sing. N form is best explained as an -*s*-stem like *tipas*, "sky", as may be

supported by Cuneiform comparison, and the expected neuter "particle" *-sa* may also be found if we interpret *-ha-sá* as standing for *-has+sa*.

This postulated (Hier.) *pihas* may be recognized as the basis for the Cun. Luw. epithet of the Storm-God, *pihaššašši-*, thus simply to be analysed as *pihašš-ašši-*, "of the *pihaš*". The interpretation of *pihas* as "lightning" follows the long suggested identification of *pihaššašši-* with the logographic HI.HI-*ašši-* (HI.HI = Akk. *barāqu*, "flash (lightning)"), now confirmed by a recent attestation HI.HI-*šašši-*: see Starke, *StBoT* 31, §58, with earlier references (I am much indebted to Dr. Starke for his courtesy in providing me with a pre-publication copy of his important work on Luwian); and see further below for the alternation of ^DU HI.HI-*aššiš*//*pihaššaššiš* between the Ulmi-Tešub and Kurunta (*Bronzetafel*) treaties.

Thus we see that the Hier. evidence of the (pictographic) logogram and the stem *pihas* falls together with the Cun. Luw. derived form and the evidence for its meaning "lightning" (the sense in Hier. is in fact metaphorical, "effulgence, splendour", used of royal power).

Some further words on the Storm-God *pihaššašši-*, the "Storm-God of the Lightning", are also appropriate in this context. The ÇAĞDIN stele, as we have seen above (no.199.I.c.6) has a Storm-God of Tarhuntašša. Curiously, this god does not appear to be attested in Cun. Hitt. sources, but in fact the reason is not far to seek. A treaty fragment (*KBo* IX, 98 + *KUB* XL, 46, 11.6-8) names before "Hebat of Tarhuntašša, (and) all male (and) female deities, mountains and rivers of the land of Tarhuntašša" the *pihašš[ašši-]* Storm-God, thus clearly indicating that this god was himself the patron of Tarhuntašša. This impression is further strengthened by the occurrences of this god in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty (*KBo* IV, 10) but more especially in the magnificent new Tarhuntašša treaty on the Bronze Tablet (Otten, *StBoT* Beiheft 1 (1988): we may note that where in the list of divine witnesses *KBo* IV, 10 obv.53 reads ^DX *pihaimnis* ^DX HI.HI-*aš-ši-iš*, the Bronze Tablet, iii 86, reads ^DX *pí-ha-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš*, thereby establishing the equation beyond doubt). Thus on the Bronze Tablet, three attestations of the *pihaššašši-* Storm-God occur (ii 16, iii 50, 67) in context of concessions or

donations made to him as representative of Tarhuntašša, its gods and king. The list of divine witnesses is defined (iv 3-4) as "the Gods, Goddesses, Heaven, Earth, Great Sea, Mountains, Rivers, Springs of the land of Hatti and of the land of Tarhuntašša", and only the *pihaššašši*- Storm-God in the list seems qualified to represent Tarhuntašša. But perhaps the most telling detail is the disposition of the seven copies of the treaty given in the colophon (iv 44-51): they are to be placed before the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, the Storm-God of Hatti, Lelwani, Hebat of Kizzuwatna, the Storm-God *pihaššašši*-, in the King's house before Zithariya, and one the King of Tarhuntašša is to keep in his own house. Otten supposed that these depositions were in the relevant temples in Hattusa (*Bronzetafel*), p.55), but it is just as likely that the copies were placed in the gods' main temples in their own cities. Thus as copies were placed before the Storm-God of Hatti and in the King's house (sc. in Hattusa), so they were also placed before the Storm-God *pihaššašši*- and in the house of the King of Tarhuntašša). It is indeed hardly surprising that the Storm-God *pihaššašši*-, who was Muwatallis's patron deity, as we learn from the great prayer addressed by the king to him (*CTH* no.381), should also be the chief god of the city of Tarhuntašša (re)founded by Muwatallis himself. This point was made by Lebrun in his edition of the prayer (*Hymnes et Prières Hittites*, p.256: "...le grand dieu de l'orage *pihaššašši*, grand dieu louvite de Tarhundassa").

APPENDIX. The problem of YAZILIKAYA nos. 41 and 46.

It has been asserted here that the epigraph to YAZILIKAYA 42 is simply (DEUS)TONITRUS (=HH no.199: see above, 199.I.b(i)). The Storm-God logogram TONITRUS is supposed to occur in the epigraphs to two other figures, nos.41 and 46, for which see Güterbock, in Bittel *et al.*, *Das heth. Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (Berlin, 1976), pp.171-173; also *id.*, *Les Hiéroglyphes de Yazilikaya* (Paris 1982), pp.8/32, 19 f./42 f.

Collations made at Yazılıkaya in September 1989 permit the following observations on the forms of the proposed TONITRUS signs. See Fig.4 for tracings made directly from the rock.

YAZILIKAYA no.41. It was established by Güterbock that the god expected here from the *kalutis* would be the local forms of the Mesopotamian *Ninurta*, Hitt. *Šuwaliyat*, Hurr. *Tašmišu*, the brother of the Storm-God (*RHA* XIX/68 (1961), pp.1-18). In spite of a promising attempt by Laroche (*RHA* XXVII/84-85 (1969), p.69 f.) to read the signs, they still are regarded as uncertain by Güterbock (loc. cit., 1975 and 1982). I am happy to accept the second sign as TONITRUS, in spite of Güterbock's reservations based on the correct observation that the three prongs are open at the bottom - cf. the form on Yazılıkaya no.46; also on the KARAHÖYÜK (ELBISTAN) stele, where TONITRUS tends to appear open at the bottom (see Fig.2f). Granted the identification of TONITRUS, the problem returns to where Laroche left it. Like Laroche and Güterbock, I am unable to extract "brother" from the remaining signs; I feel that X (URBS) is possible, but it is hardly possible to see in X either Hatti (*HATTI*) or Tarhuntassa (TONITRUS). If I have to incline to a reading, it would be "Storm-God of [logogram]-city".

YAZILIKAYA no.46. Güterbock's observations of 1975 and 1982 are fully borne out by collation. The signs are undoubtedly DEUS.TONITRUS.NEPOS, "Storm-God's grandchild". The form of TONITRUS appears here too to be open at the bottom, which supports the identification of the form in no.41.

NOTES

1. The sign *HH* no. 346, a cup, is of unknown reading, but on the stele KARAHÖYÜK (ELBISTAN) clearly refers to the site Karahöyük itself and its patron Storm-God.
2. Note that in my transliteration the sign is *há*.
3. Note again my transliteration *ha*, *há* for Laroche's *há*, *ha*.
4. Ursula Calmeyer-seidl, in *Festschrift Kurt Bittel* (Mainz, 1983), pp. 151-154, reviews the problem, and inclines to the view that the sign represents bull's horns.
5. Note that Laroche designates KIZILDAĞ 4 as KARADAĞ 6.
6. K. Kohlmeyer, *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 (1983), p.84 n.783, asserts that CAĞDIN's last sign, identified as URBS, is out of alignment with the three above, and thus represents not part

of the inscription but a separate sign BONUS₂ held as elsewhere in the Storm-God's hand. But he has been misled by the photograph on which he bases his observation: in fact the top of the sign is chipped, which on Bittel's photograph simply makes it appear "nach rechts verschoben". See e.g. the excellent photograph in the exhibition catalogue *Treasures from Turkey* (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, 1986, p.102 no.127). Thus there is no reason to query Güterbock's original drawing or his interpretation.

7. Note that Laroche cross-references this epithet to his no.29 in error for no.28.

8. Note that this Karadağ 6 refers to KIZILDAĞ 4 (above, note 4).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A. Figures

FIG. 1.

Evolution of Storm-God's symbol, according to Laroche (*Ugaritica* III, p.124). The observation is fallacious. There is no link between a (symbol held by gods on Malatya reliefs: see e.g. Pl. 3b), b+c (Hieroglyph *HATTI/há*, *HH* no. 196, relief and incised), and d+e (Hieroglyph *TONITRUS*, *HH* no.199, relief and incised).

FIG. 2.

Hieroglyph *TONITRUS* held by Storm-God in Empire Period representations.

- (a) On seal of Kuzi-Tešub (Plate 1b).
- (b) On seal of Ini-Tešub (Plate 1c).
- (c) On Yazılıkaya no.42 (Plate 1a).
- (d) On seal of Talmi-Tešub (Plate 1d).
- (e) On Hanyeri rock relief (see Kohlmeyer, *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 (1983), p.86 f., Taf.32).
- (f) On KARAHÖYÜK (ELBISTAN) stele.

FIG. 3.

Form of logogram *HATTI* as seen on the new inscription BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG.

- (a) *HATTI* alone, "Hatti".
- (b) (DEUS)TONITRUS *HATTI*, "Storm-God of Hatti".
- (c) DEUS *HATTI*, "god(s) of Hatti".
- (d) FINES-zi/a *HATTI*, "frontiers of Hatti".
Note that the sign *HATTI* in this inscription (also in Yalburt) always shows a clear kink in the middle prong.

FIG. 4.

Epigraphs to YAZILIKAYA nos.42, 41, and 36, collated and traced directly from the rock in September 1989.

- (a) No.42, Storm-God (Tešub).
- (b) No.41, "Storm-God of the city X" (??).
- (c) No.46, "Storm-God's grandchild".

B. Plates

PLATE 1.

Empire period representations of the Storm-God holding his name written in Hieroglyphs.

- (a) Yazılıkaya no.42 (from K. Bittel *et al.*, *Das heth. Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya* (Berlin 1975), Taf.26.1).
- (b) Seal impression of Kuzi-Tešub from Lidar Höyük (Li.85-F, Nr.246, reproduced by kind permission of Prof.-Dr. Harald Hauptmann).
- (c) Cast of impression of seal of Ini-Tešub from Ugarit (from C.F.-A. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Ugaritica* III (Paris 1956), fig.35).
- (d) Seal impression of Talmi-Tešub from Ugarit (from Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, fig.37).
- (e) Seal impression of Amanmašu from Ugarit (from Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, fig.67).
- (f) Cast of seal impression of Pihaziti from Ugarit (from Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, fig.64).

For forms of the sign TONITRUS in these contexts, see fig.2.

PLATE 2.

Neo-Hittite representations of the Storm-God holding his trident-symbol.

- (a) Babylon stele (10th - 9th century B.C.).
- (b) TELL AHMAR 2 stele (10th - 9th century B.C., from T. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris 1936), Album, pl.I).
- (c) TELL AHMAR 1 stele (10th - 9th century B.C., restored).
- (d) KÜRTÜL stele (9th century B.C.).
- (e) KÖRKÜN stele (late 9th century B.C.).
- (f) CEKKE stele (mid-8th century B.C.).

Note that these trident symbols cannot be identified with the Hieroglyphs *HATTI* (HH no.196, see Fig.3) or TONITRUS (HH no.199, see Fig.2).

PLATE 3.

Malatya representations of the Storm-God.

- (a) Relief K with inscription MALATYA 8.
- (b) Relief B with inscription MALATYA 9.
- (c) Relief C with inscription MALATYA 10.

Note the contrast between the Hieroglyph (DEUS)TONITRUS and the 3-pronged object (lightning-trident??) held by the Storm-God. See footnote 1.

PLATE 4.

- (a) ÇAĞDIN stele, on which the Storm-God holds his name (DEUS)TONITRUS TONITRUS(URBS), "Tarhunta of the city Tarhuntašša".
- (b) Detail from list of gods on the BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription, reading (DEUS)TONITRUS *HATTI*, "Tarhunta of Hatti". (cf. Fig.3b).

Fig. 1

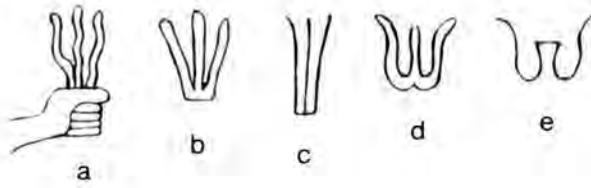


Fig. 2

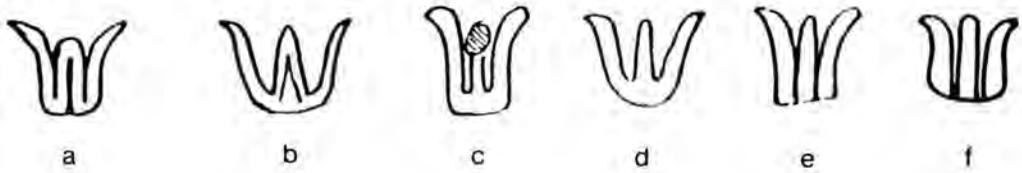


Fig. 3

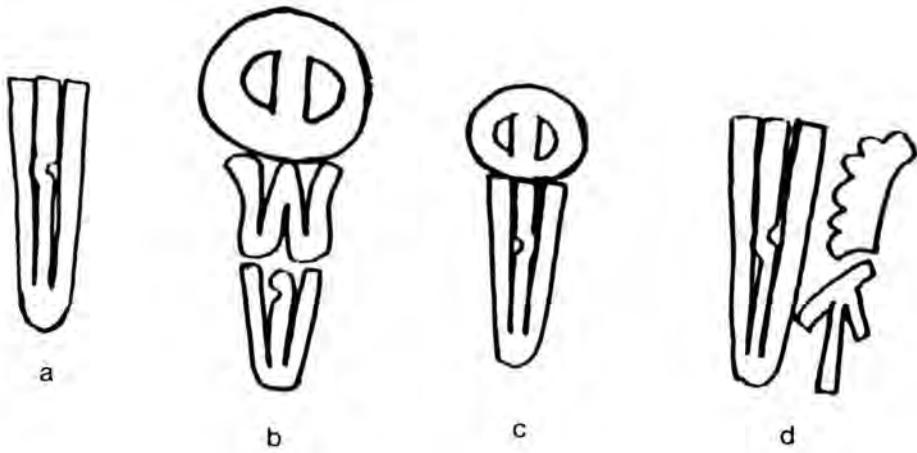


Fig. 4

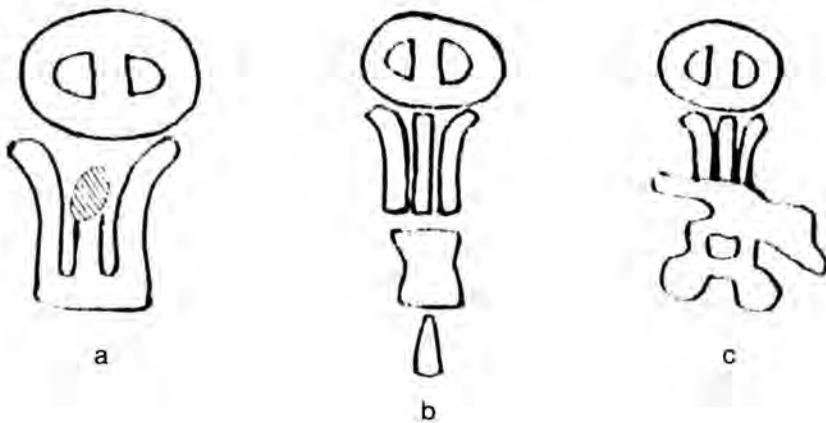




Plate I



Plate II



Plate III

a



b

Plate IV

The Hittite Storm God: his Role and his Rule According to Hittite Cuneiform Sources

The title was chosen in order to prepare the reader and especially my closest colleague Professor Maurits N. van Loon for an attempt to add a selection of textual data to some of the subjects he so excellently dealt with in his monograph "Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.", fasc. 12, Section XV, in the Series Iconography of Religions, Leiden, 1985. In this paper I will deal with six topics:

- 1. Some general remarks on the various types of the Storm God, as referred to in the Hittite cuneiform texts.*
- 2. The relationship between the Storm God of Heaven and the Hittite King.*
- 3. The Storm God in the 'God-lists' of the most important documents of the State.*
- 4. The role of the Storm God in the seasonal Festival of the Spring, as performed in Hattusa.*
- 5. The Storm God in the 'Cult Reform' of Tudhaliyas IV.*
- 6. The role of the Storm God (equalling Tesub) in the 'Cycle of Kumarbi'.*

The subject as such is so vast that I will be excused, I hope, for making this eclectic choice of topics. An admittedly thin thread can be supposed to hold them together: in one way or another each centres on the concept of rulership, either the rulership of the

Storm God (1. and 6.), or the rulership of the Hittite king (2. and 3.), while generally (2.- 5.) the rulership of both is involved.

1. THE VARIOUS TYPES OF THE STORM GOD

In his treatment of the iconography van Loon distinguished two basic types, the lightning and the thunder god. He duly noted in a passage devoted to the 'Anatolian' group of colony period seals: "From later texts we know that many towns had their own thunder-and-lightning gods, also called storm or weather gods in modern translation"¹. The number is very high indeed and far exceeds the total of local variants attested for other gods and goddesses, ^DLAMMA, the usually male protective Deity of Nature, and the various types of sun deities, male or female, being his closest competitors in this respect. At the moment, up to and including KBo 33 (1987) and KUB 58 (1988), ca. 140 towns are known to have possessed their own Storm God. Of course this does not imply that there were as many different 'types' as there are 'tokens'. A second group of ca. 30 examples consists of a different, lexical type of genitival adjunct or of a following adjective or apposition².

From linguistic phase to phase, Old through Middle to New or rather Young Hittite, there is a marked progression in the number of genitival adjuncts of both categories. In E. Neu's corpus of Old Hittite religious texts (StBoT 25-26), either ^DIŠKUR/^DU without any specification, or ^DIŠKUR/^DU followed by the place-name Zippalanda and as an example of the second type ^DISKUR *gimraš* ("The Storm God of the Field" or "of the (military) Campaign") are attested³. The lack of specifications may result from a more general characteristic of the religious texts in the old ductus stemming from Hattuša, namely that these types of adjuncts were by and large considered to be superfluous. The context was deemed to suffice. In view of the absence of a comparable corpus of Middle Hittite religious texts, no direct comparison with the Old Hittite religious data is possible. Nevertheless, a few religious texts which are available for this linguistic phase re-inforce the

impression created by the historical texts now dated to this period, that the phenomenon of the genitival adjunct was already becoming more widespread. This bears on the genitival adjuncts of both types⁴.

The adjuncts of the first category, the Storm Gods determined by a place-name, are merely of interest within a context which explains their character, their functioning or their external appearance. Unfortunately this seldom is the case. A number of them have been disregarded in the above count. Naturally I purposely omitted the Storm Gods of the treaty partners. Nevertheless it may be of some interest to note that, according to the Hittite sources, also the inhabitants of Azzi-Hayasa and the Gasgaean semi-nomads had their own Storm Gods⁵. I also excluded the storm gods of those towns about which it is (practically) certain that they were not situated within the Hittite territory proper. Notwithstanding this obvious necessity, it should perhaps be mentioned already at this point that, witness cult-inventories which may be connected with the 'Cult Reform', the Storm God of Aššur was venerated in Anatolia. This point is reminiscent of the fact that in Old Hittite times (even before the conquest of Aleppo) the Storm God of Aleppo had already been admitted to the Hittite pantheon⁶. A number of the examples, of which either the function or the external appearance is clarified by the context in which they appear, will come to the fore in the following sub-sections 2.-5.

The adjuncts of the second type, those with a genitival adjunct of the lexical type or which are specified by means of an adjective, participle or apposition, can be subdivided into five groups. A first group (A) consists of Forces of Nature which characterize *Tarhu(na)* functioning as Storm or Weather God, "The Storm God of Heaven, of Lighthning, of Thunder, of the Clouds, of the Rain, of the Downpour (or rather: of the Dew)" and, finally, "The Storm God of Growing". Another group (B) defines his relationship to mankind in general, "Proud, Heroic, Awe-inspiring", and in one case to the Hittite king in particular, "The Storm God of the Head (viz. the Person) (of the king)". A third group (C) defines natural locations outside of the towns and townships which need his protection and where he is worshipped: "The Storm God of the Field (if not "of the

military Campaign" in which case this example would need to be transferred to group E), "of the Meadow, of the Pasture" or "of the Field and the Pasture, of the Forest, of the Plain". The fourth group (D) consists of locations within the town area, built by men, sometimes for the god himself, "The Storm god of the ^ḫamri- and of the ^ḫsinapši- as technical terms for specific types of temple architecture, "The Storm God of the House", presumably his own house, the temple, as opposed to the stelae outside of the town in the open air (see Appendix 1, notes b and c), "The Storm God of the Great Temple", "The Storm God of the Market" (or preferably "of the Gateway" or "of the Portico"). In one example the building was constructed for the king, "The Storm God of the Palace". A fifth group (E) defines his role regarding warfare and political authority: "The Storm God of the Army-camp" (or "of the Army"), "The Storm God, the Co-adjutor", "The Storm God of the Alliance" and "The Storm God of Fastening". A rest-group consists of lexically unclear or unknown terms.

2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STORM GOD OF HEAVEN AND THE HITTITE KING

From the earliest Hittite text onwards ("The Text of Anitta") the close relationship between the Storm God of Heaven and the Hittite king is duly stressed. In the initial lines Obv. 2-3, the fact that "the king was dear to the Storm God of Heaven" is first established and then presented as the cause behind the military successes of Piḫana and his son Anitta, which subsequently led to the 'great kingship' of Anitta after the father had already transferred the seat of the dynasty from Kussara to Kanes-Nesa⁷. Regarding the capital or residence Hattusa in particular, the situation is slightly complicated through the king's affiliations with the Sun God of Heaven, whom he emulated in his titulature and in his functions of highest judge and convener of the assembly, and through his connection with the Sun Goddess of Arinna, whose priest he was. These two phenomena: the king's affiliations with the Sun God of Heaven and his connection with the Sun Goddess of Arinna (which may in fact have resulted from strictly local circumstances), and secondly the strong local importance of the sun deity in all of its aspects (as also attested for neighbouring

Arinna) would seem to have had the effect that the sun deity usually precedes the Storm God during the early phases of the use of the language, both in oath-formula's and in the god-lists (also within festival descriptions)⁸.

The famous and often quoted passage IBoT 1.30⁹ Obv. 2-5 formulates the idea in this manner: "When the king bows to the gods, the 'anointed' (priest) recites as follows: "May the Tabarna, the king, be dear to the gods! The land merely belongs to the Storm God, Heaven and Earth, the army merely belongs to the Storm God. And he made the Labarna, the king, (his) deputy and he gave him the whole land of Hattusa." The interpretation of the next clause is disputed, meaning either "May he (viz. the Storm God) rule over the whole country through (in the sense of "through the mediation of) the Labarna!"¹⁰ or "Let the Labarna keep administering the whole land with his hand!" (CHD, s.v. ^U*maniyahhatalla-*) or "Let the Labarna personally (lit. with the hand) administer the whole land!" (CHD s.v. *maniyahh-*). The text continues: "May the Storm God destroy him who reaches out for the body of the Labarna, the king, and for the borders (of the land)!"

This passage clearly expresses that in his function of highest military commander and prime governor the Hittite king stood under the special protection of the Storm God who here manifests his authority, emphasized in the sub-group E of the second category of (genitival) adjuncts mentioned in the previous paragraph. A fairly large number of passages in Young Hittite annals, e.g. in those of Mursilis II, provide evidence for the aid offered to the king by the "Awe-inspiring Storm God" in bringing rain or fog, or in sending a thunderbolt or even a meteorite in order to confuse the enemy and to advance the Hittite cause.

It is a debatable question (which has in fact been debated) whether in doing so the Storm God and the other gods mentioned in the formulas expressing divine aid (which characterise the various types of these annals) overstepped the boundary between divine assistance and active interference by the gods. Personally I feel inclined to think that the gods were deemed to intervene¹¹. The problem largely hinges on the manner in which the decisive terms,

the noun *parā handandatar* and the verb *peran hūwai-/hūiya-* are translated, in the former case "divine power, providence" or rather "göttlicher Gerechtigkeit, Göttlicher Rechtsordnung", in the latter case "to help, to assist" or more literally "to run in front". In support of the hypothesis that the gods did intervene, one can point to the fact that apparently the originals of the treaties carried seal-impressions of 'divine' seals¹². Consequently, active intervention by the gods on the battlefield can no longer be rejected. Moreover, it clearly forms part of the general Hittite conception about warfare which basically consists of the idea that it constituted a law-suit decided by divine judges. Presumably the gods expressed their verdicts through the means of favourable circumstances and the omnia which have been mentioned above. The idea of the Divine Assembly permeates practically all Hittite text genres.

3. THE STORM GODS IN THE GOD-LISTS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS OF THE STATE

In the Early Empire Period (ca. 1430-1350 B.C.) the Treaty and Instruction genre was fairly widely used and in it we encounter the first usable examples of, initially brief, typologically arranged god-lists. The general ordering of these listings resembles the manner in which the pantheon of a town or a township is described in the texts belonging to the inquiry into the state of the cults, referred to as the 'Cult Reform', which was undertaken during the reign of Tudhaliyas IV. The gods are enumerated in descending order of importance. This means that in the texts concerning the Cult Reform the listing usually begins with the Storm God and continues with a solar deity and the Protective Deity of Nature. If a specific local deity (and this may be any deity other than the Storm God) is considered to be of prime importance, he or she will head the listing. The notion of the 'Assembly of the Gods', as expressed in the form of a 'god-list', occurs not only in the formal treaties and a sub-group of general instructions of a 'covenant' type, but it finally also reaches a sub-group of royal prayers. In the case of a treaty, the gods are called to act as witnesses to the contents of the agreement and of the ceremony of the oath-taking. This also applies to the afore-mentioned sub-group

of general instructions for the population of the country as a whole which deal with compulsory military or civilian duties. In the prayers which either implicitly or explicitly are addressed to this same 'Assembly of the Gods', the royal couple (on one occasion even the whole royal family, cf. CTH 375) or else the king alone - as supreme ruler and as highest authority representing the entire population - appeals to the divine world in order to account for the performance of the cult, to beg deliverance from a plague, or to ask for divine aid against some other emergency. These examples sufficiently demonstrate that the notion of the 'Assembly of the Gods' marks those occasions on which the king acts as supreme ruler in his dealings with a foreign king or nation, with all of his subjects, or with the divine world at large¹³.

Two points regarding this important source for the religion of the state, the god-list, deserve to be made at this point: 1) The order in which 'the succouring gods' are enumerated in the formula characteristic of the annals of Tudhaliyas I strikingly resembles the main ordering of the early god-lists: "The Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Storm God of Heaven, the Protective God of Hatti, the War God, Ishtar, the Moon God and the Sun Goddess of the Netherworld"¹⁴. 2) In the gods-lists the number of deities mentioned and accordingly also the number of Storm Gods rapidly increases.

A few figures may illustrate the numerical growth of the god-list in treaties and instructions from the early examples (ca. 1400 BC.) up to the Syrian treaties dating to the closing years of Suppiluliumas I and the beginning of the reign of Mursilis II (ca. 1330 - 1315 BC.). One of the Gasgaean treaties, CTH 139, shows the following god-list: "Lo and behold, we made an oath and we brought (lit. placed) all the Gods to (lit. in) the meeting-place (of the assembly), the Sun God, the Storm God, the War God, the Protective God, the Moon God, Ishtar, Ishara, the Lord (sic!; "Mistress" intended) of the Oath, the Gods of Heaven, the Gods of Earth, the Primeval Gods, the Gods of Hatti-land, the Gods of Gasga-country, Heaven, Earth, Mountains, Rivers. They must be witnesses to the oath!"¹⁵.

CTH 139 thus enumerates 7 typologically different gods and mentions 16 items, if the summarizing enumerations are counted as units and the typical listing of deified natural phenomena at the

end of the god-list is divided up into its components. Using the same method, the corresponding number in the god-list of the Huggana treaty (CTH 42) from the beginning of the reign of Suppiluliumas I comes to about 70, enumerating 16 local Anatolian storm gods and 3 storm gods characterized as such by genitival adjuncts of the second category. The total of two Syrian treaties (CTH 53 and 62) reaches ca. 90, mentioning in both cases 14 local storm gods and 3 storm gods of the second category. Concerning the latter, one out of three (regarding CTH 42) and two out of three (regarding CTH 53 and 62) belong to sub-group E, stressing the Storm God's role in warfare¹⁶. During the above-mentioned period (the final quarter of the 14th Century B.C.) the development in principle came to an end, and a standard type was achieved. The preponderance of the Storm God is rather impressive. Although two solar deities (with usually the male Sun God of Heaven in first, and the Sun Goddess of Arinna in second position) precede the part of the listing devoted to the type of the Storm God, two of the introductory group of main deities are storm gods, the "The Storm God of Heaven" and "The Storm God of Hatti". The elaborations regarding the Storm God are added at this point. Apart from the elaboration which has already been mentioned, viz. a) the addition of an impressive listing of storm gods of both types, the other elaborations concern, b) the addition of a group of attendants or followers consisting of his two bulls Serri and Hurri and of the two mountains Namni and Hazzi, and c) the optional addition of a Storm God who apparently functioned as a 'Personal God' of the king who concluded the treaty.

The selection of local storm gods for the god-list would seem to have been strongly influenced by political considerations. My argument runs as follows:

1) Insofar as our uneasy notions about Hittite geography allow for a cautious judgement, the towns are evenly spread over the country.

2) With the exception of the remarkable inclusion of the Storm God of Arinna, no storm gods of important sanctuaries in the near vicinity of Hattusa (Tahurpa, Ankuwa and Katapa) have been admitted, apparently being overshadowed by the Storm God of Hatti.

3) Especially the inclusion of the storm gods of Aleppo and Kizzuwatna must have reminded the divine and human audiences of the glorious Hittite past.

4) Probably this also holds good for the presence of the storm gods of Sabinuwa and Samuha, two towns about which it can be argued that they played an important role in the Early Empire period before the accession of Suppiluliumas I, perhaps even functioning as temporary residences at the time Hattusa itself was first threatened and later even largely destroyed by the Gasgaeans¹⁷. However, the inclusion of the Storm Gods of Nerik and Zippalanda, usually rather early in the listing, and of the Storm God of Lihzina (almost exclusively known from mythological texts with Hattic overtones) as well as the inclusion of "The Storm God of the Tell" is likely to have been motivated by purely 'theological' reasoning. The Storm Gods of Nerik and Zippalanda, both referred to as "sons" of the Storm God of Heaven (a possibility for every Storm God who needed to be accounted for in a genealogical system), are already mentioned in the corpus of Old Hittite religious texts. Moreover, the group of four as a whole returns in the texts concerning the 'Cult Reform' and this vouches for their general importance.

4. THE ROLE OF THE STORM GOD IN THE SEASONAL FESTIVAL OF THE SPRING, AS PERFORMED IN HATTUSA

The Early Empire Period also witnessed the full introduction of the State Cult Calendar. Witness the presence of sometimes foreign deities (not known from the Old Hittite religious texts, but attested in the early god-lists of the treaty and instruction genre) and also on account of the names of the kings and more in particular of the queens, mentioned in two day-tablets, one for each series, the two main Festivals of Spring and Autumn, in their original form, must go back to the beginning of the Empire period¹⁸. Fortunately paleographic evidence (1984) has become available which adds weight to this dating¹⁹. The title given to this sub-section is meant to express that in this paragraph attention will be focused on the spring ceremony of opening or breaking the pithos, the storage vessel, which had been filled in the preceding autumn, in order to get at its contents, to grind and

to mill those contents, to bake a bread and then to offer it to a god or a goddess. Regarding the Spring Festival the ceremony is performed in honour of two of the storm god types, for the Storm God of Zippalanda and for the Storm God of Hatti. This subject matter will return in the following paragraph, devoted to the cult-inventories of the 'Cult Reform'.

Admittedly in a somewhat incongruous manner I shall start out with a minor detail concerning the transition from winter to spring. I refer to the 'Festivals of the Thunder' or 'of Thundering'. This Hittite material, which hittitologists hope is a rather unique phenomenon not paralleled in Mesopotamia, has been dealt with extensively by E. Neu in the commentary added to the text-edition of an Old Hittite example in old ductus, while H.A. Hoffner and A. Archi more briefly alluded to this subject matter²⁰. It is, I think, not a serious obstacle that the two oracle investigations CTH 563 and 564, concerning the choice of the town in which the king and the queen should spend the winter, refer to the Festival of the Thunderstorm as an event of the winter; nor that the oracle investigation CTH 568 (regarding the contributions which the palace and the temple or specific functionaries had to make to the performance of a group of festivals and cultic journeys during the whole calendar year) essentially does the same - although the cult-inventories related to the 'Cult Reform' refer to thunderstorms as an event of the spring²¹. Hoffner both masks and solves the problem by speaking about "rains and thunderstorms which herald the advent of the spring". Actually this discrepancy between the sources is what one would expect. A Festival of Thundering in a cult calendar is a *contradictio in terminis*. It inevitably was an *ad hoc* religious festival. What is perhaps of greater relevance is the great emphasis on the need for swift action wherever the king is or whatever he may be doing. This element of haste may help to explain the feelings of guilt which haunted Mursilis II, witness the introduction to the ritual "Mursilis Sprachlähmung" (CTH 486). The description of the incident as such - the sudden thunderstorm with flashes of lightning while the king drove his chariot, the terrible thunderclap, the fear of the king - omits any reference to a subsequent Festival of the Thunder which, according to compelling evidence, would need to have been performed.²²

The AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} festival, taking place in the spring, is likely to have started in the month of March; the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival, "the Festival of Haste", the parallel festival of the autumn, began in the eighth month of the year and thus presumably in the month of October. It is certain that both originally comprised either 35 (?), or even more, days of religious festivities. The Festival of the Rain formed a final highlight of the spring proceedings. The last line of copy B of the outline tablet (B Rev. 12'), one of the two best-preserved copies, mentions the storm god for whom the Festival of the Rain was to be performed. The festival is celebrated in honour of the Storm God of Ankuwa. A combination of recently published texts renders it perhaps possible to determine the manner in which the total duration of the Spring Festival was spread out over the months, thus determining in an approximative manner in which month this final Festival of the Rain took place, and at the same time also clarifying which day of the festival constituted Hittite 'New Year's Day' (or rather a Hittite near replica of our version of it). This latter point, however, which in the version of copy A involves the ceremony of the opening of the pithos of the Storm God of Zippalanda, should not be taken too literally, since the Hittites apparently were wont to bring the 'Old Year', presumably in the form of its hieroglyphic representation (thus in the form of a pithos²³) to the Hišta-house, a type of mausoleum, after this first reputed 'New Year's Day' had already taken place. Moreover, they also had a second 'New Year's Day', since on the subsequent day, after the 'Old Year' had been laid to rest, they opened the pithos of the Storm God of Hatti. In his article on the Festivals of the Spring and the Autumn, Archi explains the symbolism in the following manner: "Avec cette cérémonie, durant laquelle on transformait en pain la 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 favorissant ainsi la croissance de la nouvelle récolte"²⁴.

Before I mention this new material in defence of my two points, two important proviso's need to be specified.

Firstly, I am reckoning with the likelihood that Hittite EZEN ITU(.KAM) admits of two meanings: The first is "monthly festival",

and in that case it may concern the cult of any one deity (in the case of, e.g., the moon god, presumably taking place at full moon, cf. CTH 630²⁵. In the case of the Storm God of Nerik the final festival of a series of three days is known to have taken place on the 15th day of the Month²⁶). The second meaning is "Festival of the Month" in the strict sense (cf. the data collected by Laroche, CTH 591); in that case taking place during the final days of the preceding month up to and presumably including the first day of the next month. As would seem to have been a more general rule, also this festival lasted for three days.

Secondly, my reasoning is as it were based on the assumption, by itself not unlikely, that the Hittite month consisted of a complete cycle of phases of the moon (as seen from the earth); in other words that the Hittites reckoned with a synodic instead of with a sidereal month. Consequently the Hittite month would have comprised 29 days, 12 hours and 44 minutes, i.e. either 29 or 30 days. There is a total lack of evidence that the Hittites used intercalary months in order to equate the sun year with their moon months. The New Year thus began with the first new moon after the equinox of spring (March 21st in our calendar).

Bo 2372, formerly reckoned to belong to CTH 645 and published as KUB 55.39 by H. Freydank in 1985, according to its colophon treats the Festival of the Month, "When the (new) moon begins (lit. sets in), as soon as the King goes to the roof for the Festival of the Month" (IV: 27'-29'). The text is cognate with KUB 2.13 (CTH 591.5 A), which describes the morning ceremonies of the third and final day of the Festival of the Month. KUB 2.13 contains no reference to the fact that the king would have "gone to the roof". However, there is a fairly general agreement between both texts as far as location, participants and types of ceremonies are concerned. The texts concerning the AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival refer in my opinion to two Festivals of the Month: the first of the two, attested by the Outline Tablet (the 4th day: "But the king takes a (ritual) bath [fo]r the Festival of the Month" (presumably on the first day of the Festival of the Month); the 5th Day: "But [the kin]g goes to the roof"); and the second, as evidenced by a day-tablet concerning the 34th day of the series (see below).

The second occurrence of EZEN ITU(.KAM) in copy A of the outline necessarily needs to be explained in a different manner. The passage A II 38, "they set up", or rather "they provide for the cups of the EZEN ITU.KAM" is open to two explanations. It either indicates that the festival in question, the *had/tauri* festival for the War God on day 16 of Güterbock's day-count (day 15 in my revised reckoning), constituted the monthly Festival of the War God; or it signifies rather that the manner in which "the drinking" was arranged was identical to the manner in which this was done when a Festival of the Month took place. Such a similarity need not cause surprise, since on both occasions warfare and the army are likely to have been of paramount importance. Moreover, on both occasions the king was present during the festival. On the one hand the army-commanders played an important role during the second day of the Festival of the Month. On the other, just before the beginning of the war season this major festival for the War God (the best-attested ceremony of the spring series with an abundance of copies), must have been destined to secure the God's support for the acts of war during the coming months. Perhaps I should explain at this point why I prefer Kammenhuber's translation "besorgen", "to take care of, to provide for" (with regard to *aššanu-* (either with the direct object GAL.ĤI.A being expressed or in an absolute usage), as used in the cult-inventories (HW², 374-378 sub II)) to Güterbock's "to set up" and Carter's "to arrange (for display), to set (on the table, as a decoration)". The main concern of the authorities who ordered the Oracle Inquiry CTH 568 consisted of the question of the cult deliveries. The absolute usage of *aššanu-* in the part of the inquiry devoted to the *had/tauri* festivals necessarily must have referred to the same problem. And this entails that these authorities were more concerned about the question who or which organization "took care of" or "provided for the contents of the beakers" than for the manner in which these beakers were set up or arranged. Moreover, both Güterbock and Carter agree with O.R. Gurney, AAA 27 (1940), 120-124 that in these very same cult-inventories ^{DUG}*harši-* is used for "a storage vessel, a pithos", but also for "the contents of such a vessel" (cf. Carter, Diss., 185). This offers the required convincing parallel for the similar usage concerning GAL.ĤI.A. What the exact rules

were regarding on the one hand the EZEN ITU(.KAM) and the festival in the temple of the War God, and on the other the remaining five *had/tauri* festivals (during which the king always would seem to have been absent) may only be guessed at, but need not concern us at this moment.

According to the combined evidence of the copies A and B of the Outline Tablet (A I 29 and B Obv. 23), on the fifth Day "[the King] goes to the roof", presumably to the roof of the palace, and apparently in order to look for the first evidence of the new moon. This point can be argued on the grounds of the evidence present in KUB 55.39 I 11'-20'. According to this passage, the king descends from the roof, goes to the *Halentuwa*-house, his residential quarters, and returns to the roof. The presumably Late Young Hittite Cult-Inventory CTH 629 (=KUB 25.27 I 13') confirms the text-restoration in part, mainly based on copy B²⁷. The text-passage VAT 7458 IV: 8'-19' published by Alp in Tempel, 1983, 128-129 must belong to a day-tablet concerning the final days of the spring series, since ll. 13'-19', part of the colophon, refer to the fact that "the King sets out for Ankuwa in the spring for 'The Festival of the Rain'" (day 35) and to the preceding 'Great Assembly' in the local palace, which takes place on the 34th day of the series in B's day-count. Remarkably enough, the preceding ll. 8'-12' (presumably still referring to Day 34) duplicate a well-known passage of 'The Festival of the Month' (see the numerous duplicates referred to by Laroche, CTH 591.4 and most recently treated by A. Archi, *FsMeriggi*, 2, 38-42 concerning the invocation of the mountains and the benedictions of the royal couple, so far merely attested for the second day of the festival). Also KBo 9.136 (CTH 591.6) is relevant to the problem, since in its first line this text refers to "the 'head' of the Month", an expression which, like Akkadian *rēš (w)arhim* (referring to the Neulicht des Mondes (meist?) am Monatsende", cf. W.von Soden, *AHW* 975a), apparently signifies the transition to a new month.

Under the proviso that there were merely two festivals connected with the movements of the moon around the earth, the EZEN ITU(.KAM) for and at the new moon and CTH 630 regarding the full moon, the combination of the two new beginnings of a month at the required distance of 29 or 30 days (B's colophon mentions a total

of one month and five days) lends unexpected support to B's day-count.

Because I do not think that these data accord with H.G. Güterbock's reconstruction of a total of 38 days for copy A (which was based on a count of the days that are summarized in the copy after its day 22), I am now inclined to prefer B's evidence on the question of the duration of the festival as a whole, since it seems to be more consistent, whereas copy A seems to be less coherent. Moreover, copy A, probably written under dictation, shows more signs of not being fully reliable²⁸. Regarding copy B, days 5 and 34(?) would seem to correspond with the second day of the Festival of the Month of two consecutive months, the last month of the old and the first month of the new year respectively. In my tentative reconstruction KUB 55.39 treats a nocturnal ceremony of the second day of the Festival of the Month.

Regarding "The Festival of the Rain" the new evidence is rather rewarding. Certainly within B's day-count (and, as one might add, even the more so regarding A's day-count), one must reckon with the fact that the Festival of the Spring would have been spread, not merely over the inevitably required two, but even over three months, and further with the interesting detail that the "Festival of the Rain" was performed on the final day of the series and thus as close as possible to the near-equivalent of our month of May. Is it merely accidental that the modern data regarding rainfall in Turkey indicate that at higher altitudes (the regions of Ankara, Sivas and Erzurum) the rain is heaviest in the month of May?²⁹ The eminently practical Hittites would have prayed for rain on the day closest to the period during which the largest amount of rain might be expected. Regarding the reputed (first) Hittite "New Year's Day" (day 6), the following main events are recorded.

The ^{KUŠ}kurša- (now assumed to have been a sort of leather bag, cf. H.G. Güterbock, *Essays in Ancient Civilization presented to Helene J. Kantor*, edited by A. Leonard and B.B. Williams, SAOC 47, Chicago 1989, 113-119), which had left Arinna (= Alaca Hüyük?) on day 3, had reached Tawiniya (= Tonea = Eskiypapar?) on day 4, and had travelled on day 5 from Tawiniya to Hiyasna in order to spend the night there (the same day, or rather evening or night, during

which the king was wont to go to the roof, presumably in order to look for the new moon). It finally arrived in the capital: (copy A I 32-39): "From the palace they announce (the arrival of) the ^{KUŠ}kurša- and the ^{KUŠ}kurša goes to the temple of (The Grain Goddess) Halki and in the temple of Halki a festival takes place. In the palace the 'anointed' priests of (the town of) Ar[inna] offer (lit. present) the thick bread" (presumably of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, or else of the Storm God of Arinna, cf. sub-section 3.). "And they bring a lamb from (the town of) Kasaya. And in the palace a 'Great Assembly' (takes place). And in the palace (or: the large institution?) of the palace-intendant of the south (?) they break the pithos of the Storm God of Zippalanda open on that very same day"³⁰.

The following set of days (7-9 according to my count; 8-10 in Güterbock's count) form the kernel of the festival as a whole. After a number of ceremonies in the capital itself, and having departed for Arinna by way of Matella (where a 'Great Assembly' takes place), the king and the queen parted. The king continued the journey to Arinna, while the queen returned to Hattusa (day 7); On day 8, clearly the highlight of the whole proceedings, the king placed the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} in Arinna, while the queen did the same in Hattusa in her personal dwellings, the É.MUNUS.LUGAL, where apparently a 'Great Assembly' took place in the absence of the king. On day 9 the king returned to Hattusa where another 'Great Assembly' took place in the palace. On the subsequent days 10 and 11 (or 11 and 12) the 'Old Year' was laid to rest and the pithos of the Storm God of Hatti was opened. Both events have already been referred to above. During the autumn series The Storm God of Zippalanda was venerated on two festival days, on day 9 in the capital (cf. KBo 14.76 (copy D) I 8'-10', cf. FsOttén 2, 172-173) and on day 13 in the 'united' reckoning in Zippalanda itself (cf. l.c., par. 2. and 5.1.; copy B = KUB 10.48 II 9-10, cf. S. Košák, *Linguistica* 16 (1976), 61).

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned at this point that the counterpart of the opening of the pithos, the filling of the same pithos, is not yet *expressis verbis* attested in the available parts

of the copies of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival of the Autumn, cf. already H.G.Güterbock, NHF, 69. Of the two possibilities mentioned above, both of which might refer to the filling of the pithos in a highly veiled manner, day 9 offers by far the best prospects, since at least the location of that Festival would seem to be identical with the one in the passage of the Spring series which has just been quoted.

It is of some interest, I think, that in KBo 2.5 III 38-45 (presumably referring to the spring of the 22th year of his reign) Mursilis II remarks: "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 *Hišta*-house, I therefore came up to Hattusa and celebrated the New Year Festival, the great festival, in honour of Lelwani in the *Hišta*-house"³¹. It seems as if, looking back, the king had realised that, while he had taken care of ceremonies prescribed for the days 11 and 6, he had omitted an intervening festival of day 10. On H.G. Güterbock's authority it is generally assumed that Mursilis II modernized or renewed the state cult calendar. Does this passage indicate that he did so at the beginning of his reign, as may be argued on the strength of a passage in his 'Ten Years Annals' in which he refers to the festivals of the Sun Goddess of Arinna in particular (KBo 3.4 I 16-22), and does the king want to convey that he took his own measures seriously, or does the passage signal the beginning of a later interest in the cult calendar as a whole?³² If the latter were true, it would become possible - in the current chronology - to date this general modernization to the turning-point of the century and thus to ca. 1300 B.C. However this may be, in both cases it is striking that Mursilis II's interest focused on the three major aspects of the Festival of the Spring, as performed in the capital itself, which have been dealt with in this sub-section. Taken together, they apparently epitomized the transition to a New Year.

5. THE STORM GOD IN THE 'CULT REFORM' OF TUDHALIYAS IV

The 'Cult Reform' of Tudhaliyas IV (a term coined by A. Götze as long ago as 1933 in *Kleinasien*¹, for a large scale inquiry into the state of the cults, how the gods were worshipped in the country as a whole and how specific cults which might have fallen back or may have been backward could be improved) has up till now been studied in mainly three aspects:

1) During the earlier phases of the research C.-G. von Brandenstein, H.G. Güterbock and L. (Jakob-)Rost used the sometimes detailed descriptions of statues and other cult objects contained in this text material in order to lay the foundations for Hittite iconography³³.

2) Others, especially C.W. Carter in his excellent dissertation, but also O.R. Gurney and A. Archi, dealt with the concise and highly repetitive festival descriptions (which sometimes accompany the rather brief and uniform references to the introduction of new statues or other cult objects) also present in the text material as a whole³⁴.

3) A few authors, von Brandenstein, Carter and, most explicitly and also most recently E. Laroche³⁵, expressed their opinion on the background to, and the character and the manner of execution of this apparently major operation.

Here I should like to deal with the following aspects of this matter which have either been overlooked or may profitably be taken into consideration again:

a) the certainty that the measures as such, detailed in the texts, were neither new nor unique, and the possibility or even likelihood that the inquiry may have had at least 13th century forerunners of sorts;

b) an endeavour to distinguish phases within the operation and to determine a common characteristic of those phases;

c) an attempt to elucidate the reason for the inquiry through which I hope to show that von Brandenstein's initial, rather brief and

bold appraisal of the background to the operation may very well have been essentially correct;

d) some remarks concerning the role of the Storm God in the Cult Reform.

Ad a: There is little doubt that the final responsibility regarding man's relationship with the divine world and the administration of the temples always lay in the hands of the Anatolian rulers.³⁶ A supporting argument for this (restricted to the Empire period) is to be found in the instruction CTH 261, addressed to the 'Commanders of the Border Provinces' as well as in the royal prayer CTH 375, the prayer of presumably the whole royal family during the reign of Arnuwandas I and Asmunikkal (concerning the ravages inflicted by the Gasgaeans on the Hittite cult-centers in the northern zone). A comparison between the data of CTH 261 on the duties of the commander of a border province regarding the cult of the small towns which he visits on his regular inspection tours, and those of CTH 375 with respect to the cult as practised in the major cult-centers - the loss of which forms the subject of the prayer - leads to interesting results which may be used to differentiate between large and rich and small and poor towns, as described in the cult-inventories belonging to the 'Cult Reform'. The commander is held responsible for the counting of the priests and the priestesses, the state of repair of the temples and, if necessary, he should give orders to bring both these numbers and the condition of the temple(s) back to their original state. Further points concern the reverence due to the gods in general and to the Storm God in particular, the repair of the roof if by any chance it should leak, or the replacement of a missing rhyton or of any other lost utensil of the deity. Thereafter the commander should make a list of those utensils and forward it to His Majesty, a highly significant detail, duly stressed by Carter. The commander is accountable for the punctual observance of the festivals of the deities and the cults of stelae, sources, mountains and rivers in the vicinity but outside of the town³⁷. This enumeration covers to a large extent the same range of subjects which comes to the fore in many cult-inventories regarding presumably smaller towns.

In the introductory hymn of the prayer, abundant praise is lavished upon the meticulous care exercised by the Hittites (more than in any other country!) regarding the offerings, temples, implements, goods, silver (and) gold, rhyta and garments of the gods, as well as with respect to their statues of silver and gold which always were renewed in case of wear and tear, and in respect to their "offerings (and) festivals of (each) day, (each) month and the course (?) of (each) year". In the argumentative continuation of the prayer due mention is made of the loss of personnel (in the prayer not merely consisting of various categories of priests and priestesses, but also of a number of craftsmen working in the temples) and of the loss of the cattle (and) the sheep, the fields, the meadows and the vineyards which had belonged to the gods³⁸. The second text thus adds the statues of silver and gold, the daily and monthly offerings, the craftsmen, the cattle and the sheep and even the immovable assets. While most of these cult characteristics are lacking in the towns visited by the Commander of the Border Province, witness the Instruction, they do return in other cult-inventories, presumably those concerning larger settlements.

Tudhaliyas IV is regularly referred to in the festival texts connected with his new recension of the seasonal Festivals of Autumn and Spring; similarly, his name also occurs in some of the cult-inventories (8 examples so far if my count is correct³⁹). However, also his predecessors Mursilis II, Muwattallis II and Hattusilis III, are sometimes referred to, either by name (Muwattallis II exclusively) or by family designation (Mursilis II and Hattusilis III as his father and grandfather, respectively)⁴⁰. These passages refer to earlier gifts to temples or to similar measures taken by these predecessors on the throne. Two royal prayers of Muwattallis II, CTH 381 and 382, evidence respectively the remarkable precision or even meticulousness of this king in matters of religion and his endeavour to re-instate former cults, relying on hieroglyphic documentation as well as on oral information⁴¹. The uniqueness of the 'Cult Reform' thus depends on its geographical scope and the special character of this inquiry, manifesting, as indeed it does, the aspects of both intensification and restoration and showing furthermore in its application a remarkable amount of personal involvement of His Majesty himself.

In view of the current state of our knowledge concerning paleographic developments during the 13th Century B.C., no absolute certainty can be achieved about the constitution of the corpus. However, the likely candidates which are now available (up to and including KBo 26 (1978) and KUB 58 (1988)), indicate that large parts if not all of the country were involved in the inquiry. It has sometimes been assumed that the investigation was either limited to or specifically directed at the northern regions which, from the early decades of the 13th Century B.C. onwards, had again been attacked by the Gasgaeans. But this cannot be substantiated, although the north still is well represented⁴².

Ad b: It is commonly acknowledged that the four texts edited in von Brandenstein's thesis with their detailed descriptions of statues and other cult objects should be interpreted as the reports of royal officials on what they saw, found out and decided concerning the cults of the towns which had been inspected by them. This evaluation is supported by the incorporation of a letter in text 1 (column IV) and the presence of the rather characteristic 1st person plural of the preterite in the passages which detail those decisions in the texts 2 and 3. Perhaps one may even point to the 'doodle' on text 3, a drawing of the heads of two Hittites, in the interspace between the treatments of two, apparently neighbouring towns⁴³. In line with the passage from CTH 261, paraphrased above, the measures taken (as far as preserved) concern the renewal of temples and the appointment of new priests and priestesses: acts of restoration rather than of intensification. A few texts may be added to this group of presumably early (within the investigation) 'reports', from more recently published KUB-volumes. The most rewarding is KUB 42.100, which pertains to the town of Nerik. It shows the same 1st person plural of the preterite and, most importantly, mentions documentation in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic writing. This example even repeats oral information that has been received⁴⁴, calling to mind on both the point of the search for documentation and that of the reporting of oral information, the passage of the royal prayer CTH 382 to which I referred above (see note 41).

The texts frequently mentioning royal measures and also containing concise and highly stereotyped descriptions of festivals are likely to have been compiled in the capital. This follows, I think, already immediately from the colophons which have been preserved in a number of cases⁴⁵. The references to the cult objects (statues included) are highly repetitive and thus not very informative. Two of the colophons refer to 'His Majesty', one of them mentioning Tudhaliyas IV by name and detailing that the text was written under dictation on the part of the king (cf. note 45, KUB 25.23 offering the information mentioned last). The implication must be that the concise festival descriptions sometimes contained in this type of text and usually pertinent to the Festivals of the Spring and the Autumn are not necessarily always a description of what traditionally happened, but may have been, at least in part, rather prescriptive in character. A text-passage (beautifully restored by Laroche, but which should be translated - with a minor modification - in the manner regularly applied in the dissertation of Carter), offers, I think, support to this hypothesis. Laroche restores and translates KUB 13.27: 7'-9' as follows: "Quand vient la moisson, et qu'il tonne, on ouvre [les pithoi] que Mon-Soleil Tudhaliya [a fait mettre]". Following Carter, one would need to translate, "which His Majesty Tudhaliyas instituted"⁴⁶. A recently published text, KUB 55.14, may be quoted in support of the hypothesis that the king favoured the pithos ceremony: "A pithos was not present. His Majesty instituted a pithos of 1 *PA(RISU)* [ZIZ (a wheat variety) and of] two *PA(RISU)* of wine" (Rev.: 9-10). Quite a number of texts refer to the same type of improvement in a more veiled manner⁴⁷. It thus would seem that what may already have been surmised by Carter can now be proven, viz. that the pithos ceremony, which has already been described and explained in its symbolism above sub 4., was, on royal initiative, extended to towns and townships where it had not been practised before. In a number of passages reference is made to a specific room in the temple for the pithos⁴⁸. This suggestion is not meant to imply that the ceremony and the symbolism would need to have been developed in or near the capital, nor that the ceremony and the underlying symbolism would need to have been a comparatively recent development, and thus most certainly not that it could not have been practised from time immemorial in those regions where both (the filling and the opening

of the pithos) were attested, witness cult-inventories belonging to the 'Cult Reform'.

A sub-group of the texts containing signs of royal intervention is characterized by the fact that the two most radical and most time-consuming changes (the building of temples where a temple had not yet been available, and the manufacture of statues where other types of cult objects had been used) are referred to in the present tense as if they are being undertaken at the moment of writing or will be realised in the near future⁴⁹. Rather than taking also this usage of the present tense as prescriptive, I would like to suggest that, irrespective of the place where the actual decisions were taken, elsewhere and by the royal representatives on behalf of the king, or in Hattusa and by either a functionary or by the king himself, these passages merely indicate that the work is not yet finished. In other words these texts functioned, I tend to think, as a sort of interim reports on the progress of the 'Reform' (see, too, the remark by Carter, quoted below sub c), possibly even as a reminder of what still needed to be completed. Regarding one example for which two parallel-versions are available (KBo 2.13 as compared with KBo 2.7) the case can be proven. KBo 2.7 resumes, as events of the past, measures which in the apparently older KBo 2.13 are still presented as actually taking place or bound to take place in the near future. It is rather striking that KBo 2.7 at the same time deals with a larger area. The relationship between the two parallel-versions indicates that, as time passed by, the work progressed and at the same time the area taken into consideration increased⁵⁰. There are a number of other indications pointing in the same direction and rendering it likely that in the capital a dossier was being compiled on the progress of the inquiry⁵¹.

Ad c: According to Güterbock's review, von Brandenstein's thesis (cf. note 33) constituted the provisional result of a long-lasting familiarity with, and a detailed study of the texts concerning the 'Cult Reform', few of which had yet been published in text-copy (but von Brandenstein may have seen and studied quite a number of the more recently published tablets). In retrospect he deserves to be credited for choosing the position set forth in the two passages in which he formulated a more general appraisal of the 'Reform',

that 1) the reform concerned the whole country, and that 2) it was politically and perhaps even militarily motivated and, finally, 3) that, as a reform, it encompassed the twofold aspect of intensification and restoration⁵². In a reaction to von Brandenstein's point of view, Carter rightly remarked that, with a minor adjustment of von Brandenstein's phrasing, one might also say that "the inventories were made in order that the king might have information concerning what the status of the cults was, and that he might have a record of what he had done on their behalf"⁵³. The point is again well-made. There must have been a reason why the Hittite scribes in the capital occasionally preserved originals of the reports of the royal envoys who had inspected the cults in the interior of the country, and thereafter compiled and preserved records on what the king first had decided and later had accomplished in order to enhance and to restore those cults.

It is not unlikely, I think, that the Royal Prayer of Tudhaliyas IV, KBo 12.58 + KBo 13.162, found in 1960/1, published in text-copy in 1963/7 and provisionally edited by R. Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 1980, 357-61, provides the explanation for this remarkable set of data. The prayer refers to an oracle investigation which had established that the Sun Goddess of Arinna was dissatisfied with the manner in which the festivals of the cult calendar were performed. After Tudhaliyas IV has declared that he will "never again omit festivals or will interchange the Festivals of the Spring and of the Autumn" and has expressed his concern for the punctual observance of the festivals of the cult calendar, he turns in the following broken ll. Obv. 11-13 to the possibility that the anger of the goddess may have been caused by a "diminishing of (the position of) of a deity" or "of (the status of) the (relevant) cult object" in the preceding period, taking the reign of his great-grandfather Suppiluliumas I as the starting-point for his concerns⁵⁴. Presumably the king went on to say that he would redress such defaults. Both in beginning and end of the prayer (Obv. 5-7 and Rev. 13'-15') Tudhaliyas IV mentions a conflict with an enemy, an event that may have triggered the oracle inquiry through which the anger of the Sun Goddess of Arinna had become known. The connection of the Reform with the prayer would explain the manner in which the operation was executed

and would confirm the general outline of von Brandenstein's appraisal of the data.

Laroche's treatment of the Reform already established the connection between the group of reform texts and the king's new recension of the seasonal Festivals which would now seem to be confirmed by the prayer⁵⁵. Nowadays, in addition to the rock sanctuary of Yazilikaya of course already referred to by Laroche, also the more recently found temples from the reign of Tudhaliyas IV in the southern part of the upper city of Hattusa - constituting, as it were, a sacred town district (a "Tempelstadt") - visualize the king's religious fervour in architectural form⁵⁶. Laroche summarized the main principles of the reformer in the following manner (abbreviated): 1) restoration of lost or damaged idols; 2) within the group of cult objects a notable preference for anthropomorphical representation in the form of statue(tte)s usually made of iron; 3) accommodation for the stelae in the more permanent housing of temples; 4) organization of the maintenance of the cults by the appointment of priests and priestesses and the assignment of the task of taking care of the costs of the offerings to the notables of the community or to palace organizations⁵⁷.

Although it should be acknowledged that these measures are conspicuously present in the material as a whole, I do believe that Laroche's point 4 in its succinctness fails to do full justice to the restorative tendencies (the system of the maintenance of the cults is likely to have been older and may very well already have been a traditional strategem by the time of the Inquiry⁵⁸), while his measures referred to in the points 2-3 are in my opinion typical for the poorer and underdeveloped regions of the country and thus perhaps not fully representative for the country as a whole. *

*. The accompanying Appendix 1 is meant to inform the reader in a provisional manner about 1) the scope of the subjects addressed in the 'Reform' Texts (Column I), 2) a specification of those among them for which royal intervention is attested (Column II), and 3) an admittedly highly subjective assessment of the prosperity level of the towns or townships to which the subjects applied and the royal measures were addressed (Column III).

Ad d: Some remarks on the role of the Storm God types in the Inquiry: After this long digression the data concerning the role of the Storm God can briefly be summarized. It has already often been mentioned that *Tarḫu(na)*-’s anthropomorphic versus theriomorphic representation constitutes a minority, one out of three (on the basis of the data enumerated by M.N. van Loon actually 6 against 12). Usually the Storm God is represented as a bull. It is possible that the ratio is not fully representative because the larger towns are still less well-represented in the corpus than the smaller communities. But since in one example an anthropomorphic representation is partly replaced with a theriomorphic rendering, the tendency to conservatism, if this characterization is in fact applicable, probably will remain dominant even if more material should become available⁵⁹.

Genitival adjuncts of the second type, belonging in particular to the sub-groups A (forces of nature) and C (natural locations outside of the towns and townships) prevail over those of the first type composed merely of a place-name. Those of the first type render support to the idea, already becoming apparent in both the Old Hittite religious texts and the god-lists (see above sub 1. and 3.), that the Storm Gods of Nerik and Zippalanda occupied a paramount position, the Storm Gods of Lihzina and Ta/emelha following at a considerable distance and in a perhaps already insignificant number of examples⁶⁰. However, it is striking that the Storm Gods of Hayasa and Assur are fairly well-represented in two cult-inventories which clearly refer to the south and presumably to the southeast, possibly stemming from Kizzuwatna⁶¹.

Their presence is open to two explanations, the first being the well-known Hittite strategem of bringing foreign gods over to their own country and of admitting them to their pantheon (see above sub 1. together with note 6); the second that the equally well-attested deportations of civilian prisoners (NAM.RA) would have been responsible. The apparition of other imported deities may favour the second explanation⁶². The phenomenon is rather typical for presumably poor and underdeveloped regions (which show a great number of stelae within the group of cult objects and an almost total absence of temples). The notion ‘poor and underdeveloped’ may have been synonymous with ‘less densely populated’ and this might also help to account for the presence of foreign civilians. It is

of some interest to note that the phenomenon of a Storm God connected with a 'Tell', known from the god-lists of the official documents of the state (see above sub 3.), returns in the 'Reform Texts', but then in a typical variant in which the 'Tell' sometimes is defined by a personal name or a nick-name, presumably the name of a former land-owner in the region⁶³.

Finally it deserves to be mentioned that the same group of 'Reform' texts exhibits a number of names for male deities who must have been of the Storm God type because the same name functions in other texts as a discriminating epithet of the Storm God. Presumably these epithets, either adjectives or participles, have been personified⁶⁴.

6. THE ROLE OF THE STORM GOD (EQUALLING TESSUB) IN THE 'CYCLE OF KUMARBI'

The rise to power of Tessub, the Hurrian counterpart of the Hittite Storm God, is described in the 'Cycle of Kumarbi'⁶⁵. In this final paragraph I shall deal with two problems concerning the Hittite redaction of this Hurrian cycle of 'Songs' against the background of the information it contains on Tessub's rise to power and the initial phases of his kingship. In order to be able to use the 'Cycle' as a critical source regarding the initial phases of Tessub's kingship, first the question of the likely order of the songs needs to be addressed. This problem constitutes the first point which will be dealt with.

The five songs which are currently reckoned to belong to the cycle are:

1) The song which goes under the names "The Kingship among the Gods" (E. Forrer) or "The Kingship in Heaven" (H.G. Güterbock); this is unmistakably the first in the series, describing how Alalu, Anu, Kumarbi and presumably also Tessub succeeded one another as the rulers of the Universe (CTH 344);

2) "The Kingship of ^DLAMMA" (CTH 343) which, according to current thought, describes the continuation of the chain of events in telling how Tessub first lost his kingship to ^DLAMMA and later regained it (CTH 344); The order of the other members of the group,

3) "The Song of Hedammu" (CTH 348);

4) "The Song of Ullikummi" (CTH 345), and

5) "The Song of (personified) Silver" (CTH 364).

The order of the three last members of the group has not yet been finally settled. However, it should immediately be added that, again according to a *communis opinio*, Ullikummi must have been the last in the series and that J. Siegelová in her text edition of Hedammu in my opinion presented a very strong case for the argument that Hedammu must have preceded Ullikummi⁶⁶. If one chooses the option that Ullikummi directly followed Hedammu, one is left with merely a single possibility regarding "The Song of Silver", and hence with the continuation of the series with the sequence, 3) "The Song of Silver", 4) "The Song of Hedammu" and 5) "The Song of Ullikummi". After H.A. Hoffner's highly rewarding treatment of "The Song of Silver", this order is in fact rather attractive: at first, the combination of Ea, the king of wisdom, with the cunning and devious god of the harvest Kumarbi, and later of Kumarbi with the Sea God would have been instrumental in confronting Tessub with no less than four rival kings: first ^DLAMMA, the protective god of nature, and later a succession of three sons of Kumarbi (all of them step-brothers of Tessub), to wit Silver (according to Hoffner's interpretation Kumarbi's son by a mortal woman), thereafter Hedammu (born from his marriage with Sertapsuruhi, the daughter of the sea god), and finally Ullikummi (begotten in his intercourse with "the great rock in the ice-cold pool"). The succession fierce young hero, violent male dragon, and deaf and blind male stone monster (presumably made of basalt) is particularly attractive in view of the role of the goddess Sa(w)usga in the songs 3(?) - 5. According to these, with typical bravery (an appropriate quality for a goddess not only of love, but also of warfare) Sa(w)usga repeatedly tried to assist her brother the Storm God and to that end in songs 4 and 5 employed her female charms to seduce her brother's opponent. This was successful, it seems, regarding the male dragon; but it was in vain when Kumarbi had chosen a male stone monster who was neither able to see nor to hear (the convincing argument of Siegelová).

Fortunately there exists a second, separate source that may be adduced in support of the contention that Hedammu must necessarily have been preceded by Silver. The passage KUB 27.38 IV: 19' is

explicit in the matter of the kingship of Silver, while the manner in which it refers to Hedammu in ll. 20'-21' would seem to confirm the proposed sequence. Between traditions concerning earlier human kings (on the one hand the Hurrian ritual deals with kings of Elam, Lullu and Tukris and on the other with kings of Akkad, E/Illaya and (the land of) Hatti), the passage suddenly refers to "Silver, Ruler and Heroic King" and in the continuation to "Hedam(mu), the Ruler,". According to E.A. Speiser the following clause should be interpreted as saying that "he had been installed as (Divine) King by Kumarbi"⁶⁷.

A brief summary of the contents of the Songs 2 and 3 is now in order. For the convenience of the reader I have added an Appendix 2 in which a number of common features, namely themes and motives, have been specified. It is only logical to assume that the series must have formed a "logical unity". And, by means of the chart and the summaries, I would like to argue that, if the songs are read in the specified order, such a unity does in fact appear; it might be characterized as a 'variation on a number of themes and motives'.

It is a well-established phenomenon that in ancient literary texts as well as in modern fairy-tales forewarning and repetition in combination with sudden and unexpected variation may serve to keep an audience in suspense. Moreover, the sequence would certainly have led up to a climax. It should be added, however, that the points enumerated in the chart (Appendix 2) are rather diverse in character: Some of them concern matters of form or content (1-9, the themes), while a second group (10-16) consists of the motives. It will become self-evident from the brief survey of the contents of the myths that during the early phases of his kingship Tessub hardly was a successful ruler. During the time in which he was so severely put to the test by his predecessor(s), he needed all the support he could muster, while his reaction to disastrous events seldom was very effective. It was only after a long succession of narrow escapes and hard-won victories that his rulership was securely established.

In its first tablet "The Song of Kingship in Heaven" seems to end on the note that Ea was put forward by Anu as an 'intermediary

ruler' between Kumarbi and Tessub. In any case the song must have continued on a second tablet describing how Tessub won his victory over the 'former gods' and how he drove them to the Netherworld⁶⁸. ^DLAMMA opens the series of protagonists who disputed Tessub's rulership. He, a male god of the type "Protective Deity of Nature", and the second contender Silver, share the common characteristic of having been unworthy rulers. As far as both songs are preserved, the evil effects of their manner of ruling are more in particular visible regarding the divine world. After a fight with Tessub in which ^DLAMMA prevailed, "he took the reins and [the whip] out of the Storm God's hands". In the aftermath of this success, he has apparently been installed in kingship by Ea and Kumarbi. ^DLAMMA was in a good mood: "He ate and drank and [...] up to Heaven he went". However, the same Gods later also took the initiative in deposing him, contacting the 'former gods' in order to ask for their loyal support (see note 68 for the conciliation between both parties). Tessub was re-instated in kingship, or rather regained his rulership. During the years of the kingship of ^DLAMMA the normal customs and relations became disturbed. A fragmentary passage gives the impression that beer and wine flowed freely. The song describes an unsuccessful protest march of the gods which led to his dwellings⁶⁹. The goddess Kubaba, apparently on the lookout, forewarns ^DLAMMA that the gods (including his [father] and grandfathers) are approaching, but, notwithstanding her advice that he should go out to meet them, ^DLAMMA refuses to do so; he is even unwilling to entertain and to treat the gods. Apparently he wants to continue to reign in his usual fashion. When his angry answer to the goddess has been brought to the protesters by the wind, the march is quickly called off. Two serious reproaches are levelled at ^DLAMMA. Firstly, he "has done nothing at all" (viz. he took no decisions at all) and he "has never summoned the gods (for council)" (viz. he did not strive for consensus among the gods). Secondly, he "has become estranged from himself" and under his influence this has also happened to mankind: "Nobody any longer gives bread or drink offerings to the gods"⁷⁰.

It is not unlikely, I think, that the description of his reign is meant to convey that the good effects of culture (or: civilization) working for the benefit of gods and mankind alike are

temporarily lost during a relapse into the loose disorder of the original state of the world, before customs had developed and relationships had been established. Some sort of opposition between the original natural state (or in this case rather a return to it) and a more fully developed cosmos, determined by customary relationships and divine rulings, must have been involved.

As has already been indicated above, Silver was a second unworthy ruler, who, however, went to quite the opposite extreme from the behaviour chosen by ^DLAMMA. Silver was after all the gods, continuously harassing them with his "goad of pistachio-wood". While ^DLAMMA had turned out to be a lazy ruler, the fierce, young hero Silver proved, as it were, to be overactive. According to H.A. Hoffner, Silver was a half-orphan, having been sired by Kumarbi, the God of the Harvest, but born out of a mortal woman. After Silver had been raised by his mother without the benefit of a male protector, the myth proceeds to describe how Silver, apparently a rather unruly boy, "in front of the gate" struck a full orphan. The latter indignantly asks why he did so, and to a fellow orphan? In tears Silver sets out for the house of his mother in order to tell her what had happened, but also out of a desire to hear more about his descent. It seems that Silver even threatens to strike his mother. After his mother has warded off that threat, she explains to him where his father lives: the broken passage refers to Urkis, thus implying at the very least that his mother gave him a veiled indication that Kumarbi is his father. She also informs him about the divine character of his step-brother and of his step-sister, the Storm God and Ishtar of Niniveh. His mother tells about the Storm God that "he is king in heaven and rules in the land", a valuable indication that the song must belong to the 'Cycle'. In a highly remarkable manner she seems to warn him against his father⁷¹. When Silver reaches Urkis, Kumarbi is not at home. He has left in order to "roam the lands, wandering high up in the mountains". In the subsequent fragment we find the Storm God and his brother and vizier, Tasmisu, engaged in conversation. Apparently Silver already harasses all of the gods with his "goad of pistachio-wood". According to Hoffner's analysis of the contents of the fragment, the topic of their conversation concerns the fact

that their father (presumably Kumarbi) has not yet been able to prevail over Silver (they seem to reckon with the possibility that Silver may now prevail over Kumarbi). At the end of the fragment the two brothers are met by their sister, Ishtar of Niniveh.

The inclusion of this song in the series suggests, at first sight, that at some point of the myth Silver must have aligned himself with his father Kumarbi against Tessub, Tasmisu and Ishtar. Nevertheless, what is preserved now is difficult to reconcile with such a later turn in the myth. On the other hand, the reference to a conflict between Kumarbi and Silver suits the evidence of the earlier fragment implying that his mother warned Silver against his father Kumarbi. At a presumably further point in the story, Silver drags the sun and the moon down from heaven, a heroic feat which resembles similar deeds performed by the Storm God (and, for that matter, also within the range of possibilities of the Greek Zeus) and thus presumably implying that Silver is in fact qualified to rule the Universe⁷². Sun and Moon, the great luminaries of Heaven, bow and pay him their respect. Thereafter both parties come to a joint understanding: Sun and Moon remain in function, while Silver, having spared their lives, governs the countries enlightened by day and by night through the common efforts of Sun and Moon⁷³. Witness the Hurrian ritual, Silver must have temporarily replaced Tessub like ^DLAMMA did before him. We have seen that Ishtar of Ninive (equalling Sa(w)usga) also plays a role in the song. It is not impossible that her conversation with Silver, barely recorded in the final fragment now available, leads up to the climax of the myth. There can be no doubt that Silver first won and later lost the position of king in heaven. However, whether he did so with the support or rather after the defeat of Kumarbi is not yet clear. May we now assume that, after Silver had prevailed over his father, he temporarily deposed Tessub, but that the 'league of three', perhaps already at this first occasion led by Sa(w)usga, managed to do away with Silver, the second unworthy ruler? Or is it better not to force this point, assuming that Ishtar's intervention would have been limited to the two final songs instead of permeating the series as a whole? I see in Silver's name an allusion to the importance of wealth and in his behaviour a reference to the arrogance which may accompany the possession of riches.

After the treatment of two contrasting themes - first a critical appraisal of a situation without active rulership and common deliberation in heaven (the reign of ^DLAMMA), and then a period during which Silver ruled, surely in an energetical manner, but no doubt also fiercely and even with considerable harshness over the Divine World - in the two final 'Songs' the attention is focussed more strongly on the combined experiences of gods and humans. According to the far better preserved songs concerning Hedammu, a violent, male dragon, and Ullikummi, a blind and dumb, male monster of stone, the final two protagonists of the 'Cycle' constituted a direct challenge both to Tessub (witness their character as substitutes, meant to replace Tessub) and to Ishtar (witness her exploits against Hedammu and Ullikummi). At the same time they meant an immediate threat to the human world as well. The very strong argumentation of J. Siegelová that the 'Song of Hedammu', instead of being a parallel version of 'The Song of Ullikummi', must have preceded Ullikummi, is based on the difference between the two opponents. Ishtar did and could employ her female charms against Hedammu who could be lured to the beach, while the same strategem proved to be of no avail on the second occasion, since the clever Kumarbi decided to confront the pair of sister and brother with an opponent who was impervious to female charms.

The parallelism between both songs is indeed very striking, but the parallels in the story are beautifully balanced through the highly ingenious use of variation in the application of basically the same themes and motives. There can be no doubt, I think, that the immediate allusion to Kumarbi's "cleverness" in the beginning of the 'Song of Ullikummi', right after the proem, is meant to prepare the audience for the different character of the second substitute king, raised by Kumarbi in order to put the ultimate ruler of the universe to the test. The audience knew what Ishtar managed to achieve on the earlier occasion, and will have been eagerly awaiting the strategem by which the devious Kumarbi would try to evade a similar outcome in his second attempt. Curiously enough, in both 'Songs' an early forewarning as to the clue of the story is given. In Hedammu Kumarbi in person warns the Storm God himself, "[I come] from (the mountain of) 'Mons' (meaning 'Mons Casius'). [I

raised] a dragon!". In Ullikummi a similar role is assigned to Enlil, but on this occasion the warning is merely addressed to the audience. Additionally, in this and another passage of the 'Song of Ullikummi' earlier battles are being recalled. When the small child Ullikummi (who is being brought from a place in the territory of the Sea God, where he had been born, to the location in the Netherworld where Upelluri supports Heaven and Earth, in order to be put on Upelluri's shoulder) is shown en route to Enlil, the latter says to himself: "Who is he, the child, whom they raised again (sic!), the Fate-Goddesses and the Birth-Goddesses? Who will [again] (Güterbock: [any longer]) endure (lit. see) them, the Great Gods' strong battles?" Similarly and in approximately the same phrasing, the Storm God in tears exclaims, when together with Ishtar and Tasmisu he has spotted the full-grown monster Ullikummi: "Who will [agai]n (sic!; Güterbock: [any long]er) endure (lit. see) it, this one's quarrel?"⁷⁴. It is at least possible, although not strictly necessary, to interpret the two passages as 'flashbacks' to the earlier battle against Hedammu. Güterbock will have been thinking of the Hittite and Hurrian Titanomachia, the war between the Gods of Tessub's generation and the "Former" or "Primeval Gods".

My second point concerns the question whether the 'Cycle' in its present form is in fact complete. It is rather remarkable that, while at least two related texts refer to a victory over the Sea God by Tessub, the constant assistance rendered by the same Sea God to Kumarbi in the two last songs of the series would not have been accounted for in the earlier parts of the 'Cycle of Kumarbi'. The two related texts are "The (Mountain-God) Pisaisa and the (Goddess) Ishtar" (KUB 33.108 II or III) which in its l. 17' refers to a victory of the Storm God over the Sea (God) and in the ll. 19'-20' specifically mentions the mountains Na[mni] and Hazzi (known to have been included in the god lists as belonging to the suite of the Storm God, see above sub 3), and the festival description CTH 785 concerning mount Hazzi, important as the location where Hedammu was born and also the place where Ullikummi first was seen by Ishtar and her brothers. The festival description contains the information that the singers sang the "Song of Kingship" and the "Song of the Sea", in the subsequent line adding, regarding the latter, that the

Storm God won a victory - presumably a victory over the Sea God. 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'. It is certain that the corpus of Hurrian mythological texts found in Hattusa comprised a "Song of the Sea"⁷⁵.

I should like to propose that KBo 26.105 represents (an admittedly very badly preserved) part of an additional 'Song' of the 'Cycle of Kumarbi' describing Tessub's victory over the Sea God⁷⁶, thus providing an excellent reason for the staunch support rendered by the Sea God to Kumarbi in the two final songs. Regarding its position in the series, two possibilities can be taken into account. It may have preceded 'The Kingdom of ^DLAMMA' in the case that the victory over the Sea God decisively strengthened Tessub's claims to the kingship in heaven, in a vague analogy with Marduk's victory over the female Tiamat and with a more direct resemblance to the Ugaritic myth concerning Baal's battle against the God of the Sea, Jam(mu). This position would excellently fit the evidence of the festival description CTH 785 and should therefore perhaps be preferred, including the inevitable consequence that Sa(w)usga's major role would have permeated the series as a whole. Nevertheless, it would also be possible to defend the hypothesis that this component of the 'Cycle' should rather belong between 'The Song of Silver' and 'The Song of Hedammu'. This position might explain the absence of any reference to the Sea God in the preceding songs up to and including the former, this in a sharp contrast to his prominent role in the two final songs. In both solutions the nexus which I tried to establish between the songs devoted to ^DLAMMA and to Silver might be maintained.

Whatever decisions are ultimately taken regarding its possible assignment to, and its relative position within the series, KBo 26.105 is highly interesting in its own right, since it shows an unmistakable resemblance to the contents of the so-called Astarte Papyrus, a well-known Egyptian text⁷⁷. The Astarte papyrus preserves an Egyptian myth and is dated in its present form to the

18th Dynasty (reign of Horemheb?). Unfortunately both texts are badly preserved. Nevertheless there is little doubt that they, both showing cosmological overtones, share at least four important motives:

1) At an early stage during creation, the sea constitutes a threat to the earth and to heaven. The Hittite text expresses this threat in the following terms: "The floods [came up] to the breast of the Earth (...). The outpourings enveloped [the lan]ds. The outpourings [ro]se. They reached up to the Sun and the Moon. They reached up to the Stars" (ll. 9'-13')⁷⁸;

2) In both texts a deity of the harvest addresses the divine assembly (in the papyrus the Egyptian Goddess of the Harvest, in the Hittite fragment Kumarbi), cf. l. 14' ff. of the Hittite fragment;

3) Both texts refer to a tribute which must be delivered to the Sea God, cf. l. 17' of the Hittite text;

4) In both texts a young attractive goddess, in the papyrus Astarte and in the Hittite fragment Ishtar of Niniveh (equalling Sa(w)usga) is asked to deliver the tribute to the Sea God, cf. ll. 20'-21' of the Hittite fragment.

In the continuation of the Egyptian myth, the God of the Sea (who bears a name which has already been connected with the name of the Ugaritic God of the Sea Jam(mu)) demands to be given Astarte in order that she may become his bride. In the beginning of the Hittite fragment the Storm God is referred to, while towards the end of the papyrus the Egyptian god Seth is mentioned in a context in which a battle would seem to be taking place. It appears from other, earlier Egyptian sources that Seth must have prevailed over the Sea God. It is only logical to assume that, in analogy, in the Hittite and Hurrian versions of the myth, Tessub would need to have won the battle. In view of Sa(w)usga's role in the remainder of the 'Cycle', it is important to stress that on this first occasion Tessub, rendering aid to Sa(w)usga instead of being helped by her, would need to have saved her from an apparently unwanted marriage to the Sea God⁷⁹. Already more than once the Astarte papyrus has been connected with the well-known Ugaritic myth regarding Baal's battle with Jam(mu) in which Baal defeats the God of the Sea. For

geographical reasons these correspondences between KBo 26.105 and the Astarte papyrus can only be explained by assuming a common dependency on a North-Syrian forerunner for both texts (this proposal does not imply a preference on my part concerning the initial origin of the theme, either ultimately Mesopotamian, or perhaps originally Hurrian, or rather Northwest-Semitic). It should not be forgotten that the Old Testament offers a whole series of indications for Canaanite cosmological traditions implying that the Sea posed a threat to the original creation⁸⁰.

Regarding Tessub's role I can be short. He is mastered by ^DLamma in a surprise attack. In the later 'Songs', perhaps also in a preceding 'Song' (if my attribution of KBo 26. 105 to the 'Cycle' should find support), it is rather his sister Sa(w)usga who always takes the initiative; when Tessub hears about or sees his opponents, his first reaction is one of sorrow instead of one of resolve; and, finally, in the 'Song of Ullikummi' he even entertains the thought of resigning. In all of the 'Songs' he is in need of the support of others, including even the support of his former enemies, the 'Former' or 'Primeval Gods'. Finally, in almost all of the (possibly six) examples the end of the 'Song' is still lacking. We are familiar with (part of) the narrow escapes, but we do not yet know how the hard-won victories were described in the 'Cycle'. Certainly in the case of the 'Song of Ullikummi' there is every reason to expect a counterpoise of considerable proportions, a sort of 'grand finale' which must have come close to making the series in effect also, perhaps even to a large extent, a 'Cycle' devoted to Tessub. Is it possible to determine the common background to these two conflicting characteristics of the 'Cycle', the first clearly recognizable and the second unavoidable from its ultimate outcome, the secure rulership of Tessub? The scenes of the series - at times hardly 'credible' - are usually highly convincing from a literary point of view, always being cristal-clear and often very charming. This entails that allowance needs to be made for a strong literary component in the aims of the Hittite translators, the wish to transform a fascinating myth into a well-told story in which numerous human traits might be ascribed to the gods and in which a critical attitude, at times even irony, have not been

deemed inadmissible if they served the purpose of captivating the attention of the audience. Perhaps already our rather trite maxim was valid: "All's well that ends well."

Appendix 1^a.

	I	II	III
A. Level of Cult Proceedings	1. stele but apparently no temple ^b 2. 'first' temple with statue(tte) of iron ^c 3. statue(tte) of silver or gold ^d	r.i.	s. m. l.
B. Temple	1. building of 'first' temple 2. building of new temple 3. (extensive) restoration of existing temple ^e	r.i.	s. l.
C1. Daily (a) and monthly (b) offerings	1. absence of a and b 2. presence of a and absence of b 3. absence of a and presence of b 4. presence of a and b ^f		s. m. l.
C2. Festivals	1. seasonal festival(s) 2. seasonal and monthly festivals 3. additional festivals ^g	r.i.	s. s.,m. and l. m. and l.
D1. Offering rations	1. enumeration of o.r. 2. enlargement of o.r. 3. institution of pithos	r.i. r.i.	s., m. and l. s. and m. s. and m.
D2. Cult deliveries	Rules regarding c.d. ^h		
E. Priests and priestesses	1. presence or absence of 2. appointment ⁱ	r.i. r.i.	s. s. and m.
F. Silver (and) gold	1. absence of 2. counted or not counted 3. control over ^j		s. m. s. and m.
G. NAM.RA / 'craftsmen'	1. presence of 2. transfer of ^k	r.i.	m. and l. l.
H. Cattle and sheep	transfer of ^k	r.i.	l.

a) The abbreviations used in the columns II and III stand for royal intervention (r.i.), small and poor (s.), medium-sized and mediocre (m.) and large and rich (l.). The cult-inventories regularly apply a distinction between *annalli-*, "former (state), traditional" and a group of royal measures detailing the king's intervention. The term *annalli-* is used with respect to 1) cult objects, 2) offering rations and 3) their provisioning (usually referred to as 'cult deliveries'), 4) (religious) festivals and 5) personnel (in the widest sense of the term comprising various types of priests and priestesses, but also craftsmen attached to the temple). The royal measures regarding the most frequent improvements generally are expressed by means of the verbs, "to make, to do" (DÜ = *iya-*; regarding the building of temples and the making of cult objects, mainly statue(tte)s), "to institute" (ME = *tāi-*; regarding the offering materials, their provisioning and measures in the sphere of the temple personnel and of the cattle and sheep owned by the larger temples). A third expression, also used with 'his majesty' as subject, is *kattan hama/enk-*, in more recent literature translated with German "festlegen, festsetzen", but perhaps, in addition to "to lay down, to fix, to arrange" also meaning in some of its occurrences "to sustain, to strengthen" (from the literal meaning "to undergird, to underpin"?). See also note 58.

Aspects of the text material which have not been considered in detail or are merely mentioned in passing concern a) the character of the cult objects, and b) the structure of the festivals.

For the character of the cult objects, see the two excellent treatments by M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen)*, Warszawa, 1978, and by H.G. Güterbock, *Hethitische Götterbilder und Kultobjekte*, FsBittel, 203-217. From the viewpoint of the history of religions the representations dealt with in both studies (the first a broad work dealing with the religious texts in general, the second devoted to this text genre), cannot be distinguished as to their importance or effectiveness. They will have been of equal value to the Hittite believers, all serving on the same level as 'intermediaries' through which humans might experience the divine presence, cf. the final conclusion of H.G. Güterbock, l.c., 215 regarding the equivalence between the two-dimensional stele and the statue(tte) as a work of art in the round.

Regarding the festivals, see the literature quoted in note 34 and add the treatment of the games by Ch.W. Carter in "Athletic Contests in Hittite Religious Festivals, JNES 47 (1988), 185-187.

b) Cult-inventories describing regions for which this constellation is either almost exclusively or predominantly typical have been collected in Laroche's CTH under the nos. 511 (see now, too, KUB 51.3 and KUB 51.88) and 510 respectively. See the treatment of the ^{NA}21.KIN = ^{NA}4*huwaši-* by M. Darga, RHA 27, fasc. 84/85 (1969/1970), 5-24, and especially 7-8 for the distinction between "deities with (lit. of) a stele" and "deities with (lit. of) a temple" in KUB 38.12 III 21'-23'. This passage offers the explanation for a number of occurrences of merely the first member of this pair: KUB 12.2 III 24; KBo 2.7 Obv. 17'; KUB 38.6 I 9', 13', 17', 21', 29', 33'; KUB 57.106 II 41'; KUB 38, 6 IV 8', 17' (= KUB 38.10 IV 21' (?); KBo 26.161 III 8'. Laroche, l.c., 92-93, point 3 suggested that, in the course of the investigation, a stele might be housed in a newly built temple, cf. note c.

c) KBo 2.1 (CTH 509.1) shows numerous cases in which a statue(tte) made of iron or a composite cult object encompassing such a statue(tte) replaced or rather was added to a stele, while at the same time a 'first' temple was built (at least 10 examples). KUB 17.35 (= CTH 525.2) and KUB 38.23 (= CTH 509.4) offer more examples of this phenomenon, which probably prompted Laroche's suggestion (see note b). Continuing Laroche's line of thinking, I feel inclined to conclude that the usage of iron for the production of iron statue(tte)s (presumably in regions where both the ore and the expertise were at hand) is likely to have been limited to their employment in relatively small settlements. In this respect it may be recalled that K. Bittel already suggested that the statue(tte)s of the 'Cult Reform' with their uniform measurements of one, one and a half or two šekan (i.e., according to the argument of S. Alp, between ca. 22 and 44 cms. in height) may very well have been miniature replica's of the monumental cult-images, to be expected for the cellae of the large temples in the capital, cf. NHF, 126-127. The necessary implications would need to be that the growing number of anthropomorphic representations (almost the general rule regarding goddesses) may well have been the accidental result of the royal involvement rather than the outcome of theological or artistic preference on the part of any of the participants in the investigation; also, that within the range of materials used, reed, wood, clay (pottery) and metals, iron was already the cheap and common-sense solution, as compared with the precious metals, silver (and) gold; see for the latter possibility the divergent opinions of S. Kořak and J. Siegelová, cf. Kořak, FSGüterbock 2, 125-135 and especially 135.

d) Good examples of references to or enumerations of statue(tte)s and other cult objects in silver and gold are to be found in KUB 44.1 Obv. 1'-5' and Rev. 8' regarding the presumably not unimportant town of Hulassa/iya (cf. notes 17 and 60) and in KUB 57.108 (+⁷) KUB 51.23 II 10'/16'-11'/17' where - in a summarizing statement regarding the deity Pirwa - no less than "324 statue(tte)s in silver and gold" are mentioned.

e) Examples of these three possibilities are: 1) (building of 'first' temple) KBo 2.1 I 26' (Carter, Diss., 52, 61; the building of 4 temples for presumably as many gods); II 7 (Carter, Diss., 53, 63; 4 temples for the 4 deities mentioned in I 34' and 40'; the Storm God of Marassa is mentioned first in I 28'), 18 (Carter, Diss., 54, 63; 1 temple for the 4 deities mentioned in II 11 and 15-16; the Storm God of Suruwa is mentioned first in II 9), 30 (Carter, Diss., 54, 64; Storm God of Wattarwa), 38 (Carter, Diss., 55, 65; Storm God of Hursalassi and a deified source), 44 (Carter, Diss., 55, 65; Storm God of Assaratta) etc. etc. See regarding a large(r) town KUB 38.12 II 6-7 (the Storm God of Lihzina, as venerated in Karahna: the cult object, presumably a statue(tte) has now been restored, a temple has been built); III 13' (7 temples to be built for 9 deities, cf. III 23'). 2) (building of a new temple, apparently in replacement of an earlier one) KUB 38.1 (= v. Brand. 2) I 3, 9, 23; IV 7, 13-14; KUB 38.3 I 7; II 16 (?) and regarding a large(r) town KUB 38.12 II 14-15 (the Storm God of Heaven and the Sun Goddess of Arinna in Karahna; presumably a 'double' temple, cf. L. (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8 (1963), 201). 3) (repairs or a full restoration) KUB 38.12 I 1-2 (the Protective God of Karahna); KUB

38.14 Obv. 4 (the Goddess Titiutti in an unknown town); apparently a full restoration to be performed in the near future). See note 49 for more temples still to be built.

f) See for the variation in possibilities with respect to the daily and monthly offerings (which open the series of festivals) already L. (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8 (1963), 170 and V. Souček and J. Siegelová, ArchOr 42 (1974), 51-52.

Ad 1): KUB 38.19 Obv. 11' and 16' (the Storm God of Astanuwa); KBo 13.251 II 1 (?); KUB 46.17 IV 5.

Ad 2): KBo 2.1 I 12' I 12' (Carter, Diss., 51, 60), 41' (Carter, Diss., 53, 62 (the Storm God of Marassa); II 25-26 (Carter, Diss., 54, 64; the Storm God of Wattarwa).

Ad 3): KUB 38.14 Obv. 5-6; KUB 38.33 Obv. 10'-11'; KBo 13.252 II 10'-11' and III 6'-7'.

Ad 4): KUB 38.2 (= v. Brand. 1) I 17'-19'; KUB 38.12 I 19 (the Protective God of Karahna) and II 22 (the Storm God of Heaven).

g) See in general L. (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8 (1963), 170-171. In the great majority of the divine entries contained in KUB 12.2 (CTH 511.1) merely the Festival of the Spring (together with the required offering rations) is referred to. Since the only preserved exceptions (II 5'-7', 8'-10' and III 26'-IV 10') for which also the Festival of the Autumn is mentioned concern the first entries of a new town or township, and thus presumably the most important deities of the settlements concerned, the possibility that the information regarding the remaining deities may have been complete cannot yet be ruled out. Nevertheless, in accordance with the opinion of L. (Jakob-)Rost, at least two festivals (a first in the spring and a second in the autumn) would seem to have been the general rule. It appears from KBo 2.1 that the number of venerated deities and of the festivals performed in their honour reflects the importance and the wealth of a town. The text begins with three medium-sized towns (the names of Marassa and Suruwa having been preserved), while Sanantiya, the last town dealt with in the preserved part of KBo 2.1 IV, is likely to have had the same status. Additional data regarding the materials used for the already present cult objects and the number of 'craftsmen' attached to the temples may be collected in support of the above-mentioned criterion. KUB 38.12 shows that, at least as far as a large(r) town is concerned, the importance of a deity within a local pantheon was an important factor in connection with the number of festivals. While the part of the cult-inventory regarding the Storm God of Lihzina mentions two yearly festivals (II 9), and the replica concerning the Storm God of Heaven only one (II 23-24), ^DLAMMA of Karahna, undoubtedly the most important god of the town, was venerated, apart from his "daily bread" and the twelve monthly festivals, in 10 festivals during the course of the year and in one festival which took place once in three years (I 19-24).

h) Especially regarding small towns 'his majesty' frequently raised a number of items within a listing of offerings. A few of these examples have been referred to in note 47. The authoritative treatment on the cult deliveries still is contained in Archi's article *L'Organizzazione amministrativa ittita e il regime delle offerte culturali*, OrAnt 12 (1973), 209-227 in the paragraph devoted to the cult deliveries (217-227). When a distinction is made

between on the one hand the entries in Archi's listing of contributions which (witness their provenance from either CTH 568 and 629 or from other CTH-numbers referring to the cult of the capital) relate to the state cult in and around Hattusa, and on the other hand the remainder of Archi's references which are largely taken from the cult-inventories belonging to the 'Cult Reform', regarding the latter the following picture arises. It would seem that at least five sources should be distinguished: 1) the temple itself or possibly - regarding temples in small settlements - the personal household of the priest; 2) the local population, presumably the free citizens of the town or township in question; in other examples the inhabitants of the country or the mountain; 3) the local 'palace' (in Güterbock's interpretation to be interpreted as "the Crown" or "the Fiscus", cf. CRRAI 19, 1971, 306), presumably regarding large(r) towns in which such a 'palace' existed; 4) 'Palaces', possibly 'large institutions' (cf. Güterbock, l.c., 306⁴ and 307⁸), which were situated elsewhere; and also 5) the É.LUGAL, "the "Estate of the King", (cf. Güterbock, l.c., 305). Regarding the latter two it may already now be added that a number of 'palaces' or 'large institutions', known from the economic inventories as sources of state income, appear on their spending side in the cult-inventories and that also the İR.MEŞ (the 'dependents' (?)) of high state functionaries mentioned by name, governors of provinces (EN KUR), governors of border provinces and high military commanders and thus an executive top layer of the establishment up to a point comparable with the É.LUGAL, were wont to contribute to local cults.

i) Ad 1): cf. KUB 38.2 (v. Brand. 1) III 17; KUB 38.1 (v. Brand. 2) IV 7 (in both cases according to the reading and the interpretation of L. (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8 (1963), 177⁽⁷⁰⁾ and 181⁽⁸⁶⁾, 22[; KUB 38.3 I 8; KUB 38.29 Obv. 9'. Until fairly recently the phenomenon of adding the personal name of the priest or the priestess was restricted to the cult-inventories assigned to CTH 511 (e.g. KUB 12.2 and KUB 38.16), but now examples have become available regarding (fairly) important towns: KUB 42.100 III 9', 39'; IV 32' (cf. notes 42-44); KUB 44.1 Obv. 4' and Rev. 9' (cf. notes 17 and 60 and above note d). Absence of a priest needed to be accounted for. Quotations from KBo 2.1 show two of the reasons which might be adduced, at the same time offering evidence that the problem still needed to be straightened out and that the king is likely to have acted upon this piece of information during a later stage of the investigation, cf. Carter, Diss, 18³: "The priest has fled" (II 31 = Carter, Diss., 54, 64: II 39 = 55, 65; III 33 = 57, 67; III 42 = 57, 68); "There is no priest (for him) yet" (III 6, 12, 19 = 56, 66; III 42 = 57, 68).

Ad 2): An appointment of a priestess in the past is referred to in KUB 38.1 (v. Brand. 2) III 14. A corresponding decision on the part of the royal commissioners is rendered with a 1st person plural of the preterite (cf. note 43).

j) Ad 1): KUB 39.19 Obv. 15'; KUB 58.29 Rev. 6'. Ad 2): (counted) KUB 38.12 I 1 and II 12; KUB 42.100 III 27'(-28' ?); (not yet counted) KUB 42.100 IV 14'-15'; (no [records] whatsoever [available]) KUB 42.100 III 8'. Ad 3): (control over) KBo 2.1 I 26'-27'; II 7-8, 19-20, 45; III 25-26; KBo 12.56 I 8'-9'.

k) In medium-sized and large(r) towns presumably at the outset

unfree 'craftsmen', denoted by the technical term ^{LUMES}*hilammatteš*, were attached to the temples, cf. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 210-212 together with the bibliography (to which M. Darga, *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi I* (1970), 121-130 might have been added). They performed various occupations which in general involved profane activities: e.g. cook (and butcher), baker, brewer, basket-weaver, potter and singer (this example applies to a medium-sized town). The general term, ^{LUMES}*hilammatta-*, which may have originally meant "gate keeper" (cf. J. Friedrich, HW' 69 a), a not illogical choice for a first layman in the service of a religious institution, might include, in addition to the singer already mentioned, types of priests and scribes and thus also occupations which either required full, or at least a certain degree of literacy, cf. H.G. Güterbock, *CRRAI* 20, 1972, 130-132. The relevant passages are: KBo 2.1 I 23'-25' (Carter, *Diss.*, 52, 61: 6); II 4-6 (Carter, *Diss.*, 53, 64:6); KUB 38.12 I 3-18 (26); II 4, 19-21 (6); III 6' (on this occasion the term used is "temple employee"); IV 11', 18'; KUB 54.67 Rev. 6'-7'.

After the treatment of KBo 12.53 + KUB 48.105 by A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AOF* 7 (1980), 143-157 (see note 51), the most important passages, KUB 38.12 I 3-18 and II 19-21, have become more intelligible. KBo 12.53 + shows that, in addition to cattle and sheep and various agricultural necessities, 'displaced persons' (viz. civilian captives, *NAM.RA*) might be assigned to the more important temples in larger towns in order to enlarge their work force. This stands in contrast to what happened in the medium-sized towns inventoried in KBo 2.1. In those passages follows the clause, in the second example preserved in the first restored, *URU-aš tiyazi*, "the community takes the stand", meaning the town is responsible (either for the full employment of the 'craftsmen' concerned or for the fact that the work is being done). In KUB 38.12, concerning the town of Karahna, the preceding sentence I 3 details that "For him (^DLAMMA) (or: for it, viz., the temple) the 'displaced persons' have been controlled" (*kappuwanteš*). The clause, introducing the ^{LUMES}*hilammatta-* passage proper, in all likelihood means "For him (or: it) the work force of the 'craftsmen' of the temple has been singled out" or "specified" (^{LUMES}*hilammatteš-ši-kan parā appanza*). This comes very close to Carter's rendering "namely", which fits the context perfectly although the construction of the clause is lost in the process. In the larger temples which also possessed fields, meadows and vineyards, other 'displaced persons' must have performed different tasks. This follows from the prayer CTH 375 and is confirmed by the contents of KBo 12.53 +.

In the case of the temple of ^DLAMMA the number of the "former" ^{LUMES}*hilammatteš* was first doubled from 9 to 18 out of an existing reserve of 'displaced persons', while an additional 8 persons were recruited from the É.GIŠ.KIN.TI, "the workhouse" or "workshop" of presumably the local palace. (see the two passages translated below). Regarding the double temple of the Storm God of Heaven and the Sun Goddess of Arinna, 6 ^{LUMES}*hilammatteš* were named or appointed (cf. CHD 3.1, 39 a) by "the chief of the scribes [on wood]" out of a number of 'displaced persons' which had been increased by the same functionary from 20 to 32. In a third passage (III 4'-5') the number of 'displaced persons' of another temple (the name of which

has not been preserved) is raised by the same official through the addition of 7 NAM.RA from "the palace of His Majesty". Consequently "one temple employee is singled out" or "specified".(III 6'). The manner in which this third passage is formulated implies in my opinion that the local "chief of the scribes on wood", in whom I suspect a high official in the administration of the local palace (cf. the letter KBo 9.82 Obv. 9-12), had resorted to 7 'displaced persons' who were stationed in Hattusa; see, too, II 16-17 where the original group of 20 NAM.RA is defined as "20 NAM.RA of the inhabitants of Hattusa".

Also the problems concerning GUB(.BA) (defined by H.G. Güterbock, CRRAI 20, 1972, 131²⁹; see for the reading G. del Monte, RGTC 6, 178) may now perhaps be solved if one reckons with the likelihood that, in a system in which a mobile working force is shifted around through the country, a distinction between a 'vacancy' and a position which is actually filled would have come about in a highly natural manner. Therefore I venture to suggest that the meaning of ar- M.-P., the equivalent of GUB(.BA), "bereit stehen" (cf. A. Kammenhuber, HW2, 197 b, "Typ 2 a") has developed into a technical meaning "to be on duty, in active service". Actually the above-mentioned distinction is already attested in the small tablet KBo 19.28 which records the listing of the 205 persons who worked in the É.GIŠ.KIN.TI in Hattusa, on account of the find spot of the tablet identified either with the whole (the opinion of K. Bittel) or with part (the opinion of P. Neve) of the south area near Temple I in Hattusa. Regarding the 19 scribes versed in cuneiform mentioned in Obv. 4, the tablet adds the information that 9 had not been given. This means two things. In a wider sense it indicates that, at the time the tablet was written, the "scribes on wood" (Obv. 5: 33 in number) actually outnumbered the "scribes on clay" in a majority of more than 3 to 1. Regarding this specific point it also proves that there really existed a difference between a 'recognized' vacancy and a position filled. Thus KUB 38.12 I 9-11 might be translated as follows: "Now, at a later moment, they gave 'dependents' from the palace (I 7-8)). (In the position) of persons on active duty (^{LUMES}GUB-an-da-aš) they singled out (or: specified) a 'man of the spear' (a type of guardian), a gate keeper, a steward, a cult singer, a reciter, a tambourine player, an augur (and) a potter". See for this interpretation of the genitives of the type GUB-aš/arandaš and TUŠ-aš/ašandaš E. Neu, GsKronasser, 147⁷⁵. The final sentence of the passage (I 17-18) might mean: "In (lit. to) it (viz. the detailed enumeration) the active work force (^{LUMES}GUB.BA-za = ^{LUMES}aranza) of the workshop has been included." Perhaps I may add at this point that the Hittite arithmetic, although also elsewhere of a slightly dubious character, may be vindicated if at the beginning of the ll. I 12 and 13 one reads or restores the number 2 instead of 1. In that case the total of 26 (I 11) is in fact arrived at. The occupations of the 8 persons (temporarily?) transferred from the workshop of the local palace (cf. the combined evidence of I 7-8 and 17-18) to (the replica (?) of) the temple all return in the final listing. I have elaborated upon these details because the royal involvement in the procedure concerning the intensification of the cults of Karahna seems to have been restricted to the procurement of these 'displaced persons'. Karahna is likely to have been a fairly large town in which, witness the colophon, no less than 775 persons lived and

worked in the sphere of the temple(s). ** Although this involvement is not very impressive and rather indirect, it still was deemed necessary to forward a full interim report to the authorities in Hattusa. Apparently the wealthier towns were expected to take care of the necessary ameliorations out of their own means.

**Regarding Karahna see also M. Darga, Karahna Şehri Kült-
envanteri (KUB XXXVIII 12), İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat
Fakültesi Yayınları no. 1825, 1973 (which has recently become
available to me).

Appendix 2 ^(a)

	K.i.H.	^D Lamma	Silver	Hedammu	Ullikummi
A. Contents and themes					
1.Proem ^b	X	0	X	0	X
2.Persons ^c	<i>kaluti-</i> of Tessub	idem	idem	idem	idem
3.Marriage/ intercourse ^d			X	X	X
4.Birth ^d			X	X	X
5.Nature of threat		inertia	violence	theomachy	theomachy
6.Effect of threat ^e		maladmini -stration	terror in Heaven	famine and depopulation on Earth	rebellion in Heaven, famine and death on Earth
7.Aid rendered by Sausga			X(?)	X	X
8.Correspon- dence in location ^f				X	X
9.Support of the 'Former Gods' ^g		X	0	0	X
B. Motives					
10.Volte-face to enemy and sharp retort ^h	X (Anu)	X (St.G.)	X(mother)		
11.Forewarning				X(Kumarbi)	X(Enlil)
12.First observation of and reaction to the enemy ⁱ			X(St.G. and Tasmisu)	X(Sausga;F ear)	X(Sun God,Anger)
13.Common meal				X	X
14.Refusal of food ^j		X(by host)		X(Sausga)	X(Sun God)
15.Reaction of the Storm God ^k				tears	tears
16.Sausga's deceit of the opponent				success	failure

a) X indicates presence and 0 that the absence is or may be the result of the state of preservation of the text. Unless references are given in these notes, the text sub 6. is supposed to contain the necessary information. The numerals 1) - 5) refer to the compositions.

b) Where the beginning of the text is preserved, a proem of the traditional type can be distinguished. In 1) the 'former Gods' are invoked; in 3) and 5) the poet or the translator introduces his subject and rather veiledly refers to himself

c) For the *kaluti-*, the series or the circle of in this case Tessub, see H.Güterbock, *RIA VI:5-6*, 1983, 326 a-b s.v. Kumarbi: Tessub, his brother Tasmisu, Kumarbi, Ea, the Moon God, the Sun God, the War God, Nubadig etc.; but note that the Sea God, rather prominently present in 4) and 5), is not included in Tessub's *kaluti-*.

d) In an obvious manner marriage and birth are restricted to the 'Songs' devoted to the three opponents of Tessub who were "raised" by Kumarbi.

e) The famine and the depopulation on earth are clearly indicated in Siegelová, *o.c.*, 42-49, Fr. 3-6; see H.G. Güterbock, *JCS 5* (1951), 159: 1st Tablet, A IV 48.

f) See sub 6. note 74 for the Hedammu-passage and regarding Ullikummi Güterbock, *JCS 6* (1952), 12: 2nd Tablet, B I 22'-23'.

g) The references are KUB 33.112 + III 33'-34' = Laroche, *Myth.*, 148-149 and KUB 36,3 III 1'-8' = Laroche, *Myth.*, 151; see Güterbock, *JCS 6* (1952), 28-29: 3rd Tablet, A III 48'-55'a.

h) 1) KUB 33.122 + I 27 = Laroche, *Myth.*, 154; 2) KUB 33.112 + I 21' = Laroche, *Myth.*, 146; 3) H.A. Hoffner, *FsOtten 2*, 152, 154: B = KUB 36.18 II 5'-6'.

i) 3) Hoffner, *FsOtten 2*, 155-156: A = KUB 33.115 III 13'-17'; 4) Siegelová, *o.c.*, 44-45, Fr. 4: 31-33.

j) See for the motive of the common meal: 2) KUB 33.112 + III 9' = Laroche, *Myth.*, 148; cf., too, KUB 36.5 I 4' = Laroche, *Myth.*, 150; 4) Siegelová, *o.c.*, 31-33, Fr. 1; KBo 26.83, a fragment which had not yet been incorporated in Siegelová's text-edition; *o.c.*, 68-69, Fr. 28 (actually belonging to the beginning of the text, cf, Güterbock, *KBo 26*, Introduction, VI); *o.c.*, 50-51, Fr. 9; 5) Güterbock, *JCS 5* (1951), 148-151: 1st Tablet, A II 11'-30'. Sa(w)uska refuses to eat and to drink during her visits to the Netherworld and to Enlil, Siegelová, *o.c.*, 42-43, Fr. 4 and later again when she goes to meet her brothers Tessub and Tasmisu, *o.c.*, 44-45, Fr. 5; 5) Güterbock, *JCS 5* (1951, 160-161, 1st Tablet A IV 49'-58' continued in *JCS 6* (1952), 8-11, B2 and B I 1'-13'. In the latter passage the Sun God first refuses food and drink, but is later forced by the Storm God to use both, thus conforming to the rules regarding hospitality. However, he leaves without transmitting his message. See G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt, 1982, 85 who noted both the parallelism and the variation. The two passages describe an

identical turning-point in both myths since on both occasions the adversary has just been spotted.

k) 4) Siegelová, *o.c.*, 44-45, Fr. 5: 18; 5) Güterbock, JCS 6 (1952), 30-31: 2nd Tablet: B I 29'.

NOTES

1. M.N. van Loon, *op.cit.* 7.

2. Cf. E. Laroche, *Rech.*, 108-115, the indices on the god-names included in the introductions to KBo and KUB volumes from KBo 17 (1969) and KUB 43 (1972) onwards and especially G.F. del Monte and J. Tischler, *RGTC* 6 (1978), *passim* under the place-names; regarding the adjuncts of the second type, *ibidem*, 590.

3. Cf. E. NeuStBoT 25 1980 nos. 12, 19, 59, 60 (in the two last texts the Storm God of Nerik is designated as ^DNerak, cf. V.Haas, *KN*, 95 and E. Neu, *o.c.*, 132⁽⁴³⁸⁾), 72, 109 and 126; and StBoT 26, 1983, 339-341, 344 and 347-348 for the details.

4. Apart from the God-lists, briefly to be dealt with sub 3., see e.g. KBo 15.10 +.

5. See with respect to Azzi-Hayasa: the Storm God of the Plain of Arhita (KUB 26.39 (=CTH no.43) I' 32'), ^DU^{URU}Hayasa (KUB 12.2 I 24', a cult-inventory belonging to the 'Cult Reform') and ^DU KUR Azzi (KUB 38.6 IV 13' = KUB 38.10 "Zusätz" (= IV) 12'), referred to by del Monte, *RGTC* 6, 31, 59-60 and 63-64; see for the Gasgaean Storm God(s) E. von Schuler, *Kaskäer*, 79 and 117. See H. Otten, *StBoT* 13, 36³⁴ for the suggestion that the God Pentaruhsi, occasionally referred to in the cult-inventories of the 'Cult Reform', might be a, or the, Hayasaeen Storm God. The fact that Pentaruhsi (KUB 12.2 I 12') and the Storm God of Hayasa (*ibid.*I 24') are referred to for one and the same community renders Otten's suggestion, I think, less likely.

6. See for this Storm God H. Klengel, *JCS* 19 (1965), 87-93 and V. Soucek and J. Siegelová, *ArchOr* 42 (1974), 39-52 (a treatment of the cult-deliveries).

7. Cf. E. Neu, *StBoT* 18, 1974, *Obv.*: 2-9 and 41 on pp. 10-13; with merely one exception (*Obv.* 28) the genitival adjunct *nepišaš*, "of Heaven", is either added to the name of the god or used in the immediate context of the preceding line so that addition would have been superfluous. In combining the usage of *asšu-* in 'The Text of Anitta' with the similar usage in *IBoT* 1.30, I am following the example of F. Starke, *ZA* 69 (1979), 76.

8. See already my earlier study, "The Sun God of Heaven, the Assembly of Gods and the Hittite King", in: D. van der Plas (ed.), *Effigies Dei*, Leiden 1987, 13-34 and especially note 27 on p. 27.

9. Starting out with A. Goetze, JCS 1 (1947), 90-91 (see, too, idem, *Kleinasien*², 1957, 88) the passage has been dealt with by many scholars: H.G. Güterbock, JAOS Suppl. 17, 1954, 16; O.R. Gurney in S.H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, Oxford, 1958, 113-114; H. Otten, in H. Schmökel (ed.), *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients*, Stuttgart, 1961, 366; E. Laroche, *Prière hittite*, 1964/5, 10; A. Kammenhuber, ZA 23 (1965), 194-195; V. Haas, KN, 1970, 97⁽⁴⁾-98⁴; A. Archi, FsMeriggi 2, 31⁽⁹⁾-32.

10. The idea certainly is old; it returns in KUB 48.13 =Bo 3138 (a text with Hattic passages), Rev. 9'-14' in the same phrasing regarding the Storm God of Nerik (cf. V. Haas, KN, 98, continuation of 97⁴; see also H.-S. Schuster, HHB, 1974, 31¹¹⁴-32¹¹⁴; C. Kühne, ZA 70 (1980), 97⁽¹⁷⁾-98⁽¹⁸⁾), a point which decisively proves that Güterbock, IBoT 1, introduction, VII and later Kammenhuber, *l.c.*, were right in stressing the antiquity of the conception. However, the script is not old. Apparently scholars disagree about the linguistic phase to which the wording should be ascribed. If one opts for Old Hittite, the first rendering of the disputed clause (proposed by F. Starke, ZA 69 (1979), 81⁶⁷), is, I think, to be preferred. Referring to StBoT 23, 1977, 103, Starke reckons with the fact that ŠU-az (=kiššaraz) would be a modernization of an original kiššarī.

11. Cf. the different positions taken by H.G. Güterbock and by M. Weinfeld in H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld (ed.), *History, Historiography and Interpretation*, Jerusalem-Leiden, 1984, 34-35 and 121-147 (where also the Hittite data are included). The mass of evidence put forward by Weinfeld from the whole ancient Near East and the early Greek world renders it *a priori* unlikely, I think, that the Hittite approach might have been different from that of the world around them.

12. See now H. Otten, StBoT Beiheft 1, 1988, 28-29 (II 44-45) and Otten's commentary on pp. 54-55. See with respect to *para handandatar* the recent treatment by P. Cotticelli in A. Kammenhuber (ed.) *Materialien* 11, 1988, 142-150 where (p. 144) four meanings are recognized and "Divine Rule" ("göttliches Walten") is consistently used in the translations of historical passages.

13. See, provisionally, the article quoted above in note 8, 18-23.

14. Cf. O. Carruba, SMEA 18 (1977), 158-161, KUB 23.11 II 24'-25' and III 19-20.

15. Cf. E. von Schuler, Kaškäer, 110 (II 8-13) where Z[ithariya] should be replaced with ^DEN.ZU (cf. KUB 40.36, a part of copy B, II: 6'). In the formula used in the Annals the Protective God precedes the War God.

16. See the charts added to G. Kestemont, Or 45 (1976), 147-177 (=CRRAI 21, 1974), on pp. 156-158 and to G.F. del Monte, *Il Trattato fra Mursili II di Hattusa e Niqmepa di Ugarit*, OA Coll.

XVIII, Roma, 1986, on pp. 100-103. The Storm Gods of the second category, sub-group E, are the Storm God of the Army(-camp) (all three) and the Storm God, the Co-adjutor (CTH 53 and 62).

17. Kestemont's chart shows the following local storm gods: of Arinna, Aleppo, Zippalanda, Nerik, Hissashapa, Sahpina, Sabinuwa, Samuha, Hurma, Sarissa, Uda, Kizzuwatna/Kummanni, Lihzina, Pittiyarik, Ishupitta, Tahaya and Hulassa. The storm gods of the second category in the god-lists are: the Storm Gods of the Tell, of the Market, of the Army(-camp) and the Storm God, the Co-adjutor, (Kestemont's no. 18 = 20). Regarding Samuha's "Palace of the Grandfather", the possibility that it might have functioned as a temporary residence of the "grandfather" of the 'Deeds' (of Suppiluliumas I) and thus of Suppiluliumas' predecessor, Tudhaliyas II, has already been commented upon by del Monte, RGTC 6, 340-341. With respect to Sabinuwa, a perhaps even better case can be made. Elaborating on the lead provided by A. Kammenhuber (THeth 7, 172 n. 232, 233) and by V. Haas (Introduction to ChS I 1, 10-11 and AOF 12 (1985), 269-277), one may point out that Sabinuwa, known from three Hurrian text-groups (CTH nos. 777/778 = ChS I 1, 776 and 786), must have been the town where a prince with the Hurrian name of Tasmisarri lived during his youth. This Tasmisarri is commonly identified with the ^{LU}*tuhukanti*- and later king Tudhaliyas II, but is perhaps rather to be equated with the older brother Hattusilis II: see H.G. Güterbock *apud* O.R. Gurney, OLZ 74 (1979) 540. He lived there both before and after he married Taduhepa, the queen with whom not only Tudhaliyas II, but, during the early phase of his reign, also Suppiluliumas shared the throne of Hattusa. I have the distinct impression that this Early Empire king used the palace of Sabinuwa both before and, occasionally, after his accession. The Hurrian *itkahi* and *itkalzi* rituals for Tasmisarri and Taduhepa, edited by Haas in ChS I 1, admit of the following conclusions (here abbreviated regarding their adstruction): 1) Tasmisarri was a son of Arnuwandas I and Asmunikkal and he was made 'priest' in Hattiland (no. 39 III 22'); 2) T. occupied himself with matters regarding the Gasgaeans (no. 52 Obv. 17; Rev. 3 (?), 9', 11', 14', 20'; see, too, no. 64 Rev. 2); 3) using Sabinuwa as his military base, T. commanded troops from the country of both the land of Sabinuwa and the land of Hatti (cf. in particular no. 49 II 24-25); 4) the texts which either show a complementary usage of both place-names, Sabinuwa and Hatti, or merely refer to Sabinuwa (on the one hand nos. 43 and 49, on the other no. 46) display a certain focus on Tasmisarri and Sabinuwa, not yet (?) mentioning Taduhepa; this may indicate that during his stay in Sabinuwa T. married Taduhepa; 5) the text which seems to refer to his accession to the throne in Hattusa (no. 41, cf. III 39), mentions Duwas and Halpa-zitis in III 35, two dignitaries also known from the Land Donation Deed 1 (= KBo 5.7 Rev. 51) as belonging to the court circles during the final phase of the reign of Arnuwandas I (one of Kammenhuber's discoveries); 6) at a later date in his reign T. ensured that texts from his youth, the *itkalzi* ritual (which also mentions Taduhepa), were copied in Zithara from originals brought there from Sabinuwa (the colophons of nos. 5-9). Fortunately, a Hittite historical fragment can be adduced in support of these tentative conclusions. KBo 22.42, a very fragmentary text with numerous passages in direct discourse on both Obv. and Rev., mentions Tasmisarri in Rev. 13', after a number of Hurrian deities

have been mentioned in the preceding ll. 1'-11', and before the country of Gasga and the Gasgaeans are referred to in the ll. 14' and 18'. It is tempting to restore and interpret the contents as signifying that T. asks to be allowed to govern a region close to the northern Gasgæan zone.

A. Kammenhuber (THeth 7, 172²³⁷) and V. Haas (ChS I 1, 10² and AOF 12 (1985), 275⁷⁵) already pointed to the following additional data:

a) in two fragments, presumably belonging to the Extensive Annals of Mursilis II, Sabinuwa is mentioned as a town which is reached in the initial stage of a military campaign against the Gasgæan zone (KBo 7.17 + KBo 16.13 I 5' and KUB 23.36 + KUB 31.35 I 7);

b) Sabinuwa is mentioned in the military oracle KUB 5.1 III 19, relevant to a military campaign from the time of Hattusilis III against Gasgaeans;

c) the town is also mentioned in the Middle Hittite letter ABoT 60 Rev. 28', again pertaining to Gasgæan matters. These points and a fifth reference to Sabinuwa in the military oracle KUB 22 51 (+KUB 50 108) Obv. 10'-11' (also referring to neighbouring Suppiluliyā) reinforce the Hurrian evidence regarding the strategic location of this town. Recently two proposals regarding the localization of Sabinuwa have been put forward. M. Forlanini situated Sabinuwa and the neighbouring Suppiluliyā (see the map added to his contribution to FsMeriggi 2, I pp. 165-185) at a short distance from Hattusa, to the northeast (Sabinuwa) and to the east (Suppiluliyā) respectively. S. Alp (Belleten 44, fasc. 173 (1980), Abb. 4 and pp. 58-59 of his highly valuable article on the pp. 25-59) reckoned with a location of Sabinuwa to the south of the Çekerek river, approximately halfway between Maşat Hüyük and Sivas and thus to the southeast of Maşat. In his latest treatment of the data on Sabinuwa in the monumental volume Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük (Ankara 1991), pp. 36f., S. Alp adduces the following important historical data.

1. During the period of the archive an important palace official named Sarpas lived in Sabinuwa. Witness the introductory lines Obv. 1-3 of no. 59, he must have been higher in rank than the *BEL MADGALTI* (presumably Him(m)uilis) of what Alp takes to be the neighbouring border province around Maşat.

2. According to no. 20, sent by the Hittite king to two highly important army commanders, Gassus (an UGULA NIMGIR.ERÍN.MEŠ normally stationed in Maşat) and Pip(p)ap(p)as (presumably a commander of the ERÍN.MEŠ UKU.UŠ), the king stayed in Sabinuwa on at least one occasion, waiting for an important contingent of Gasgæan auxiliaries. Alp estimates the distance between Maşat and Sabinuwa to have been slightly over 50 kms, based on the two-day journey mentioned in no. 20.

Within Alp's generally highly convincing reconstruction of the geography of the Maşat province (in which Maşat is identified with Tapigga, cf. o.c. 6-7 and 42-43), and assuming that Alp is right in concluding that Sabinuwa must have been situated outside the border province itself (as a possible "Sitz einer höher gestellten Verwaltungseinheit" - o.c. 37), a northwestern localization of Sabinuwa vis-à-vis Maşat within the Halys bend, and to the northeast of Hattusa (cf. Forlanini's proposal) has more to recommend it, be it that the distance to Maşat would now allow for a more precise choice.

There is, however, a third possibility for Sabinuwa, albeit one more difficult to substantiate. I refer to Maşat itself. This choice excellently fits the excavator's description of the location of his site in the Anatolian road system and also his ideas about the "Bauherr" of its palace (cf. T. Özgüç, Maşat Höyük I, 52, 61 and 63). The texts published by Alp contain at least three indications that the palace itself functioned not only as the site of the provincial legislation, but also as a royal residence:

1. Nos. 31 Obv.13, 34 Obv.8, 100 Obv.10 and perhaps also 18, lower edge 13 (cf. Alp's translation) refer to an É⁴UTU-ŠI.

2. Regarding the É MUNUS.LUGAL in the town of Kappusiya (no. 8 Obv.7-8), the replica of the term in KBo 10.20 II 5-6, I prefer H.G. Güterbock's rendering "the queen's palace" to the translations used by Alp in *Tempel* 11, 138-9, 230-1 and o.c. 130-1 and 305. This preference is based on the evidence from the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual, cf. Otten, Arch. Anz. 1984, 372.

3. S. Alp himself (o.c. 6) refers to the likelihood that a prince and a princess are mentioned in letters nos. 48, Rev.31-32 and 49, Obv.4-5. Although I am fully convinced by Alp's argumentation for almost all of his geographical proposals, I believe that J. Yakar's criticism of the equation Maşat=Tapigga merits serious consideration: cf. MDOG 112 (1980) 75-94, but also Alp's rejoinder in FsBittel (1983) 43-45. Wittingly or unwittingly Alp may have been influenced in his choice of Maşat=Tapigga by the latter's prominence in the small group of nos. 46-51 addressed to É⁴UTU-ŠI; for these it is indeed not impossible that in the haste of the evacuation they had not been sent off to the Hittite king (cf. o.c. 4). But since it can now be shown that the king and the queen were personally connected with towns in the Maşat region, there is no reason to exclude the alternative possibility that these letters reached the king during an earlier visit to Maşat, as is Yakar's proposal.

My specific hesitations concerning letter no. 46, adduced in the initial treatments of the question, relate to the use of the verb zāi- "to cross", most aptly used for the crossing of a river (presumably the northern border river of the province) in the passage Obv.3-7; also to the references in Rev.19 and 26-7 to, first, "the scouts of the distant route (Alp's "Späher der langen (Anmarsch)strasse") and, later, to the remark that he (viz. Adadbeli) would "regularly release the cattle and the sheep down from Tapigga" (after the scouts returned with the message that the mountainside was free from hostile activity). Both expressions occur fairly often in the beginning of the Instruction for the Governors of the Border Provinces (KUB 13.1+ (MH/MS) and its duplicates) in that part of the text where the requirements concerning border towns are dealt with in considerable detail.

The major advantage of this third option concerning Sabinuwa, actually an adaptation of Yakar's counter-proposal regarding Tapigga as a more northern border town, is that it leads to a basic agreement between on the one hand the data on Maşat from the contents of a group of letters, and on the other the details relative to Sabinuwa in other letters. Its most serious weakness may very well be that some letters, e.g. nos. 20, 58 and 59, would need to have been brought to Maşat by their recipients, the place from which some of them (e.g. nos. 20 and 59) had originally been sent. But perhaps this is not too disconcerting since Maşat clearly

was the capital of the province and the recipients in question happened to work in the provincial administration.

Naturally also the role of the scribe Adadbeli within this alternative proposal needs to be addressed. From a merely formal point of view it can be noted that among the scribes recognized by Alp as engaged either on the Hattusa or on the Maşat side of the correspondence (10 in all and 5 for each side), merely one other scribe wrote a personal letter. Tarhu(n)miyas in Hattusa wrote to his parents in Maşat (no. 81), but Adadbeli wrote to the king (no. 46). One other scribe, Uzzus, working in Maşat both as a scribe and as a state functionary (cf. *o.c.* 104) received two personal letters (nos. 53 and 77). But again, also Adadbeli received two personal letters, no. 65 from Pullis and no. 66 from H[ullas] (restoration by Alp). These data clearly suggest that the status of his correspondents was either very, or rather high. In Yakar's and my own opinion Adadbeli wrote from a border town, for all practical purposes under siege, to 'his majesty' in Maşat. Together with Pisenis, Pullis and H[ullas] belonged to a select group of high functionaries whom the king sent to the border province, either for a specific assignment (Pisenis, cf. *o.c.* 87) or on a more permanent basis (H[ullas], cf. *o.c.* 64 and Pullis 89-90). The provenance of letter 66 is unknown, but in my opinion - contrary to Alp, 90 - the postscript or added letter of no. 65, written by Tarhu(n)miyas, renders Hattusa a likely provenance for the letter sent by Pullis. This combination of data suggests two possibilities: 1, that, like Uzzus, Adadbeli was both a scribe and a state functionary: cf. Alp's circumspect treatment of Adadbeli *o.c.* 52-5 where this possibility is at least mentioned; and 2, that Adadbeli had direct connections with the country's main centre, of which we know (not least from the Maşat corpus) that it was interested mainly in border problems. Finally the subjects dealt with in the Adadbeli correspondence are highly suggestive regarding his role and the likely location of Tapigga: the temporary closure of Tapigga also during the daytime (no. 46); the transport of prisoners from the border town Gasipura (cf. Alp p. 19) to the king who presumably resides in Hattusa (no. 65); the retrieval of a kidnapped person (no. 66; see also no. 84) which is reminiscent of the question of the fugitive blind Gasgaeans (?) dealt with in letters 58 and 59. Sarpas (witness no. 58 Obv.12-4 stationed in Sabinuwa) wrote letter no. 59 to the *BĒL MADGALTI* who travels around through the province more often. No. 58 must result from the ensuing inquiry into this matter. A Hittite official stationed in what is likely to have been a border town writes in no. 58 to Tahazzilis - the postscript is addressed to Adadbeli - that none of the blind persons mentioned in an earlier letter addressed to him by T. is among the 10 blind persons left behind in his town before the remainder of the group was forwarded to Sabinuwa. Apparently the fugitives were thought to be heading north towards their homeland. Tahazzilis (about whose well-being Adadbeli is informed by H[ullas] in no. 66, left edge 1-5) is asked by H[ullas] in no. 61 to investigate another example of a kidnapping, in this case of an inhabitant of the town of Suppiluliyā, known to have been situated in the near vicinity of Sabinuwa. As scribe and state functionary, possibly assigned to Tahazzilis, Adadbeli may have worked both more to the north (in and around Tapigga?) and in Maşat. This hypothesis might explain the presence of the other letters (apart from no. 46) in Maşat. I believe that a case can be built for the equation Maşat=Sabinuwa

and that, in any case, the intriguing problem of its identification deserves renewed consideration.

18. Cf. my earlier treatments of the outline tablets of the seasonal festivals, *FsGüterbock* 2, 99, 101-102 and 105-109; *FsOtten* 2, 109 (copy G), 186 and 191-194 (KBo 13.257).

19. See KBo 30 (1984), Introduction, V regarding the nos 148 and 162.

20. Cf. E. Neu, *StBoT* 12, 1970, 44-49; H.A. Hoffner, *AlHeth*, 1974, 18-19 and A. Archi, *UF* 5 (1973), 13³⁴ and the continuation of the note on p. 14. See for the full title of Archi's article note 34.

21. Cf. regarding this particular detail especially the treatment by Archi to which I can merely add that, according to the evidence of the 'Extensive Annals' of Mursilis II, the 'Festival of the Year', which in the Oracle texts concerning the winter quarters of the king and the queen is referred to in juxtaposition with the Festival of the Thunder, is treated as a Festival which takes place in the winter, cf. KBo 3.4 II 48 = AM, 60-61. This also applies to the "Great Festivals of the Sixth Year" referred to in KBo 4.4 IV 41 = AM, 138-139 and KBo 5.8 IV 22 = AM, 162-163 in presumably the tenth and the sixteenth year of his reign.

22. See with respect to this point Neu's treatment referred to in note 20.

23. This point has been stressed by J.D. Hawkins in the discussion at the Amsterdam meeting.

24. See *UF* 5 (1973), 15.

25. The beginning of KUB 32.135 + (CTH 630 A) I 1-9 deals with the necessity that if, during the preparations for the Festival of the Moon God, it suddenly thunders and the LÚ⁰IŠKUR, "the man of the Storm God", has not yet been admitted, the Festival of Thundering should receive priority, but that, if he is already present, the two Festivals will be "mixed" (cf. the Colophon IV 8') and shall be performed together. The situation is comparable, up to a point, with the Hattic myth about the moon which "fell down from Heaven" (CTH 727 = Laroche, *Myth.* 13-18). C. Kühne established in 1980 where it fell down, viz. "on the market-place of Lihzina", cf. ZA 70 (1980), 102-103 (where the 'join' between KUB 28.3 and KUB 48.61 was made known). The myth would seem to derive its origin from an eclipse of the moon (presumably an eclipse during full moon) which happened to coincide with a fierce thunderstorm, cf. A. Kammenhuber, ZA 51 (1955), 114.

26. See with respect to the monthly Festival of the Storm God of Nerik V. Haas, *KN*, 59 and 278-292. The related texts Bo 3481 and 176/n (Haas, o.c., 292-297 and 296-299) have been published now in text-copy, cf. KUB 56.49 and KBo 23.95, while KUB 56.48 has been added to the group.

27. In the *editio princeps* the reading of KBo 10.20 I 29 proved difficult, cf. H.G. Güterbock, JNES 19 (1960), 81, 85, but, using KUB 25.27 I 13' (CTH 629), his copy S, Güterbock already determined the gist of the clause with the exception of the subject. In the meantime copy B (KUB 30.39) has been enlarged through the 'joins' with KBo 23.80 and KBo 24.112. Especially the second fragment is decisive for the reading [LUGAL]-*uš-ma šu-uḥ-ḥa pa-iz-zi* (Obv. 23) which has already been incorporated in his new edition of A by S. Alp, Tempel, 1983, 138-139.

28. Cf. FsGüterbock 2, 106-107.

29. Cf. H.A. Hoffner, Alheth, 18⁽⁶¹⁾ (referring to W.G. Kendrew, *The Climates of the Continents*, Oxford, 1937³, 175 ff. and the Table on p. 221.

30. See now Alp, Tempel, 138-139; strikingly enough the opening of the pithos is not mentioned in B Obv. 24-29, while Güterbock (in a letter of July-24th-1983) rightly objected to my reading of the verbal form in B Obv. 23 in FsGüterbock 2, 104-105 together with note 26. Güterbock proposed to read *ḥu-ek-zi*, a reading which implies the slaughtering of an animal in the sentence as a whole. This means that I now retract that proposal (in fact an attempt to ameliorate an earlier proposal of S. Alp). Thus, in contrast to what I first thought, also the preparatory measures are lacking in copy B: the pithos is neither presented nor opened.

31. Cf. A. Goetze, AM, 188-191; see, too, O.R. Gurney, Schweich, 1977, 38 whose interpretation and translation I have adopted (with minor adaptations).

32. Cf. FsGüterbock 2, 110.

33. See in particular the outstanding series of articles devoted by H.G. Güterbock to this subject, *Bulleten VII*, fasc. 26, 1943, 295-317; his review article (on v. Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*) Or 15 (1946), 482-496; and, finally, FsBittel, 1983, 203-217; C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Götterbilder in hethitischen Texten*, MVAeG 46.2, 1943; L. (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8 (1963) 161-217 and 9 (1963), 175-239 and KUB 38 (1965).

34. Ch.W. Carter, *Hittite Cult-inventories*, Diss. Chicago, 1962; A. Archi, *Fêtes de Printemps et d'Automne et réintégration rituelle d'Images de Culte dans l'Anatolie hittite*, UF 5 (1970), 7-27; O.R. Gurney, Schweich, 1977, 25-30.

35. E. Laroche, *La Réforme religieuse du Roi Tudhaliya IV et sa signification politique*, which appeared in F. Dunand and P. Lévêque (ed.), *Les Synchrétismes dans les Religions de l'Antiquité*, Colloque de Besançon (22-23 Octobre 1973), Leiden, 1975, 87-95.

36. See H. Klengel, *Zur ökonomischen Funktion der hethitischen Tempel*, SMEA 16 (1975), 181-200, *passim*.

37. Cf. E. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen*, 45-47, II 26 - III 8; A.Goetze, ANET, 1950¹, 210-211. See Carter, Diss.:17.

38. Cf. E. von Schuler, *Kaškäer*, 152-153, A I 1'-23' and 156-159, III 4-11; A. Goetze, *ANET*, 1950¹, 309.

39. Tudhaliyas IV is mentioned in KUB 7.24 Obv. 2, KUB 13.32 Obv. 8', KUB 25.23 IV 63, KUB 31.24: 7', KUB 38.35 I 3, KBo 12.57 2' and 4', KBo 26.179: 1' and KBo 26.188 Obv. 6'. See now, too, KUB 58.7 II 17', another example in a recently published cult-inventory. In the texts enumerated by Laroche in CTH under no 524.1-4 (KUB 25.21 and 22, 24 and 25) Tudhaliyas IV is regularly referred to: KUB 25.21 III 13; KUB 25.22 II 1', 3' 15'; KUB 25.24 II 7. Actually the tablets contain Festival descriptions which are strongly similar to the Festival descriptions, often present in the cult-inventories presumably belonging to the 'Reform'. Depending on the manner in which the concept 'Reform' is defined, they can or cannot be assigned to the corpus. If not reckoned to belong to the group as such, they can be used as additional proof that the cult inventories containing these Festival descriptions would need to be ascribed to the reign of Tudhaliyas IV. In at least three examples ascription of a text to the corpus may be argued on prosopographical grounds: Tattamaru (KUB 38.1 = v. Brand. Text 2 I 26); Mizra-muwa (KBo 12.235 I 4) and Hesni (KUB 46.22 I 14').

40. Regarding Mursilis II (?) one may point to KUB 38.3 I 5, KUB 38.8: 4'. 6' and 8', KUB 38.9: 8' (but see for the last two texts also L. (Jakob-)Rost, *MIO* 8 (1963), 165-166: Mursilis I (?)); he is mentioned implicitly as "grandfather" in: KUB 42.100 I 20', III 22' and IV 10'. Muwattallis II is mentioned by name: KUB 38.20 Obv. 5', KUB 42.100 I 17', III 32' and IV 38', KUB 55.48 I 16' and KBo 26.183 III 7'. Hattusilis III is implicitly mentioned as "father": KUB 42.100 II 9' (?) and III 15' and KBo 24.117, left Column: 7'. A 'measure' of Hattusilis III is referred to in KUB 25.22 II 12' = V. Haas, *KN*, 238-239 (although a text of Tudhaliyas IV (cf. II 1', 2' and 15')), the text is not a cult-inventory belonging to the 'Cult Reform', if one uses the latter term in a restricted sense).

41. Cf. *RHA* 25, fasc. 81 (1967), KBo 11.1, 106-108, 115-117, Obv. 21-22, 23-24 and 41-42 and the Introduction, 101-104. I quote Obv. 21-22 and 23-24 in a slightly adapted translation: "What population there is now and was [(contemporary) with my father (and) [my] grand[father, those I will consult] and whatever I, My Majesty, now find from wooden tablets and (written) records, this I shall carry out ... And whenever I shall consult a venerable (?) old man, [as] they remember [one (certain)] rite and tell it, I shall likewise carry it out."

42. See e.g. A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*², 1957:169⁽¹⁹⁾ and see, too, L. (Jakob-)Rost, *MIO* 8 (1963), 165 and 167. Carter reckoned with a concentration on border regions in general where, in the aftermath of warfare, this type of operation would have been in place, cf. *Diss.*, 21-24 (his reasoning was based in part on KUB 23.21, a historical text which many scholars now would date to the Early Empire Period). The north of Anatolia is represented by, e.g., *Hakm/pis* (KUB 58.58 and KUB 38.25, cf. *Edge* 1. 2, but the Gods of *Hakm/pis* are also mentioned in KUB 25.23, cf. I 40', IV 2 and 26), *Hartana* (KUB 38.32 Obv. 3; cf., also, as far as its likely northern location is concerned, KBo 12.53 + KUB 48.105 Rev. 34), *Hat/linzuwa* (KUB 38.35), *Hawalkina* (KUB 7.24 + Rev. 2-7, cf. del Monte, *RGTC* 6,

105, but see, too, KUB 53.21 Obv. 7'), Kammama (KUB 38.2, cf. II 22'), Karahna (KUB 38.12/15, the best-preserved example of a cult-inventory regarding a large(r) town, the mountain of Malmaliya (KUB 7.24 + KUB 58.29, joined by Th.P.J. van den Hout in his review (forthcoming) of KUB 58 in BiOr; cf., too, KBo 26.182 IV 8'), Nerik (KUB 42.100, cf. already H.G.Güterbock, FsBittel, 209⁽⁴⁵⁾) and see, too, KUB 53.21 Obv. 7' and Rev. *passim*), Takkups/ta (KUB 7.24 + Rev. 9, the colophon), Tiliura (KUB 38.3 I 1- II 4) and Urista (KUB 25.23 I and II; cf. also KBo 24.117, right column, 9'). As far as the south is concerned, there are, e.g., Anasepa (KUB 57.108 + III 11'-13'), Mountain of Huwatnuwanda (KUB 58.15 I' 10' and 15', Parminassa (KUB 38.27 Rev. 7' ff., cf., too, Edge, 1. 1), Salunatassi (KUB 57.58: 6' = KUB 57.106 II 14', restored after the duplicate; see, too, KUB 38.10 IV 30', the colophon, to be read in the same manner; both fragments belong to CTH 510, cf. provisionally P. Cornil, OLP 19 (1988), 18, 19-20 and see also Th.P.J. van den Hout in his review of KUB 57 in BiOr 47, 1990, 423-432; cf. also KUB 17.35 IV 17), Sana(hh)uit(ta) (KUB 58.15 I' 9'), Suwanzana (KUB 57.108 (+) III 6'-10'), Tiura (KUB 38.1 IV 8-16; see, too, KUB 55.14 Rev. 11'), Tiwaliya (KUB 38.10 IV 25', the colophon), Uda (KUB 57.108 (+?) KUB 51.23 II 12'-17'), Wattarwa (KBo 2.1 II 21-31), Wiyanuwanta (KUB 38.1 II 1-26 and Edge of the tablet; cf., too, KBo 2.7 Obv. 18' ff.). In this enumeration I have reckoned with the likelihood that KUB 38.1 (= v.Brandenstein no. 2) describes a southern region, this in contrast to KUB 38.2 = v.Brand. no 1 and KUB 38.3 = v.Brand. no 3, while I have made use of CTH 225 in order to plead for a southern localization only if more than one place-name occurred in the same context of CTH 225 for which a southern location might be argued. Regarding the southwest in particular, Assaratta (KBo 2.1 II 40-45) and perhaps also Masa (KUB 17.35 III 9) may be quoted. These two place-names guided Carter when he pointed to the south(west). For the likelihood that also the southeast was involved (CTH 510 and 511.1) see below sub d together with note 61. Because the 'Cult Reform' may have been addressed to the country as a whole (see below sub c), it is unwise, I think, to exclude texts of a cult-inventory type from the 'Reform' on the argumentation that they concern place-names known to have played a role in the large seasonal Festivals of Autumn and Spring and were thus presumably located in the near vicinity of the capital Hattusa: the Divine Queens (^bSAL.LUGAL) of the towns of ^{URU}Hi-ŠUR-la (Hi-šu(-u)-ur-la), Istuhila and Zithara are treated in three fragments, KUB 17.37, KUB 42.105 (by far the largest piece containing parts of four columns) and KUB 54.44, the latter two of which certainly need to be joined (KUB 42.105 III 15'-27' + KUB 54.44 Rev. I (III) 2'-14'); I feel inclined to reckon strongly with the likelihood that also KUB 17.37 belongs to the very same cult-inventory. Sometimes a sort of 'overlap' between two or more cult-inventories can be used to argue that also the second (or the third example) must apply to either the north or to the south of the country.

43. Cf. v. Brandenstein Text 1 (= KUB 38.2) IV 3' ff. for the letter which may have been written by a brother of the king. Also KUB 42.100 II 9' may indicate that a brother of Tudhaliyas IV was involved in the execution of the inquiry in the north of the country. The characteristic 1st person plurals of the Preterite (cf. again KUB 42.100!) can be found in v. Brand. Text 2 (= KUB

38.1) I 3, [3], 9, 23, [24] and v. Brand. Text 3 (= KUB 38.3) I 7; III 4, 17, 16 and 18. See for the drawing H.Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Berlin, 1942, no 675 and M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter*, Stuttgart², 1955 T.31 below. In a considerable number of cases 'original' reports must have been re-edited in the capital (see note 51 below for the possibility that this may also have happened to reports which would seem to stem from a later stage of the proceedings).

44. See for its relevance regarding Nerik note 42 and for its references to decisions of earlier rulers note 40; the characteristic 1st person plural of the Preterite is attested in III 26', 30'; IV 4' and may be restored for III [8'], and IV 9' [; oral information from two sources is repeated in III 30'-35' and 36'-38'; cf., too, II 3' and 9'-12'. Also KUB 58.32 constitutes a cult-inventory with direct discourse on both Obv. and Rev. KUB 42.100 refers to both hieroglyphic (I 17', 22' [; III 22'; IV 10' and 33'-34') and cuneiform (I [26' (?)]; II 6'; III 26'; IV [8']-9' and 17') documentation. The Gods treated in KUB 42.100 - presumably the Storm God, the Protective God of Nature (LAMMA), and the War God in the poorly preserved portions I - III 12'; the temple of the War God is mentioned in III 12'; the Storm God of Heaven is treated from III 13' to IV 2', Telebinu in IV 3'-32' and the Grain Goddess from IV 33' to IV 41' - recur as Gods venerated in Nerik in KUB 27.68 IV 3'-6', cf. V. Haas, KN, 68 and 302. In IV 31-32' and IV 39'-40' the cult-inventory details that Telebinu shares a Temple with ^DLAMMA and that ^DHalki-, the Grain Goddess, stays in the Temple of the Storm God, thus furnishing the required proof that the Storm God and ^DLAMMA must have been dealt with in the Columns I and II.

45. See e.g. KBo 2.13 Rev. 10'-14'; KBo 2.7 left edge ('unfinished' copy), KUB 7.24 Rev. 8'-9", KUB 25.23 IV 60-64 (referring in l. 63 to 'His Majesty' Tudhaliyas (IV)), KUB 38.10 ('unfinished' copy), KUB 38.12 and from the same volume the nos 14, 27 and 35; KBo 26.152 (?) and from that volume also the nos 178 IV 1'-9' (referring to 'His Majesty' in l. 7') and 182 IV 7'-10' and 185, left edge. See for Carter's opinion on the cult-inventories containing terse descriptions of local Festivals the following note.

46. Cf. Laroche (note 35), 90 and Carter, *Diss*, 20 and passim in his translations for his interpretation of the technical term ^DUTU-ŠI *da-a-iš*/ME-*iš*. On p. 20 Carter remarks: "Furthermore, the fact that the Festivals described in the cult-inventory texts are based on one model (see pp. 8 f.) tends to indicate imposition into the cult (and thus enrichment or intensification) from a single, outside source."

47. Regarding those texts mentioned below which have been treated by Carter in his thesis (KBo 2.1, KBo 2.13, KBo 2.7 and KUB 17.35), it must be stated at the outset that nearly everywhere (with the exception of his first example) his punctuation in his translations indicates that he interpreted the pithos ceremony, or at least the materials destined for it, as having been "instituted" by the King. See, now, KBo 2.1 II 3, 29, 44; III 4-5, 10-11, 18-19, 24, 40; KBo 2.13 Obv. 2 (2x), KBo 2.7 Obv. 19' (4x); Rev. 11 (2x); KUB 17.35 II 8'; KUB 38.23 Obv. 12-13 (2x), KUB 38.30 Rev. 4 (restored); VBoT

26\ : 7']; KBo 26.182 I 3; KUB 51.33 I 19' [; KUB 56.40 III 15'-16' (3x). On other occasions the King enlarged the amount of the pithos, cf. e.g. KBo 2.1 I 21'-22' and IV 13-14.

48. Cf. KBo 2.13 Obv. 24, KBo 26.151 III 12', KUB 20.14 I 2' and KUB 38.32 Obv. 3-4. See already Carter, Diss., 22, 115, 180 and 186 and Archi, *l.c.*, 14³⁸. Archi also refers to an "inner room of the pithos" in Hattusa, attested by KUB 10.11 IV 25 (see for the fact that this festival text belongs to the Spring Festival and a proposal regarding its position within the series in last instance, FsOtten 2, 186³⁹).

49. Quoting just a few examples from better-preserved cult-inventories, I should like to point to: KBo 2.13 Obv. 1 (2x), 21, 22, 24 (2x); KUB 17.35 II 36'-37', III 23; KUB 38.12 III 13' and in that same volume 14 Obv. 4; 18 Obv. [3'] and 6'; 26 Obv. 14' (2x), 23'-24' (2x), 31', 39'; Rev. 15, [16]; 27 Obv. 8'-12' and Rev. 7'-9' (2x); 32 Obv. 1-2 (3x), 3-4 and Rev. 19'-21' (3x); 33 Obv. 5'-9'. In at least one example, KBo 12.56 I 8', the name of the person to whom the task of building the temple has been assigned is added. See, too, KBo 13.235 I 4 (Mizra-muwa) and KUB 54.67 (with detailed instructions on a number of points).

50. The connection between the two texts was first noted by H.G. Güterbock in 1943 (cf. note 33), 303²¹⁻²² "KBo II 13 Obv. 21 ff., ein ausführlicherer Parallel-text zu dem in vorigen Anmerkung zitierten KBo II 7 (Rs. 24 ff.)". I give the two characteristic passages dealt with by Güterbock in Carter's translations (with minor alterations; see for the relationship between both texts Carter, Diss., 29-30, 47-48, 103 (KBo 2.13 Obv. 1-29 runs parallel to KBo 2.7 Rev. 10-32), 115 and his comments *sub voce tarruwai-*, a verb which Carter translated with "to establish, to institute" and which is now is rendered with German "ausstatten, bereichern, versehen", cf. Oettinger, *Stamm- und Wortbildung*, 379 and *passim*): (KBo 2.13 Obv. 21-24) "Mammananta: the Storm God's bull of iron, (and) Mt. Arnuwanda's mace, on which is a statue of iron, they (will) make. Mt. HAR-ranassa's mace, on which is a statue of iron, (and) White Mountain's (HUR.SAG *harga-*, Mons Argaeus, Ercyas Dağ) mace, on which is a statue of iron, they (will) make. Sigasiga's (deified river) statue of a girl; and Dupsa's (deified spring), Kummayanni's (deified spring), Siwanna's (deified spring), Hashan(n)ari's (deified spring), [(era)sure) and Halwanna's (deified spring) statues of girls (and) an inner chamber of the pithos [they (will) make]."; (KBo 2.7 Rev. 24-27) Mammananta: Storm God; Mt. Arnuwanta; Mt. HAR-ranassa; White Mountain; Sigasiga (deified river); Dupsa (deified spring); Kummayanni (deified spring); Siwanna (deified spring); Hashan(n)ari (deified spring); Halwanna (deified spring). Statues with a temple, My Majesty provided." (Carter, Diss., 101 and 112). The Luwian character of some of the names of the springs and the reference to Mons Argaeus renders it likely that the geographical names of both texts need to be localized more to the south. KBo 2.7 dealt, witness its colophon, with Artesna, [X], Wiyawawanta, Panissa, Mam(ma)nanta and Larsiliya, while KBo 2.13 merely deals with the latter three (again witness its colophon). See Laroche, DLL, 99-100 (Dupsa) and 56-57 (Kummayanni), and cf., too, *ibid.* 87 (Siwanna) and 43 (Hashan(n)ari).

51. Some of the additional references given in note 42, in which I tried to argue that the north and the south of Anatolia are represented on an approximately equal footing in the cult-inventories of the 'Cult Reform', may eventually turn out to represent a later stage in the proceedings. In addition to KBo 2.7, as compared with KBo 2.13, also KBo 12.53 + KUB 48.105 may already now be thought to represent a later or even a rather late stage of the Inquiry as a whole. This text was first briefly treated by H. Klengel in SMEA 16 (1975), 195-196 and later, in 1980, published in a text-edition by the same scholar in cooperation with A. Archi, AOF 7 (1980), 143-157. In his brief treatment Klengel characterized the text in the following words: the text deals with the fact "dass in mehreren Orten des Hatti-Staates für verschiedene Gottheiten Häuser, Vieh, Saatgetreide, Dreschplätze und Gerätschaften bestimmt wurden und zwar fast durchweg 10 NAM.RA je Haus." As far as can be determined now - the authors dealt with the problem in their commentary - the text addresses northern regions. The manner in which the royal decisions are formulated supports the preferred option of both scholars that the text should be connected with the 'Cult Reform' of Tudhaliyas IV, while it is attractive to adhere to their opinion that the type of measures detailed in this text would constitute one of the final steps in such an operation.

Perhaps I may mention at this point that the likely 'join' KUB 57.108 (+?) KUB 51.23 II in its ll. II 4' and 9' would yield two examples of the phenomenon that a local problem needs to be referred to the Palace: "It (still) stands out to inquire about it with/at the Palace". This point might indicate that the text represents a sort of report from the side of the royal emissaries. Curiously enough, the text at the same time also refers to a future measure to be taken by the king. It thus might indicate that also interim reports were re-edited in the capital. Presumably at the Palace certain details might be turned into the subject of an Oracle Inquiry. The fragment VBoT 83, for Laroche CTH 521.5 and in his opinion thus related to the Inquiry, but on good grounds not admitted to the corpus as such by Carter, Diss., 16 indicates that in such an Oracle Investigation the following subjects might be addressed: 1) statue(ttes) (ll. 1', 3', 8', 9' and 10'), 2) Deities (ll. 5', 7', 8' and 14'), 3) Priests and Priestesses (ll. 4' and 11'), 4) offering equipment (l. 12'), 5) festivals (ll. 12'-13') and 6) Temple(s) (l. 15'). This range of subjects may be compared with Appendix 1.

52. von Brandenstein, Bildbeschr., 1 (Preface, in abbreviation): "Die hier zum ersten Male vorgelegten hethitischen Texte, im folgenden als Text 1-4 bezeichnet, gehören, soviel man jetzt überschauen kann, in die Klasse der Inventare und Bestandsaufnahmen zum Zwecke der Intensivierung oder Wiederherstellung eines ausgedehnten Reichskultes für die verschiedensten Gottheiten des neuhethitischen Reiches." Elsewhere, in a note actually devoted to Tudhaliyas IV as the Hittite King who ordered or finished the construction of Yazilikaya, *ibid.* 74-75², the author remarked: "Es würde gut passen, wenn der letzte bedeutende König des Neuen Reiches, der, wie sich überall in den Texten zeigt, die religiösen Kräfte aller Landesteile noch einmal zum Zusammenschluss des Reiches aufbot, während (oder gerade weil schon) die militärische Macht dem Druck von aussen nur noch mit Mühe standhielt und der

Untergang sich vorbereitete, auch der Fertigsteller bezw. Hauptbauherr in Yazilikaya gewesen wäre."

53. Cf. Carter, Diss., 18³ in the continuation of the note on p. 19 (again in abbreviation).

54. See FsGüterbock 2, 110 for Obv. 2-10 of this prayer. While Tudhaliyas IV in the 11. Obv. 5-6 seems to have been influenced by the wording used in the introduction to the '10 Years Annals' of Mursilis II (cf. *l.c.*, 110³⁹), his remarks about the punctual observance of the seasonal festivals at the proper time during the year (Obv. 7-9) resemble a passage in CTH 264, The Instruction for the Priests and the (remaining) Personnel of the Temple, II 59-62, cf. Sturtevant-Bechtel, Chrest., 154-155. The passage of the Prayer, Obv. 11-13, should be restored, I think, as follows: (11) [ma-a-an-mu zi-ig ⁰UTU ^{URU}TUL-na GAŠAN-YJA DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ma ku-it-ki GAM pa-a-an-ti še-er TUKU[.TUKU-e-eš-t]a nu DINGIR.MEŠ-tar ku-it GAM pa-it (12) [I-NA U_i-MI ŠA A-BI ⁰UTU-ŠI ŠA A-BI A-BI] ⁰UTU-ŠI GAM pa-it I-NA U_i-MI "Šu-up-pí[-lu-li-u-ma] pí-ra-an (13) [ki-ša-at], "[If You, Oh Sun Goddess of Arinna, m]y [mistress], became an[gr]y [with me] on account of a Deity who diminished (in position; lit. went downwards) in some respect, and (if) some cult object diminished (in state), [(or if) during the days of the father of My Majesty, of the grandfather] of My Majesty it diminished (in position or state), (or if) it [came about] during the days of Suppiluliuma (I),...". See for my interpretation of *katta pai-* in this passage KUB 38.35 I 1-2. In the continuation of the Prayer the Mountains Piskurunuwa (Rev. 8'), Hulla (Rev. 9') and Tagurga (Rev. 11' and 14') play a major role. This characteristic of the Prayer may perhaps be compared with the prominent role of the mountains and the army-commanders (!) in the Festival of the Month.

55. Cf. Laroche's article referred to in note 35, 89-92 where two examples taken from Tudhaliyas's Revision of the large seasonal Festivals, one of each series, precede his listing of 13 examples relevant to the cult-inventories. There has been a fairly general tendency to view the cult-inventories against the background of a 'centre versus periphery' distinction, a fashionable concept in modern scholarship regarding Ancient History in general. Nevertheless, it is not certain, I think, that, as far as religious matters were concerned, the application of such a distinction is in fact legitimate.

56. Cf. P. Neve, *Anatolica* 14 (1987), 41-88.

57. As far as this last point is concerned, see now, too, the treatment by A. Archi, *L'Organizzazione amministrativa ittita e il Regime delle Offerte culturali*, *OrAnt* 12 (1973), 209-226; see, too, Appendix 1, note h.

58. This follows, I think, from the manner in which the verb *kattan hama/enk-* is used in KUB 32.133 I 4-5, the earliest attestation, at the latest stemming from the time of Mursilis II, of a technical term used in the cult-inventories to describe a royal measure by which the upkeep of the cult offerings is guaranteed; see for this expression most recently, A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AOF* 7 (1980), 151. Also the references in the same cult-inventories regarding

measures of predecessors (cf. note 40) and the evidence concerning the large seasonal festivals dealt with in FsGüterbock 2 and FsOtten 2 plead for the fact that the system as such must have been older.

59. See M.N. van Loon, *Iconography*, 30-31, and for the counter-example KBo 2.1 II 21-24 = Carter, *Diss.*, 54 and 64.

60. A comparison with the local Storm Gods mentioned in the god-lists of the most important documents of the state (see the beginning of note 17) leads to these results. The following local Storm Gods are represented in both sources: (in alphabetical order) the Storm Gods of Hulassa/iya (KUB 44.1, *passim*), Lihzina (KUB 38.3 (= von Brandenstein no 3) I 1, 5, in the inventory regarding Tiliura; regarding Karahna (KUB 38.12 II 6) and in KUB 38.32 Rev. 16' regarding a town the name of which is broken off), Nerik (more than 20 examples among which Nerik itself), Sahpina (KUB 42.91 III 10', town unknown), Saressa (KBo 2.7 Obv. 1, name of the town uncertain, KBo 26.213 II 5', town unknown; see, too, VAT 7684 Rev. 10', as quoted by M. Darga, *RHA* 27, fac. 84-85 (1969/1970), 18 (?)), Uda (KUB 57.108 (+) II 12' in a passage regarding Uda itself) and Zippalanda (ca. 10 examples). As far as I have been able to determine, the following Storm Gods are lacking: the Storm Gods of Hissashapa, Sabinuwa, Samuha, Hurma, Kizzuwatna or Kummanni, Pitteyarik, Ishupitta and Tahaya. If one includes the reference to KUB 42.103 III 15', actually a listing of cult-deliveries regarding the Storm God of Aleppo, the Storm God of Ta/emelha is three times attested: see, too, KBo 12.140 Obv. 3' and KUB 38.19 + IBoT 2.102 Rev. 6' (again, as in KUB 42.103, in the company of the Storm God of Zippalanda). In their treatment of the lists of cult-deliveries for the Storm God of Aleppo, V. Souček and J. Siegelová, *ArchOr* 42 (1974), 40-41 mention an unpublished text, Bo 8411, which again and thus for a third time refers to the combination of both Storm Gods.

61. See already above note 5; as to the Storm God of Assur, cf. del Monte, *RGTC* 6, 51-52 (9 examples, 6 stemming from CTH 510, 2 from KUB 12.2 = CTH 511.1) and 1 from HT 14 = CTH 511.4). Regarding CTH 510 L. (Jacob-) Rost, *MIO* 8 1963, 188 and KUB 38, Introduction iv already reckoned with a North-Mesopotamian background. Also Kizzuwatna may have been possible. The prosopographical evidence regarding Marassanda (cf. J. Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 230f. and H. Otten, *StBoT Beiheft I* 1988 44 together with note 76) may indicate that KUB 12.2 deals with a region of Kizzuwatna.

62. The Gods I am referring to are Milku (cf. Carter, *JNES* 39 (1980), 313-314), Pentaruhsi (see note 5 above), Huwattassi (see P. Cornil, *OLP* 19 (1988), 19⁽⁶⁾) and the rather enigmatic deity Iru-. To Carter's treatment of Milku it may now be added that this God, written as ^DMi-el-ku [KUR ^{URU}A-mur]-ri, occurs in KBo 22.39 III 16'-17', part of the god-list of the Treaty of Mursilis II with Duppi-Tessub of Amurru. This reference offers an additional indication as to the original homeland of this God.

63. Cf. ^{URU}DU₆ "Hurlušša (KUB 38.6), ^{URU}DU₆ "Lukpiši (KUB 38.10), ^{URU}DU₆ ^LHUB, "The Tell of the Deaf Man" (KUB 25.23 left edge, left half: 1) but note also ^{URU}DU₆.HI.A ^{URU}HATTI in KUB 38.19 Obv. 19'.

64. Cf. J.J.S. Weitenberg, U-Stämme, 226-227. The divine names in question are e.g. ^DPiham(m)i- (KBo 2.16: 6'; CTH 510 in text-order KUB 38.6 I 4', 30'; KUB 57.106 II 9', 16', 37', 42'; KUB 38.10 III [6]'; KUB 38.6 + Bo 6741 (IV) 2', 11' (= KUB 38.10 IV 10') and KUB 38.10 IV 14' (= 27' in the required new line-numbering), as compared with ^DU Pihami- (KUB 6.45 II 66 = KUB 6.46 III 31 regarding Sana(hh)uit(t)a) and ^DPihaimi- (CTH 510 in text-order KUB 57.106 II 9', 17' and 37', 43'; KUB 38.10 III 7'; KUB 38.6 IV 2' 11' (= KUB 38.10 IV 10')), as compared with ^DU Pihae/imi- (KUB 12.2 I 18', III 1; KUB 38.12 III 19'). Both participles are Luwian.

65. Cf. H.G. Güterbock, Kum. (the 'Cycle' in general), *idem*, JCS 5 (1951), 135-161 and JCS 6 (1952), 8-42 (CTH 345); *idem*, Hittite Mythology, 155-172 in S.N. Kramer (ed.), Mythologies of the Ancient World, New York, 1961; *idem*, RIA VI: 5-6, 325-330 (Kumarbi); E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 153-161 (CTH 344), 145-152 (CTH 343), 177-182 (CTH 364), 162-176 (CTH 346 and 348); J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 35-88 (CTH 348 and almost all of the texts of CTH 346); H.A. Hoffner, FsOtten 2, 1988, 143-164 (CTH 364). See now also H.A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 1990, 38-61 in chapter II devoted to the Hurrian myths, with a highly important introduction regarding the ordering of the myths within the 'Cycle'; the monograph with translations by Hoffner and edited by G.M. Beckman is volume 2 in the series *Writings from the Ancient World*, published by the Society of Biblical Literature (ed. Burke O. Long).

66. Cf. J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 83-84.

67. Cf. E.A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian, AASOR 20 (1940-1941), 119-120; see, too, Laroche, *Rech.*, 49 and M. Salvini, SMEA 18 (1977), 88 and 90. The alternative explanation of this passage by A. Kammenhuber, *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974), 166-167 and THeth 7, 1976, 89-90 is far less attractive; see now, too, E. Neu, FsThomas, 503-513, "Hurritische verbalformen auf -ai aus der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue", in particular 508-511 where Neu refers to Speiser's treatment of this passage.

68. Cf. H.G. Güterbock, Hittite Mythology, 158; *idem*, NHF, 1964, 55-56. See for a later reconciliation between both parties E. Neu, *Das Hurritische: Eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht*, Ak. d. W. u. d. L., Mainz, 1988.3, 14-16.

69. Cf. the 'join' between KUB 33.112 + 114 + KUB 36.2 III and KBo 22.86, discovered by Laroche, cf. RHA 33 (1975), 67.

70. My summary of the contents and my quotations are based on the treatment by H.G. Güterbock, Hittite Mythology, 161-164.

71. In his remarks on the integration of the myth into the 'Cycle of Kumarbi', H.A. Hoffner suggests (166) that his mother's remark that he should 'fear' merely one deity, viz. his father Kumarbi, would have implied a positive way of fearing in the sense of "to be respectful of". I find it difficult to follow Hoffner in this detail, in particular on account of the later conflict between father and son. I rather believe that the mother referred to Kumarbi, his father, in a threatening manner in an attempt to discipline her unruly son.

72. The passage may be compared, I think, with the fragment KUB 33.105 (= Laroche, *Myth.*, 190-191) in which Tessub prides himself that "seven times [he had been sent] to the "Dark Earth" and that (as many times) he had hauled up the Earth", bragging about similar achievements regarding the Heaven, the Mountains and the Rivers. See, too, Homer, *Iliad VIII*: 18-27 for Zeus's curious threat against all of the Gods and Goddesses in case they would not follow his orders: (in the translation by W.H.D. Rouse in "plain English") "Come on now, have a try, my good gods, the whole lot of you, and I'll show you! Hang a gold chain from heaven, gods all and goddesses all, a long pull and a strong pull all together! You will not pull down most high Zeus to the ground, pull as hard as you like. But if I give one real good pull, up you will come with the earth and sea besides. Then I will tie the chain round a peak of Olympus, and there in the air you will dangle! Gods or men, I am stronger than them all!"

73. My summary of the contents and my quotations are based on the treatment by H.A. Hoffner, *FsOtten 2*, 1988, 143-164.

74. Cf. for Hedammu, Siegelová, *o.c.*, 68-69 (Fr. 27), but see for its interpretation and its position in the series the beautiful solution proposed by Güterbock, Introduction to KBo XXVI, VI under no 79; See Güterbock, *JCS 5* (1951), 156-157: 1st Tablet A IV 13'-16' and *JCS 6* (1952), 30-31: 2nd Tablet B I 31'-32' for the two passages from 'the Song of Ullikummi'. The discrepancy between the two translations stems from a difference in opinion regarding the particle *namma* which - with a free mobility throughout the clause - in my opinion often means "once more, again".

75. Cf. with respect to the myth, Güterbock, *Kum.*, 122, J. Friedrich, *JKF 2* (1952), 148-150 and now Laroche, *Myth.*, 185-186. Both Güterbock and Friedrich compared the passage to the Ugaritic myth regarding the battle between Baal and Jam(mu) (see below). See in respect of CTH 785 V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, *AOATS 3*, 1974, 261-263; see, too, KUB 44.7 which, witness the colophon, belongs to the same festival text, cf. Laroche, *RHA 33* (1975), 63 and del Monte, *RGTC 6*, 106-107. The passages are KBo 8.88 Obv. 8-9, as restored after KBo 8.86 Obv. 5 and KUB 44.7 I 11"-12'. See for the Hurrian text Laroche, *l.c.*, and M. Salvini, *KUB XLV*, Introduction under no 63 and *SMEA 18* (1977), 75; see, too, Laroche, *FsGüterbock 1*, 181-182 for this Hurrian fragment.

76. Laroche, *Myth.*, contains more myths regarding the Sea God, cf. "The Myth of Telebinu and the Daughter of the Sea God" (CTH 322) = *Myth.*, 19-20 and "The Myth of the Sun and the Sea" (CTH 346.9) = *Myth.*, 186-188; see, too, KUB 36.55, a difficult text which has not been included in the collection. The tablet contains a parallel version of the Hittite and presumably originally Hattic Dragon Fight Myth (Illuyanka; CTH 321).

77. This Egyptian text has already been referred to by J. Siegelová, *o.c.*, 81, and 87-88 regarding Fr. 12 of the 'Song of Hedammu' and the Ugaritic myth about the battle between Baal and Jam(mu) respectively. For the Astarte Papyrus see the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I 4*, 510-511 and D. Jankuhn, *Bibliographie der Hieratischen und Hieroglyphischen Papyri*, Wiesbaden, 1975, 4-5. I

have used the translation by S. Schott, *Liebeslieder*, 1950, 212-214.

78. Cf. the CHD 3.1, 60 a *sub voce* *lelhuwartima-*.

79. The Hittite fragment KUB 33.89 + KUB 36.21 (= CTH 350.1) = Laroche, *Myth.*, 183-184 (but see, too, the earlier remarks made by Güterbock, *Kum.*, 85 and 95 and the earlier treatment by H. Otten, *MGK*, 30-31) may describe how the Storm God rescued Ishtar at least from the sea, and possibly even from the hands of the Sea God; but see, too, Siegelová, *o.c.*, 77² for a different proposal regarding the affiliations of this fragment.

80. Cf. J. Bottéro in his contribution, "Jüdische Schöpfungsmythen" for the data concerning the Sea and Rahab, Leviathan, Tannim and Behemoth (in Elisabeth Klein et al., *Die Schöpfungsmythen*, Darmstadt, 1977, 219-223 = German edition of A.-M. Esnoul et al., *La naissance du monde*, Paris 1959).

The Rainbow in Ancient West Asian Iconography

The rainbow is a natural phenomenon that one would expect to encounter on the monuments of Western Asia, but that has remained elusive so far. Recently I published an article about the Rain Goddess (van Loon 1990) and in the course of writing it I have come up with some hypotheses that I would like to submit to the public.

In the article just mentioned I argue that the figurines of women supporting their breasts to give milk, which appeared from time immemorial in ancient Western Asia, represent the consort of the thunder god, who brings the indispensable rain after the thunder storm. In the rainfall agriculture zone of Western Asia practically every rainstorm is accompanied by thunder. Jacques Cauvin has drawn attention to the fact that two dominant symbols, the Woman and the Bull, appear on either side of the Taurus as early as the 8th millennium B.C. (Cauvin 1985). A clay figurine of a woman supporting her breasts comes from Cauvin's own excavations at Mureybit in Syria (*ibid.*: 171, here *fig.1*). Bull skulls were found incorporated into the architecture at the same site and for the 6th millennium Cauvin quotes wall-paintings and relief figures of bulls and women at Çatal Hüyük as examples (*ibid.*: 172).

In this paper I will do what I have often criticised in colleagues. I will skip thousands of years and miles from one site to the next. I believe this is justified by the fact that the nature symbolism I discuss here has often been passed on from one culture to the next.

In the Halaf culture which flourished in the rainfall agriculture zone of North Syria and North Mesopotamia in the 5th millennium B.C. symbols connected with thunder and rain occur frequently both

on painted pottery and on three-dimensional figurines. The bull, symbolizing the thunder in later periods, is usually shown surrounded by dots which may depict rain (Mallowan 1935, figs. 74-76; von Oppenheim 1943, pls. 56, 59, 62; Hijara et al. 1980, fig. 10, here fig. 2). A naked woman clad only in a string of beads slung in an X-shape across her body can be compared to later images of the rain goddess (Merpert et al. 1981, figs. 10-11, here fig. 3).

Skipping two and a half millennia we find scenes explicitly picturing thunder and rain on Mesopotamian seals of the Akkad period. The rain goddess that accompanies the thunder god is shown either naked holding vertical waves of water (Porada 1948, no. 220, here fig. 4) or spreading her cloak which is assimilated to the vertical wavy pattern of the rain (Frankfort 1939, pl. 22e, here fig. 5). In the latter scene we also see the bull of heaven symbolizing drought (ibid.: 126-7) being killed by a kneeling god. Another series of seals shows a bull which probably also symbolizes drought carrying a winged gate which is secured with ropes by one or two kneeling gods (Amiet 1972, no. 1584, here fig. 6; Delaporte 1923, no. A.150, here fig. 7). This scene sometimes takes place in front of a seated goddess (Frankfort 1939, pl. 22g, here fig. 8).

Three hundred years later the seal impressions from Kanesh (modern Kültepe) throw additional light on the imagery of thunder and rain. The thunder god usually appears emerging from the winged gate, which is seen in side view and carried by a bull. In front of the thunder god we see streaks of rain (Özgüç 1965, pl. 10:29, here fig. 9; pl. 13:39, here fig. 10). In the latter case the rain is seen to fall onto a rectangular field. A stamp seal from Achemhüyük shows the same elements, but in addition the rain is shown falling from an arc which can hardly be anything else but the rainbow (Özgüç 1980, fig. 3-24, here fig. 11). In another seal impression from Kanesh the thunder god, emerging from the winged gate on his bull, confronts the naked goddess that holds her garment in a

circle around her. Between the two, diagonal strokes of rain fall onto a rectangular field. (Özgüç 1965, pl. 24:71, here **fig. 12**).

The Syrian seals of the Middle and Late Bronze Age also form a rich source of graphic information on thunder and rain mythology. An early second-millennium seal in the Arndt collection in Munich shows the thunder god with his lightning whip on the lion-eagle that symbolizes the thunder cloud (Strommenger 1962, fig. 179c, here **fig. 13**). In a subsidiary scene we see the naked goddess floating in an arched position above the bull that is flanked by a kneeling god with bow and arrow on the left, and by a half-clad goddess (undoubtedly the goddess of love and the evening star) on the right. Here it would seem that the naked goddess herself stands for the rainbow. In other instances the naked consort of the thunder god lets her garment hang down behind her as if it were a skipping rope (Porada 1948 no. 967E, here **fig. 14**).

On Syrian seals the winged gate has an arched shape which makes its assimilation to the rainbow more plausible than the rectangular shape seen in Mesopotamia (Wiseman 1959:47, here **fig. 15**). Some seals combine the hanging garment with the winged gate and in that case we seem to have two motifs standing simultaneously for the rainbow (Von der Osten 1936, pl. 9:90, here **fig. 16**). That the winged gate consists of water and thus undoubtedly represents the rainbow is evident from the fact that it is sometimes shaped as a guilloche (Porada 1948, no. 944E, here **fig. 17**).

A Middle Hittite seal in the Louvre shows the rain goddess disrobing while single streams of water issue from her shoulders (Parrot 1951, pl. 13:1, here **fig. 18**). Next to her the thunder god cracks his whip over his bulls. The thongs of his whip are entwined like a guilloche ending in two goblets. On the Old Hittite 'Tyszkiewicz' seal in Boston the rain goddess is also shown disrobing in close proximity to the smiting god of thunder and lightning (Terrace 1962 no. 12, here **fig. 19**). Below her are both

a lion and a bull. She is shown spreading her garment behind her back, very much in the same way as she is pictured about 750 years later on the gold bowl from Hasanlu (Dyson 1960:124-125, here fig. 20). On this rich source of iconographic material the thunder and lightning god is shown twice on her left, once riding on his chariot pulled by his bulls that spit out drops of rain and streams of water, and once fighting a monster that is part human, part mountain and part three-headed snake. Drops of rain fill the space between this monster and the disrobing goddess. The garment that she spreads behind her consists of a number of vertical strips with diagonal stippling in alternate directions. This time she is mounted on two rams. It is the last instance in which the rain goddess is shown spreading out her garment. The parallel strips of which it consists may well, in my opinion, represent the varicolored spectrum of the rainbow.

The interconnected symbols of the Bull and the Woman remained deeply influential in the mountainous periphery of Western Asia which depends on thunder and rain for its sustenance. As one example among many I cite the 13th century B.C. temple of Adad and Shala at Choga Zanbil (ancient Dur-Untash), which yielded many frit figurines of humped bulls and clay figurines of breast-cupping women, naked except for an X-shaped string of beads (Ghirshman 1968:23, fig. 6, pls. 75-78.¹ Could the string of beads, possibly thought of as multicolored stones, be another symbol for the rainbow? In that case we may have to count with three possible ways of representing this natural phenomenon:

I. as the winged gate, at home in southern Mesopotamia since the Early Dynastic Period;

¹ A problem that cannot be dealt with here is the existence of the goddess Manzat (meaning 'rainbow'), also called Belet-ali (meaning 'lady of the city'), who is paired with Shimut, god of the Netherworld. At Choga Zanbil they had a temple adjacent to that of Adad and Shala (Ghirshman 1968:16-19).

II. as the garment of the disrobing goddess, seen in Syria, Anatolia and Iran and possibly earlier on an Akkad seal (fig. 5);

III. as the jewels of the naked goddess, worn crosswise over the body.

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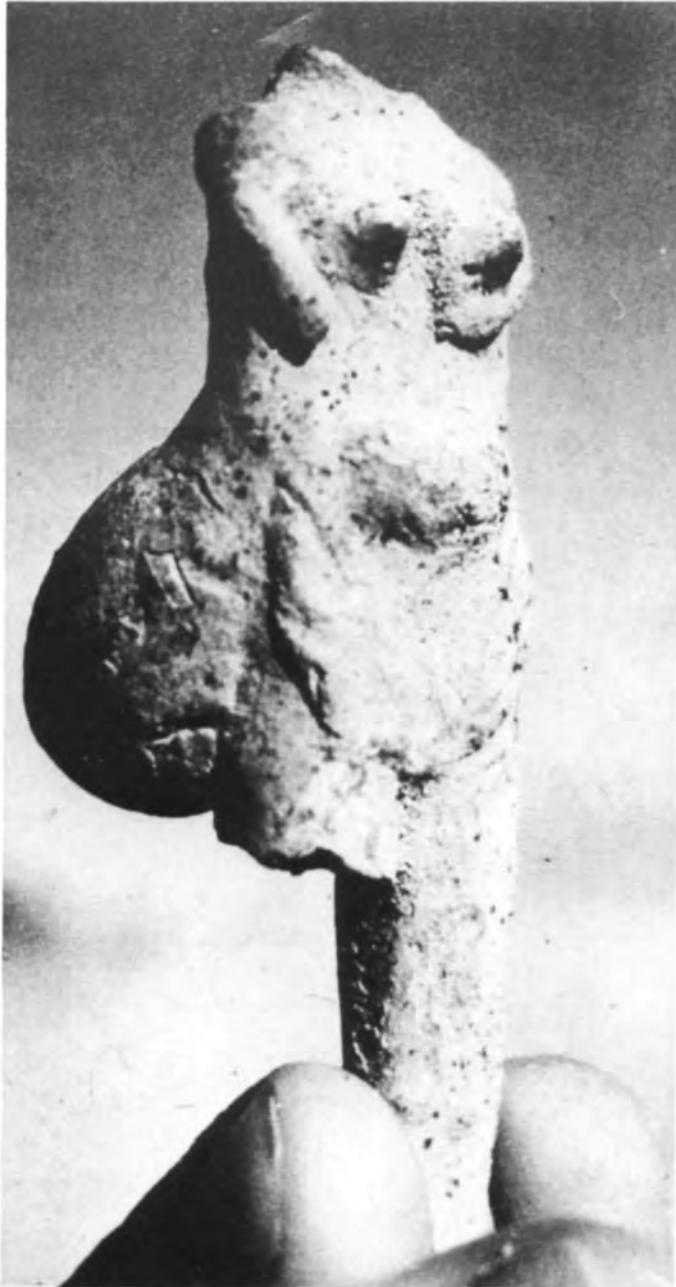


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

Some Notes on the Old Syrian Iconography of the God Yam

The high formal quality and the neat compositional structure of the Old Syrian cylinder seals allow, almost without exception, to reach, in the figurative patrimony of that glyptic, the first level of reading, as defined by Erwin Panofsky.¹ On the other hand, the rarity of mythical schemes, the exceptionality of dramatic scenes, the frequency of barely characterized ritual contexts, the habitual but apparently not meaningful placing side by side of several divine figures, often make the second level of reading of those relevant artistic works quite difficult, while the properly iconological interpretations of the third level look quite unattainable.

Elements of the costume and of the headgear, insignia and weapons, symbolic animals, and peculiar positions of the figure single out and mark the individual deities of the Old Syrian glyptic,² in a sufficiently characterized way, but often with multiple variants that must probably be related with the different iconographic traditions of individual (most frequently unidentifiable) cult centres.³ Therefore, in order to identify gods and goddesses, one must take into account as an element of great importance besides these peculiar elements, the *context* where the Old Syrian divine figures appear, in ritual acts as well as in mythical scenes: these relations are hardly ever fortuitous, but endowed with meaning, although secondary subjects in the tripartite or bipartite patterns, where they occur, may deceive us.

A divine figure well defined in almost all the above mentioned primary elements, characterized by quite fixed variants, and usually included in relatively unchangeable compositional patterns, is the winged deity (Fig.1), wearing a short skirt with a long fringe (Fig.2) and a high top-pointed and bottom-

horned headdress (Fig.3).⁴ The most consistent elements of this typically Old Syrian divine iconography are the two wings rising from the shoulders, the horizontally free standing horns at the base of the crown, the type of the skirt decorated with horizontal lines, and (only very rarely missing) the long fringe,⁵ which invariably covers only the back leg. While the position of the wings has no exceptions, and therefore seems to be one of the most characterizing elements, the tiara has several variants. It may be cap-shaped with a high central point,⁶ of a type not so different from the god Hadad's tiara;⁷ but in several seals the shape of the tiara is cylindrical, with the horns coming out from the squared outline (Fig.4),⁸ and sometimes it has a kind of short, straight, oblique horn in the front (Fig.5),⁹ according to a pattern which in the Old Syrian pantheon is peculiar to Khepat/'Anat,¹⁰ the companion goddess of Hadad/Teshup/Ba'al. Specially summary and schematic renderings of the crown seem to be variants of the cylindrical shape,¹¹ while in several seals of cursive craftsmanship, it seems clear that, in the uncertain variants of the top-pointed type, they limited themselves to reproduce the tiara worn by Hadad, which appears on the same seals.¹² In a series of cylinders (quite likely from the same workshop) the tiara of the winged deity is in the shape of a truncated cone, with the horns free-standing at its base,¹³ as happens with the other deities represented on these seals, while in some rare specimens he apparently wears the tiara with multiple horns.¹⁴

The most typical antiquarian element of this divine figure is certainly the skirt, ending at the top with a close-fitting belt at the waist, quite swollen and ending with a long fringe with vertical traits, which covers the back leg.¹⁵ Quite often the skirt is represented in a summary way, and without details, but when the carving is more accurate, the decoration of horizontal lines is quite clear,¹⁶ and only in a very few instances is there a vertical division line in the middle, pointing to the superimposition of the outer edge of the cloth

(Fig. 6).¹⁷ Undoubtedly, this kind of skirt not only is, generally speaking, very typical of the Old Syrian glyptic, but it is, in particular, peculiar to the quite canonical iconography of the god Hadad of Aleppo.¹⁸

However, the important variant of the costume in which the skirt ends with the long fringe invariably covering only the back leg, is adopted for the winged deity, and besides, with less frequency, for the divine image of Rashap,¹⁹ the god of the Netherworld in the Old Syrian pantheon, who usually holds a bow or an arrow; also, quite rarely, for a third deity armed with a spear (Fig.7).²⁰

The breast of the winged deity is apparently bare, and is always slender and vigorous, according to the convention usually employed for male divine figures in the Old Syrian glyptic,²¹ but it cannot be excluded that also for this deity they wished to represent a close-fitting girdle, certainly similar to that quite probably worn by the god Hadad.²² Lastly, a frequent element in the costume of the winged deity is a short dagger at the belt, coming out from the front, which again is represented exactly as in the canonic image of the god Hadad (Fig 8).²³

As regards the characterization of the deity concerning attributes, weapons, and insignia, or symbolic animals, this is undoubtedly less strong than in the case of Hadad²⁴ and of the great naked goddess, both meaningfully linked with the bull.²⁵ In fact, clearly the winged deity has no symbolic animal, and undoubtedly the strong characterization of this divine figure lies in his being winged. As concerns insignia and weapons, although there is no absolutely fixed attribute, it is certain that the divine figure is an armed deity. The weapons which appear in his hands are quite varied, but the most frequent one is certainly a spear (Fig. 9),²⁶ while one more rarely finds a kind of axe and a strong curved weapon,²⁷ totally different from the throw stick, which is one of the most frequent attributes (but not the main one) of Hadad.²⁸ What is evidently meaningful for the interpretation and identification of the deity, for the modern reader as well as

for the ancient one, is the fact that often the winged deity holds weapons in both hands, and at least in one instance he holds two spears:²⁹ the visual message seems to convey the unequivocal notion that the deity is represented in an action of struggle, even when the figurative contexts do not appear so explicit in this sense.³⁰

The divine figure, thus far outlined, has a clear enough autonomy in comparison with other figures of deities that are only superficially comparable, even if in the archaeological literature they are often mixed up. In particular, the armed winged deity with the high horned crown and the short fringed skirt, is totally independent from the partially naked goddess,³¹ who is also armed sometimes, and who is usually shown in a frontal position in order to make her feminine nature unequivocal; or from the frontal naked goddess³² usually standing on a bull, who is sometimes winged, because she derives from the figure of the great goddess inside the winged shrine.³³ On the other hand, it is quite difficult to say if some infrequent figures of winged deities are totally independent, among whom some are armed female deities whose skirt is different from the very peculiar fringed one.³⁴

An accurate analysis of the figurative contexts in which the winged deity appears in Old Syrian glyptic seems quite important and decisive for an identification of the represented god within the Syrian pantheon of the II millennium B.C. In fact, this deity appears only in three kinds of scenes, each having, of course, some minor variants. First, the deity is found in cultual schemes in front of a royal figure (Fig. 10),³⁵ or of two or three praying figures (Fig. 11).³⁶ Second, he appears together with other deities, in front of an enthroned god (Fig. 12),³⁷ or with two or three other gods, in contexts which seem by no means cultual, but rather mythical ones.³⁸ Third, the deity is represented, with greater frequency, in front of the god Hadad (Fig. 13),³⁹ while rarer variants show the scene with the two gods facing each other in the presence of the goddess Khepat/Anat

(usually represented behind Hadad, Fig. 14),⁴⁰ or in the presence of an enthroned god who is usually not clearly characterized (Fig. 15).⁴¹

It is evident that the two first kinds of compositional patterns (always quite free, as is usual in the Old Syrian glyptic) do not contribute in a special way to the identification of the deity, but for the fact that they point to an important relationship between the winged deity and the royal figure⁴² on the one hand, and to a connection of his (within a mythical context) with a god characterized by majestic behaviour⁴³ on the other. It is clear that the representational composition with the strongest meaning is that with the juxtaposition of Hadad's figure to the winged deity, because usually Hadad does not appear facing other gods,⁴⁴ with the quite frequent exception of his companion goddess Khepat/'Anat.⁴⁵ Although, as is well known, the canonic posture of Hadad's figure always shows the god holding a mace in his lifted hand, while he presents the axe and the throw stick with his other, in the goddess's image there is no element of aggressiveness and the scene clearly represents the meeting between the great god of Aleppo and his companion goddess.⁴⁶

On the other hand, the case is totally different with the cylinders that show Hadad and the winged deity, as not only the latter figure appears nearly always holding weapons in both arms,⁴⁷ but because at least in some instances the carver wished to represent the warlike impulse of the two divine figures, which seem to attack each other with all their weapons (Fig. 16).⁴⁸ The specific rendering of the situation of conflict, accomplished without alteration of the canonical behaviours of the two divine figures, is centered on a slight inclination of both characters (Fig. 17),⁴⁹ giving the impression of the spur of the fight, and on the position of the winged deity's spear, which is oblique instead of being vertical (Fig. 18)⁵⁰, creating the visual idea of an action, and not of a state.

Therefore, the winged deity is, in the mythical sphere, the protagonist of a duel against Hadad (Fig. 19), where a secondary, but not active, role is played both by Khepat/'Anat and by an enthroned god, who is represented at least in one seal behind the winged deity adored by a praying faithful,⁵¹ and who is quite probably El (Fig. 20).⁵² The roles of the two deities are different: Khepat/'Anat seems to assist her lord Hadad in the fight, but she does not intervene and most of all she is never, in any seal, the protagonist of the duel;⁵³ while El seems to be the god in whose presence, in some seals, the fight takes place.⁵⁴

Still on the mythical level, the winged deity appears together with other gods: with Hadad himself, with a god holding a spear, with Khepat/'Anat, and with the seated god of the type of El.⁵⁵ Some of these scenes with several divine figures, where the images of the praying faithful or king do not appear, quite probably represent different moments of the myth that ended with the duel between Hadad and the winged deity. Even if apparently no action, dramatically shown, is represented, it is evident that the mere identification of the protagonists allowed the ancient reader to single out the reproduced phase of the mythical action. One cylinder only shows the deity together with a composite being of an ancient tradition in Syria, and dating back from the Early Syrian period, namely the lion-man,⁵⁶ whose symbolic function and whose mythical relations are still obscure.

On the ritual level, as happens with all the major deities of the Old Syrian pantheon, the winged deity is adored by groups of faithfuls,⁵⁷ but most of all the king himself appears in front of him in prayer.⁵⁸ Now, apart from the secondary interceding goddess, the royal figure appears only in front of great deities, specially of Khepat/'Anat⁵⁹ (who at least in some urban centres must have had a special relation with the protection of kingship)⁶⁰ of Hadad himself and of the great goddess⁶¹ (frequently represented naked in relation with a

bull) certainly a form of Ishtar, who surely was also linked to Hadad.⁶²

If the basic element for the characterization of the mythical role of the winged deity is the duel against Hadad, it seems possible to propose that the image of this god in the formulation of Old Syrian glyptic represents the god Yam of the mythical cycle of Ugarit.⁶³ Even though there are hints that in the northern Syrian sagas Hadad was the protagonist of other individual duels against primeval mythical beings with cosmogonic value,⁶⁴ the struggle between Hadad and Yam is the only fight between gods in which the great weather god is the heroic and only protagonist,⁶⁵ because Hadad's other antagonist, the death-god Mot,⁶⁶ is defeated by 'Anat while Hadad is in the Netherworld⁶⁷ (even though in the ending part of the mythical text which has come to us, these two gods confront each other like two wild and raging animals).⁶⁸

In fact, in the duel between Hadad and Yam the weather god uses magical maces, the first one of which cannot defeat the adversary, while the second one crushes him.⁶⁹ Although this iconographic element cannot be considered a decisive one, as the mace is in general Hadad's main and typical attribute, and therefore not specifically useful for the identification, undoubtedly the fact that in glyptics the mace is the weapon the god raises up against his antagonist has some value. However, no indication is given by the Ugaritic mythical text either concerning the weapons used by Yam, or concerning the fact that this god was conceived of as a winged being.⁷⁰

On the other hand, the relation of the duel between Hadad and Yam with the figures of 'Anat and El is clearly recalled in the Ugaritic myth. In fact, El, the father of gods, is responsible for having recognized the preeminence of Yam among the gods, and for having accepted the submission of Hadad to Yam,⁷¹ thus provoking first the anger, and then the reaction of Hadad himself.⁷² The goddess 'Anat appears in the myth at the same time as Astarte when Hadad wishes to assault Yam's arrogant messengers,⁷³ and in another section of the mythical cycle of Ba'al, she boasts of having assisted the weather-god

in his deeds, among which she explicitly mentions the victory over Yam.⁷⁴

El's role at the origin of the fight is clearly represented in those cylinders, which are not frequent, where El and Yam appear without Hadad,⁷⁵ certainly pointing to the declaration of the god's hegemony by the father of gods. The variant of the iconographic scheme where the winged deity, turning his shoulders, seems to retire from the presence of the enthroned god,⁷⁶ might hint at Yam's arrogance with respect to El.⁷⁷ The strong implication of El in the fight between the two gods is visually rendered by the representation of the father of gods sitting on his throne and assisting to the duel. The seal in which Yam, Hadad, and a young god wearing a crown and a skirt similar to the other two gods (and armed with a spear) appear,⁷⁸ might have been inspired by the episode of the myth - probably an initial one - where also 'Athtar appears and claims kingship, asking for the building of a palace for himself, when El had already decided to give supremacy to his son Yam.⁷⁹

The iconographic schemes with a royal figure, or with a faithful in prayer in front of the winged deity, must derive from the fact that Yam, notwithstanding his role of god defeated by Hadad, was a god who was regularly adored in the cult at Ugarit,⁸⁰ as well as at Emar,⁸¹ as offerings for him are mentioned in the texts found in both towns. Yam's relation with kingship cannot astound us, when in the myth he appears as El's beloved,⁸² is always mentioned with the two titles of "prince" (*zbl*) and "judge" (*ṭpṭ*),⁸³ used in the same mythical cycle for Hadad/Ba'al, and when he is clearly (because he wishes to obtain the preeminence over gods) a protector of kingship,⁸⁴ as is well evidenced in the iconographic patterns of the Old Syrian glyptics.

One of the apparently less comprehensible figurative aspects of Yam's iconography in the cylinder seals is his winged nature. Although this aspect, which is one of the most

characteristic in the god's image,⁸⁵ is not easy to explain, it is possible that it derives from the fact that Yam is the god of the sea meant as primeval element,⁸⁶ represented as a river coming out from the seat itself of the father of gods El, and surrounding the Earth⁸⁷; and River (*nhr*) is, in fact, one of Yam's names.⁸⁸ Now, if it is certain that in the gods' lists of Ugarit the Babylonian parallel of Yam is Ti'amat,⁸⁹ it is probable that, at least in the Neo-Assyrian art of the IXth century B.C., Ti'amat is represented as a winged dragon with a lion-head and with eagle and lion legs.⁹⁰ It seems plausible that Old Syrian glyptic, as well as the Neo-Assyrian reliefs took their inspiration from an ancient figurative tradition, according to which the primeval sea was represented as a winged deity.⁹¹

The figure of the Old Syrian winged deity could not be read in his meanings, if taken into consideration by himself and out of the figurative, mythical, and historical contexts where he appears, as Ernest H. Gombrich pointed out in a famous essay about iconological interpretation.⁹² The analysis of the contexts, when, as happens with Hadad, El, 'Anat, Yam and Astarte, the primary problems of identification of the major deities of the Old Syrian pantheon are solved, will allow us, perhaps, to understand also the symbolic values of the secondary subjects of the glyptic of Syria of Middle Bronze II, and to interpret in a unitary way, at an iconologic level and not only at the stylistic one, these masterpieces of ancient Near Eastern glyptic.

NOTES

1. E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. New York - Oxford 1939, p.3-31.
2. P. Amiet, "Jalons pour une interprétation du répertoire des sceaux-cylindres syriens au IIe millénaire" in *Akkadica* 28 (1982), p.19-40.

3. Apart from the exceptional case of Alalakh, the recent definition of technical and stylistic peculiarities of some presumable local workshops did not provoke a parallel interest to the iconographical peculiarities of the individual cult centres: D. Collon, "La glyptique hourrite d'Alalakh" in *RHA* 36 (1978), p.35-41; Ead., "The Aleppo Workshop. A Seal-Cutters' Workshop in Syria in the Second Half of the 18th Century B.C." in *UF* 13 (1981), p.33-43; Ead., "The Green Jasper Cylinder Seal Workshop", in M. Kelly-Buccelati et al. (eds.), *Insight through Images. Studies in Honor of E. Porada*, Malibu 1986, p.57-70.

4. H.H. von der Osten, *Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Collection of Mrs. A.B. Brett*, Chicago 1936, n.94, p.15, pl.IX; A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Berlin 1940, n.524 (=VA 2291), p.132, pl.62; G.A. Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals of the Collection of Mrs. W.H. Moore*, Chicago 1943, n.148, p.61, pl.XIV; B. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum, I, Cylinder Seals*, Oxford 1966, n.879, p.172, pl.55; Id., *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, New Haven - London 1981, n.1189 (= Newell 324), p.414-15; B. Teissier, *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 1984, n.475, p.240-41.

5. The long fringe is missing in very rare instances: L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1910, n.490, p.276-77, pl. XXXII; E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections, I, The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Washington 1948, n.965, p.130, pl.CXLVI.

6. von der Osten, *Brett Collection* (cit. n. 4), n.94, p.15, pl.IX

7. Exactly the same tiara is worn by Hadad in a few seals where also the winged deity appears, as in the cylinders n.524 of the Berlin Museum and n.476 of the Marcopoli Collection (s. note 8).

8. C.H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery", in *Iraq* 6 (1929), p.42, p.18, pl.VI; Eisen, *Moore Collection* (cit. n. 4), n.147, p.61, pl.XIV; Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1190 (= Newell 327), p.414-15; D. Collon, *The Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, Oxford 1982, n.20 (AT/39/129 = Antakia 8009), p.54-55; Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.472, 476, 483, p.240-45.

9. Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n.958, p.128, pl.CXLV; E. Bleibtreu, *Rollsiegel aus dem Vorderen Orient*, Wien 1981, n.78, p.66; Buchanan, *Yale Collection*, (cit. n.4), n.1246 (= Newell 325), p.428-29.

10. About this type of goddess cfr. P. Matthiae, "Empreintes d'un cylindre paléosyrien de Tell Mardikh", in *Syria* 46

(1969), p.16-18: for the detail of the frontal horn s. ibidem, p.18 note 1.

11. Delaporte, *Bibliothèque Nationale* (cit. n.5), n.497, p.282, pl.XXXIII; Collon, *Cylinder Seals* (cit. n.8), n.21 (AT/46/199 = Antakia 8170), p.55.

12. Moortgat, *Rollsiegel* (cit. n.4), n.524; Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1189.

13. L. Speleers, *Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Supplément*, Bruxelles 1943, n.1398, p.148; R. Opificius, *Geschnittene Steine der Antike*, Basel 1968, n.44, p.23, 25; D. Collon, *First Impressions. Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, London 1987, n.453 (= Erlenmeyer 488), p.101. Also in the seal published by Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.475, p.242-43, which might be related with those mentioned above, the same tiara is worn by the winged deity, by Hadad, and by a third god holding a spear.

14. H.H. von der Osten, *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung H.S. von Aulock*, Uppsala 1957, n.289, p.113; C.F.A. Schaeffer-Forrer, *Corpus des cylindres-sceaux de Ras Shamra - Ugarit et d'Enkomi - Alasia, I*, Paris 1983, no. R.S.21.020, p.47.

15. In some winged deities variants of the skirt are usually associated with a different and peculiar headdress apparently constituted by two plumes or by the multiple horned crown: Buchanan, *Ashmolean Museum* (cit. n.4), n.877, p.172, pl.55; E. Williams-Forte, in O.W. Muscarella (ed.), *Ladders to Heaven*, Toronto 1981, n.211, p.242; Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1247 (YBC 12775), p.428,29. At least in the case of the cylinder n.230 of the Newell Collection (s. Ibidem, n.1243, p.428-29) the winged deity wearing a long skirt, with a female hairdress and without weapons, is clearly another divine being.

16. Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n.958.

17. Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.475; Bleibtreu, *Rollsiegel* (cit. n.9), n.78.

18. A. Vanel, *L'iconographie du dieu de l'orage dans le Proche-Orient ancien jusqu'au VIIe siècle av.J.-C.*, Paris 1965, p.69-96; Amiet, in *Akkadica* 28 (1982), p.30, figs. 9-10.

19. The Old Syrian iconography of Rashap has been identified by P. Matthiae, "Note sul dio siriano Rešef", in *OrAn* 2 (1963), p.27-43; another contribution on the problem, with some considerations on new figurative material, by the same author appears in *CMAO* 5 (1992).

20. Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.455, 475, p.234-35, 242-43, but s. also von der Osten, *Brett Collection* (cit. n.4), n.98, p.15-16, pl.IX.
21. Only as an example s. the very different renderings of the breast in a male and a female figure in Collon, *First Impressions* (cit. n.13), n.776, 777, p.166-67.
22. L. Delaporte, *Musée de Louvre. Catalogue des cylindres de style oriental, II*, Paris 1923, n.A.914, p.193, pl.96 fig.12a-b: the same girdle is clearly worn by the winged deity in Bleibtreu, *Rollsiegel* (cit. n.9), n.78.
23. Delaporte, *Bibliothèque Nationale* (cit. n.5), n.490; Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n.958, 959, 965; Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1189, 1190, 1245, 1246; Eisen, *Moore Collection* (cit. n.4), n.146, 147.
24. Lastly s. M. Mulder, "Der Gott Hadad im nordwestsemitischen Raum", in J. Best, N. de Vries (eds.), *Interaction and Acculturation in the Mediterranean, I*, Amsterdam 1980, p.69-83.
25. Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n.967, p.130, pl.CXLVI; Opificius, *Steine* (cit. n.13), n.40, p.19, 21-22; Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.477, p.242-43.
26. Gordon, in *Iraq* 6 (1939), n.41 (WAG 42.405), p.18, pl.VI; Eisen, *Moore Collection* (cit. n.4), n.146; Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n.959; Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1189, 1245, 1246; Collon, *Cylinder Seals* (cit. n.8), n.21 (AT/46/199 = Antakia 8170), p.55; Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.483.
27. For the axe, as examples s. Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n.965; Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1190; Bleibtreu, *Rollsiegel* (cit. n.9), n.78; Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.476 and perhaps Delaporte, *Bibliothèque Nationale* (cit. n.5), n.490. The curved weapon, not always with the same shape, appears clearly in the cylinders of Berlin, n.524, of the Ashmolean Museum, n.878, of the Marcopoli Collection, n.472, 475, 480.
28. Only in one cylinder published by Eisen, *Moore Collection* (cit. n.4), n.145, p.60, pl.XIV, the winged deity is apparently holding a curved weapon in both hands.
29. Bleibtreu, *Rollsiegel* (cit. n.9), n.78. The detail of the two spears, however, is found more than once in the image of a (very probably distinct) winged deity, plausibly of female character, as maintained by E. Porada, "Syrian Seal Impressions on Tablets dated in the Time of Hammurabi and Samsuiluna", in *JNES* 16 (1957), p.193, fig.1, pl.XXX 1-2. This apparent goddess never appears wearing the skirt with the long fringe and is not related to Hadad: Buchanan, *Ashmolean Museum* (cit. n.4), n.877; H. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes, 86.

Quelques cylindres syriens", in *Syria* 40 (1963), pl.XVII 2; Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.489, p.248-49; H. Pittman, *Ancient Art in Miniature: Near Eastern Seals from the Collection of M. and S. Cherkasky*, New York 1987, n.46 (MMA 1987.96.22), p.65. The connection of this deity with the theme of the killing of Huwawa in the cylinder published by H. Seyrig has been underlined by W.G. Lambert, "Gilgamesh in Literature and Art: The Second and First Millennia", in A.E. Farkas et al. (eds.), *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds. Papers presented in Honor of E. Porada*, Mainz 1987, p.48, pl.X 21.

30. This is the case of some scenes where the deity is adored by common people: Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.487, p.246-47.

31. M.-Th. Barrelet, "Les déesses armées et ailées", in *Syria* 32 (1955), p.243-47, which, however, considers all the winged deities as goddesses.

32. M.N. van Loon, "The Naked Rain Goddess", in P. Matthiae, M.N. van Loon, H. Weiss (eds.), *Resurrecting the Past. A Joint Tribute to A. Bounni*, Leiden 1990, p.363-78.

33. P. Matthiae, "Le temple ailé et le taureau. Origine et continuité de l'iconographie de la grande déesse à Ebla", in M. Lebeau, Ph. Talon (eds.), *Reflets des deux fleuves. Volume de mélanges offerts à A. Finet*, Leuven 1989, p.127-35.

34. Cfr. Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1247; Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.488, p.248-49.

35. Eisen, *Moore Collection* (cit. n.4), n.146; Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n.958, 965; Buchanan, *Ashmolean Museum* (cit. n.4), n.878; Bleibtreu, *Rollsiegel* (cit. n.9), n.78.

36. See the cylinder seal mentioned in n.30.

37. Speleers, *Supplément* (cit.n.13), n.1398. Only in the cylinder n.472 of the Marcopoli Collection, mentioned in n.8, the enthroned personage is not a deity, but probably a king or a high priest.

38. Speleers, *Supplément* (cit. n.13), n.848, p.149; Buchanan, *Ashmolean Museum* (cit. n.4), n.879; Collon, *Cylinder Seals* (cit. n.8), n.21.

39. In classical Old Syrian cylinders: Delaporte, *Bibliothèque Nationale* (cit. n.5), n.490, 497; von der Osten, *Brett Collection* (cit. n.4), n.94; Eisen, *Moore Collection* (cit. n.4), n.147; Buchanan, *Ashmolean Museum* (cit. n.4), n.879; Collon, *Cylinder Seals* (cit. n.8), n.20-21; Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1189-1190; Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.476, 483. In seals of Mitannian style: H.H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. E.T. Newell*, Chicago 1934, n.326, p.51,

pl.XXIII; Eisen, *Moore Collection* (cit. n.4), 148; Speleers, *Supplément* (cit. n.13), n.848.

40. Delaporte, *Bibliothèque Nationale* (cit. n.5), n.497; Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1189; Collon, *Cylinder Seals* (cit. n.8), 20; Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.476. In later cylinders of the so-called Mitannian tradition the third standing deity is difficult to identify: Eisen, *Moore Collection* (cit. n.4), n.148, p.61, pl.XIV; W.G. Lambert, "Near Eastern Seals in the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art, University of Durham", in *Iraq* 41 (1979), n.52 (N 2017), p.19, pl.VII.

41. As in the seals of Bruxelles n. 848, of the Moore Collection n.145 and of the Ashmolean Museum n.879.

42. The well characterized figure with a high oval tiara, although some doubts have been raised about his royal identity by D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975, p.186-88, is clearly the canonical figure of the king not only in the Yamkhad milieu, but also in the kingdoms of northern inner Syria, as already noticed by Amiet, in *Akkadica* 28 (1982), p.26. The relation between the royal figure and the winged deity is well shown in the following seals: Speleers, *Supplément* (cit. n.13), n.1384; Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n.958; Bleibtreu, *Rollsiegel* (cit. n.9), n.78.

43. Speleers, *Supplément* (cit. n.13), n.1398; Opificius, *Steine* (cit. n.13), n.44.

44. An exception is represented by the connection between Hadad and the naked goddess as observed in n.25.

45. We favour an identification of the deity wearing the mantle and the tall crown, the so-called Syrian Goddess, with Khepat and we consider unacceptable the thesis that sees in this figure an amalgam of three goddesses, as claimed by Collon, *Seal Impressions* (cit. n.42), p.180-81.

46. Moortgat, *Rollsiegel* (cit. n.4), n.523 (VA 518), p.132, pl.62; Delaporte, *Louvre* (cit. n.22), n.A.913, A.915, p.193, pl.96 figs. 11, 14.

47. There are a few exceptions: von der Osten, *Brett Collection* (cit. n.4), n.94; Collon, *Cylinder Seals* (cit. n.8), n.20.

48. Both gods are represented holding weapons with both hands in the cylinders n.497 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, n.1190 (=Newell n.327) of the Yale Collection and n.476 of the Marcopoli Collection.

49. Delaporte. *Bibliothèque Nationale* (cit. n.5), n.490; Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.483.

50. This detail is particularly clear in the cylinder n.490 of the Bibliothèque Nationale.
51. Opificius, *Steine* (cit. n.13), n.44.
52. The identification of the Old Syrian enthroned god with streams flowing from a bowl or from his shoulders, represented as the Mesopotamian Ea, with El has been rightly advanced by Amiet, in *Akkadica* 28 (1982), p.29-30. In the North-West Semitic milieu the identification between El and Ea is clearly documented at Karatepe: J.D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo-Davies, "Hieroglyphic Hittite: Some New Readings and Their Consequences", in *JRAS* 1975, p.125. Recently E. Lipinsky, "Ea, Kothar et El", in *UF* 20 (1988), p.42-43 has pointed out that the assimilation between El and Ea did not take place at Ugarit but rather in a centre of northern Syria.
53. In all the cylinders with these three figures, mentioned in n.40, the goddess is never armed, but is always protecting Hadad from behind.
54. von der Osten, *Newell Collection* (cit. n.39), n.326; Speleers, *Supplément* (cit. n.13), n.848; Buchanan, *Ashmolean Museum* (cit. n.4), n.879; Collon, *Cylinder Seals* (cit. n.8), n.20.
55. Only with Hadad: Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n.959; with Hadad and the god with the spear: Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.475; with the god with the spear and the enthroned god: Speleers, *Supplément* (cit. n.13), n.1398; only with El: Opificius, *Steine* (cit. n.13), n.44; only with Khepat/'Anat: Buchanan, *Ashmolean Museum* (cit. n.4), n.878.
56. Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1245.
57. The winged deity is adored by two or three faithfuls: Buchanan, *Ashmolean Museum* (cit. n.4), n.487; Collon, in *UF* 13 (1981), n.18 (=Seyrig Coll. 6), p.36, 42, fig.2; Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1246.
58. Eisen, *Moore Collection* (cit. n.4), n.146; Speleers, *Supplément* (cit. n.13), n.1384; Porada, *Corpus* (cit.n.5), n.958; Buchanan, *Ashmolean Museum* (cit. n.4), n.878.
59. Delaporte, *Louvre* (cit. n.22), n.A.922, A.925, p.194, pl.96 fig.19, 23; Id., *Bibliothèque Nationale* (cit. n.5), n.496, p.281-82, pl.XXXIII; Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n.973, p.132, pl.CXLVII; Buchanan, *Ashmolean Museum* (cit. n.4), n.872, p.171, pl.55; Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1270, p.434-35; Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.455, p.234-35.
60. This hypothesis is proved particularly for Aleppo: Collon, *Seal Impressions* (cit. n.42), n.3-6, 10-12, 17, p.6-9, 11-14, 17. S. also Ead., in *UF* 13 (1981), p.33-43.

61. As concerns Hadad, we mention only a few examples: Delaporte, *Bibliothèque Nationale* (cit. n.5), n.495, p.280-81, pl.XXXI; M.-L. Vollenweider, *Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève. Catalogue raisonné des sceaux cylindres et intailles*, I. Genève 1967, n.138, p.109-110, pl.56, figs. 2, 4. Lambert, in *Iraq* 41 (1979), n.44, 17-18, pl.VI; Buchanan, *Yale Collection* (cit. n.4), n.1212 (= Newell 303), 1277 (= Newell 302), p.420-21, 436-37; H. Hammade, *Cylinder Seals from the Collections of the Aleppo Museum, I*, Oxford 1987, n.169, p.90-91 (also with Khepat). For the great goddess see Delaporte, *Louvre* (cit. n.22), n.A.928, A.929, A.930, A.932, A.934, p.195-96, pls.96-97 figs.25, 1, 2, 4, 6; Eisen, *Moore Collection* (cit. n.4), n.156, p.62, pl.XV; Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n. 944, 989, p.125, 135, pls.CXLIII, CL; Buchanan, *Ashmolean Museum* (cit. n.4), n.883, p.173, pl.56; Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.440, 443-46, p.226-29. Hadad and the great goddess appear together with the royal figure in some cylinders: Porada, *Corpus* (cit. n.5), n.968, p.130, pl.CXLVI.

62. P. Matthiae, "Una stele paleosiriana arcaica da Ebla e la cultura figurativa della Siria attorno al 1800 a.C.", in *Scienze dell'Antichità* 1 (1987), p.478-82.

63. P.J. van Zijl, *Baal*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1972, p.41; A. Caquot, M. Szyner, A. Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques, I, Mythes et légendes*, Paris 1974, p.105-39; J.C.L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, Edinburgh 1977, p.44; G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaan segun la tradicion de Ugarit*, Valencia 1981,, p.157-76; J.C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*, Leiden 1987, p.29-44; E.L. Greenstein, "The Snaring of Sea in the Baal Epic", in *Maarav* 3 (1982), p.195-216; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, "Baal vernichtet Jammu (KTU 1.2 IV 23-30)" in *UF* 17 (1985), p.117-21; N. Wyatt, "The Source of the Ugaritic Myth of the Conflict of Ba'al and Yam", in *UF* 20 (1988), p.375-85.

64. M.K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster, A Study in Biblical Imagery*, Leiden 1973, p.38-39; R.J. Clifford, "Cosmogonies in Ugaritic Texts", in *Or* 53 (1984), p.185-86; N. Wyatt, "Killing and Cosmogony in Canaanite and Biblical Thought", in *UF* 17 (1985), p.375-81; J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea. Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*, Cambridge 1985, p.7-17.

65. For a possible image of Hadad with seven thunders and lightnings s. R.J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, Cambridge Ma. 1972, p.77-78; J. Day, "Echoes of Baal's seven Thunders and Lightnings in Psalm xxix and Habakkuk iii 9 and the Identity of the Seraphim in Isaiah vi", in *VT* 29 (1979), p.143-45; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, "Sieges- und Thronbesteigungslied Baals (KTU 1.101)", in *UF* 17 (1985), p.129-46.

66. J.L. Cunchillos, "Le dieu Mut, guerrier de El", in Syria 62 (1985), p.205-18. Strong analogies between Yam and Mot, as their realms are comparable and ultimately identical, are underlined by N.Wyatt, "Sea and Desert: Symbolic Geography in West Semitic Religious Thought", in UF 19 (1987), p.384.
67. M.S. Smith, "Baal in the Land of Death", in UF 17 (1985), p.311-14.
68. I AB VI: Caquot, Szyner, Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques* (cit. n.63), p.267-69.
69. Ibidem, p.135-38; Dietrich, Loretz, in UF 17 (1985), p.118-19. S. also M.S. Smith, "The Magic of Kothar, the Ugaritic Craftsman God in KTU 1.6 VI 49-50", in RB 91 (1984), p.377-80.
70. No mention of the presumable iconography of Yam is made by A. Caquot, M. Szyner, *Ugaritic Religion* (Iconography of Religions XV, 8), Leiden 1980, p.7, 10. Williams-Forte, in O.W. Muscarella, *Ladders* (cit. n.15), p.245-46 has proposed to identify Yam with the naked hero with streams, but the evidence is not convincing. Moreover some just criticisms of previous identifications of the antagonists of Ba'al in the Old Syrian glyptic are advanced by Ead., "The Snake and the Tree in the Iconography and Texts of Syria during the Bronze Age", in L. Gorelick, E. Williams-Forte (eds.), *Ancient Seals and the Bible*, Malibu 1983, p.32-35.
71. H. Gese, in H. Gese, M. Höfner, K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln-Mainz 1970, p.96-97.
72. Caquot, Szyner, Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques* (cit. n.63), p.132-33.
73. Ibidem, p.132.
74. V AB D: Ibidem, p.167-68. On the problem of the sequence reconstruction of the different parts of the Ba'al cycle doubts were already raised by G.R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, Edinburgh 1956, p.11. After J.C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1971, p.40 and Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain* (cit. n.65), p.40-41 had recognized the difficulty of placing the Ba'al's fight with Yam (KTU 1.2) in the general cycle; a clear division between this story and the rest of the Ba'al's cycle has been claimed by S. Meier, "Baal's Fight with Yam (KTU 1.2.I,IV). A Part of the Baal Myth as known in KTU 1.1, 3-6", in UF 18 (1986), p.253-54.
75. Speleers, *Supplément* (cit. n.13), n.1398.
76. Opificius, *Steine* (cit. n.13), n.44.

77. Caquot, Sznycer, Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques* (cit. n.63), p.128-31.
78. Teissier, *Marcopoli Collection* (cit. n.4), n.475. The same figure appears also in the cylinder of the Brussels Museum n.1398 with Yam and El: this scene could represent the claiming of both deities to kingship in front of the father of gods.
79. Caquot, Sznycer, Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques* (cit. n.63), p.123-126. The royal role of 'Athtar is underlined by N. Wyatt, "The Hollow Crown: Ambivalent Elements in West Semitic Royal Ideology", in *UF* 18 (1986), p.421-36 and by A. Waterson, "The Kingdom of 'Attar and His Role in the AB Cycle", in *UF* 20 (1988), p.357-64.
80. M.H. Pope. "Jamm", in H.W. Haussig (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie, I, Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart 1965, p.291. P. Xella, *I testi rituali di Ugarit, I, Testi*, Roma 1981, p.55-58, 76-77. 91-93; G. del Olmo Lete, "Liturgia sacrificial y salmodia en Ugarit (KTU 1.119)", in *AuOr* 7 (1989), p.30; Id., "Rituales sacrificiales de plenilunio y novilunio (KTU 1.109/1.46)", in *AuOr* 7 (1989), p.187-88; J.-M. de Tarragon, in A. Caquot, J.-M. de Tarragon, *Textes ougaritiques, II, Textes religieux, rituels, correspondance*, Paris 1989, p.138, 165, 225.
81. D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Astata. Emar VI, 3 Textes sumériens et accadiens*, Paris 1986, p.360.
82. N. Wyatt, "Jedidiah and Cognate Terms as a Title of Royal Legitimation", in *Bibl* 66 (1985), p.117-25.
83. The parallel adoption of *lpt* for Yam and Ba'al was already observed by R. Dussaud, "Les combats sanglants d'Anat et le pouvoir universel d'El", in *RHR* 118 (1938), p.151 and by J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, Leiden 1965, p.87, while the relation of the fight between Yam and Hadad with kingship has been maintained by C.F. Pfeiffer, *Ras Shamra and the Bible*, Grand Rapids 1962, p.52-53 and by H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, Philadelphia 1973, p.146; some doubts have been recently raised by P.D. Miller Jr., "Aspects of the Religion of Ugarit", in P.D. Miller Jr., P.D. Hanson, S.D. McBride (eds.), *Ancient Israelite Religion*, Philadelphia 1987, p.60. See lastly L.K. Handy, "A Solution for Many MLKM", in *UF* 20 (1988), p.57-59.
84. For the relations of Hadad with kingship s. A. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, Copenhagen 1952, p.138; W. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel*, Berlin 1961, p.29-63; L. Toombs, "Baal, Lord of Earth: The Ugaritic Baal Epic", in C.L. Myers, M. O'Connor (eds.), *The Word of the Lord shall go forth. Essays in Honor of D.N. Freedman*, Winona Lake 1983, p.613-23; J.C.L. Gibson, "The Ideology of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle", in *Or* 53 (1984), p.204-209; M.S. Smith, "Baal's Cosmic Secret", in *UF* 16 (1986), p.295-98. For the value of

the palaces of Yam and Hadad as symbols of the royal power s. R.J. Clifford, "The Temple in the Ugaritic Myth of Baal", in F.M. Cross (ed.), *Symposium celebrating the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the ASOR*, Cambridge Ma. 1979, p.137-45.

85. While one or more goddesses are winged, this deity is apparently the only one of male character furnished with wings in the Old Syrian glyptic.

86. On the base of the proposed three-tiered structure of the universe observed in the Ba'al's cycle, centered on El, Ba'al and Anat, claimed by D.L. Pedersen, M. Woodward, "Northwest Semitic Religion: A Study in Relational Structures", in UF 9 (1977), p.230-48, recently N. Wyatt, "Possible Indo-European Influence in Ugaritic Thought", in UF 17 (1985), p.371-74 has considered this structure influenced by the tripartite theory of the Indo-Europeans. In a different interpretation of the same theory, a tripartition of kingship in the universe in separated spheres of cosmos by Yam, Athtar and Hadad has been maintained by Waterson, in UF 20 (1988), p.357-64.

87. The theological idea is at the base of the iconographic representation of El in the Old Syrian glyptics: R. Follet, "El in alveo duarum abyssorum", in VD 34 (1956), p.280-89; O. Loretz, "Der Wohnort Els nach ugaritischen Texten und Ez 28, 1-2, 6-10", in UF 21 (1989), p.259-67. For M.H. Pope's interpretation of the origin of El's seat at the springs of the two rivers, advanced in *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, Leiden 1955, p.97-103, s. Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain* (cit. n.65), p.168-71 and R.R. Wilson, "The Death of the King of Tyre: The Editorial History of Ezekiel 28", in J.H. Marks, R.M. Goods (eds.), *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of M.H. Pope*, Guilford 1987, p.213-14.

88. Pope, in Haussig, *Wörterbuch* (cit. n.80), p.290.

89. J. Nougayrol, "Textes suméro-akkadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit", in *Ugaritica* V, Paris 1968, p.45, 58.

90. For the famous relief of the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud s. H.R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, Paris-Brussels 1928, p.37-38, pl.XXII. Comparable images on the Neo-Assyrian cylinders are mentioned by H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals. A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, London 1939, p.215-16. S. also J. Meuszynski, "The Representations of the Four-Winged Genies on the Bas-Reliefs from Assur-nasir-apli II's Times", in *Etudes et Travaux* 6 (1972), P.52-54; E.A. Braun-Holzinger, "Löwendrache", in *RLA* 71-2 (1987), p.97-99.

91. Th. Jacobsen, "The Battle between Marduk and Tiamat", in *JAOS* 88 (1968), p.104-8 has posited the West Semitic origin of the struggle received in the *Enuma elish* and has suggested that the myth was brought to Babylon by the Amorites. Other

important analogies between Ba'al-Yam poem and *Enuma elish* have been shown by A.S. Kapelrud, "The Relationship between El and Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts", in G. Rensburg et al. (eds.), *The Bible World. Essays in Honor of C.H. Gordon*, New York 1980, p.79-85, and by Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain* (cit. n.65), p.40-41 and in *Or* 53 (1984), p.185-86. Against the opinion of Day, *God's Conflict* (cit. n.65), p.11-12, the fact that *Enuma elish* was probably composed around 1100 B.C. (demonstrated by W.G. Lambert, "The Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I: A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamian Religion", in W.S. McCullough (ed.), *The Seed of Wisdom, Essays in Honor of T.J. Meek*, Toronto 1964, p.3-13 and "Zum Forschungsstand der sumerisch-babylonischen Literatur-Geschichte", in *ZDMG* Suppl. 3/1 (1977), p.69-71) is not conclusive for rejecting common elements of the mythical struggles in the two cycles.

92. E.H. Gombrich, "Symbolic Images, in *Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, London 1972, Ital. Transl., Torino 1978, p.3-33.

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Rivers in Anatolian Art?

Artistic representation of rivers starts early in Egypt and Mesopotamia, lands dependent on the blessings of their great rivers. On Mesopotamian cylinder seals of the Uruk period, river boats appear in illustrations of ritual voyages of kings, attendants and cult paraphernalia, although in such scenes the river itself is not explicitly rendered.¹ The river appears in its own right, in the form of wavy lines, on seals depicting the temple flocks with symbols, architecture and scenery. On a seal from Tell Asmar, two goats are nibbling at branches offered by a lion in human pose standing in front of another tree with a bird in it. The scene takes place near a river and is mythologized by the role of the lion man as a food provider, otherwise the task of the priest-king, fig. 1.² Another Diyala seal presents a naturalistic version of goats grazing among small trees near a river; one goat kneels to drink from the stream, fig. 2.³ The simplest reference to the river as the basic water source for agriculture and herds is given by the wavy lines at the base of the friezes on the alabaster cult vase from Uruk, sustaining ears of barley and date palms.⁴ More rarely, hunting scenes appear on the banks of a river or on the river, as in a lively boar hunt by two men in a boat, with a bird and plants as scenery (fig. 3).⁵

Landscape in Protoelamite seal impressions from Susa shows a winding river with fish swimming in the stream and the banks lined with leafy vegetation, fig. 4a. Fish can also serve as a pictogram for river in Protoelamite scenes with boats.⁶ A relative in Egypt, where rivers start their artistic appearance in the predynastic period, is the design on a shell plaque in Berlin with bull and goat on the edge of a stream with fish, fig. 4b.⁷

In Akkadian glyptic art, the sun god travels in a boat with the prow personified as a divine boatman; the god holds a steering oar as the boat moves on waters rendered by multiple wavy lines vivified by fish. There are variants of this motif, which starts in the Early Dynastic period without as yet making the waters visible. The sun god's navigation is interpreted by Frankfort and Boehmer as nocturnal travels over the waters of the netherworld.⁸

The hunt on the river is rare on Akkadian cylinder seals but represented in fig. 5 with two hunters and a god (Ea with flowing streams and plants) in a boat; a boar is in the reeds of the marshes; the river is simply suggested by triple straight lines.⁹

Direct visual reference to rivers and river waters is presented by the famous seal of a scribe of Shar-kali-sharri, fig. 6.¹⁰ Two kneeling nude heroes extend vases with flowing streams to antithetical water buffaloes; the scene is set on the rocky bank of a wide river which flows by in even waves. Here the symbolism of the life-giving fresh water is expressed by the natural forces of river and buffalo, with the nude heroes and flowing vases as the only reference to echelons of symbolic forms.

The fresh water blessings surround and issue from the shoulders of the god Ea in the rich glyptic iconography of the Akkadian period. Ea may be seated in a rectangular house framed by streams; vegetation sprouts from the streams emanating from his shoulders, fig. 7.¹¹ In a procession of gods Ea is enveloped in free-style canopy of wavy streams, fig. 8.¹² The artistic elaboration of fresh water streams is strongest on an Akkadian seal from Mari, fig. 9.¹³ The water issues from birds' beaks belonging to a mountain supporting a god; the streams on either side flow to nurture tree-goddesses whose bodies rise from the waters and sprout forth in leafy branches. This is a visual celebration of the life-giving powers of water under divine auspices.

In contrast, post-Akkadian and neo-Sumerian art is sedate. On late Akkadian and post-Akkad seals a secondary frieze can show geese or swans floating on a stream of water.¹⁴ The flowing vase

takes on its symbolic duties in ornamental multiplicity on Gudea's seal and reliefs;¹⁵ a trough from Telloh is sculpted with multiple goddesses holding vases with streams which also originate from heaven where flying, half-emerging goddesses dispense streams of rain from their vases, similar to the role of the "flying angels" on Urnammu's stele from Ur.¹⁶

As Pierre Amiet has pointed out, some of the liveliness of Akkadian iconography survives at Mari in the Old Babylonian period. Impressions of the seal of Iluna-kirish from the Mari palace reveal the persistence of the living boat of the gods: here a god travels in a boat consisting of river waves with protomes of goddesses at bow and stern; a network of vases and flowing streams links "angels" in the sky with vessels held by the god, by a bull-man facing him, and by the boat-goddesses who double as river goddesses and catch the beneficent waters from the sky in their vases. A goddess holding a plant or sapling stands behind the seated god (fig. 10). The scene has been discussed in detail by Amiet and compared with similar seals from Susa, Alişar and other 'Cappadocian' sites;¹⁷ we move into the era of contact in trade and glyptic iconography with the Old Assyrian trading centers in Anatolia.

The seal of Iluna-kirish presents a variant on the Akkadian river boat-theme, and brings the neo-Sumerian network of vases and streams to new life. The goddess with the sapling is akin to goddesses sprouting tree-branches and emerging from streams of water on the Akkadian seal from Mari, fig. 9.

The Alişar seal, fig. 11, was found in a room with a tablet hoard of Kültepe Karum Ib date.¹⁸ The hematite cylinder inherits Akkadian grandeur, but it belongs in the Old Assyrian trading period. A god with bull's ears, accompanied by bull-men, and with nude heroes as boatmen, all with frontal faces (including the small bull-man who serves as footstool) navigate in a boat which is guided and supported by two floating bearded heroes whose lower bodies merge into the waters of the river. These heroes face out,

lying on their backs, one arm gently raised as if protecting prow and stern respectively. The scene has great vigor and originality in its rendering of the voyage and in personifying the river forces as male. The derivative Akkadian style and iconographic elements became known to Anatolians of the Colony period, as the find spot of the seal demonstrates.

At Kültepe-Kanesh, the center of Anatolian international trade in the twentieth to eighteenth centuries B.C., we find evidence of Mesopotamian and Syrian inspiration in the local cylinder seals, as well as use and re-use of foreign seals by the local merchants.¹⁹ A Syrian style cylinder seal impression on a Ib tablet renders a scene of worship of Ea behind whom is a swastika whorl of four nude heroes holding vases surrounded by streams with fish, connecting with the flowing vase held by Ea.²⁰ The ample interlacing of the streams is related to the Mari tradition of the Iluna-kirish seal, fig. 10, and its Akkadian precursors like fig. 7.

Against this background of direct contact of Anatolia with Mesopotamian and North Syrian glyptic iconography of the early second millennium B.C. we have to look at two Anatolian iconographic phenomena which adapt and modify Akkadian water lore to express new, local ideas.

The first group is in the art of Achemhöyük, the large mound which may be Burushhattum, but which in any case through the excavations of Nimet Özgüç has yielded ample evidence of prosperity in the Old Assyrian and Mari periods, in the form of palatial buildings with burnt remains of precious inventory of ivory, rock crystal, obsidian and faience, as well as rich archives of bullae impressed with local and foreign stamp and cylinder seals.

The local stamp seal impressions are important to our search. Many of them represent gods and goddesses from the region of Achemhöyük itself or places in frequent contact with the palaces. Some 200 bullae carry the imprint of a stamp seal with a scene of worship of a seated goddess, fig. 12.²¹ She looks un-Mesopotamian with her long, belted dress and straight coiffure. Holding a cup in

her extended hand she faces a short-robed male worshipper who wears a pointed cap. A small table or altar stands between the two. The realm of the goddess is indicated by the tree with leafed branches behind and over her, with a bird perched on the branch over her head, and the Anatolian sun-disc (signe royal version) in the sky. From the base of the tree springs a stream of water in thick wavy bands extending to the left border of the seal. A fish appears behind the worshipper.

This seal is emancipated from the Mesopotamian-Syrian background which is still strongly represented in some of the other Acemhöyük stamp and cylinder seal impressions. Although of Anatolian style, a cylinder seal with a weather god²² on a bull has a lower frieze including two nude heroes en face from the tops of whose heads streams of water come forth, grasped on either side by the heroes, a new variant of the Mari repertoire. Another cylinder seal has the weather god grasping streams of water behind him as he mounts his bull.²³ Stamp seal impressions have a bull man or hero holding vases with flowing streams.²⁴ The ancestry of these motifs is clear; they have now become familiar also in the Anatolian repertoire of the early 18th century B.C. and are introduced with minor adaptations.

Yet the stamp seal of fig. 12 speaks another language if we put it next to the seal of Iluna-kirish, fig. 10, or the Akkadian seal from Mari, fig. 9. It is not just that the goddess and worshipper have put on local costumes, and that the goddess extends her cup or goblet as she will do in Hittite cult images.²⁵ This scene has been taken out of the miraculous world of tree-women and symbolic mountains with bird protomes spewing forth streams of water (fig. 9), flowing vases and 'angels' pouring water from the sky, and boats personified. Instead, we read a clear pictorial statement of the realm of the goddess of fig. 12: nature, with a leafy tree, a bird, the sun (with the only concession to a Hittite symbol), a stream of fresh water and a fish denoting the bounty of the river.

Does the seal with these realia of environment give a clear image of the specific location of the goddess's cult, near a river or spring and orchard? Are we at Acemhöyük-Burushhattum or nearby, and admiring the stream of the Melendiz river, with trout once abounding?

The repertoire of Acemhöyük seals as analyzed by Nimet Özgüç presents other instances of trees appearing behind seated deities.²⁶ The trees differ botanically, and in one instance may perhaps be recognized as a vine (fig. 13, center). A tree with a straight trunk and short leafed branches, unlike that of the goddess on fig. 12, stands behind a seated bearded god, fig. 13 left; at the base of this tree is water, and a small sailing boat (with mast and stays) appears here, controlled by a man with a steering oar. Realism here shows that the water is navigable, either as a good-sized river (Melendiz?), a lake or the sea. Acemhöyük must have been in contact with coastal towns, even if the Minoan connection still remains to be explored and confirmed.²⁷

The river of the seal fig. 12 is a significant but not necessarily the principal attribute of the goddess, but it may have topographical meaning. The presence of a river with fish in the neighborhood of the palace at Acemhöyük is strongly suggested also by the decoration of the bathtub found scattered in and near the Sarıkaya palace.²⁸ The painted design on this vessel is partly an illustration of a multi-storied palace of the kind excavated at Acemhöyük, with balconies, superposed columns and staircases, partly a rendering of outdoor activities: hunters with spears and dogs pursuing quadrupeds and birds along the banks of a river, a horizontal band with large fish swimming in it (fig. 14); the river also appears on one narrow side of the vessel. The most likely reading is that we see the Melendiz river here not far from the palace buildings, and local hunting as a pastime or ritual festivity of the residents. The artist who decorated the bathtub was not a specialized craftsman like the seal-cutters; in his sketchy style, however, he presents a lively and original rendering of both the main traits of the palace buildings and the hunt. The

river is straight because the painter works in friezes. He tries to render detail so it will be recognizable to his contemporaries, in equipment, costume and architecture. Fish must have been an important asset of the river, not simply pictograms for fresh water.

The straightforward art of 18th-century Acemhöyük is evident in these examples illustrating rivers belonging to the environment and concern of deities and palatial residents. We are on the southern plateau in a world of affinities which may extend overseas. The Anatolian perspective here is not only in the direction of Mari and Akkadian traditions.

If we turn to another province of Anatolian glyptic art, the case for rivers is not as clear and developed, but suggestive again of Anatolian departures from Syro-Mesopotamian iconographic codes. The stamp-cylinders known as the Tyszkiewicz seal (in Boston)²⁹ and the Aydın seal³⁰ in the Louvre are masterpieces of Anatolian glyptic art, produced somewhere in a major center, in the south rather than in the Hittite coreland, in a period close to Karum Kanesh Ib.³¹ Both seals are of a hybrid Anatolian shape which thrived in an innovative phase when the stamp-cylinder was made in hematite as a carrier of detailed iconography.

The Tyszkiewicz seal is clear in its main scene: a seated god on a platform, offering table and the double-faced god in front of him, is approached by three bearded deities who are mounting the steps leading to the platform. Two of the gods wear Mesopotamian long robes but the second worshipper, who is helmeted and has long locks in the back, wears a knee-length cloak over a short kilt leaving one leg free. Emblems on the hats mark the other two worshipping gods as sun- and moon-god respectively. There is some local color in implements (litui held in front and tilted down). The remainder of the frieze is less clearly assignable to the worship scene: the small unveiling goddess still faces the main seated god, but is not connected with the lion and bull below her; the group of the helmeted active warrior spearing a victim overlaps with that of two men (one a libating priest) dealing with a victim

on a tripodic table. What concerns us here is the context of the two men behind and below the main god (figs. 15 a-c).

On the side of the platform which elevates the seated god is a swimmer, nude, in what must be a river with a pebbly bottom. The swimmer extends one arm and holds a fish in his fist; his other arm is parallel to the body. The counterpart figure is floating vertically. He seems to wear a belt and perhaps a short costume. His hair ends in a curl in his nape. He raises his arms and looks up; his legs are bent and loose, not standing. He is enveloped in a contour with curved inner lines of varying length; some of these curves continue around the legs. He is thus drenched in water which descends from the sky, perhaps from a round vessel above his right hand (left, in the original, fig. 15b). His left foot is near that of the swimmer, and the curved lines and crescents descend behind the throne of the main god to just over the legs of the swimmer, below whom are round pebbles. These two figures belong together and float or swim in fresh water which descends behind the main god (thus, 'Ea' in Mesopotamian context) and continues along the side of his platform. Behind the swimmer and below the legs of the floating man, the register has a large ear of barley (?) and a bulbous shape with pendant (a fruit?) and a bull's head, probably a rhyton, next to two more vessels which belong to the scene with the priest and victim, as the bull-rhyton also might. Vegetation thus appears on the dado of the heavenly downpour. In front of the swimmer, on the edge of the platform but separate from the river waters, are three vessels belonging to the main cult scene: a basin on bent legs, a biconical pedestalled stand with offerings in the bowl, and a beaked pitcher, in front of which the platform steps down to the much lower levels of the worshippers.

The Tyszkiewicz seal is clear about the cult setting of the god, which is not a decorative pattern of flowing streams but a rendering of waters descending from the sky and forming a river, with swimmers who enjoy the downpour and continue in the swollen river where a fish is caught by hand. Is all this imaginative Anatolian improvisation on the part of the seal cutter who wants to

convey an image of the water god's realm? Or is the design one we could have seen in the god's temple, on the side of his platform and the rear wall of the shrine, replacing the Mesopotamian goat-fish and flowing vases with local, creative imagery? One expects a local name and epithet for this form of water god in a major shrine of south Anatolia. The two swimmers in any case eclipse in size and importance the unveiling goddess, somewhat lost in the distance, who in the Akkadian and subsequent tradition brings down the blessings of rain as heavenly downpour, as Maurits van Loon has recently discussed.³²

If we check these general and specific points on the Aydın seal (fig. 16), we note resemblances and differences, a certain stiffening as well. The design has been reduced to one frieze, basically, depicting the procession of three gods and the two-faced god towards the main god with his lion-supported offering stand. His throne is similar to that of the Tyszkiewicz god, but an ibex protome is added to the rear leg. Behind the god is his consort with her own retinue of griffin men; her throne is raised above what must have been two reclining ibexes, in Karum Anatolian style. Behind her appears the floater from the Tyszkiewicz seal, here again enveloped in a canopy contour. On the Aydın seal the contour is clearly preserved and filled with crescents that must mean the realm of rain and fresh water, in which one fish swims upward and another horizontally to the right at the base. A lacuna left by a chip in the design leaves no room for a swimmer below the second griffin man and the goddess. The Aydın downpour is encouraged and joined by streams of water from a flowing vase held by a robed figure standing back to back with the third, Anatolian god of the main procession.

The Aydın seal, a bit later than the Tyszkiewicz seal to judge by the hieroglyphic signs on its stamp face, preserves the theme of the floater in the downpour but lacks the detailed imagery and creativity of its predecessor, especially the close conjunction of the main god on his podium with the downpour, river and swimmers.

The river swimmer visually supports the enthroned god on the Tyszkiewicz seal.

The seals and ceramic painting from Acemhöyük (figs. 12-14), as well as the Tyszkiewicz group of cylinder-stamp seals give evidence of special Anatolian concern with the abundance of rain, fresh water supply and rivers. Anatolia is not a land of great river valleys, yet in its own way it saw the development of prosperous centers along the many rivers heading for the Black Sea, the Aegean and the Mediterranean, and both the Tigris and Euphrates originated in the lands of East Anatolians. On the plateau, the main rivers were the Halys-Maraššantija and the Sangarios-Šahiriija.³³ Smaller streams provided individual sites and towns with water supplies, fishing and transportation. Springs, lakes, rivers mysteriously appearing and disappearing were a vital interest of the plateau and mountain dwellers. Legend developed around the river (understood to be the Halys) in which the Queen of Kanesh exposed her thirty newborn sons to be carried to Zalpuwa and the (Black) Sea.³⁴

Hittite descriptions of cult statues and statuettes include a fair number of rivers and springs, some made of wood overlaid with silver, or of iron, and all in the form of women. Statuettes of mountains may be set on springs. These water goddesses belonging to the Hittite period are described as seated and holding a cup. Such a goddess may perhaps have found an early visual rendering in Acemhöyük, fig. 12, and in the straightforward iconography of this stamp seal we have a non-oriental, proto-Hittite rendering of a cult scene.

The iconography of the Tyszkiewicz seal is much more complicated, but again its essentials are to be interpreted in Anatolian terms. The main god, enthroned on his platform, holds a cup in his right hand and a double axe (?) and two tendrils or litui in his left; his aquatic company, the vegetal emblem and cult vessels, as well as the elaborate offering basin-table with leonine supports, filled with fruits, are rendered in confident detail. Yet here we are at a loss to find relevant *Bildbeschreibungen* in

Hittite texts, and with the exception of the simplified Aydin seal, we lose the iconographic trail of the Tyszkiewicz scene of god and swimmer(s), unless we want to hypothesize a miraculous connection with the (otherwise unprecedented) swimmer under Hellenistic Tyche statues of Antioch, showing the goddess seated on a mountain, a nude swimmer (Orontes) at her feet, a configuration which also became popular for Tychai in Cilicia, e.g. at Tarsus, with the Cydnus river.³⁵

To return to realia, we have glimpses of rivers as natural phenomena illustrated on the seal and larnax-paintings of Acemhöyük on the Melendiz river (figs. 12 and 14). Rain and rainstorms, natural phenomena belonging to the domain of Anatolian weather gods, are illustrated in a naturalistic manner descending from the sky and clouds above the bull god on cylinder seals of the Anatolian group at Kültepe,³⁶ so that the bull-men and heroes with flowing vases and the unveiling goddess are no longer obligatory elements of the design, although still familiar. Rivers and springs do not seem to appear on the seal impressions of the Kanesh archives. We shall be enlightened when more of the network of trading stations will have been excavated, but at present the glyptic evidence from Acemhöyük reinforces the originality of the Burushhattum (?!) region which is so amply represented in the architecture of the palaces and their contents of precious stone, metal and ivories.

NOTES

1. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London 1939) pl. III d, e.
2. H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* (Chicago 1955) p. 16 and fig. 34.

3. H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* pl. 10, 76.
4. E. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk* (Berlin 1936) pl. 38 shows the preserved part of the frieze.
5. P. Amiet, *La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque* (Paris 1961) pl. 40, 609. A river scene with vegetation, a boat with fishermen, and wavy lines for the river appear on a seal impression from Uruk, Amiet *op. cit.* pl. 13bis, G. For a hunting scene on land cf. Amiet pl. 39, 603; A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (Berlin 1940) pl. I, 1.
6. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* p. 26, figs. 11 and 8.
7. A. Scharff, Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo 6(1936) pp. 103-107 and pl. 25a, b.
8. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* pl. XIX 2, text pp. 108-110. R.M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit* (Berlin 1965) pl. LX, 477-478.
9. P. Amiet, *L'art d'Agadé au Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1976) No. 78. D. Collon, *First Impressions* (London 1987) No. 697.
10. P. Amiet, *L'art d'Agadé au Musée du Louvre* No. 73, p. 45. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* pl. XVII c; Boehmer *op. cit.* (note 8) fig. 232. The river on this seal resembles that on an Uruk seal with a hunting scene, A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* pl. I, 1.
11. C.L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations II* (London-Philadelphia 1934) No. 384.
12. P. Amiet, *L'art d'Agadé* No. 93; Boehmer *op. cit.* (note 8) fig. 379.
13. P. Amiet, Syria 37 (1960) pp. 215-221, fig. 1. H.J. Kantor, Journal of Near Eastern Studies 25 (1966) p. 147, fig. 4.
14. D. Collon, *First Impressions* (London 1987) p. 36 and No. 113. A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* No. 247. E. Porada, *Corpus of Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I* (Washington 1948) No. 260.
15. E. Douglas van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams* (Berlin 1933) figs. 34-35, p. 69f. A. Moortgat, *Die Kunst des alten Mesopotamien* (Köln 1967) pl. 188, pl. N 1.
16. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç* (Ankara 1989) p. 217. A. Moortgat, *Die Kunst des alten Mesopotamien* pl. 188.

17. P. Amiet, Syria 37 (1960) pp. 215-219, figs. 1-4.
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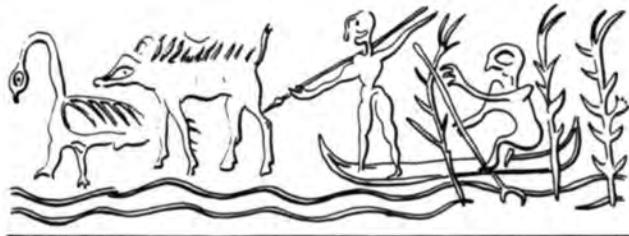


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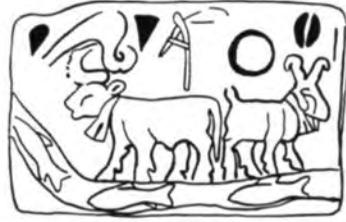
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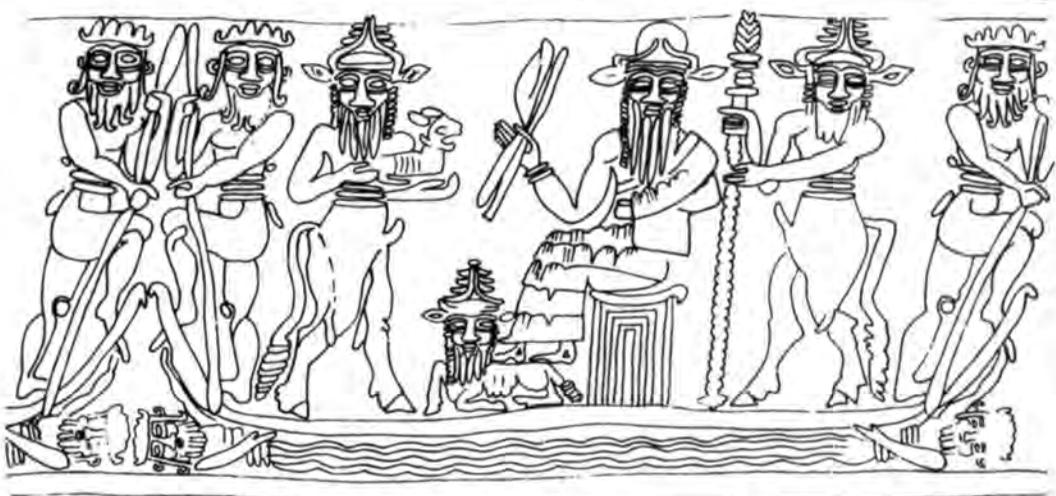
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14a



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Ac.J 10



Ac.K 75



Ac. I .205



14b



15a



15b



15c

16



Eine Wandmalerei aus Halawa und die Darstellung der Sonne in der vorderasiatischen Kunst

Ausgangspunkt meiner Betrachtungen ist eine Wandmalerei, die 1985 auf dem Tell Halawa B in einem Raum der Schicht 3 gefunden wurde¹. Nach ihrer Bergung im Jahr 1986 wurde sie in den Jahren 1987/88 restauriert. Abb.1 zeigt eine an Ort und Stelle hergestellte Umzeichnung; die Aufnahmen von dem *in situ*-Zustand sind nicht sehr deutlich, und es war noch nicht möglich, das restaurierte Bild zu fotografieren, da die Schutzschicht auf der Vorderseite noch nicht abgenommen wurde.

Die Malerei ist mit roter und schwarzer Farbe auf einem weißen Kalkgrund ausgeführt, der seinerseits auf dem Lehmverputz der Wand aufgetragen war. Eine ähnliche Technik wurde auch bei der schon früher in Halawa gefundenen Wandmalerei beobachtet². Bei den Grabungen der letzten Jahre wurde gerade in der Schicht 3 des Tell B vielfach Fragmente von Wandmalereien gefunden; dabei handelt es sich überwiegend um geometrische Motive. Auch auf der gegenüberliegenden Wand des Raumes, aus dem die hier gezeigte Malerei stammt, fand sich Bemalung, wobei dort aber keine figürlichen Darstellungen zu erkennen sind. Über die Datierung der Schicht 3 des Tell B herrscht noch nicht völlige Klarheit. Meiner Ansicht nach ist diese Schicht in eine Phase der frühsyrischen Kultur zu datieren, die dem Ende von ED I oder dem Beginn von ED II in Mesopotamien entspricht; F. Lüth, der die Grabungen in diesem Bereich betreut hat, vertritt eine etwas frühere Datierung³.

Die Darstellung zeigt in der Mitte eine große ovale Fläche, die von einer breiten Linie umgrenzt wird. Weiter innen verläuft eine zweite breite Linie parallel zu der ersten; die Fläche zwischen diesen beiden Linien wird deutlich durch ein Winkelband ausgefüllt.

Im Innern der ovalen Fläche ist in der Mitte ein vertikaler Strich zu sehen, der über zwei parallelen horizontalen Linien endet. Rechts von der vertikalen Linien findet sich ein Kreis mit

einem in die Mitte gesetzten Punkt, an den nach außen dünne radiale Linien anschließen. Oberhalb gibt es eine geschwungene Linie mit kurzen, schräg zu ihr stehenden Stichgruppen.

Es ist nicht schwer, in diesen Details die *en face*-Darstellung eines menschlichen Gesichtes zu erkennen. Nase, Munde, ein Auge und die Augenbraue erlauben eine solche Identifikation. Diese bestätigt sich dadurch, daß die gleiche Malerei noch zwei weitere *en face* dargestellte menschliche Gesichter erkennen läßt, die in wesentlich kleinerem Maßstab, aber mit vergleichbaren Einzelheiten gezeichnet sind.

Diese beiden Gesichter - eines rechts oben, das andere links - gehören jeweils zu Wesen, die einen Körper und Gliedmaßen aufweisen. Bei dem linken Wesen sehen wir einen langen Hals, einen sanduhrförmigen Körper, die herabhängenden Oberarme, die hochgestreckten, überlang dargestellten Unterarme sowie andeutungsweise die Beine. Bei dem Wesen rechts oben sind Körper und Beine gut zu erkennen, die Arme sind weniger deutlich, sie lassen sich kaum von den blattförmigen Gebilden unterscheiden, die an Beine und Körper dieses Wesens anzusetzen scheinen. In Analogie zu - wesentlich späteren - Darstellungen könnte man versucht sein, hierin zwei an dem Rücken ansetzende Flügel zu sehen; es könnte sich aber auch um Zweige oder etwas ähnliches handeln, die das Wesen in den Händen hält.

Vergleicht man die anderen auf dem Bild dargestellten Figuren, zu denen weitere allerdings im Profil wiedergegebene menschliche Figuren mit unterschiedlichen »Attributen« gehören, so wird nicht nur durch den Maßstab, sondern auch durch die Ausrichtung dieser Figuren deutlich, daß das *en face* dargestellte Gesicht in der Mitte tatsächlich den Mittelpunkt der ganzen Szene bildet, die sogar eine gewisse Symmetrie im Aufbau erkennen läßt. Es handelt sich also vermutlich nicht etwa um den zufällig erhaltenen Ausschnitt eines grösseren Bildes, sondern um eine weitgehend in sich abgeschlossene Komposition.

Zu dem Gesicht in der Mitte gehört offenbar kein Körper. Man könnte natürlich vermuten, daß die geometrischen Muster unterhalb des Gesichtes den Hals darstellen sollen, doch sind rechteckige Felder mit Querstrichen und wellenlinien auch oben und an den Seiten an die ovale äußere Umrahmung des Gesichtes angesetzt, so daß eine Art Kreuzform entsteht, die bei den *en face* dargestellten

kleineren Figuren keine Entsprechung hat. Daß es sich bei den seitlichen Feldern um eine stilisierte Wiedergabe der Ohren handelt, ist wenig wahrscheinlich. Im Grunde liegt also nur die isolierte Darstellung eines menschlichen Gesichtes als Mittelpunkt einer komplexen Darstellung vor, zu der außer den beiden erwähnten menschlichen Figuren *en face* und im Profil auch Vierbeiner und pflanzliche Elemente gehören.

Von den Mitarbeitern, die diese Malerei freigelegt und gezeichnet haben, wurde sie spontan als »Sonnenscheibe« gedeutet. Diese zunächst unreflektierte Anschauung hat ihre Wurzel vermutlich in Vorstellungen und Bildern, die uns seit unserer Kindheit geläufig sind: die Sonne als Scheibe mit einem menschlichen Gesicht, von der Strahlen ausgehen. In dem Winkelband zwischen dem äußeren und dem inneren Oval der Umrahmung kann man einen derartigen Strahlenkranz erkennen. Wenn man allerdings über die Frage der Interpretation der Darstellung nachzudenken beginnt, kommen einem sehr bald Zweifel, ob dem Mahler, dem wir dieses Bild verdanken, derartige Vorstellungen zuzutrauen sind, und man beginnt nach Möglichkeiten zu suchen, objektivere Kriterien für eine Deutung zu finden.

Daß die Darstellungform der Wandmalerei nicht einmalig ist, zeigt eine bemalte Kalksteinplatte, die sich in dem gleichen Jahr ebenfalls auf dem Tell Halawa B fand⁴. Sie lag im Auffüllschutt unter einem Bau der Schicht 2, ist also ebenfalls der Schicht 3 zuzurechnen. Die Platte (Abb. 2) ist nur grob zurechtgehauen; auf der bemalten Vorderseite ist sie gut geglättet. Die rote und schwarze Malfarbe ist gut zu erkennen. Die Platte konnte als eine Art kleiner Stele aufgestellt oder in eine Wand eingelassen gewesen sein. Die Fundsituation spricht nicht dafür, daß es sich um eine Gründungsbeigabe für das Gebäude der Schicht 2 handelt, eher könnte man an eine Deponierung von nicht mehr benötigtem Kultinventar denken.

Auch hier ist ein menschliches Gesicht *en face* dargestellt. Diesmal ist die äußere Begrenzung fast kreisrund, an sie setzt nach außen ein Kranz von kurzen radialen Linien an. Die Nase und die Augenbrauen sind deutlich gezeichnet, die Augen selbst werden wiederum von Kreisen mit einem Punkt in der Mitte gebildet, an die nach außen radiale Linien ansetzen. Reste eines Körpers bzw. eines

Halses sind nicht zu erkennen, auch fehlt - ebenso wie bei dem Wandbild - eine Darstellung der Ohren.

Nicht ohne weiteres beantworten läßt sich die Frage, wie der »Strahlenkranz« um das Gesicht zu deuten ist. Einerseits könnte es sich um die Wiedergabe des Haares handeln: dazu paßt die Art, wie die Brauen gezeichnet sind; die entsprechenden »Strahlenkränze« um die Augen ließen sich als Wiedergabe der Wimpern interpretieren. Allerdings paßt dazu nicht so gut, daß sich die »Strahlen« um das ganze Gesicht ziehen, also auch um den unteren Rand, wo man allenfalls an die Darstellung eines Bartes denken könnte, von dem aber sonst keine Andeutung zu sehen ist. Der Vergleich mit der Wandmalerei zeigt, daß diesem Strahlenkranz das Winkelband zwischen der äußeren und inneren Umrandung entspricht, das sich kaum als die Wiedergabe einer Behaarung deuten läßt.

Die Tatsache, daß sich das Bild eines *en face* dargestellten menschlichen Gesichts als Einzeldarstellung, also ohne szenischen Zusammenhang, auf der Kalksteinplatte wiederholt, spricht dafür, daß die Ideen, die einem solchen Bild zugrunde liegen, innerhalb der Vorstellungswelt der damaligen Bevölkerung von Halawa erhebliche Bedeutung gehabt haben müssen: wir haben es sicherlich nicht mit spielerischen »Gelegenheitszeichnungen« oder »naiver Malerei« ohne tieferen Sinn zu tun. Der Raum, in dem die Wandmalerei angebracht war, wies zwar keinerlei Installationen auf, die ihn als Kultraum kennzeichnen könnten; er liegt aber im Bereich des späteren Hauptraums des Tempels der Schicht 2.

Stellen wir uns nun noch einmal den Bezugsrahmen vor Augen. Bei der Wandmalerei erscheint das Gesicht in einem Kontext, der kaum als ein Bild aus dem täglichen Leben vorstellbar ist. Jede Art von Genrebild oder Landschaftsdarstellung, bei der eine Sonne hinzugefügt werden könnte, scheidet daher von vornherein aus. Dafür gäbe es in der Bildkunst des Alten Orients auch keine Parallele. Das Thema »Sonne« wird über die Jahrtausende hinweg eigentlich nur in zwei Formen in das Bild gesetzt: einerseits in der Sonnenscheibe als Symbol, welches das anthropomorphe Bild des Sonnengottes ergänzen oder ersetzen kann. Wenn ich als erstes Beispiel ein sehr spätes Zeugnis vorführe, dann deshalb, weil auf der sog. »Tafel des Nabu-apla-iddina«⁵ aus der Mitte des 9. Jhd.v.Chr. beide Darstellungsweisen miteinander verbunden sind: der Sonnengott in

einem Schrein thronend, und vor ihm auf einem Gestell oder Tischen die Sonnenscheibe als Symbol.

Die anthropomorphe Darstellung des Sonnengottes braucht hier nicht weiter zu interessieren. In der langen Bildtradition dieser Götterdarstellung haben sich unterschiedliche Typen ausgeprägt. Die älteste Form scheint die Darstellung des Gottes im Boot zu sein, die bereits auf Siegeln der frühdynastischen Zeit vorkommt, aber auch noch in der akkadischen Glyptik zu belegen ist⁶; sie thematisiert am deutlichsten die Vorstellung, daß der Sonnengott während der Nacht durch die Unterwelt fährt, um von West nach Ost zurückzugelangen. In der Akkadezeit überwiegt jedoch ein anderer Bildtyp, der des aus dem Gebirge aufsteigenden Sonnengottes⁷, und schließlich entsteht in dieser Zeit auch der Typ des thronenden Sonnengottes⁸, der dann für die folgenden Jahrhunderte bestimmend wird und der schließlich in der vorhin gezeigten Tafel des Nabu-apla-iddina wiederkehrt.

In Zusammenhang mit den Malereien aus Halawa sind die Darstellungen des Sonnensymbols von weit größerem Interesse. In Mesopotamien selbst finden sich derartige Sonnensymbole m.W. zuerst in akkadischer Zeit, und zwar meist zusammen mit anderen astralen Symbolen wie der Mondsichel und dem Ištarstern. Zu den bekanntesten Beispielen gehört die Stele des Naramsin aus Susa⁹. Hier erscheint die Sonne in Form eines Sterns, bei dem zwischen die acht Zacken Bündel aus gewellten Strahlen gesetzt sind; merkwürdigerweise sind alle drei Astralsymbole an der Spitze der Stele anscheinend gleich gezeichnet. Eine ähnliche Darstellung des Sonnensymbols findet sich sowohl bei der Urnammu-Stele aus Ur als auch bei dem Fragment der Stele des Utuhengal¹⁰. Auf einem spätakkadischen Siegel im Museum Aleppo¹¹ ist das Symbol als kreisrunde Scheibe dargestellt, in die ein vierzackiger Stern mit Strahlenbündeln zwischen den Zacken einbeschrieben ist; dies ist ein frühes Beispiel für die gleichsam kanonische Form des Sonnensymbols, die sich in der babylonischen Tradition bis in das erste Jahrtausend hinein fortsetzt, wie ein Kudurru-Relief aus der Zeit des Nebukadnezar I.¹² und ein anderes aus der Zeit des Enlil-nadin-apli¹³ deutlich machen. Die Strahlenbündel zwischen den Zacken des Sternes bilden dabei den einzigen Unterschied gegenüber dem Sternsymbol, das häufig zusammen mit dem Sonnensymbol und der Mondsichel auftritt und das den

Ištarstern repräsentiert. Es ist festzustellen, daß in dieser Bildtradition die Sonnendarstellung niemals anthropomorphe Züge annimmt, d.h. niemals in Form eines menschlichen Gesichtes erscheint.

In Assyrien wurde dieses kanonische Sonnensymbol - wohl unter mitannischem Einfluß - im Verlauf des 2. Jahrtsd. v.Chr. durch die Flügelsonne ersetzt, ein Symbol ägyptischen Ursprungs, daß auf dem Weg über Syrien in den Vorderen Orient eingedrungen zu sein scheint. Manche mitannische Rollsiegel¹⁴ bieten eine frühe Form, bei welcher die Sonnenscheibe auf einem Flügelpaar ruht, während bei einem der sog. Kerkuk-Siegel auf einer Abrollung im Berliner Museum¹⁵ die Scheibe zwischen den Flügeln sitzt, eine Form, die sich bei den neuassyrischen Darstellungen durchsetzt. Die Stele Assurnasirpals II. aus dem NW-Palast in Nimrud¹⁶ zeigt die Flügelsonne in dieser Form zusammen mit der Mondsichel und dem Stern; sie nimmt hier den gleichen Platz zwischen den anderen Astralsymbolen ein wie das in Babylonien übliche traditionelle Sonnensymbol, das dort nur ausnahmsweise durch die Flügelsonne verdrängt wird (z.B. Kudurru des Marduk-balasu-iqbi¹⁷). Die Sonnenscheibe selbst kann auch bei der Form als Flügelsonne durch eine Binnenzeichnung gegliedert werden, wobei wiederum eine rosettenartige Anordnung mit Wellenbündeln vorkommt. Züge eines menschlichen Gesichtes treten aber auch in diesem Zusammenhang nicht auf.

Allerdings kann die Flügelsonne im assyrischen Bereich mit anthropomorphen Elementen kombiniert werden. Auf dem »Zerbrochenen Obelisk« des Assurbelkala¹⁸ erscheint die Flügelsonne zusammen mit anderen Göttersymbolen im oberen Teil des Bildfeldes vor dem König. Hier setzen an der Sonne zwei menschliche Hände an, die einen Bogen so halten, als wollten sie ihn dem König reichen - eine Darstellung, die wohl die besondere Unterstützung des Herrschers durch den Sonnengott symbolisieren soll. Von einer solchen Darstellung ist es kein sehr großer Schritt mehr zu dem Bild des »Gottes in der Flügelscheibe«, den wir auf assyrischen Wandreliefs des 9. Jhd. in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen finden. Solche Darstellungen finden sich auch auf Rollsiegeln wie dem des Musezib-Ninurta¹⁹, das eine sehr getreue Kopie von Wandreliefs des Assurnasirpal darstellt. Die Deutung dieser Figur ist vielfach diskutiert worden, auch in Zusammenhang mit den entsprechenden

achämenidischen Darstellungen. Die Tatsache, daß auf assyrischen Siegeln im gleichen Kontext eine einfache Flügelsonne vorkommen kann²⁰ spricht m.E. ebenso wie das Vorbild bei dem »Zerbrochenen Obelisk« dafür, daß das Bild des »Gottes in der Flügelscheibe« in der Tradition der Sonnengott-Darstellungen steht.

Von diesen späten Belegen für eine Verbindung zwischen der Sonnenscheibe in der Form der Flügelsonne und einem menschlichen Oberkörper führt aber kein unmittelbarer Weg zurück zu unseren frühsyrischen Malereien.

Wenn wir uns in dem näheren zeitlichen und räumlichen Umfeld dieser Bilder umsehen, treffen wir allenfalls auf sonnen- oder sternähnliche Symbole ohne anthropomorphe Züge. Bei einer Gruppe syrischer Rollsiegel aus vorakkadischer Zeit kommen solche Symbole vor, so z.B. bei einem fragmentarisch erhaltenen Siegel aus Habuba Kabira über dem Rücken eines Tieres²¹, also im Grunde nicht gerade im Mittelpunkt der Darstellung. Ein unpubliziertes Siegel der gleichen Gruppe in einer Privatsammlung zeigt das gleiche Symbol ebenfalls über dem Rücken eines Tieres; vor dem Tier steht eine menschliche Figur, die in ihrer Darstellungsweise sehr an die im Profil wiedergegebenen menschlichen Figuren unseres Wandbildes erinnert: anscheinend stehen diese Siegel in der gleichen Kunsttradition, die solche Wandbilder hervorgebracht hat.

Die Wandmalereien, die in dieser Zeit nicht nur in Halawa, sondern z.B. auch in Mumbaqat entstanden sind, lassen auch eine gewisse Verbindung zu der bemalten frühdynastische Keramik, der sog. Scarlet-Ware, erkennen. Die Zeichnungen menschlicher Figuren ebenso wie die geometrischen Muster sind durchaus vergleichbar: so kommen auch in der Scarlet-Ware *en-face*-Darstellungen menschlicher Figuren vor²².

Leider gibt es in der Scarlet-Ware m.W. keine Darstellung, die sich als Sonnensymbol interpretieren ließe. Bei der mit dieser Gattung verwandten Susa-II-Keramik kennen wir immerhin ein Beispiel für eine Scheibe mit doppeltem Zackenkranz²³, in der man ein Sonnensymbol sehen könnte - allerdings wiederum ohne jegliche Züge eines menschlichen Gesichts.

Zum Schluß sollen noch die wenigen altorientalischen Darstellungen erwähnt werden, die eine mit Zacken versehene Scheibe mit einem

menschlichen Gesicht kombinieren. Zu nennen ist hier zum einen ein altbabylonisches Terrakottarelief aus Khafadji²⁴. Das Gesicht gehört zu einem menschlichen Körper. Die Figur ist Teil einer Szene, in der eine männliche Gottheit dieses Wesen packt und mit einem Dolch ersticht. Daß wir es hier mit einer Darstellung des Sonnengottes zu tun haben, ist unwahrscheinlich: die Figur ist offenbar als weiblich gekennzeichnet, der Zackenkranz ohne gewellte Strahlenbündel erinnert mehr an die Darstellung des Ištarsterns, und schließlich spricht auch der szenische Zusammenhang gegen eine solche Deutung. Immerhin: hier ist einmal der Schritt zu einer Darstellungsweise vollzogen, für die es im Alten Orient sonst kein unmittelbares Gegenstück gibt.

Zeitlich und räumlich näher steht unserer Malerei das Relief auf einem silbernen Becher aus 'Ain Samiya in Palästina²⁵. Das Grab wird aufgrund seiner Keramik in die frühe Mittelbronzezeit datiert²⁶. In der Darstellung des Reliefs finden sich Elemente, die eine Herkunft des Bechers aus dem Umkreis der sumerischen Kunst des 3. Jahrtaus. vermuten lassen. Eine der beiden erhaltenen Szenen zeigt im Mittelpunkt eine mit einer zwölfblättrigen Rosette gefüllte Scheibe über einem sichelförmigen Gebilde, das von zwei »Helden« getragen wird. Eine Deutung dieser Scheibe als Sonne liegt nahe, zumal in der Verbindung mit dem vielleicht als Mondsichel zu interpretierenden Gebilde. Und hier erscheint nun tatsächlich in der Mitte der Rosette ein menschliches Gesicht.

Zusammenfassend ist leider festzustellen, daß uns das archäologische Vergleichsmaterial bei einer Deutung unserer Bilder aus Halawa weitgehend im Stich läßt. Von den unscheinbaren Zackensternen über dem Rücken der Tiere auf den Rollsiegeln ist es ein weiterer Schritt zu dem das ganze Wandbild beherrschenden menschlichen Gesicht im Strahlenkranz. Es wäre deshalb sicherlich vorschnell, andere Interpretationsmöglichkeiten von vornherein auszuschließen. Die Parallele zwischen der Darstellung des Auges innerhalb des Gesichtes auf der Kalksteinplatte und der äußeren Form eben dieses Gesichtes läßt es zumindestens denkbar erscheinen, auch in dieser Richtung nach einer Deutung zu suchen.

NOTES

1. Vgl. F. Lüth in W. Orthmann, *Halawa 1980-1986*, S. 101-104, Abb.66.
2. Vgl. F. Lüth in W. Orthmann, *Halawa 1977-79*, S. 42-43, Tf.8.
3. F. Lüth, in W. Orthmann, *Halawa 1980-1986*, S.109.
4. F. Lüth a.O. Abb.67.
5. Barnett/Wiseman, *Fifty Masterpieces of Ancient Near Eastern Art*, S.41; Rashid *BJV* 7, 1967, S.297ff.
6. z.B. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit*, Abb.477 = *PKG XIV*, Abb.136,b.
7. z.B. Boehmer a.O., Abb.420 = *PKG XIV*, Abb.136,a.
8. z.B. Boehmer, a.O. Abb.461 = *PKG XIV*, Abb.136,c.
9. de Morgan, *MDP* 1, S.144ff; seither sehr häufig abgebildet, u.a. *PKG XIV*, Abb.104.
10. *Expedition* 20.1, 1977, S.17 Abb.21.
11. *PKG XIV*, Abb.138,c.
12. Strommenger/Hirmer, *Mesopotamien*, Abb.272.
13. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, Taf.I.
14. "Archäologie zur Bibel", Kat. Frankfurt 1981, Abb.76.
15. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, Abb.268,a.
16. *Iraq* 14, 1952, Taf.3.
17. King, a.O., Taf.42.
18. Budge, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, Taf. nach S.50.
19. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Taf.33,a.
20. z.B. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, 606.
21. *MDOG* 105, 1973, S.65 Abb.26.
22. Strommenger/Hirmer, *Mesopotamien*, Taf.VIII.

23. Nagel, *Djamdat-Nasr Kulturen und fröhdynastische Bundkeramiker*, Taf.32.
24. Opificius, *Das altbabylonische Terrakottarelief*, Abb.488.
25. Yeivin, *IEJ* 21, 1971, S.78ff.
26. Shantur/Labadi, *IEJ* 21, 1971, S.73ff.



Abb. 1



Abb. 2

A Cylinder with a Storm God and Problems

Just at the time at which I received the invitation for the meeting in honor of Maurits van Loon on the theme of "Natural Phenomena", Jonathan P. Rosen showed me a cylinder in his collection that portrays two gods, one of whom holds lightning symbols, which are taken to identify him as a storm god (Fig. 1). The cylinder closely resembles a seal impression on a tablet from Nuzi (Figs. 2 and 3), which provides a framework for the Rosen cylinder within the Mitannian style of the fifteenth to fourteenth century BC. This was an apparently unproblematic and very welcome subject for the theme of the meeting.

The cylinder is said to have been found in a rich tomb in an unidentified location. In the impression the storm god is on the left and holds up two lightning symbols while standing on a lion that has the tail of a bird and water flowing from his mouth. Globules seem to rise from the liquid, forming a column that reaches to the upper field, leaving a space, above which a further group of globules creates a form like a cloud which terminates in the head of a bird with a prominent beak. Facing the god with the lightning symbols is another god, identically robed in a bordered garment. With both hands that god holds a stick on his neck and shoulders and stands on the hindmost part of a gigantic rearing bull-horned serpent with open leonine mouth and a projecting pointed tongue, that may extend to one of the globules. There is some damage to the surface of the cylinder at that point. The bends in the body of the serpent were carefully adjusted by the engraver to the figure of the god, with the slight changes in direction occurring at the elbow of the god, at his knee and at his foot. Visually, this results in stressing the association of the god with the monstrous serpent. Beside this god are a leaping mountain goat, a standing goat with twisted horns, that are indicated by drillings along the straight upward pointing shafts (perhaps meant to

represent those of a markhor, the largest type of goat);¹ and a fallen stag, who is being attacked by a lion. A damage in the seal which created a line between the neck and one of the hind legs of the stag, appears to have been used by the engraver to place one of the lion's paws upon it,² while the other paw rests on the nose of the stag.

The first god has a symmetrical posture that makes him appear more like an icon than an active deity. The lightning symbols, which contribute to this effect, have a bulbous form where the prongs of the symbol meet and another at the end of the handle. They do not look like the more naturalistic Old Babylonian representations of lightning, from which they are derived,³ but rather like objects carefully turned on a lathe by an expert craftsman.

The representation of gods, as in this seal, and in the impression Fig. 2, is not frequent in this style. This is due to the change in the iconography of most of the seal designs in the Mitannian period from the Old Babylonian subject of gods with or without worshippers to worshippers alone, often with a sacred tree or with a sacred tree flanked only by animals or composite creatures. The elaborate designs found in several of the seal impressions from Nuzi showing deities may indicate that the original cylinders were made at the special request of the seal owner or that they had been carved in some other center. We may assume a similar situation for Figs. 1 and 2, which are so far unique in the Mitannian repertory. Perhaps we should ascribe to the rarity of the demand for such representations the divergence from the usual representation of the storm god's mount, the lion dragon, which seems to lack the traditional bird claws on the hind feet, although these have only three digits while one of the forefeet has four digits. Even though this difference may have been intended to indicate the nature of the hind feet, it does not conform to the common stylization of bird claws seen in seal designs from the Akkade to the Old Babylonian period.⁴ I was unable to determine from extant publications whether or not the lion dragon of the storm god in other Mitannian seals had bird claws on the hind feet.

The bubbles, which I assume are what the globules rising from the liquid spewed out by the lion dragon are intended to be, are reminiscent of the bubbles rising from the streams spewed out by

the bull pulling the chief god's chariot on the Hasanlu bowl.⁵ Instead of bubbles, however, the drillings could also indicate hailstones, as Pierre Amiet suggests for the Hasanlu bowl and the vase from an Iranian site.⁶ The bird, whose head terminates in what looks like a cloud of globules, is most likely associated with an element in the sky, such as a rainstorm or hailstorm. Is the bird associated in some way with the god whose head he almost seems to touch? This problem must remain unanswered.

The fact that the second god is represented similarly to the first makes one wonder about the relationship of the two gods. Are they closely connected in some mythological context, as yet unknown? That they do not represent one and the same deity seems certain because of the slight differences in their attire that can be noted in the related seal impression from Nuzi (Figs. 2 and 3) discussed below.

The posture of the god holding a stick on his neck and shoulders is encountered occasionally in cylinder seals of Syrian style. In connection with such a representation on a cylinder, Dominique Collon suggested that the stick - or bar, as she calls it - was meant to be a yoke. She gave several examples where the object does indeed appear to have had such a function.⁷ However, it seems to me that the stick, strongly bent like a cane in Fig. 1,⁸ had some other meaning, perhaps that of a symbol of authority. The way in which it is being held, however, suggests to me a posture of relaxation.

There is also a question about the three horned animals and the lion. Usually Mitannian seals show such animals in a symmetrical secondary motif of unknown significance. However, here the goat jumping up close behind the god seems to indicate an intimate relationship, as if there were a connection between the god and the animals beside him.

Relatively little help for the interpretation of the god is provided by the seal impression from Nuzi, Figs. 2 and 3.⁹ The storm god with his two lightning symbols stands on a winged lion or lion dragon; its feet are not preserved. Unlike the lion dragon of the cylinder, it is not this monster that spews a liquid, but a second one from whose mouth seems to hang a downturned lightning fork with a point in the center, which might be the monster's

tongue. Though there are some lines descending from the lowest globule, of what I originally took to be the body of the serpent, it seems unlikely that there could have been a connection between that feature and the lines descending from the second monster's mouth. Perhaps the column of globules was independent of the serpent as in the cylinder and ended on top in a bird's head, which I believe I see in the impression above the heroic god's raised dagger, which he is about to thrust into the neck of the serpent as drawn by Diana Stein. For her drawing she had three additional, though fragmentary impressions of the same cylinder.¹⁰ The present enlargement, Fig. 2, shows two additional features which should be added to the drawing and which were not seen in the poor reproduction in my publication, the suggested bird's head in the upper left corner and the three cords of the belt hanging between the legs of the heroic god.

Regardless of these minor points, Diana Stein convincingly interprets the scene of Figs. 2 and 3 as an illustration of the Hedammu story,¹¹ which is closely related to the Ullikummi story assumed by me to be underlying the principal scene of the Gold Bowl of Hasanlu (Figs. 4 and 5).¹² Both stories relate the creation of monsters, with the help of which the old god Kumarbi attempted to regain power over the young weather god Teshshup.

In both types of scenes, in the Gold Bowl and in the seal designs, occurs the same column of globules, probably to be associated with the weather god's elements: rain, hail and clouds. Both types of representations (Figs. 2, 3 and 5) also share a serpent monster which is attacked by a heroic personage. In the seal impression and the bowl the battle is shown being waged, not being won, thereby retaining the interest of the viewer. In the cylinder, Fig. 1, the stance of the god on the tail of the serpent, however, may mean that he was the victor in a battle which is in the past. His relaxed posture would fit such a situation very well.

While the cylinder, Fig. 1, if correctly interpreted, portrays the victory over the serpent monster, the later Neo Assyrian artists of the ninth century BC followed the prototype of the seal impression, that is, the dramatic battle against the bull-horned serpent, for the subject of their representations. An example of

many such renderings is the frequently reproduced cylinder in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Fig. 9.

The identification of the heroic god of Figs. 1 to 3 is difficult because Teshshup, who features in the Hedammu and Ullikummi myths, is a storm god, whose role is filled by the god carrying two lightning symbols on Figs. 1 to 3. One should therefore look for some other heroic god, who may have been pictured in these two scenes. For example, F.A.M. Wiggermann, in an article dedicated to Maurits van Loon, "Tishpak, His Seal and the Dragon Mušhuššu"¹³ points to the *Göttertypentext* published by F. Köcher,¹⁴ in which the god Tishpak, the chief god of Eshnunna, is described as carrying a mace, and a bow and arrow and, most characteristic, as standing in a walking pose with both feet on a *bašmu*, a horned serpent according to the CAD.¹⁵

Since Wiggermann shows very clearly, however, that the god Tishpak lost his importance after Hammurabi had defeated Eshnunna,¹⁶ it is unlikely that the god represented on our cylinder is to be identified with that deity. Probably the special stance of the god and his adjunct lived on in the imagery of the region of North Mesopotamia as the characteristics of other heroic gods. For example, one might think of Ninurta whose symbol, as brandished on the relief of the Ninurta temple of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC)¹⁷ seems to be spewed by the riderless dragon of figs. 2 and 3. However, a popularity of that god in the fifteenth or fourteenth century BC, which would have caused his representation on our cylinder seals, would have to be proved.

As to the storm god in these scenes, if we identify him with the supreme god Teshshup, his function remains to be explained. He merely seems to have been an onlooker, perhaps he was meant to be a supporting presence, like the great gods in their chariots in the topmost register of the Hasanlu bowl (Fig. 4). This is the extent to which we can go in the interpretation of these scenes.

We may now attempt to explore the pictorial origin of the bull-horned serpent in our Figs. 1 to 3, for which there is no prototype known in the earlier art of Syria¹⁸ or Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamia the dangerous monster is the lion dragon *ugallu* (translated by Wiggermann as "big weather beast").¹⁹ I wonder to what extent this is due to the geographical situation of Mesopotamia. Natural

dangers are largely brought along by storms for which the howling, roaring leonine mouth and body and the great wings of eagles and vultures were a perfect pictorial embodiment from the Uruk period onward.

Serpents have not been the subject of extensive studies²⁰ but we may assume that those of which the population was aware were mostly small and poisonous vipers. Large non-poisonous serpents, however, exist in Iran along with small vipers. In early Iranian art the undulating bodies of serpents can be recognized as having been identified with watercourses;²¹ hence they were beneficial symbols as well as symbols of power because of the ability of the more poisonous types to cause death. Therefore serpents are more frequently associated with deities in the art of Iran than in other countries. In the Middle Elamite art of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries the serpent often has a single horn on its head,²² but none shows the pair of bull's horns depicted on our Fig. 1. Only on the stamp seals of the Persian Gulf, dated from the twentieth to perhaps the seventeenth century BC, are two-horned serpents a regular feature of an iconography (Figs. 6 and 7). Four examples of bull-horned serpents could be identified.²³ Even more have the head of a goat. In an article published before his volume on the seals from Failaka, Kjaerum indicated the relative dates of the stamp seal styles.²⁴ The deeply engraved style I and the style continuing the same technique but producing somewhat more linear forms, IB, belonged to the earlier phase, for which Kjaerum gave dates of about 2025 to 1945 BC in a subsequent publication.²⁵ It is in these styles that the representations of horned serpents are found. Many have the bodies marked by a continuous series of short parallel lines that closely resemble the continuous chevrons on the body of the bull-headed serpent in Fig. 1. In the chronological survey given in his article Kjaerum says: "Most cylinder seals, however, belong to the final enterprising building period. These are Mitanni seals of brown and greenish faience, and Kassite and pseudo-Kassite seals, mostly of deep blue glass, of steatite and a single one of ivory: most of the latter are of Elamite origin, belonging to the Isin II period".²⁶

What is important here is the building period in which Mitannian

seals were found. We may assume that like the Mitannian seals brought to Failaka some stamps from Failaka, even though from an older period, could have come north at the same time. Therefore, the bull-horned serpent could have been brought to Mesopotamia on one of those seals.

The derivation of two-horned serpents from prototypes brought in by seals from the Gulf can be more convincingly demonstrated with another example of horned serpents on a Mitannian style cylinder belonging to Jonathan Rosen,²⁷ Fig. 7. On that cylinder two bull-horned serpents appear beside two worshippers who flank an object on a stand that looks more like a flaming altar than the usual tree. Such a flaming altar replacing the tree is unusual, as is probably the rest of the scene, with the smaller figures approaching from the right, one of them raising a hand in worship to one of the bull-serpents, while a sphinx confronts the second bull-serpent on the other side. The only parallel which can be established is with the flaming altar.

A related object appears in the field of a sealing on a tablet from Nuzi, from the archive of Prince Shilwa-Teshshup, who can be roughly dated two generations after King Shaushtatar.²⁸ The latter's date was long thought to be about 1450 BC, based on a letter sealed with a cylinder inscribed with the name of Shaushtatar and found in the archive of Prince Shilwa-Teshshup. This date has been seriously questioned by Diana Stein-Wünscher, who suggests 1395-1370 BC for the time at which the letter could have been written.²⁹ This may indicate a date after the middle of the 14th century BC for the representation of a censer on a Mitannian style cylinder like Fig. 8.

The fact that the bull-headed serpents of the cylinder, Fig. 8, are related to that of a stamp seal from the Persian Gulf (Fig. 7) and that the scene is so unusual, indicates that this cylinder was not made within the range of Nuzi iconography, but rather at some other site, as was also suggested for Figs. 1-3. The location of the motif of the god with the *bašmu*, therefore, is still to be found.

Moreover, the transition to the scenes of the Neo Assyrian period in which the bull-horned serpent appears horizontally, displaying its impressive length and opposing the divine attacker

(Fig. 9), is not known. In fact, the actual meaning of that motif is still a subject of discussion.

Thus, many of the problems raised in connection with the scene on our cylinder remain as question marks and should invite Maurits van Loon, who has a wide knowledge of cylinders of Iran³⁰ and has also made some very interesting suggestions for the interpretation of the imagery of second millennium Anatolia,³¹ to find the answers.

Notes

1. That the animal, *Capra falconieri*, is called *markhor*, which is Persian for "snake eater", indicates the esteem in which it is held by the population of the mountainous regions of its habitat in eastern Iran and Afghanistan. Comment on the markhor is found in Richard Ettinghausen, "The 'Snake-Eating Stag' in the East", in Kurt Weizmann (ed.) *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Matthias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton 1955), pp. 272-285.

2. Otherwise the lion's gesture which does not touch the fallen animal, cannot be explained.

3. Dominique Collon, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Cylinder Seals III: Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods.* (London 1986, British Museum Publications), nos. 436-452, 455.

4. R.M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit* (Berlin 1965), pl. XXXI: nos. 367-373, and Ali Abou Assaf, "Die Ikonographie des altbabylonischen Wettergottes", *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 14 1983 pl. 6.

5. Drawing by Maude de Schauensee, in E. Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York 1965), p. 99, fig. 64, and p. 95, pl. 23.

6. "Un vase rituel iranien", *Syria XLII* (1965) pp. 235-51.

7. *The Alalakh Cylinder Seals* (Oxford 1982, BAR International Series 132), no. 18, pp. 52-53.

8. This observation was made by Robert Merrillees in the discussion with him of the photograph of Fig. 1. He used the term cane to describe his impression of the object.

9. Fig. 2: E. Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 24, 1947), no. 738, impression of Puhšenni son of Maitta (time of Tarmitilla). Fig. 3: Diana L. Stein, "Mythologische Inhalte der Nuzi-Glyptik", in Volkert Haas (ed.), *Hurriter und Hurritisch* (Konstanzer altorientalische Symposien, Bd. II (1987), Abb. 11.

10. Diana L Stein, *op.cit.*, p.186 note 23.
11. Stein, *op.cit.*, pp. 176f., with reference in note 20 to J. Siegelova, *Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus* (Studien zu den Bogazkoy-Texten 14, 1971).
12. "The Hasanlu Bowl", *Expedition*, no. 3 (Spring, 1959), pp. 19-22.
13. O.M.C. Haex et al. (eds.) *To the Euphrates and Beyond* (Rotterdam/Brookfield 1989), pp. 117-133.
14. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung 1 1957 p. 52ff.
15. Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, vol. 2B, s.v. *bašmu* 1.a (mythological, p. 141). The monster is described as having been created in the sea, "his length is sixty 'double miles'" KAR 6 ii 21.
16. Wiggermann, *op.cit.*, in note 13, p. 123.
17. A.H. Layard, *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh* (London 1853), pl. 5. See also the reproduction in the article by U. Moortgat-Correns, "Ein Kultbild Ninurta's aus neuassyrischer Zeit", Archiv für Orientforschung 35 1990, p. 120, Abb. 3.
18. In Syrian iconography of the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries BC a youthful heroic weather god battles victoriously with a serpent. See Elizabeth Williams-Forte, "The Snake and the Tree...", in L. Gorelick and E. Williams-Forte (eds.), *Ancient Seals and the Bible* (Malibu 1983) pp. 18-43, and W.G. Lambert, "Trees, Snakes and Gods in Ancient Syria and Anatolia", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies XLVIII-3 1985 pp. 435-451. None of the serpents, however, have bull's horns; in fact only one, on the cover of the book by Williams-Forte, has clearly discernible horns, and they are those of a goat. The horns of a serpent on a cylinder from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (American Journal of Archaeology 52-1 1948, pl. VIII:4 (74.51.4309)), cannot be identified.
19. F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Babylonian Prophylactic Figures: The Ritual Texts* (Amsterdam 1986) p. 77 and the listing of the relevant pages in the index, p. 331.
20. So far I am aware of the doctoral thesis by Diana Krumholz-McDonald, *Serpent Imagery and Iconography* (Dissertation, Columbia University 1989), and K. Guy Stevens, "Eine ikonographische Untersuchung des Schlangens im vorgeschichtlichen Mesopotamien," in *Archaeologia iranica et orientalis miscellanea in honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*. Ed. L. de Meyer et E. Haerinck, Gent 1989, pp. 1-32.
21. See especially the relief carving on the chlorite vase in the British Museum: Eva Strommenger, *5000 Years of Art in Mesopotamia* (New York 1964) pl. 38. A drawing of the representations was published by Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the*

*Ancient Orient*⁴ (Baltimore 1969. Pelican History of Art) p. 19 Fig. 9. On one side a deity holds two large undulating serpents, and on the other side, the same undulating outlines obviously signify watercourses.

22. For example, Pierre Amiet, *Elam* (Auvers-sur-Oise 1966), p. 407 Fig. 307. See also P. de Miroschedji, "Le dieu élamite au serpent et aux eaux jaillissantes", *Iranica Antiqua XVI* 1981 p. 1-25 and pls. I-XI, *passim*.

23. Poul Kjaerum, *Failaka/Dilmun: The Second Millennium Settlements*, vol 1:1 *The Stamp and Cylinder Seals* (Jutland Archaeological Society Publications XVII:1 1983) nos. 54, 86-88. The monstrous teeth of the serpents on no. 54 are not paralleled elsewhere in Failaka or on the Mitannian seals, Figs. 1-3.

24. "Seals of 'Dilmun-Type' from Failaka, Kuwait", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies 10* 1980, pp. 45-53.

25. P. Kjaerum, "The Dilmun seals as evidence of long distance relations in the early second millennium B.C.", *Bahrain through the Ages* (eds. S.H. Ali al Khalifa and M. Rice), London 1986, p. 269.

26. See Kjaerum, "Seals of Dilmun Type" cited in note 24, p. 45.

27. I gratefully acknowledge that this second Mitannian style cylinder with horned serpents was discovered for me by Sidney S. Babcock in the Rosen Collection. Subsequently, Jonathan P. Rosen kindly permitted its publication together with Fig. 1 in the present article.

28. I was able to compare the altar to the one on sealing no. 404 in the manuscript of the seal impressions of the Shilwa-Teshshup archive by Diana Stein-Wünscher, which is in press at Harrassowitz. The altar appears in the upper field of a sealing which has a storm god on his lion dragon in the left part of the impression.

Another altar with flames is represented on impression 16 in Diana Stein's article "Mythologische Inhalte der Nuzi Glyptik," cited in Note 9 above. It is again placed before the storm god on his mount. It is tempting to assume that the flaming altar in the center of the scene in Fig. 8 represents the storm god in the absence of that deity's image, but at present the evidence is insufficient.

29. Diana L. Stein, "A Reappraisal of the 'Shaushtatar letter' from Nuzi." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 79/1 (1989), pp. 36-60.

30. His publication on the seals from Surkh-i Dum in Luristan has recently appeared in E.F. Schmidt, M.N. van Loon and H.H. Curvers, *The Holmes Expeditions to Luristan* (The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications 108), Chicago, 1989, pp. 121-124, 209-211, and 413-451.

31. Maurits van Loon, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium* (Iconography of Religions XV,12, Leiden 1985).

List of Illustrations

FIG. 1

Cylinder seal: stormgod and god with serpent monster. Collection, Jonaathan P. Rosen, New York. Photograph, E. Porada. Blue-glazed faience (sintered quartz), height 27.6 mm, diameter 12.2 mm, stringhole 2.3 mm.

FIG. 1a

Drawing of the impression of Fig. 1, by E. Porada.

FIG. 2

Seal impression: stormgod and god with serpent monster. E. Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi*. (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research XXIV [1947]) No. 738. Seal of Puhisenni son of Maitta, JEN 27, JENU 25. Assigned to the fourth generation of Tehiptilla (his grandson, Tarmitilla).

FIG. 3

Drawing of the seal impression, fig. 2, by Diana L. Stein, "Mythologische Inhalte der Nuzi Glyptik" in V. Haas, *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, (Konstanzer Altorientalische Symposien, Bd. 2, 1987) No. 11.

FIG. 4

The Gold Bowl of Hasanlu. Photograph, courtesy of R.H. Dyson, Jr.

FIG. 5

Detail of the serpent monster on the Gold Bowl. Photograph, courtesy of R.H. Dyson, Jr.

FIG. 6

Seal from Failaka, P. Kjaerum, *Failaka/Dilmun, the Second Millennium Settlements, the Stamp and Cylinder Seals* (Jutland Archaeological Society Publications XVII:1, 1983), p. 31, No. 54. Photograph, courtesy of P. Kjaerum.

FIG. 7

Seal from Failaka, as above, p. 63, No. 137.

FIG. 8

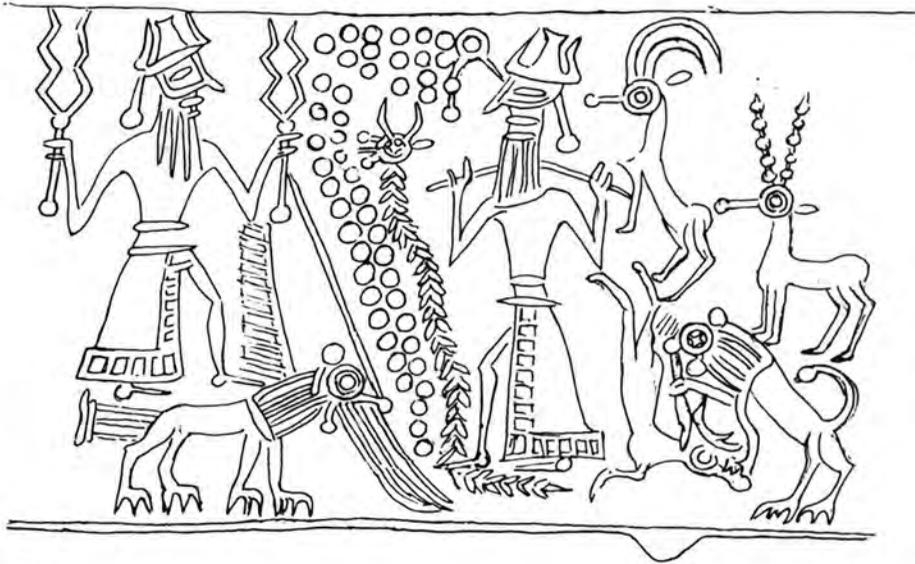
Cylinder seal, two worshippers flanking a censer, two bull-horned serpents, two other worshippers and a sphinx in the field. Collection Jonathan P. Rosen, New York. Blue glazed faience (sintered quartz), height 28.9 mm, diameter 14.3 mm, stringhole 3.2 mm.

FIG. 9

Cylinder seal. *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections. I The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Washington, 1948, no. 688.



1

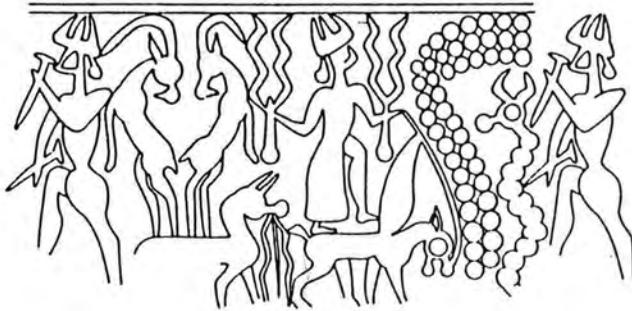


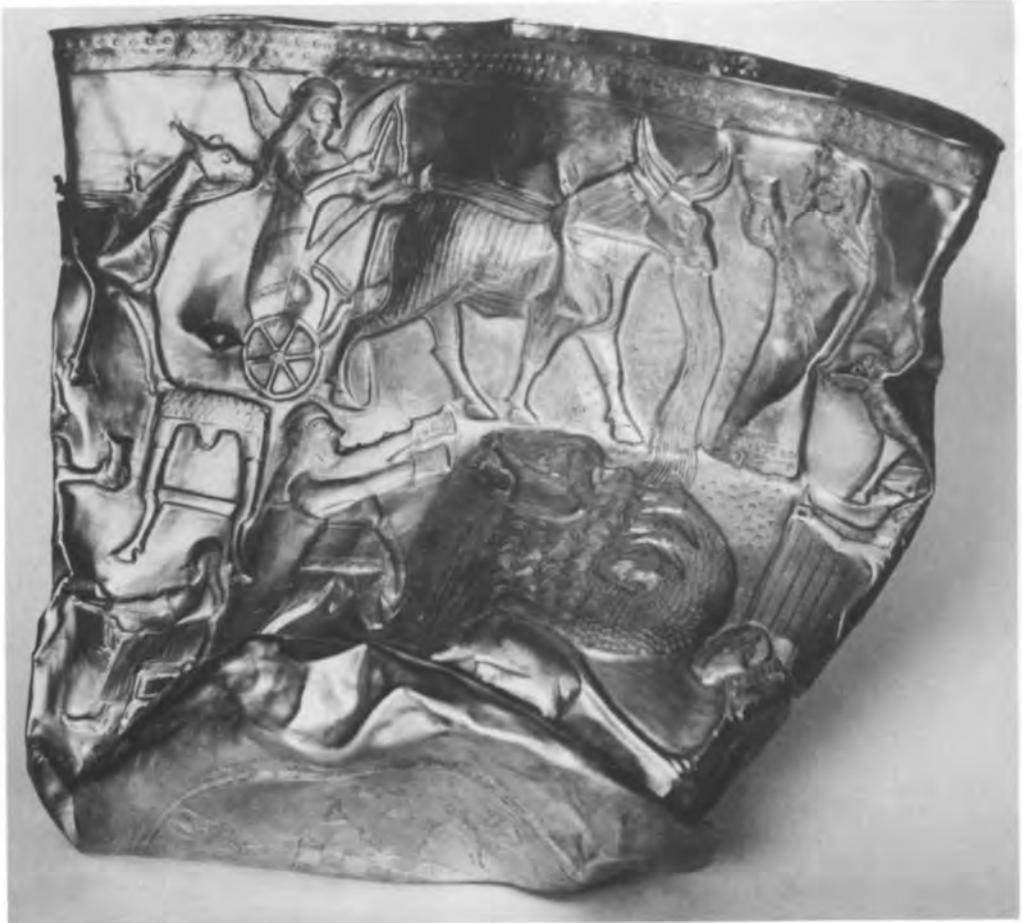
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The Moon as seen by the Babylonians

For the Sumerians and the Babylonians, the moon was a male god, known under various names. Best known are the names Nanna, in the Sumerian milieu, and Suen (Sîn), primarily in an Akkadian context. In Sumerian hymns Suen-Sîn¹ is sometimes named a youthful man (šul), child of divine parents, which is taken as referring to the newly risen moon just after it appears on the horizon². A third Sumerian name for the moongod sounds more like an epithet: Aš.im₄.babbar, "the lonely white runner"³. Much later Akkadian texts render this name as Namra-šīt, meaning "of brilliant rising". This new epithet may have been the startingpoint for Th.Jacobsen for assigning the name Aš.im₄.babbar to the "new light", Suen (Sîn) to the crescent, and Nanna to the full moon⁴.

THE CRESCENT

Typical for the moon is its crescent form, both in iconography⁵ and in the texts. The latter can be shown by studying the various meanings of the sign combination UD.SAR, often transliterated as U₄.SAR, or u₄.s/šakar. The meaning of these signs can be explained as "(day-)light" and "growing", perhaps an apt way of describing the crescent of the moon. On an early seal one indeed sees plants growing out of the moon crescent⁶, a picture which, when transformed into cuneiform, yields a ligature of UD and SAR, or, rather, the sign UD-gunū which can be a variant of UD.SAR⁷. What the Sumerian word for "crescent" was, is another matter. The lexical tradition offers a-aš-gal⁸, and writings like u₄-sakár, u₄-saḥar, or the loanword in Akkadian, uskarum/askarum, point to /askar/ or /oskar/⁹, undoubtedly the same word as /ašgal/. We do not believe that we can recognise Aramaic šahr "moon" in this word.

What interests us more than etymologies is that UD.SAR not only stands for the crescent, but also for the full moon: in the Sumerian rites for the full moon it is named "crescent of the fifteenth day". In Akkadian context this ideogram not only stands for "crescent" (*uskarum*) but also for "Sîn", in LÚ.UD.SAR.ŠE.GA = *Sîn-māgir*, or for *sīnu* "moon", and for *nannaru*, a literary epithet of the moon¹⁰ or other luminaries. Our conclusion is that the typical form of the moon is the crescent, even when the moon is full and shaped as a circle¹¹. It also served as symbol for the moon god. Nabonidus claimed the temple of Marduk in Babylon for his favourite god, Sîn, after having "seen the crescent" of this temple, and having concluded that Sîn himself "had marked his house with his crescent"¹².

"Crescent" retained its original connotations in derived meanings in other contexts: in mathematics it stands for "segment of a circle", as drawings on the problem texts show¹³, and it is a segment of the wheel of a wagon or chariot, in Sumerian its "crescent"; in Akkadian *sarru* and *sīnu* (cf. the name Sîn)¹⁴. "Crescents" as votive objects undoubtedly were shaped as the crescent of the moon; they are often mentioned together with "sun-disks" (*šamšatum*) and were made of gold or silver¹⁵. The ritual against Lamaštu prescribes drawing on a clay tablet the symbols of moon, sun, a *gamlu*, and the planet Venus. Those symbols are the crescent (UD.SAR), the sun-disk (AŠ.ME), the *gamlu*, and "the star"¹⁶. In art, we often see the crescent high "in the air", together with the sun and the planet Venus. Sometimes, we see the crescent on a pole¹⁷, a way of representing the moon that will be common in Neo-Babylonian and Western iconography¹⁸. The "moons" (*šahronim*) worn by camels and ladies according to the Hebrew Bible undoubtedly were moon crescents¹⁹. The Hittites had a crescent-shaped kind of bread, in French "croissants" (*armanni-*)²⁰.

W.W.Hallo has suggested that the Sumerian rites for days 6 or 7 of the month, named "The Chariot" (*giš.gigir*), are not named after some chariot used in the cult²¹, but that it is an abbreviation of "the crescent of a chariot", i.e., a segment of the wheel. We have already seen that UD.SAR (*sarru*, *sīnu*) can have this meaning and, indeed, a number of Ur III texts from Umma explicitly speak of "the crescent of the chariot"²². In Hallo's words, "the

symbolic identification of the half-moon with the two semi-circular blocks of wood which were joined to make up the solid chariot wheels typical of this period"²³. At this juncture, on the sixth or seventh day, the moon is semi-circular and UD.SAR is now no longer just a small segment of the circle, but half of it. About seven days later, UD.SAR will be a full circle and the rites of the full moon are named "crescent of day 15". The addition "great" (*gu.la*), however, remains reserved for the real crescent, at the beginning of the month²⁴.

We have seen how the three first phases of the moon were in some way or another named after the crescent during the Sumerian periods. Each phase was marked by a rite in a chapel (Sumerian *é* "house") and for this reason their common name was *èš.èš*, lit. "chapels"²⁵. They were performed on the first, sixth or seventh, and fifteenth day of each month²⁶.

Turning now to the Old Babylonian period, we note that in king Išme-Dagan's hymn to Enlil he wishes to visit the temple Ekur "at the House of the seventh day and the House of the fifteenth day"²⁷. Offerings continued to be presented on days 1 and 15²⁸ and we now meet with the Akkadian names for the "holy" first, seventh and fifteenth days of the month: (*w*)*arḫum*, *sebūtum*, *šapattum*. The *èš.èš* festivals were now held on days 1, 7, 15, 25²⁹. We cannot follow here the increasing number of monthly festivals in the centuries to come, like the *eššešu*, and Neo-Babylonian *hitpu* in Uruk, or the animal offerings to statues and cult objects in Sippar. When studying their days, one notes that the second half of the month, in the Sumerian texts so devoid of solemn occasions, is now filling up with sacrificial rites³⁰.

THE BOAT

In the Middle-Babylonian, or "Kassite", period the crescent stands for the New Moon only. An informative boundary stone (*kudurru*) of king Nazi-maruttaš (ca. 1300 B.C.), covered with symbols for gods, allows us to relate these symbols to the divine names in the inscription³¹. After the symbols of the most important gods, Anum, Enlil and Ea, follow the gods visible on the starry heaven: Šulpaē,

the planet Jupiter, as a spade; Iṣhara, Scorpio, as a scorpion. The mother goddess Aruru comes next in the text and is, by way of elimination, to be identified with the "leerer Symbolsockel". Then come Sîn, the moon, Šamaš, the sun, and Iṣtar, the planet Venus. It is remarkable that we indeed see the moon crescent on the relief but read in the text "the crescent (*us-qa-ru*), the trough (*bu-gi-nu*), the boat (*ma-gur-ru*) of Sîn".

These words must refer to the three shapes of the moon, new - half - full. The second word, "trough", with this meaning, is unique³² but has a predecessor in "bugin of Nanna" in the Gudea inscriptions³³, as Th. J.H. Krispijn (Leiden) observed at our symposium. Descriptions of parts of a sheep's liver sometimes compare these parts with "a trough"³⁴ which indicates that *buginnum* had a well-defined shape. Similarly, parts of the liver can be compared with "a crescent"³⁵.

One gathers from the second and third new names that the three Sumerian "crescents" were no longer acceptable and that the Babylonians looked for other symbols. But they were always to have difficulties in inventing an apt name for the half-moon: the "trough" never won the day; another new name, "kidney" (*kalītu*), was used only in scientific texts and the myth Enūma Eliš used "half crown" (*agū mašlu*) for lack of a better word (V 17).

At closer inspection, the word "boat" also presents a problem. Any Assyriologist is of course familiar with the moon-god pictured as a boat (*má.gur₈*, *makurru*) in Sumerian literary texts: like this boat Nanna moves along the heaven³⁶ - an almost universal symbol. In our Middle-Babylonian boundary stone, however, *makurru* must refer to a particular shape and here, again, we are helped by the mathematical texts - as we were when looking for the shape(s) of the crescent. There, "boat" is the geometrical figure resulting from the intersection of two circles, a "regular concave-sided tetragon" (Saggs), or "Doppelsegment" (von Soden)³⁷. According to Saggs, it is "a boat, observed from above, pointed at both ends"³⁸. The *má.gur₈* boat has often been compared with the *mešhūf* used by the Marsh Arabs, and models found in Ur confirm the continuity of this type of boat in Lower Iraq³⁹. Literary imagination on the silvery moon and iconography have this boat in view as seen from the side. Our text, however, looks down on it. We now understand

that the "boat" here represents the moon between half and full: "gibbous", i.e., bossed, hunch-backed, convex; in Greek terminology *amphikurtos*. This is the third phase of the lunar cycle, leading up to the full moon. Only one passage pleads for *má.gur_g*, as representing the full moon, that on the lunar eclipse hinted at by Sargon II of Assyria: "God *Má.gur_g*, Lord of the crown, outlasted a watch, foreboding the destruction of Gutium"⁴⁰. This happened at full moon and the eclipse was total. One is reminded of another designation for the moon-god, *Inbu* "Fruit", said to have eclipsed during the reign of Nabonidus on the 13th day of month VI⁴¹. The Fruit, always named "Lord of the month", is typical for the full moon and the days preceding it, as we presently will see in our discussion of the Crown⁴².

Our conclusion is that the "Boat" is the moon in its last stage of waxing, including its state of fullness. As such it was the literary name for the moon-god in his most majestic manifestation, when he is becoming full⁴³. The same can be said of the moon as "Fruit" and "Crown". The three words can represent the moon in all its stages of growth, but particularly the last one which is the brightest. In Sumerian, the moongod Nanna can be named both "the Crescent of heaven"⁴⁴ and "the (pure) Boat of heaven"⁴⁵.

THE CROWN

"Lord of the Crown", *bēl agē*, is a well known epithet of the moon-god. As was already shown in the early days of Assyriology, the word "crown", *agū*, first stands for the grey part of the moon that can be seen at New Moon, complementing the crescent. The light of the earth is reflected on the larger section of the moon not illuminated by the sun, yielding an ash-grey colouring; in English "earth-shine", in French "lumière cendrée", in German "das aschgraue Licht; das Erdlicht"⁴⁶. "Mirror" seems to be another name⁴⁷. The moon wears this crown as if it were a headgear (*apāru*). One indeed finds in art the crescent wearing the "crown" as symbol of the moon⁴⁸. Another association of the crown (now named *men* in Sumerian) with the crescent is less clear: "Gudea, the able

shepherd, had it (= the temple) wear a crown (men) like the new crescent (UD.SAR gibil)"⁴⁹.

The crown returns in the nomenclature for the moon from the eleventh through the fifteenth days of the lunar cycle: hemerological and related texts say that these are the days "when the new moon (*arḫu*) is wearing a crown of splendour (*tašriḫtu*) (and) the Fruit is happy", as a hemerology puts it⁵⁰. The Babylonians wished to distinguish this crown from "earth-shine" and added the qualification "of splendour": the crown had changed from ash-grey into splendid white. This was *the* crown, as the artificial expression "half crown" for half-moon shows⁵¹.

THE KIDNEY AND THE VIGIL OF EA

In the "scientific" Babylonian texts one comes across a division of the first half of the month into three periods of five days each, related to the various shapes of the moon and to the three main gods of the pantheon⁵²:

days 1-5	<i>uskāru</i> "crescent"	Anum
days 6-10	<i>kalītu</i> "kidney"	Ea
days 11-15	<i>agū</i> "crown"	Enlil

The Greeks gave names for the lunar cycle as follows, describing the moon's shape for days, not periods⁵³:

day 1	<i>mēnoeidēs</i>	"crescent-shaped"
day 8	<i>dichotomos</i>	"cut in half"
day 12	<i>amphikurtos</i>	"convex, gibbous"
day 15	<i>panselēnos</i>	"full moon"

The medieval Greek *selenodromia* (in Latin *lunaria*) go so far as to assign a description of the moon for every day⁵⁴.

Returning to the Babylonian division, one first remarks that three five-days periods are too schematic⁵⁵. New to us is the word

"kidney", used for the second period. It is not a bad word for the moon in its second phase. As we have said already, one notices an astounding variety in the nomenclature for the moon in this phase: "segment of a chariot wheel" in Sumerian texts; "trough" in the boundary stone; "half-crown" in *Enūma Eliš*. The Babylonian scholars now opted for "kidney" in their schematic five-days system.

In medical literature there is an incantation addressed to the god Ea, imploring him to "quiet" the kidney. It was Ea who "settled the kidney in its resting place, spreading good fat all over it", the text continues. Just like in the scholarly division of the first half of the month, here, too, the god Ea is associated with "kidney". The incantation immediately following in the medical text is addressed to *nubattu*, "night vigil", clearly one particular night in the month, and the subscription shows that this incantation is "for the kidney on the right side". It is our suggestion to relate this vigil to the "kidney" of Ea. We will first present the text, known from seven manuscripts, three of which had been published already⁵⁶. They all come from the library of Assurbanipal and are kept in the British Museum.

Manuscripts:

- A. K. 4609, as published by Craig, *ABRT* II no.11, rev. (!) 20-28.
- B. K. 8447, published by Meek, *BA* X/1 81 no.7, joined to Bu. 89-4-26, 133.
- C. BM. 123385, published by Walker, *CT* 51 202, col. IV.
- D. K. 10221+14623.
- E. Bu. 81-7-25, 205, in another context.
- F. K. 15239.
- G. K. 1289, in another context.

Transliteration:

- (1) ÉN a-na-ku nu-bat-tum a-ḥat ^dMarduk
 (2) ^dZa-ap-pu e-ra-an-ni ^dBa-a-lum ú-li-da-an-ni
 (3) ^dLú.ḥuš.a ana li-qu-ti-šú (var. kal-lu-ti-šú) il-qa-an-ni
 (4) ÍL-ši ŠU.SI.MEŠ-ja ina bi-rit ^dZa-ap-pi u ^dBa-a-lum
 a-šá-kan
 (5) ul-te-šeb ina pa-ni-ja ^dIš-tár be-el-tum a-pi-lat
 ku-mu-ú-a
 (6) ŠEŠ ^dMarduk um-mi šá-pat-tú AD-ú-a a-ra-aḥ
 (7) it-ti-ja lip-šu-ru ka-lu-ú ta-ma-a-ti
 (8) ma-mit at-mu-ú la tu-qar-ra-ba re-mé-nu-ú ^dMarduk

Variants:

- (2) B: ^dBa-a-lum ul-dan-ni. A, C, F: Bal-lu. E, G: Ba-lu. D, G: ú-lid-an-ni.
 (3) B: var. kal-lu-ti-šú. E, G: li-qu-ti.
 (4) E: [...] -áš-ši for ÍL-ši. B: ^dZa-ap-pi u ^dBa-a-lum a-šak-kan. A: Zap-pi u Bal-lu. C: Zap-pi u Bal-li a-šá-kan. E: GAR-na for aššakkan.
 (5) A, C, F: ina IGI-ja ^dXV GAŠAN. B: ina pa-ni-ja ^dINANNA be-el-tum. E: a-na pa-ni-ja ^dIš-tár GAŠAN. G: ^dIš-tar be-el-tú. B: ku-mu-u-a. E: ki-mu-ú-a.
 (6) F: [u]m-mi šá-pat-t[ú]; G:]-tum. A, B, C, E: AMA. B, E: UD.15.KAM for šapattu. A, C: AD a-ra-aḥ. B, G: AD ITU. E: AD-ú-a ITU.
 (7) A, C: DÙ-ú A.AB.BA.MEŠ. E: ka-lu. G: ka-la ta-ma-te.
 (8) B: ma-mit, E: ma-mi-ti. G : réme-nu-ú. B, E: re-me-nu-ú.

Translation:

"Incantation - I am the Vigil, sister of Marduk. The Pleiades conceived me, Bālum gave birth to me, Luḥušū took me into adoption (var. took me as bride). [I] (?) raise my fingers and I put (them) between the Pleiades and Bālum,⁵⁷ I (?) make sit Ištar in front of me, the mistress who accounts for me. My brother is Marduk, my mother is the fifteenth day (of the month), my father is the first day of the month. May all the seas absolve with me!

May you, merciful Marduk, not let come near to me the bad oath that I swore!"

Frankly, I do not understand this text at all. Behind it must lie a *Mondsage* that is unknown to us. Bālum can be a name for the planet Mars, Luḥušū is the Nergal of the city of Kish and possibly is bird-like⁵⁸. Ištār must be the planet Venus. In an ideal situation, the planets Mars and Venus are situated in "the Path of Ea" in heaven⁵⁹. "Kidney" stands for days 5-10 - are the raised fingers of Vigil the first ten days of a month? It is a better idea to take the ten "fingers" as the "epagomenal" days, being the time difference between the lunar and solar years. The Babylonians assumed this "epact" to be ten days⁶⁰. The Babylonian "Diviner's Manual" tells the scholar to "keep in hand" the "length (*minātu*) of New Year (*zāgmukku*)" when computing the length of the year⁶¹. We assume, with S. Langdon, that this refers to the days of the epact⁶². If this interpretation of the "fingers" is correct, we are able to situate the *Mondsage* at the beginning of the year, when the moon starts its journey in the Pleiades (see below).

Absolving by "all the seas" may have to do with Ea as the god of the waters; this phrase has a parallel in the Lipšur Litanies⁶³. The first person in the last line is no more the Vigil, but the patient, so we presume. "Bad oath" (*mamītu*) seems to be the cause of the kidney ailment. One of the manuscripts, E, says in its subscript that the incantation is meant "to absolve bad oath".

Insiders have known this text for quite some time⁶⁴ but the central word in the first line, "Vigil", *nu-bat-tum*, preserved on ms. F and a new piece of ms. B, was not available. The contents of the text suggest that vigil refers to the second phase of the lunar cycle, half-moon, day 7, the "father" and "mother" being days 1 and 15. And, indeed, the hemerology from Assur tells us that day 7 is "vigil of Ea"⁶⁵ and the Lipšur texts, directed against "bad oaths", have the same name for this day⁶⁶. We are aware of the fact that there are more "vigils" in a month⁶⁷; our text is only interested in this one⁶⁸.

THE PLEIADES

The Pleiades in the text just discussed deserve some more attention. Their name is *zappu*, lit. "bristle, mane", presumably the "mane" of the constellation Taurus. The Hyades are named *is lē*, "jaw of the Bull"; the Sumerian name is "Bull of Heaven". Both are part of the sign Taurus. The Ebla lexical texts give for the Pleiades the name *kà-ma-tù* in which one easily recognizes Hebrew *kīmā*, "Pleiades", always together with *k'sīl* "Orion"⁶⁹. The Sumerian name is more interesting: MUL.MUL, literally "the stars". As a matter of fact, "the stars" is a name for the Pleiades among several peoples in the world⁷⁰, perhaps also in Ugarit⁷¹ and among the Arabs⁷². The reason is that the appearance of this relatively small but very marked and easily recognizable group of seven stars has in the past been used by many peoples for determining the beginning of the season of growth, or the year⁷³ - read simply Hesiod's Works and Days, lines 383 ff.⁷⁴. Even the word for "year" can, for this reason, literally mean "stars"⁷⁵; is there any relation between the Sumerian words *mul* "star" and *mu* "year"?⁷⁶

According to the Babylonians, the Moon begins its path through the ecliptic in the cluster of the Pleiades; this is the beginning of the year, on the first day of Nisan. Their scientific texts, like the Diaries, follow this rule⁷⁷. The scholars in India seem to have adopted this system⁷⁸. The Babylonian rule for predicting an intercalation, the so-called "Pleiaden-Schaltregel", says: "If the Moon and the Pleiades are in conjunction on the first day of Nisan, this is a normal year. If the Moon and the Pleiades are in conjunction on the third day of Nisan, this is a leap year"⁷⁹. Looking back at the incantation presented in the previous section of this article, we now understand a little why the Vigil claims to have been "conceived" by the Pleiades: the moon begins his journey in this constellation.

The Pleiades consist of seven stars and one of the meanings of the expression "Seven Gods" (*ilū sebetti*) can be "Pleiades", as some passages show⁸⁰. One now readily understands why in Mesopotamian iconography the moon crescent is so often seen together with the seven stars⁸¹: this is the propitious moment of New Year. The identification of the seven stars (or "dots") with the Seven Gods is certain thanks to some explanatory inscriptions

on reliefs of Sargon II (the Larnaka stela) and Sennacherib (the Bavian inscription)⁸², and a drawing on an astrological clay-tablet⁸³.

THE SHINING MOON

The moon "comes up (*ašû*) in pure carnelian and in lapis lazuli", i.e., in red and blue⁸⁴; "he comes up, Sîn, the Lord of the horn (and) the halo"⁸⁵, a Babylonian hymn to Sîn says. The lower heaven, that of the stars, is that of jasper, a stone showing shades of blue⁸⁶. Sumerian hymns and litanies, taken over by the Babylonians, give the moon-god the epithets "growing a beard", the beard being made of lapis lazuli, or "growing a horn". A lapis lazuli beard is a well known attribute of Nanna and other gods, including the male Morning Star⁸⁷. The beard seems to be a metaphor for rays of divine light. Incidentally, according to the classical tradition Berossus wrote that the unlit part of the moon is blue (*caeruleus*)⁸⁸. Sumerian texts also name Nanna "a carnelian calf"⁸⁹ and compare the light of the moon with electrum⁹⁰.

As to the "horns" of Nanna-Sîn, one can first think of three aspects. One, "horns" can refer to rays of light⁹¹. Next, one can think of Nanna as a "calf" growing horns⁹². Thirdly, his boat has "horns"⁹³. All this may be true for poetical imagination, but it is most plausible to take the horns as the cusps of the moon, bearing in mind that in the Middle East they can lie parallel to the horizon. Astrological texts often speak of the "horns" when indicating the position of the moon in the sky. First, the horn is "stretched" (*tarāšu*) and when the moon is waxing, the horns are more and more "looking" at the earth and at full moon they "embrace"⁹⁴.

FULL MOON

When the course of the moon is "quiet" (*nēh*), it reaches fullness on the fourteenth day. Should this already take place on day 13, then the moon is "lagging behind" (*neh̄esu*) in following the sun. It is "hasty" (*ezû*) if full moon falls on day 15 or later⁹⁵. At full moon the moon and the sun are "seen together". This is the general

expression; there are many more which may have bearing on the various relative positions of both heavenly bodies: "reach", "found together", etc.⁹⁶. We will make a remark on still another expression, "they stand (on the horizon) together" (*ištēniš izazzū*), attested in a medical text. A man with migraine is pestered by spirits of the dead; this ought to be done to cure him⁹⁷:

"On the fifteenth day, the day that Sīn and Šamaš stand together, you clothe that man in a linen sheet, you incise his temple with an obsidian knife and make his blood flow. You have him sit in a reed hut, you will direct his face to the North. To Sīn, to the West, you set up an incense altar of juniper, you libate cow's milk. To the East, you set up an incense altar of cypress, you libate beer. That man will speak as follows: To my left side (is) Sīn, the crescent of the great heaven; to my right side (is) Šamaš, the judge, father of the black-headed (etc.)".

So in this dawn ceremony the full moon is setting in the West and the sun is rising in the East at the moment of prayer. The first thing that strikes us is that in this situation sun and moon do not stand "together" (the first meaning of *ištēniš*) on the horizon; on the contrary, they are in opposition, so "simultaneously" is a better rendering of *ištēniš* here, as Professor J.D. North (Groningen) made clear to this writer. This is why the ancient scribe had to be explicit by adding that the ritual is to be done on the fifteenth day. Clearly, "standing together" could be used for both conjunction, at the end of the month, and opposition. This will remind us of the similar ambiguous terminology used in *Enūma Eliš* V 18 and 22: *šapattu lu šutamḥurat* and [... UD.3]0.KAM *lu šutamḥurat lu šanat*, where *lu šanat* means: let this happen a second time. "Let her be made equal (*lu šutamḥurat*)" is used here both for days 30 and 15. The beginning of the last line remains a problem, but the "dual meaning" of *maḥāru št* now has a parallel in *ištēniš izazzū*⁹⁸. Erica Reiner, however, gave the following translation for this expression in the medical text: "when moon and sun are equally present"⁹⁹.

The second detail in the ritual that strikes us is the blood-letting, a rare feature in medical literature¹⁰⁰. Can we

assume that the Babylonians had similar ideas about the "plethora" of blood in the body at full moon as the Europeans had?

Lastly, we note that full moon looks like a most favourable point of time for praying to Sîn. We have one more reference for a prayer to Sîn to be pronounced on day 15¹⁰¹. The medieval Sabaeans at Ḥarrān also prayed to the moon at this time¹⁰².

In normal circumstances the full moon falls on day 14 and this was considered a good omen¹⁰³. Why, then, is it that day 15 so often is considered full moon day? We cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question but point out that since the earliest Sumerian times people reckoned with a month of thirty days - for practical reasons¹⁰⁴. In the Neo-Babylonian period this system was formalised in the sense that they divided the month into a "former" and a "later" fifteen-day period (*šapattu maḥrītu / arkītu*)¹⁰⁵. And each period could be cut into halves (*mišlu*)¹⁰⁶. Already in older times there was a tendency to divide the thirty-day month into six periods of five days each¹⁰⁷ and in the handbook of astronomy MUL.APIN heliacal risings are dated only on days 1, 5, 10, etc.¹⁰⁸. "The middle of the month" is in a lunar calendar the night of the full moon; in the standard calendar of thirty days, day 15 was also considered as "full moon" - be this true or not.

ECLIPSES

In this last part of our contribution we will make some remarks about popular beliefs on lunar eclipses. We hope that there is no overlap with a book by Francesca Rochberg-Halton that is now in print, "Aspects of Babylonian celestial divination: the Lunar Eclipse Tablets of Enūma Anu Enlil"¹⁰⁹.

An eclipse can take place around full moon. The problems the Babylonians had in fixing the first day of the month led to lunar eclipses on days 12-14 according to one tradition, 14-16 and 20-21 according to another¹¹⁰. Rituals and prayers reckon with eclipses on days 12-14, 14-15, and 12-16¹¹¹. The normal day would be 14¹¹². This day falls in the period of "the crown of splendour", days 11-15. A Late Babylonian text, commenting on the moon-god Sîn pictured as "weeping, pure-of-water, with tears running", offers "crown of splendour" as explanation for "pure-of-water"

(*ellam-mê*)¹¹³ and continues by speaking about a total lunar eclipse¹¹⁴. Now, the weeping (*bakû*) moon, full of sorrow (*lumun libbi*), is a well known figure of speech for "lunar eclipse"¹¹⁵. The period of "the crown of splendour" are the days that Sîn is most likely to "weep", i.e., be eclipsed. Our commentary also speaks of "the house of four" (*é.lam₄.ma*); does this refer to the moon's four quadrants, so important in evaluating an eclipse?¹¹⁶.

The text commented on is the well known incantation "The Cow of Sîn"¹¹⁷. This author has suggested that this text was composed for a princess or queen with the name Geme-Sîn, "Slave girl of Sîn", living in the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. She was in labour and the incantation intends to facilitate birth; her son received the name Amar-ga, "Milk Calf"¹¹⁸. The god was weeping when he saw her in travail - does this mean that a lunar eclipse took place at the same time?

What could be done at an eclipse ? An eclipse always is a bad omen¹¹⁹ and one of the questions is: for whom? Hopefully for the enemy. When the welfare of the king or empire was at stake, the diviners resorted to divination by the liver (extispicy) in order to get more specific answers; we have three examples for this practice: in a letter from Old Babylonian Mari¹²⁰, in Sargon II's account of the Eighth Campaign¹²¹, and in Nabonidus' report about the installation of his daughter as priestess¹²². In Ugarit they performed extispicy after a solar eclipse¹²³. The poet of Enūma Eliš tells his readers that Marduk placed the "upper world" (*elātu*) of the heavens in the liver of Tiāmat (V 11); he may have wanted to indicate by this that liver divination and astrology are related, obeying the same rules.

Rituals are known for the king and the commoner¹²⁴; an important text informs us about the different rituals to be performed in Late Babylonian Uruk¹²⁵. The introductory remark "As soon as the eclipse will begin..." shows that they could predict the eclipse by computing¹²⁶. We want to draw the reader's attention to the noise people have to make: wailing priests have to sing lamentations, the common people have to shout a short apotropaic formula, as do seven craftsmen and priests, in the next ritual. Mrs. E.Cassin has

contrasted this noise in the streets with the "silence" of the moon when eclipsed and the silence kept in the royal palace, according to a hemerology. She sees a contrast between noise and fires outside, and silence inside the houses, both symbolising "chaos"¹²⁷. Whatever the merits of this interpretation that links various traditions, in our ritual we cannot discover the contrast inside - outside. The shouting is apotropaic and making noise is an almost universal mode of behaviour when the moon has darkened. This is known of Arabic tribes¹²⁸, and the Romans were beating on brass objects¹²⁹. In the early Middle Ages the Christians, still half-heathens, shouted "Overcome, o Moon !" (*vince Luna*)¹³⁰.

The most natural explanation for this shouting is that people want to chase away something threatening the moon. A dragon, for example. But the Romans did this in order to prevent witches from drawing down the moon with magic. The moon is besieged (*obsessa*) and by making noise they make the witchcraft ineffective. This is a well known theme in Roman poetry¹³¹. Drawing down the moon and causing an eclipse was the evil art in which the Thessalian women were experts, so the Greeks believed¹³². A vase painting shows how they did it (see fig. 1)¹³³ and the women in Northern Africa still do it: the moon descends into a vessel with water and this water has great magical power¹³⁴. To our surprise, we find the same belief in a Neo-Assyrian letter sent to Esarhaddon: "*The woman Zazâ, wife of Tarašî, and her sons: these are people not to be kept alive, o king my lord. The priest is the brother-in-law of Tarašî; and the women of these people, they would bring down the moon from the sky!*"¹³⁵. Again, women are able to do this and their machinations are evil. One wonders whether Arabic *kasafa* "to become eclipsed" (*kusūf* "eclipse")¹³⁶ has anything to do with Akkadian *kašāpu* or Hebrew *kiššef* "to perform black magic".

One additional remark on the "vessel with water" may be made. The idea that the power of heavenly bodies can descend into fluids exposed to them is a well known item in Babylonian medical prescriptions. "To let the preparation stand overnight" means that the stars enhance their effectivity by shining on it, as has been shown by Erica Reiner¹³⁷. She does not mention the moon. A similar explanation may apply to the holy "water of the sun", attested in a few rituals¹³⁸.

Did the Babylonians have myths about the moon taken away by hostile forces? They knew at least one, told in the handbook against the evil *Utukkū* demons¹³⁹. The hostile powers are here seven monsters: winds, serpents, wild animals¹⁴⁰. They were sent by Anu and surround (*lamū*) Sîn. Note that according to the Babylonian learned traditions the first day of the month was Anu's day; his number, 60, can also be read "one"¹⁴¹, so he may have claimed this first position in the month. What exactly happens is not clear due to the fragmentary state of the central passage¹⁴². The dire role played by these Seven is hinted at at the end of the moon omnia in the astrological handbook¹⁴³, and in the Late Babylonian ritual the priests have to recite the incantations "Goring Storms" and "Evil Utukku's"¹⁴⁴.

A duplicate text to this same ritual has a passage of its own which may reflect some eclipse myth¹⁴⁵: "Sîn, lord of Ur, is weeping...". A throne of Anu is also mentioned. Unfortunately, the ends of the lines are broken off and the text is interspersed with glosses introduced by "they say" or "otherwise".

A third candidate has been the myth about the slaying of Labbu. A small fragment is known to us¹⁴⁶, speaking of a giant serpent, drawn (*eṣēru*) in the heavens by the god Enlil. A parallel text suggests that the dragon was the *bašmu* snake. As we will see below, scholars are very reluctant to see an eclipse myth in this tale. The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary recently rekindled this dying fire by translating Sîn's behaviour at the threat as follows: "the gods bowed in heaven before Sîn and Sîn's [face?] was darkened with the edge of his garment"¹⁴⁷.

From time to time, an alluring theory about a Dragon devouring the moon comes up in literature. The latest article was written by G.Azarpay, with a note by A.D.Kilmer¹⁴⁸, who are not aware of the discussion by G.Furlani¹⁴⁹, nor of the remark made by E.F.Weidner as early as 1911¹⁵⁰. Again, quite recently two articles appeared, written by Roger Beck, touching upon the same subject-matter, and not aware of Furlani¹⁵¹. Fully independent of all these authors was J.Duchesne-Guillemin when reading his paper on the eclipse dragon at a meeting of the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles

Lettres, Paris. The suggestion of most of these authors is that we may trace back to Mesopotamian art and Chaldaean mythology the Eclipse Dragon of the Greeks. This dragon, known from Greek and later sources, was thought to wind full-length through half of the Zodiac, its head and tail diametrically opposed. Head and tail (*caput* and *cauda*) are supposed to darken the moon at moments that the path of the moon intersects with the the path of the sun, the ecliptic. These are the ascending and descending "lunar nodes", in Greek *anabibázōn* and *katabibázōn*¹⁵². The period between two successive passages of the same node is named "the Draconitic month", a time span known to the Babylonians¹⁵³. Azarpay and Kilmer discover behind representations of this dragon in Islamic art, that originate in Mesopotamia, a Zoroastrian tradition which may go back to the Babylonians. A Seleucid astrological clay tablet bears a drawing where we see within a circle (the moon) a male figure (the god Marduk) killing a dragon; the Pleiades and Hyades "Taurus" stand to the left and right sides¹⁵⁴. A Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal shows a fight with a dragon, next to the crescent¹⁵⁵. Beck starts with the unique zodiac adorning the ceiling of the Ponza Mithraeum and, going back in history, arrives at an old theory that the coiling snake on the Babylonian boundary stones represent this dragon, a theory he rejects¹⁵⁶. For the origin of this dragon he does not want to go back to times earlier than Hellenistic astrology. Duchesne-Guillemin identifies the omega-shaped symbol on Babylonian boundary stones with the letter Omega used for the lunar nodes in Greek astrology. It is seen together with the sun, moon and Venus and has rightly been identified with the mother goddess to whom Duchesne-Guillemin now ascribes astral qualities¹⁵⁷. We already mentioned at the beginning of our discussion of "the Boat" the "leerer Symbolsockel" for this goddess, Aruru, occurring among the astral symbols on the Nazi-maruttaš boundary stone. Traces of an effaced Omega have been seen on this socle¹⁵⁸.

Weidner, Furlani and Beck also concentrate on the textual material. At the beginning of this century a "Chaldaean creation myth" preserved in medieval astrological texts was published telling how "the all-wise god" created the Dragon who was to bear six zodiacal signs on its back and moved through the zodiacal belt, chasing away

the terrified planets¹⁵⁹. Weidner took this story very seriously and saw traces in it of the three heavenly "paths" of the Babylonians. Furlani is very critical and sees in it "a true myth concocted by an astrologer in order to explain the positions of the planets and the zodiacal signs"¹⁶⁰. One tends to believe Furlani.

Another philological aspect is the fact that Akkadian *attalû* "eclipse" appears in Syriac as *'ātaljā*, clearly a loan-word, in other forms attested in Mandaic, Hebrew and even Greek (*talīa*, *talī*, *athália*)¹⁶¹. And this Syriac *'ātaljā* is a serpent (*tannīnā*) devouring (*bl'*) the sun or moon, resulting in an eclipse¹⁶². Unfortunately, we know nothing about the mythical tale behind this expression.

What can our conclusions be? As to the myth on the slaying of Labbu, we simply know too little of its full story¹⁶³. Discovering the lunar nodes in the omega of the mother goddess is a very bold theory, but we admit that the context is astral. Linking the dragons of Mithraic or Islamic art with the coiled serpent on the Babylonian boundary stones of the second and first millennium B.C. has been rejected unanimously¹⁶⁴. Still, the iconography of the serpents on those stones deserves more detailed study because there are so many differences between them: snakes have or do not have horns¹⁶⁵; some snakes are coiled up on top of the stone, others are winding along the entire surface. In any case, the serpents are often larger and far more conspicuous than other images - what is so special about them? Professor Lambert wrote: "This deity [Nirah, or Irhan] is identified with the river Euphrates, as a cosmic entity, *the River*, which also runs around the edge of the universe. Thus when on the boundary stones the snake is put in a position suggesting it has a special place in relation to the other symbols, such as being on the very top of the stone, or having its body extending around the other symbols, this reflects its cosmic function of surrounding the universe"¹⁶⁶.

This author would like to point out that an "astral" explanation is still possible, looking at the positions of Sun and Moon in relation to this serpent. They are depicted very close to its head¹⁶⁷ or tail¹⁶⁸, often accompanied by the planet Venus. In no case does the serpent threaten these astral bodies - which would be a bad omen. In one case, head and tail are opposed and stick out

from the coiled up body; *behind* the protruding head are the sun and moon¹⁶⁹.

Turning now to the scene of slaying a dragon in the moon circle, for the first time related to the Eclipse Myth by Azarpay and Kilmer, the best we can do is to adduce the evidence we have of what the Babylonian saw in the face of the moon¹⁷⁰. Our sources are speculative texts, first telling us that the disc of the sun measures 40 double hours and that of the moon 60 double hours¹⁷¹. They add that the god Marduk is inside the sun and Nabû, his son, inside the moon. Inside the sun a serpent (*bašmu*), ..., inside the moon his mother (?)¹⁷². Another text says that the monster Tiāmat is seen inside the moon¹⁷³. Fascinating data, but we still do not know a Babylonian myth on the Eclipse Dragon.

Is it possible to link Babylonian art motifs with much later Islamic iconography ? This author is not qualified to answer this question. There seems to be an example: one Medieval tradition of presenting planets as human figures, attested in Michael Scot (Sicily, 1243-1250), seems to go back to the Orient and ultimately to the Babylonian gods with their attributes¹⁷⁴. "What remains to be discovered is how the Babylonian types could survive and be transmitted across the centuries to the Arabs", Sezec wrote in his summary of this discovery made by Saxl¹⁷⁵. The huge serpents with sun and moon continued to be depicted on boundary stones up to Nabonidus (555-539 B.C.)¹⁷⁶ and the slaying of the dragon is drawn on a Seleucid clay tablet.

NOTES.

1. H. Waetzoldt, NABU 1990 95: *Suen* in the third millennium, *Suin* in Old Assyrian. Note the writing Ur-^dSi-i-na, variant of Ur-^dSUM-na, in the Ur III text published by C.-G. Janneau, *Une dynastie chaldéenne* (1911) 35, tablet and seal impression. Dr. F.A.M. Wiggermann (Amsterdam) gives me the following references for the personal name Ur-^dSUM-na in Ur III texts: ITT II/2 3977b rev. 3; less certain: MVN V 213:10; cf. Ur-^dSUM in MVN IV 36:3, NATN 690:4.

2. Diss. Hall, 447, 472, 699 f., 879 f.

3. Cf. M.Lambert in *La Lune. Mythes et rites* (=Sources orientales, 6) (1962) 73 f., J.Krecher, *ZA* 78 (1988) 258.
4. Th.Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (1976) 121. Contrast diss. Hall, 536.
5. U.Seidl and B.Hrouda, *RLA* III (1969) 485a, §4 a); 491b, §3.
6. Ward 126 no. 361, reproduced by Weber, *Siegelbilder* 391.
7. J. van Dijk, *HSAO* (1967) 248-250. Note ITU.SAR "crescent" in Sargonic Nippur; A.Westenholz, *Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena* (1975) nos. 82:5, 84:6, cf. 51:18 (ITU.GAL); *OSP* I (1975) 4.
8. M.Civil, *RA* 81 (1987) 187, using school texts from Nuzi and Emar. In Akkadian *sīnu*.
9. Cf. M.Civil, *RA* 60 (1966) 92, and S.Lieberman, *The Sumerian Loanwords in Old-Babylonian Akkadian I* (1977) 423 no. 529.
10. See simply *CAD* N/1 260 f. Earlier lit.: R.Borger, *ABZ* 155 no. 381; cf. K.Watanabe, *ASJ* 6 (1984) 102, and add the epithet of Nanna in Late Sumerian context, U₄.SAR.an.na, in H.Limet, *Les légendes des sceaux cassites* (1971) 87 no. 6.14, line 4.
11. The prime importance of the day of the New Moon and the Crescent is also shown by Semitic words for "month": they originally mean "New Moon": Hebrew *hodēš*, root "new" (cf. *jm hdt* in Ugaritic and *arḫu eššū* in the Nuzi texts); Akkadian *arḫu*, primarily the month's first day; Arabic *šahr*, originally the crescent (*hilāl*), see Ibrahim Al-Selwi, *Jeminitische Wörter in den Werken von al-Hamdānī und Našwān und ihre Parallelen in den semitischen Sprachen* (1987) 127.
12. S.Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts* (1924) 86 and Plate IX, Verse Account of Nabonidus, v 18-22; see *ANET* 314.
13. F.Thureau-Dangin, *TMB* (1938) 37 no. 73; O.Neugebauer, A.Sachs, *MCT* (1946) 56 Eb., MLC 1354; Plates 21 and 47. For its coefficients, see A.D.Kilmer, *OrNS* 29 (1960) 285. See now also *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 21 (1990) 487-493.
14. For *sarru* see *CAD* S s.v. *sarru* B (and add *OECT* 8 18:19, 33, etc.); for *sīnu*, see again *CAD* and K.Deller, *Assur* 3/4 (1983) 9 [= 145].
15. A.Westenholz, *Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena* (1975) 37 f. (ITU.GAL; more often UD.SAR); in Ur III Ur: *UET* 3 401:1, 5 (gold and silver); Old Babylonian: *UET* 5 533:7, 552 I 1, 561 II 20, III 18, 565:12 (silver). Note the early Old Babylonian year name from Tell Asmar *mu giš.šū.nir* U₄.SAR K_U.GI k_U.babbar.gar.ra ^dTišpak.ka ba.dīm, "Year: Tišpak's golden crescent-shaped emblem inlaid with silver was made", after Th.Jacobsen, *OIP* 43 (1940) 192 no. 116. See also *AHw* 1438a *uskāru* 3., "als Gegenstand"; J.Krecher, *RLA* III (1969) 498b,e. See, for example, the hemerology *CT* 51 161:14, and duplicates. In Hittite texts: H.Ehelolf, *ZA* 46 (1940) 43; H.A.Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* (1974) 152. For the sun-disk, see

J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 6 (1990) 149-158; D. Charpin, *ibidem* 159-160. A new example for GUR₇.ME "sun-disk" is BaM 21 (1990) 172 no. 117:1; the "crescent" follows.

16. LKU 33 rev.18 f., and duplicates, with E.Reiner in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds. Papers presented in honor of Edith Porada* (1987) 35 f.

17. E.Porada, in: *Le temple et le culte. Compte rendu de la 20ème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (1975) 164 ff., on Nuzi, with Old Babylonian examples on Plate XXXV.

18. Neo-Babylonian: for example Th.Pinches, *PSBA* 15 (1893) 417; H.Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (1939) 218 with Plate XXXVI, j. In *Western iconography: A.Spycket, Revue biblique* 80 (1973) 384-395, and 81 (1974) 258 f.; O.Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst* (1977) 284-313 (note that the Lamp represents Nusku, son of Šin!).

19. Judges 8:21, 26 and Isaiah 3:18. See K.Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon* (1977) 11a (art. Amulett, §3) and 79 (art. Feldzeichen).

20. H.A.Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* (1974) 152.

21. A "holy chariot of Nanna" is known only from the hymn Šulgi H, III 6; see diss. Hall 427.

22. W.W.Hallo apud M.Civil, *JAOS* 88 (1968) 3 note 13, and apud M. deJong Ellis, *JAOS* 90 (1970) 266-269, "A note on the 'Chariot's Crescent'".

23. *HUCA* 48 (1977) 6 f.

24. See the basic study by H.Limet, "L'organisation de quelques fêtes mensuelles à l'époque néo-sumérienne", *Actes de la XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (1970) 59-74. See also G.Wilhelm, *JCS* 24 (1983) 83, or *SACT* II 271. Cf. Early-Dynastic UD.SAR.ITU.TAR-ka "full moon", in A.Alberti and F.Pomponio, *Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic texts from Ur* (1986) 41 ff., Text no. 13; diss. Hall 255.

25. Th.Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (1976) 122. Proof in Šulgi hymn E 60-62, 254-257; see diss. Hall 418.

26. M.Sigrist, "Les fêtes èš.èš à l'époque néo-sumérienne", *Revue biblique* 84 (1977) 375-392, an article overlooked by Hall in his dissertation. For A.Goetze's equation of the word é in this context with Akkadian *nubattu* there is no real proof; see *JCS* 9 (1955) 21 note 8.

27. W.H.Ph. Römer, *SKIZ* (1965) 47, line 168, read after diss. Hall, 567.

28. C.Wilcke, R.Kutscher, *ZA* 68 (1978) 114:16, meals of Anum (Takil-ilissu). Note that *TCL* 10 66:2-4 records offerings at New Moon, day 15, and the end of the month, u₄.ná.a. A new text from Larsa lists sheep for "l'entretien de Šamaš des cieux, la fête

èš.èš.SAG.UD.SAR de Šamaš, l'offrande KI.SÌ.GA, le thrône royal"; D.Arnaud, *Larsa et Oueili* (1983) 234 no. 54.

29. B.A.Levine, *HUCA* 38 (1967) 45; D.Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur* (1986) 310, 316 (Ur). The evidence for Nippur is not so clear: days 7, 9, 14, 24; see M.Sigrist, *Les sattukku dans l'Ešumeša durant la période d'Isin et Larsa* (1984) 79 f., 151-3. Day 25 in PBS 8/1 60.

30. Rituals in Ugarit also are only interested in the first half of the month, as far as this author sees; cf. *KTU* 1.41 with *TUAT* II/3 (1988) 311-4, and G.del Olmo Lete, *Aula Orientalis* 5 (1987) 257-270.

31. *MDP* 2 Plates 16-19. We are interested in the inscription, col. IV 10-11 (cf. W.J.Hinke, *Selected Babylonian Kudurru Inscriptions* [1911] 3 no. 1), comparing this with the photos in Hinke, *A new boundary stone ...* (1907) 90 f., U.Seidl, *Baghdader Mitt.* 4 (1968) Tafel 19, b-c (with p. 33 ff.).

32. Cf. *PSD* B 172 f., *bugin* "bucket, trough"; H.G.Güterbock, *Festschrift Heinrich Otten* (1973) 79 f., "Trog". Cf. A. Tsukimoto, *ASJ* 13 (1991) 287-8.

33. Gudea Cyl A XXI 18; cf. A. Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš. I. Einleitung* (1966) 83f., "Schale des Nanna"; Th. Jacobsen, *The Harps that once...* (1987) 414, "Nanna's canebrake", reading sug.-- This reference of *bugin* is not given in *PSD* 2 (B).

34. Ulla Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy. Omen Texts in the British Museum* (1989) 112 no. 2:10f.

35. *AEM* 1/1 66 no. 3:25; *KUB* 37 167:5-9; I. Starr, *BiOr* 43 (1986) 640:8; G. Frame, *ARRIM* 5 (1987) 9:18.

36. Å.W. Sjöberg, *MNS* (1960) 27f.; also 44 no. 3:1-14; diss. Hall 675ff., with an explanation on 886f.: its shape is like that of Sumerian river boats, and Nanna brings in it the fruits of prosperity.

The name of Nanna-Sîn's processional boat in the cult is *má.nu.ri*, *MSL* 5 (1957) 177 Hh IV 312. Note the Old Babylonian personal name *Lú-má.nu.ri*, *Riftin* 123:16, *Tell Sifr* 87:16, *YOS* 8 14:25 (he is a boat-man), or *Lú-má.nu.úr(!).ru*, *YOS* 14 348:18, 30 (text from Uruk). There was a festival *ezen má.nu.ru* in Ur; see D.Loding, *JCS* 28 (1976) 236 no. 8; H.Figulla, *Iraq* 15 (1953) 174 no. 58 (= *UET* 1 253), cf. 191; *UET* 5 746:8, 752:13, 782:17.

37. H.W.F. Saggs, *RA* 54 (1960) 133 BM. 15285, left column, below, with drawing (problem Q), and remark on p. 143, on XII 3; *AHw* 591b gives an own drawing. See A.A. Vajman, *Vestnik Drevnij Istorii* 83 (1963) 76 no. 23 and 77f., and now Hirsch, *Afo* 34 (1987) 51f.

38. *RA* 54 145. Professor Hirsch wrote me that he thinks of a boat, seen from the side, with "Aufbau" on top of it.

39. *Sumerian Art. Illustrated by Objects from Ur and Al-Ubaid* (The British Museum, 1969) 21 and Plate XIII b (made of bitumen); L.Woolley, *UE* II (1934) 71 and Plate 169, a (PG 789), see Woolley

and Moorey, *Ur of the Chaldees* (1982) 64, 117, 154 (made of silver). Silver models of these boats as votive offerings are mentioned in the texts from Ur: *UET* 3 754; 5 532:7, 553 I 17, III 9, and the refs. given in the index, p. 72a, below.

40. *TCL* 3 318, with A.L.Oppenheim, *JNES* 19 (1960) 137b .

41. *YOS* 1 45 I 9.

42. Contrary to current opinion, seeing in the Fruit the crescent.

43. The "Boat of Sin" in the Sumerian introduction to the astrological handbook, though not without problems of reading or interpretation, does not contradict this; otherwise J.Bottéro, *Mythes et rites de Babylone* (1985) 316 f. ("Le Croissant"); cf. W.Heimpel, *JCS* 38 (1986) 131 ("gondola").

44. H.Limet, *Les légendes des sceaux cassites* (1971) 87, no. 6.14, line 4.

45. *CT* 15 17:1 etc.; see diss. Hall 675.

46. F.X.Kugler and E.F.Weidner; see *BA* VIII/4 (1911) 23-29.

47. Schaumberger, 275.

48. As in *BBSt* Plate LXVI (no. VII); U.Seidl, *Baghdader Mitt.* 4 (1968) Tafel 20 a, 27 b; "in einer Scheibe liegend", p. 98.

49. Gudea, Cyl. A XXIV 10; see diss. Hall, 628-630.

50. IV R 32 II 2, cf. 9 (day 13: Sin is wearing a crown of splendor *ana KUR*; cf. *LAS* 50:12-15). For the passages mentioning days 11-15, see below, under "Kidney".

51. In *Enūma Eliš* V 17, commented on by later scholars; see A.Livingstone, *Mystical and mythological explanatory works of Assyrian and Babylonian scholars* (1986) 22 K. 2164+:11-13, with p. 40 f. - In astronomical lit. "half *hap-rat*", Livingstone, 40.

52. III R 55 no. 3, with E.F.Weidner, *HBA* (1915) 18, Schaumberger, 277, and A.Livingstone, *Mystical...*, 47; *CT* 25 50, with Livingstone, 30; *CT* 26 41 VI 16-19.

53. *Geminus* IX 11. Other names and traditions are given in the Budé edition by G.Aujac (1975) 144; the Latin terminology in the Budé edition of Vitruvius, Book IX, by J.Soubiran (1969) 122.

54. *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* XI/1 (1932) 134-144.

55. Schaumberger, 277.

56. Quotations in *CAD* and references in R.Borger, *HKL*, brought the unpublished texts to my attention. They were studied in the British Museum in December 1987. See now also T. Abusch, in: J. Neusner et al. (eds.), *Religion, Science and Magic in Concert and in Conflict* (1989) 55f., note 29. He is interested in K. 1289.

57. *AHw* 1511 s.v. *zappu*, end: "ich stelle Finger" (between the Pleiades and B.).
58. E.Leichty, *TCS* IV (1970) 56, on Izbu III 27. In *CT* 38 5:125 and 25:16 f. Luḫušū is followed by the mythical bird Anzū. Our text preserves the name in ms. B.
59. R.Borger, *AfO* Beiheft 9 (1956) 2 § 2 Ass. A I 39 - II 8; see A.L.Oppenheim, *Centaurus* 14 (1969) 132 note 48, S.Parpola, *LAS* Comm. p. 11, F.Rochberg-Halton, *JAOS* 108 (1988) 54.
60. H.Hunger, *Or.NS* 56 (1987) 405 f.; H.Hunger and D.Pingree, *MUL.APIN. An astrological compendium in cuneiform* (= *AfO* Beiheft 24) (1989) 153, commenting on 94 f., II ii 14-17.
61. A.L.Oppenheim, *JNES* 33 (1974) 200:57-8, cf. 72.
62. S.Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars* (1935) 107-109. Oppenheim's "Study the length of the year" is not precise. Oppenheim does not mention Langdon's work at all.
63. E.Reiner, *JNES* 15 (1956) 134:63 f., "May the small canals (...) absolve with them". - The subject of *lipšurū* in our text clearly is *kalu*, not the female *tāmāti*.
64. Cf. B.Landsberger, *KK* (1915) 98 note 3, using ms. A and B.
65. *KAR* 178 I 48.
66. D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 31 (1969) 178:66, with the addition *ana Marduk BAR (?) GAR*. - Note that sulphur "absolves sorcery on *bubbulu*-day and *ma-mit* on *nu-bat-ti* UD.7.KAM", Sm. 352 rev. 17, cited *CAD* B 299b (collated). A new reference is K. 6048+ rev. III 9, "seventh day, the *nu-bat-tu* of god(s) [...]", W.G.Lambert in *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum. Festgabe für Karlheinz Deller zum 21. Februar 1987* (1988) 162, 173.
67. B. Landsberger, *KK* 108-111.
68. Or can we take Vigil to be New Year's Eve ?
69. Ebla: *MEE* 4 (1982) 288 Voc. Ebla 792, with C.H.Gordon, *Eblaïtica* I (1987) 25. Hebrew: Amos 5:8, Job 9:9, 38:31.
70. M.P.Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning* (1920) 275: the Caribs, Indians, Arawak.
71. *KTU* 1.43:3, see *TUAT* II/3 (1988) 327.
72. J. Henninger, *Arabia Sacra* (1981) 109 n.21.
73. Nilsson, 129-145, 274-7.
74. D.R.Dicks, *Early Greek Astronomy to Aristotle* (1970) 36; O. Wenskus, *Astronomische Zeitangaben von Homer bis Theophrast* (1990) 42-45, 176-177, and *passim*; F.X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst, Ergänzungen* II (1914) 152 f.

75. Nilsson, 275.
76. According to R.A.Miller, "Pleiades perceived: MUL.MUL to Subaru", *JAOS* 108 (1988) 1-26, Chinese and Japanese notions about the Pleiades can be traced back to ancient Mesopotamia. In Chinese writing the characters "hairy head(s)" stand for the Pleiades; the Chinese word for it, *mao*, goes back to **mlôg*; p. 4 f., 7a .
77. See, for example, S.Parpola, *LAS Comm.* (1983) 385.
78. D.Pingree, *Studies presented to Erica Reiner* (1987) 295.
79. Lastly, H.Hunger, E.Reiner, *WZKM* 67 (1975) 21-28.
80. R.Caplice, *Or.NS* 40 (1971) 142 no. 48 rev. 6; W.Mayer, *UFBG* (1976) 431 f., 534; MUL.APIN Tablet I I 44.
81. E.Douglas van Buren, "The seven dots in Mesopotamian art and their meaning", *AFO* 13 (1939-41) 277-289; U.Seidl, *Baghdader Mitt.* 4 (1968) 101-103, and *RLA* III (1969) 485, e.
82. *VAS* 1 71, and *OIP* 2 78:1, respectively.
83. E.F.Weidner, *Gestirndarstellungen auf babylonischen Tontafeln* (1967), Tafel 2.
84. E.G.Perry, *LSS* II/4 (1907) 23 no. 5:7-8, combining two manuscripts; cf. M.-J.Seux, *Hymnes et prières aux dieux de Babylone et d'Assyrie* (1976) 478.
85. *EN qar-ni su-pu-ri*, *RA* 12 (1915) 191:7; see Seux, 479.
86. To be discussed by M.Stol in a book on epilepsy in the Babylonian world. See now A.Livingstone, *Mystical...* (1986) 82:33, 86.
87. The references are abundant; for example M.E.Cohen, *CLAM* (1988) I 211 a + 96 f.; II 419 a + 6-9; 434 f + 102. Cf. *CAD* Z 61a s.v. *zaqnu*. Discussions by A.Falkenstein, *ZA* 44 (1938) 7 f., Å.Sjöberg, *MNS* (1960) 173 f. (ad IV R 9:10), and diss. Hall, 430 f., 697.
88. Vitruvius IX II 1.
89. N 1542:3, edited in diss. Hall, 848.
90. Å.W. Sjöberg, *Orientalia Suecana* 19-20 (1970-71) 163 f.; diss. Hall, 695 f.
91. W.H.Ph. Römer, *SKIZ* (1965) 151: si "Licht"; Sjöberg, *MNS* 143 f., 166:10. - Also in Hebrew, as Moses' *facies cornuta* in Exodus 34:29-35 shows; cf. Habakkuk 3:4.
92. Nanna as a calf: Sjöberg, 24 on line 28; diss. Hall 633 f.; Lugalbanda I 200 with C.Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (1969) 75-77; diss. Hall, 530 ff.

93. J.Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* (1981) 119; cf. CAD Q 139a, S.Lieberman, *Sumerian Loanwords in Old-Babylonian Akkadian I* (1977) 383 note 623.
94. See the discussions by Schaumberger, 256 f., 258 note 1; 269, and C.Bezold, F.Boll, *Reflexe astrologischer Keilinschriften bei griechischen Schriftstellern* (1911) 32-37.
95. This terminology has been clarified by A.Ungnad, *ZDMG* 73 (1919) 167-9, and Schaumberger, 262. Most of it was not seen or not accepted by CAD. Cf. C.Bezold, *ZA* 32 (1919) 210 f. See now F. Rochberg-Halton 1988, 39-40 note 26.
96. *kašādu*, *atū š̄t*, *šaḡālu Gt*, *nentū*, *maḥāru Gt*. See E.F. Weidner, *BA VIII/4* (1911) 75ff.; Schaumberger, 268f., 272-4.
97. *KAR* 184 rev. 37 = *BAM* 4 323:93, dupl. 228:28.
98. For the problem, see Schaumberger, 273 f. H.L.J.Vanstiphout, not accepting a dual meaning, suggested that the full moon of the following month is the subject of line 22; see *JCS* 33 (1981) 196-8.
99. *JAOS* 105 (1985) 595b, and in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds. Papers presented to Edith Porada* (1987) 35. - Does *ištēniš* ever mean "equally" and if yes, in what sense?
100. M. Stol in *Reflets des deux fleuves. Mélanges André Finet* (1989) 119-121.
101. *BAM* 5 449 II 3-4 (against *zikurrudū*); see A.Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien* (1985) 135 f. Column I is about a prayer to Šamaš.
102. M.Rodinson in *La Lune. Mythes et Rites (= Sources orientales 6)* (1962) 205; now in *Picatrix. Das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Magritī. Translated into German from the Arabic by Hellmut Ritter and Martin Plessner* (1962) 235.
103. R.C.Thompson, *Reports* 114 D 4-5, see Weidner, *BA VIII/4* 5, below. Days 13 and 15 are inauspicious; see S.Parpola, *LAS Comm.* (1985) 83 ad no. 74, and 95 ad no. 108:6-10.
104. R.K.Englund, *JESHO* 31 (1988) 122-130 (Ur III), 136 ff. (Archaic Uruk, following A.Vaiman).
105. *CAD* A/2 287b s.v. *arkū* 6'. Nothing in *CAD* M/1 s.v. *mahrū*; nothing in *AHW*. See S.Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic calendars* (1935) 91.
106. *CAD* M/2 129b, c. (82-7-14, 1504 is now *CT* 57 512).
107. B.Landsberger, *KK* (1915) 96 f.
108. E. Reiner, D. Pingree, *BPO* 2(1981) 6 (2).
109. *Afo Beiheft* 22 (1988).

110. F.Rochberg-Halton, *Studies Presented to Erica Reiner* (1987) 331.
111. *CT* 4 5; *Afo* 11 (1936-37) 361, a *tamītu* text; W.Mayer, *UFBG* (1976) 101 note 65.
112. Schaumberger, 251.
113. The difficult word *ellammū* is commonly explained as "pure of rites". Our discussion here suggests that "pure of water" refers to a lunar eclipse. It is not excluded that this "water" has nothing to do with an eclipse but is the nightly dew, so abundant at full moon; see W.H.Roscher, *Über Selene und Verwandtes* (1890) 49-55, "Der Mond und Selene als Thauspender". - Add to the dictionaries the refs. *KUB* 4 13:18, 19, the Cow of Sīn (*i-il-la-a-me-e*), and W.Sommerfeld, *UF* 16 (1984) 303 IV 21 (*kudurru*); see also the next footnote.
114. M.Civil, *JNES* 33 (1974) 332:17-20, with 334. Cf. A.Cavigneaux, *Aula Orientalis* 5 (1987) 254; N.Veldhuis, *ASJ* 11 (1989) 246.
115. F.Rochberg-Halton, *ZA* 77 (1987) 221, on *TCL* 6 13:14.
116. Some lit.: Schaumberger, 246-251; S.Parpola, *LAS Comm.* (1985) 406 f.; F.Rochberg-Halton, *Studies presented to Erica Reiner* (1987) 335. - The identification of the quadrants with parts of the world was taken over in Egyptian astrology, see R.A.Parker, *A Vienna Demotic papyrus on eclipse- and lunar omina* (Providence 1959) 6 f., 30-33 (Crete, Amurru, Egypt, Syria).
117. Recent treatment by W.Röllig, *Or.NS* 54 (1985) 260-273 (p. 272 f. on the weeping Sīn); see also W.Farber in *TUAT* II/2 (1987) 274-7. Now: Niek Veldhuis, *A Cow of Sīn* (1991).
118. M.Stol, *Zwangerschap en geboorte bij de Babyloniërs en in de Bijbel* (1983) 30.
119. Cf. J.Nougayrol, *RA* 44 (1950) 33-35 MAH. 15874:1-9.
120. G.Dossin, *CRRAI* 2 (1951) 46 f., now *AEM* I/1 no. 81. We cannot accept A.L. Oppenheim's explanation given in *Centaurus* 14 (1969) 132 note 47, and in *Dictionary of Scientific Bibliography* XV (1978) 659 note 116, because astrological lore about lunar eclipses did exist in the OB period: *MDP* 18 258 and unpublished BM. texts.
121. *TCL* 3 319, cf. *MDOG* 115 (1983) 100: Šamaš wrote his "yes" on the liver.
122. *YOS* 1 45:15-21, with E.Reiner, *Your thwarts in pieces, your mooring rope cut* (1985) 9 f. See already C.J.Gadd in *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne* (1966) 33, "to reinforce and refine this decision the king then turned to the sacrifice". - Note the liver omen "If there is a cross-shaped mark in the middle of the 'station', the god Sīn will request an *entu*-priestess; or: an eclipse"; G.Frame, *ARRIM* 5 (1987) 9:11.

123. *KTU* 1.78, see *TUAT* II/1 (1986) 99 f., and W.H. van Soldt, *JEOL* 30 (1987-88) 67-69.
124. *CT* 4 5-6 and *CT* 51 190 (= R.Caplice, *Or.NS* 40 (1971) 166-8).
125. *BRM* 4 6 and dupl., see E.Ebeling, *TuL* (1931) 91-6 no. 24, and now W.Farber, *TUAT* II/2 (1987) 236-9.
126. Lines 16 and 43. - We have two documents about an eclipse that did not take place; those responsible for starting the ritual have to appear before the Assembly of Uruk. Had their calculation been wrong? See A.Boissier, *RA* 23 (1926) 13-17 and *YOS* 7 71.
127. E.Cassin, *La splendeur divine* (1968) 41 f.; *Le semblable et le différent* (1987) 259-261.
128. M.Rodinson in *La Lune...* (1962) 200, cf. 162.
129. Sophie Lunais, *Recherches sur la Lune I: Les auteurs latins de la fin des Guerres Puniques à la fin du règne des Antonins* (1979) 240-2. Examples are *Livy* XXVI 5, 9 (*cum aeris crepitu, qualis in defectu lunae silenti nocte cieri solet*), *Tibullus* I 8:22 (*aera repulsa*); *Martialis* XII 57:16 f.
130. Hugo Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche* (1964) 163.
131. S.Lunais, 234-242, "La magie et les éclipses".
132. Plato, *Gorgias* 513a; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 749-754; Lucian, *Philopseudes* 13 f.; *Papyri Graecae Magicae* XXXIX, 1 (part of a lost Greek romance), Basil of Caesarea, *Hex.* VI 11. See F.Boll, art. *Finsternisse* in *Pauly's Realencyclopädie* VI (1909) 2333, and S.Lunais, 231-33.
133. Cf. W.H.Roscher, *Über Selene* (1890) 88 f. and *Tafel* III fig.2.
134. M.Rodinson in *La Lune...* (1962) 200 f.; also René Pottier, *Initiation à la médecine et à la magie en Islam* (1939) 103, below. Cf. Lunais, 232 f.
135. *ABL* 633 + *CT* 53 46, rev. 25-27, following F.M.Fales, *Afo* 27 (1980) 144, with the correction by Th.Kwasman, *RA* 79 (1985) 95 f. Erica Reiner made the same discovery independently, as became clear from her paper "Drawing down the Moon", read in Leiden, February 1990.
136. M.Ullmann, *WKAS* I (1970) 191 ff.
137. E.Reiner, *JAOS* 105 (1985) 594.
138. *KUB* 37 64a:12 and IV R² 59,1:31; see W.Mayer, *UFBG* (1976) 511:13. Also in *TIM* 5 68:4; see J. van Dijk, *Symbolae F.Th.M. de Liagre Böhl* (1973) 116, with note 19.

139. CT 16 19 f., lines 1-188 (Tablet XVI). Translations by G.Furlani, *Riti babilonesi e assiri* (1940) 267-9; R.Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique* (1970) 138-140; A.D. Kilmer, *JAOS* 98 (1978) 372-4.
140. Labat, 138 note 2, attempts to identify them in art.
141. A.Livingstone, *Mystical...* (1986) 47, 77 f. -- *ina* UD.1.KAM KU ⁴A-num in the Nabonidus inscription H 2 A col. II 15, C.J.Gadd, *Anat. Stud.* 8 (1958) 60 and Plate XI, remains a mystery. W.von Soden apud W.Röllig, *ZA* 56 (1964) 231, suggested KU=*uskaru*. Did the scribe play on GIŠ.KU/TÚG=*taskarinnu*?
142. See the interpretation by A.Falkenstein, *LSS NF* 1 (1931) 75f., and Th.Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (1976) 123, 137.
143. E.F.Weidner, *Afo* 17 (1954-56) 88 f.
144. *BRM* 4 6:35f.
145. R.C.Thompson, *A Catalogue of Late Babylonian tablets in the Bodleian Library* (1927) Plate I AB 249 col. II. Lines 1-14 duplicate *BRM* 4 6:5-11, translations of lines from Sumerian lamentations. In line 15 starts our passage, not duplicated.
146. CT 13 33 f. Rm. 282, see now J.Bottéro, S.N.Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme. Mythologie mésopotamienne* (1989) 464-9. A new interpretation was given by F.A.M.Wiggermann, "Tišpak, his seal, and the dragon mušhuššu", in O. Haex et al. (eds.) *To the Euphrates and Beyond. Archaeological studies in honour of Maurits N. van Loon* (1989) 117-133.
147. Lines 15 f.; see *CAD S* 325a, reading *ur-ru-[pu]* at the end of the line.
148. G.Azarpay, "The eclipse dragon on an Arabic frontispiece-miniature", *JAOS* 98 (1978) 363-374.
149. G.Furlani, "Tre trattati astrologici siriaci sulle eclissi solare e lunare", *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Anno CCCXLIV, Series VIII, Rendiconti, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Vol. II* (1947) 569-606, esp. 584-88.
150. E.F.Weidner, *BA VIII/4* (1911) 22 f.
151. R. Beck, "Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac", *Journal of Mithraic Studies* I (1976) 1-19, II (1978) 87-147.
152. Cf. the short remarks by A.Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (1899) 121-3.
153. B.L. van der Waerden, *Die Anfänge der Astronomie* (1968) 111, 145.
154. *JAOS* 98 370b with 374a ; Weidner, *Gestirndarstellungen...* (1967) Tafel 1-2 VAT 7851, with p. 8 f. - Quite another

interpretation was given by R.A.Miller, *JAOS* 108 (1988) 9: victory of the new moon over the old.

155. E.Porada, *CANES* I no. 688E.

156. In a polemic against H.Gundel, *Hommages à M.J.Vermaseren* I (1978) 449 f. Hellenistic astrology: Beck, II (1977) 93, 98 f.

157. J.Duchesne-Guillemin, *CRAIB* 1986 243-248.

158. H.Zimmern, *LSS* 2/II (1906) 41 f.

159. First communicated by F.Cumont, *Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* I (1896) 35 note 1; edition in *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum* V/2 (1906) 131-134, cf. VII (1908) 123-6.

160. Furlani, 595. See also Beck's critical remarks, II 89 f.

161. S.Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (1974) 40 note 46 (with lit.), and Furlani 596-603.

162. Furlani, 569 f., 583. See also *The Syriac Book of Medicines* (1913) I 469, 15 (= II 551) and 484, note (= II 569); Ján Bakoš, *Patrologia Orientalis* XXIV, fasc. 3 [no. 118] (1933) 364 f., note.

163. See the remarks by Furlani, 586, and Beck, II 90, with W.G.Lambert's new interpretation of line 7, "Enlil in heaven designed [the creature]" - not "[the creature] in heaven".

164. Furlani, 587 f.; Beck, II 90 f.

165. With horns: Seidl, *Baghdader Mitt.* 4 (1968) 39 no. 62 (Abb. 8) = Hinke, *A new boundary stone ...* (1907) 17 Fig. 6 = M.Jastrow, *Bildermappe* (1912) no. 38; Seidl, 41 no. 64 (Abb. 10); Seidl, 29 no. 32 (Tafel 15a) = Hinke, 28 Fig. 11 = M.Jastrow, *Bildermappe...* no. 29.

166. Apud Beck, II 138, note 42, without references. For the snake Irhan, see G.J.P.McEwan, *Or.NS* 52 (1983) 215-229, W.G.Lambert, *BSOAS* 48 (1985) 444 note 46.

167. Seidl, 31 no. 40 (Abb. 4) = Hinke, 95 Fig. 30 = Jastrow no. 47; *MDP* VII pl. 27 f.; Seidl, 48 no. 80 (Abb. 14) = Hinke, 30 Fig. 12 = *BBSt.* no. VIII; Seidl, 47 no. 79 (Abb. 13) = Hinke, 34 Fig. 14 = *BBSt.* no. VII; Seidl, 43 no. 68 (Tafel 25) = Hinke, 120 Fig. 47 = Jastrow no. 40; Seidl, 50 no. 84 (Abb. 16) = *UET* 1 165 with Plate S (Nabonidus); Seidl, 61 no. 108 (Abb. 23) = Hinke, 35 Fig. 15 = *VAS* I 70 (Sargon II); Seidl, 45 no. 74 (Abb. 11) = *BBSt.* no. IX; Seidl, 46 no. 76 (Tafel 27) = Hinke, 45 Fig. 19.

168. Seidl, 60 no. 103 (Abb. 22) = Hinke, 97 Fig. 31 = Jastrow no. 43 = *VAS* I 36 (with the Pleiades); Seidl, 38 no. 61 (Abb. 7) = Hinke, 25 Fig. 10 = Jastrow no. 37 = *MDP* VI pl. 9 f.; VII pl. 26.

169. Seidl, 31 no. 40 (Abb. 4) = Hinke, 95 Fig. 30; see above.

170. More general lit. was collected by H.G.Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri* (1968) 29 note 27.
171. A.Livingstone, *Mystical...* (1986) 82 ff. VAT 8917 rev. 4-6. See also *ACh Suppl.* 2 no. 19:8.
172. See the remark by H.Hunger, *Or.NS* 56 (1987) 406: *lumāšu* could also be possible.
173. Livingstone, 90 f.
174. F.Saxl, "Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen im Orient und im Okzident", *Der Islam* 3 (1912) 151-177.
175. Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (1953) 156-160.
176. Seidl, 50 no. 84 Abb. 16 (the snake's head is broken off).

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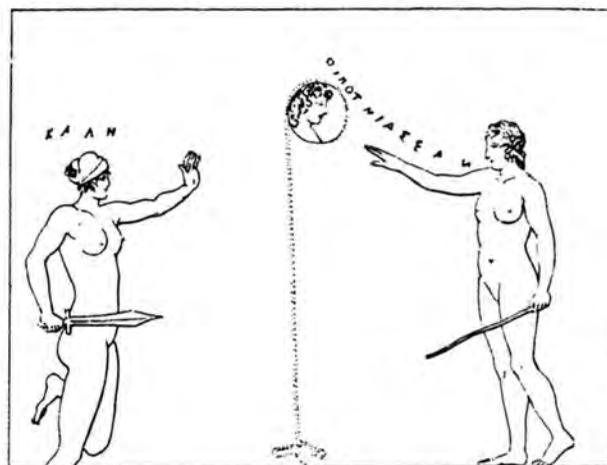
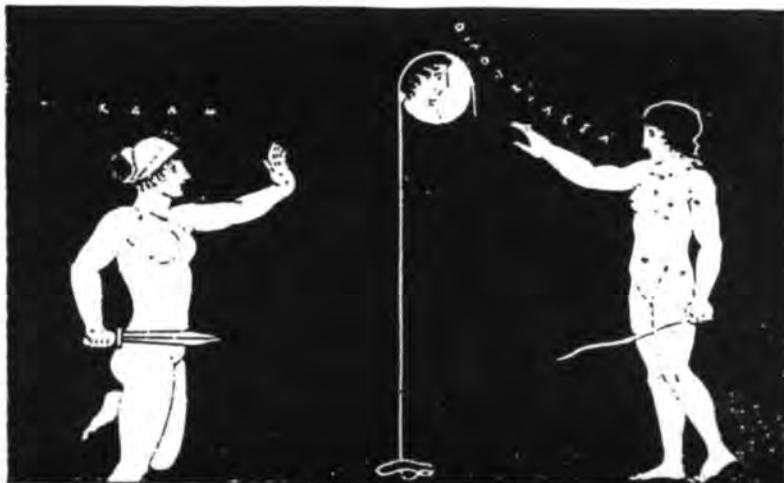
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Fig. 1



Mythological Foundations of Nature

1. INTRODUCTION

If nature is defined as a machine lacking free will, there is no nature in Mesopotamian thought. Mechanical devices were known¹, but the machine metaphor is not used in the explanation of natural phenomena. The only exception, if authentic at all, is late and influenced by Greek science: Berossus' theory of the attraction of light to light and its application to the explanation of the phases of the moon².

Basic to the machine metaphor is the use of logic: derivation from principles. The languages of Mesopotamia, Sumerian and Babylonian, can express conjunction, disjunction, implication and quantification, the tools of logic; they can express subordination³, the tool of exposition, but the actual practice of speech prefers to leave understanding to context, to imply relations rather than to make them explicit⁴. The tools are there, but not yet completely activated. Like all inventions, logic and exposition needed time to mature.

With logic and exposition in their infancies, it comes as no surprise that the peoples of Mesopotamia did not practice logical explanation systematically, that they did not develop a text type "treatise", and that the machine metaphor did not exist.

In Mesopotamia systematic explanation is not derivation from principles, but derivation from a previous state, from forebears; the model is procreation, human history, social life. Accordingly, the explanation of nature is the history of its constituent parts represented as entities able to procreate and interact: gods.

2. GOD LISTS

The general outline of cosmic history was written down only when it needed restructuring, in *Enūma Eliš*. Earlier sources give fragmentary information, out of context or moulded to suit special purposes; later sources (cultic commentaries and theological texts) are short spoken and biased, weaving concurrent mythology into the fabric of *Enūma Eliš*.

Foremost among the earlier sources are the god lists⁵. The earliest god lists, those from Abu Salabikh and Fara, are generally organized after philological principles, not, like later, after theological ones. They served the schools, not speculation. The two early lists are differently organized, but both group together a number of gods known from other sources to be the ancestors of Enlil⁶. The Fara god list is shorter here, and the order of ancestors differs from that in the Abu Salabikh god list. Another school text from Fara, a word list⁷, gives Enlil's ancestors in the same sequence as the Abu Salabikh god list, but omits the last one, the seventh.

When a group of items appears together in different lists, it must be concluded that the items were grouped independent of the purpose of the lists in which they occur. Outside god lists groups of gods are addressed in public or private rituals, the ancestors of Enlil in litanies⁸ and *zi-pà* ("to conjure by") incantations⁹. A ritual context explains the tradition of a fixed group of gods independent of god lists, but to explain the tradition of exactly this or that group of gods in a ritual context, a relation has to be assumed between the nature of the grouped gods and the nature of the ritual. Litanies and incantations address the whole pantheon, or the portion related to their purpose; they are far too general to explain the original tradition of the group of Enlil's ancestors. The ritual context that exactly explains the grouping and tradition of Enlil's ancestors is the "mourning (ritual) for the mothers and fathers of Enlil" held in Nippur and attested in a third millennium literary source¹⁰. What else happened during this ritual is not exactly known (see below, 7), but the analogy with a later ritual for dead kings makes it virtually certain that

Enlil's ancestors were named one by one¹¹. Only in this ritual context does a genealogy of dead gods make sense.

The group of Enlil's ancestors was transmitted not only in written lists, but also orally, in several different ritual contexts. This observation helps to remove some of the difficulties that surround the transmission of this group. The sources tend to give the group of ancestors in multiples of seven, progressively including pairs whose existence is based on pronunciation variants culled from oral traditions. Two pairs, En/Ninutila, "Lord/Lady Time of Life"¹² and En/Ninmešara, "Lord/Lady all Essences" get a special treatment¹³. The litanies present them after the group of ancestors, but expressly exclude them. Enmešara alone is separated from the group in an OB god list from Mari (see note 5) that does not list the other pair. The *zi-pà* incantations and the OB forerunner of the canonical god list do not exclude them, but list them apparently as addition to a group of seven or fourteen ancestors. The canonical god list includes them, arriving, with pronunciation variants, at a total of twenty-one ancestor pairs. Seven pairs are listed by one of the early sources, the Abu Salabikh god list, and this number is confirmed by a literary UGN text (*OIP* 99 114 i 4, dupl. *SF* 37 i 2-3, see Lambert *OrAnt* 20 1981:85): "from Enki and Ninki seven were born".

The remarkable diachronic spelling variations¹⁴, the inclusion of pronunciation variants in the expanded versions of the list, and the diverging sequences show that even in antiquity most items did not have a definite meaning, and that together they did not add up to a sharply defined cosmogony¹⁵. On certain points, however, all sources agree, and these are exactly the points on which we have other information. On these stable elements our insights must be built.

3. HEAVEN, EARTH, AND ETHER

The list is headed by Enki and Ninki, "Lord Earth" and "Lady Earth", the "first to be created" (see note 9). The *UGN* text quoted above makes them the parents of the seven, brothers of Enlil and Enkig, other sources are less precise, but all make them precede Enlil. In the plural the "Lords Earth and Ladies Earth" (⁴En-ki-e-ne ⁴Nin-ki-e-ne) represent the whole group, sometimes with one pair

added¹⁶. Some think that the plural ⁴En-ki-⁴En-ki is the source of later Babylonian *Igigū* (Kramer, *JAOS* 88 1968:111 n.13, van Dijk 1976:126 n.7), a group of gods that is differently defined in different contexts.

The final result of their existence is the birth of Enlil, "Lord Ether", who separates Heaven and Earth. The separation of heaven and earth, An and Ki, is well known from third millennium and later sources¹⁷, though only as part of the stage set for more important acts. Enlil could have done it from without¹⁸, a separate cosmos where he and his ancestors came into being, but it makes much more sense to assume one cosmos with Enlil and his ancestors existing inside of it, split when Enlil, "Lord Ether", came into being. The obvious solution is to identify the Earth (ki) in "Lord/Lady Earth", the ancestors of Enlil, "Lord Ether", with the "Earth" (ki) that is separated from Heaven¹⁹. The prefixed elements ⁴En- and ⁴Nin- only serve to supply a mechanism, to make procreating gods out of cosmic entities. This Earth, ki, is to be distinguished from *uraš*, the later wife of the sky god An and representing the arable surface of the earth²⁰.

A difficult presargonic text (Ukg. 15, see Alster *RA* 64:190) seems to elaborate on this theme: "The divine lord (⁴En) was coming of age²¹, Heaven and Earth (ki), (still) together, were screaming - in those days Enki and Nunki (sic) were not yet alive, Enlil was not yet alive, Ninlil was not yet alive". I take this to mean that the divine lord (⁴En), the active, procreative element in the god name ⁴En-ki, grows inside Heaven and Earth still united, and starts the painful process of separation that by way of Enki and Nunki would culminate in the birth of divine Ether (Enlil).

In the restructured mythology of *Enūma Eliš* Enlil and his ancestors are supplanted by Marduk who creates Heaven and Earth by cutting Tiamat into halves²². In the cosmic battle that preceded, Marduk replaced also Enlil's son Ninurta who in older mythology slew the monsters, now Tiamat's soldiers²³.

Seemingly the god lists ignore the separation of Heaven and Earth. As lists, however, they have limited means to express complex

relations. On principle, all items must be ordered according to one governing principle; in the god lists this is seniority. The earlier lists, without the advantage of an explanation column, have two ways of escaping from this limitation: changing the organizing principle in defined sections, and breaking the sequence, embedding.

4. THE PRIMEVAL OCEAN

The forerunner of the canonical god list suggests simultaneousness of incipient Heaven and Earth (An and Ki) by listing An, his ancestors, and his wife ⁴Uraš/Bēlet-ilī in between the ancestors of Enlil (Enki, Ninki) and Enlil himself, embedding. At the very end of the two lists of ancestors, after An and his wife and before Enlil who ends the united existence of Heaven and Earth, it introduces ⁴Nammu, followed by a deified epithet, ⁴Ama-tu-an-ki, the "Mother who gave birth to Heaven and Earth". The canonical god list changes the sequence and starts with An and his ancestors. There are twenty-one ancestors of An, the first being An-ki, undivided Heaven and Earth counted as one. Obviously ⁴Nammu, who with her epithet appears in the canonical god list also after the wife of An, is the mother of this undivided Heaven-Earth. Later, in the finished universe, she is the watery deep²⁴, covered as other early entities by more recent ones. In the beginning she is the primeval ocean from which everything comes forth. As a primeval deity, she does not have a man²⁵; the first move is asexual, later creation is procreation. In *Enūma Eliš* the primeval ocean is called *Tiāmat*, "Sea", but she has a husband, *Apsū*, the sweet waters. Originally *abzu/apsū* is not a god but a cosmic locality, the source of sweet water and later the abode of Enki. It may have come into existence just before the *du₆-kū* (see below, 6.5f.), but the god lists do not treat it and a more exact location in mythological time remains impossible.

5. THE ANCESTORS OF THE SKY GOD

The ancestors of An are much less important than those of Enlil. They make their first appearance in the OB forerunner of the

canonical god list, two male gods following An, not preceding him: An-šár-gal, "Totality of Heaven"²⁶ and ⁴En-uru-ul-la, "Lord of the Ancient City". The forerunner presents them as deified epithets, but since the canonical version calls them ancestors, they may have had a similar function in the forerunner, possibly as stages in the development between An as part of undivided An-ki and An the sky god²⁷.

The canonical version is expanded in two ways, it makes procreative pairs out of An's epithets²⁸, real ancestors now, and it includes a list of pairs from a tradition unknown to the earlier god lists. The result is a hybrid that should not get a unified interpretation²⁹, at least not in pre-*Enūma Eliš* mythology³⁰.

The only stable element with a bearing on cosmogony is ⁴En-uru-ul-la, implying an "Ancient City"³¹ inhabited probably by gods and related to Heaven. Little else is known of this city than that in the finished cosmos it was overlain by modern layers³². If abzu is located below the du₆-kù, "Holy Mound", and the Ancient City on top of it, the division of realms and rulers of the early cosmos prefigures that of the modern universe: the Holy Mound ruled by ⁴Lugal-du₆-kù-ga, "King of the Holy Mound", the father of Enlil, prefigures Earth ruled by Enlil; the Ancient City identified with an underdeveloped form of An prefigures Heaven ruled by the Sky God. Enki, the later ruler of abzu is not represented in the early cosmos, unless engur is an ancestor of his, on the same pattern as ⁴En-ki³³.

In third millennium cosmogony as reconstructed here, An, husband of ki, "Earth", is a cosmic entity, "Heaven", not identical with An, husband of Uraš (arable surface of the earth), and inhabitant of the finished cosmos. The difference between the sky god An and his abode Heaven is abundantly attested in literary texts of all periods, and especially clear in the cosmogonic introduction of *GEN*³⁴, where after the separation of Heaven and Earth An carries off Heaven, and Enlil Earth (ki). Thus an-šár-gal, "Totality of Heaven", makes the difference explicit and is a suitable ancestor for the more limited sky god An.

Earth, the Enki and Ninki gods, produces offspring. Except one, all OB and later sources end the list of Enlil's ancestors with ^dEn-du₆-kū-ga and his wife, followed only by En/Ninutila and En/Ninmešara, who, as we saw above, get special treatment. The only exception is the forerunner of the canonical god list that inserts a pair ^dEn/Nin-an-na after En/Nindukuga. If the ^dEn/Nin-du₆-LAK 777 of the Abu Salabikh god list and the two Fara sources corresponds with the ^dEn/Nin-du₆-kū-ga of the later lists - highly probable since all ED items recur in the later lists - then the Abu Salabikh list agrees with the forerunner of *An-Anum*. None of the ED sources has ^dEn/Nin-du₆-LAK 777 as its last pair. While the order of items in the early lists does not necessarily imply a time sequence, other sources, ignoring ^dEn/Nin-an-na, confirm the position of ^dEn/Nin-du₆-kū-ga at the end of the list by connecting the du₆-kū and Enmešara with Enlil and his rise to power.

The du₆-kū, "Holy Mound", is a cosmic locality made into a procreative god by prefixing ^dEn- and ^dNin-. It is known also as the "mountain of Heaven and Earth" (5a), alluding to the time before their separation, and in later sources as "seat pure earth" and "mound pure earth" (6b, see also 1g and Tsukimoto 1985:187 n.560). Combined evidence indicates that its foundation was on *apsū*, a cosmic structure and source of sweet water (5d, 5f, 7, Tsukimoto 1985:208, above 5), and that the Ancient City was on top of it (5f, and above 5). From a late text of uncertain relevance it might be concluded that at first it was surrounded by sea (5f).

On the holy mound the gods are born (5a), the Anunna and Nungal of the Duku (cf. *BASOR* 94 1944 8:22). In *Laḥar and Ašnan* the Anunna are spawned by An (*ASJ* 9 1987 14,2), those that build Nippur are called "of Heaven and Earth" (*UET* 6, 118 iv 23ff.). In later sources the term includes the Enki and Ninki gods, the ancestors of the Duku (5e, 5f)³⁶. Life comes forth, it is the "Time of Life", if ^dEn-u₄-ti-la, the ancestor of Enlil that together with Enmešara gets special treatment (above 2), is correctly associated with the Holy Mound and mythological history just before Enlil's rise to power.

The *du₆-kù* is ruled by *Lugal-du₆-kù-ga*, "King of the Holy Mound", the father of Enlil (5f., 9f., Lambert *RIA* 7:133f.). Earlier texts do not know him, and in *An-Anum* he is separated from Enlil's ancestors. Late theological texts generally associate him with Enmešara and the conquered Enlils (below, note 57).

When from Duku Enlil is born (3a; implied by the ancestor lists and the name of his father), Heaven and Earth are separated (above 3, below 9). After their separation they remain productive, but what they engender is mostly evil, the seven demons and *azag* (5d), but sometimes useful: wood, reed and plants (van Dijk 1964:40ff.). When they talk, storm demons (*u₄*) break loose (*MBI* 1 x 10ff., see van Dijk 1964:36).

With Enlil, the modern universe is founded; he establishes just rule, and with the other Anunna decides the fates on the Holy Mound (6, in general Falkenstein *AS* 16 131ff.)³⁷. Darkness turns into light, the moon and the sun, Nanna and Utu, are born, Summer and Winter brought forth by Enlil and *Hursag*; undefined time³⁸ turns into days, months, seasons and years. Much work is to be done, rivers and canals must be dug, palaces built. To relieve the working gods³⁹, man is created after a while. Before and after, *Ninurta*, the warrior of his fathers, suppresses demonic rebellion⁴⁰. Even then the Holy Mound remains productive, *Lahar* and *Ašnan*, Ewe and Grain, descend (5a, 5e, 9a2) to clothe and feed god and man⁴¹.

Another cosmic entity that is brought forth when Heaven and Earth are separated is *hur-sag*, the foot hills. *Nin-hur-sag*, the "Lady of the Foot Hills", is Enlil's sister and in third millennium sources sometimes his wife too⁴². In *Lugal-e* 390ff. *Ninurta* calls the bank he heaped up to prevent the waters from flooding Sumer *hur-sag*, and gives it to his mother *Ninlil/Ninħursag*. When this passage is stripped of the theology with which the myth is replete, and *hur-sag* is returned to its position in cosmogony, it appears to be a cosmic mound or range of mountains keeping the water - the Ocean - out.

In the end the modern cosmos covers the Holy Mound; the latter sinks away into the depths, a retreat for demons (5d), its gods

become underworld gods (5c, 5d, 7, 8, Tsukimoto 1985:184ff.; *BASOR* 94 1944 8, and below, 7). [SEE EXCURSUS AT END].

7. ENLIL CHALLENGED, ENMEŠARA DEFEATED

In the OB and later lists ^dEn-me-šár-ra, "Lord All Essences"⁴³, is treated in the context of Enlil's ancestors, but not as one of them (above, 2). Very little is known about him from other late third and early second millennium sources, and the few facts there are must be enriched by scattered information from late cultic commentaries and theological texts heavily influenced by the mythology of *Enūma Eliš*.

When in an OB Sumerian literary text Namzitarra, a human, is asked by Enlil, disguised as a raven, how he recognized him, Namzitarra answers "When Enmešara, your uncle, the captive, took away the Enlilship, he said: 'now I want to know the fates, like a lord'"⁴⁴.

Enmešara is Enlil's uncle, the brother of his father, which makes him a member of the generation belonging to the Duku⁴⁵. Ur III texts confirm the relation between Enmešara and the Duku by listing offerings to them in sequence⁴⁶.

More substantial is the second bit of information, that Enmešara took away the Enlilship to know what is decreed (*nam-tar*); he took it from Enlil, presumably. The conflict this implies reappears, transformed, in a cultic commentary from Aššur⁴⁷ that explains a ritual by linking it with a mythological event, the transport of the corpse of Enmešara by Ninurta in a chariot drawn by the ghost of Anzū. Enmešara is here associated with Anzū, who stole the tablet of destinies, took away Enlilship, and was defeated by Ninurta in a myth known from OB and later sources⁴⁸. However, since in an earlier Sumerian myth Anzū's conflict is with Enki⁴⁹, not with Enlil, their association is probably not original.

A badly broken NB ritual (?) text treats an episode of Enmešara's mythology in the context of the *akītu* festival (Pinches, *PSBA* 30:80ff.). Enmešara seems to be in jail, together with the bound gods (*ilu šabtūtu*), Nergal arrives and informs him of the defeat of

his seven sons⁵⁰ by Marduk. Another badly broken NB myth or hymn relates how after Tiamat, Mummu and the rebellious Enlils, Enmešara was "seized with a weapon" (*JCS* 10 1956: 100, see Livingstone p. 155). Perhaps then the "bound gods" are identical with the gods that sided with Tiamat, defeated by Marduk and put in jail in *Enūma Eliš* IV 114, where the same rare word for jail, *kišukku*, is used⁵¹. Perhaps then Enmešara and his sons were thought to have been among them; they rebelled against Marduk and were defeated by him. After defeat Enmešara and his sons are under permanent guard⁵². Like the other defeated warriors, the monsters, brood of Tiamat, the seven sons become apotropaic figures⁵³.

Enmešara's rebellion recurs in the bird call text. The *dara-lugal^{mūšēn}*, the cock, is the bird of Enmešara, its cry is *taḫtaḫā ana Tutu* "you have sinned against Tutu (at this time a name of Marduk)"⁵⁴.

The early text calls Enmešara the captive, a permanent quality. From the OB "Death of Gilgameš" we know that together with the ancestors of Enlil he stayed in the underworld (*BASOR* 94 1944 8:17). A SB incantation makes him king of the underworld, apparently once with higher aspirations, before he transferred the symbols of kingship to Anu and Enlil (Borger, *ZA* 61 1971 77:43 ff.). In the late texts he is burned⁵⁵, and becomes a ghost⁵⁶, a dead god⁵⁷, but like all ghosts is still capable of certain activities⁵⁸.

The meaning of this conflict for cosmogony lies in the tension between essences, *me*, and divine government, *nam-tar*, "decreeing the fates". The essences are by nature part of existence, they came into being with what was created, but they are not created themselves⁵⁹. Enlil, An and Enkig represent active rulership, they distribute the essences over the gods and assign each his task, *nam-tar*. The essences are made subservient to the purposes of just rule. The brainless old cosmos of essences had to go, but it did not give way without struggle, it rebelled: Enmešara, "Lord all Essences", tried to know *nam-tar* and rule like Enlil, but he failed and was defeated. What there is was subordinated to divine government for good.

The end of the old cosmos and the beginning of just rule were celebrated each year in the month *du₆-kù*, Babylonian *tešrītu*, "beginning" (above, 6.1, 6.3): at the *du₆-kù*, a structure in temples, the fates are decreed (above, 6.1-6.3, 6.6a, Tsukimoto 1985:209; in the first millennium by Marduk in Nisan), there are offerings for Enlil, Ninlil and the Duku (above, 6.3c), and a mourning ritual for the old gods, the mothers and fathers of Enlil (above, 6.3a)⁶⁰.

8. CONCLUSION

No machine metaphor in Mesopotamia, but a history of gods; yet, in trying to understand nature, there is one metaphor we share with the ancients. It is the mathematical metaphor: all events belong to a series that must have a first member, a beginning, an unmoved mover. In third millennium philosophy this is Ocean, Nammu, distinguished from what follows by producing it asexually. What she produces is undivided Heaven-Earth, An-ki (see below, 9), and from then on production is in male-female pairs. Inside, Earth grows (Enki and Ninki) and produces a mound, Duku. Finally Ether, Enlil, and Mountains, Ninḫursaġak, separate Heaven from Earth. Ether produces the moon, Nanna, the moon produces the sun, Utu, and the planet Venus, Inanna; the sky god, the offspring of sky, An, produces wind, Iškur, and (together with Ocean) Enkiġ, who remains a cosmic riddle. The universe is founded, but far from finished. Numberless minor entities are born from the great gods, but most of the work is done by hand: the great gods led by Enlil finish the universe and finally create man to take care of them⁶¹. Natural phenomena, gods and their activities, are subordinated to just rule: Enlil and An.

9. DISCUSSION

The opinions presented here diverge from previous scholarship on two important issues, the historical order of items in the Anu section of the god lists, and, related, the importance of the separation of heaven and earth in Mesopotamian mythology. Especially pronounced and well informed are the works of W.G.

Lambert, who founds his insights on an analysis of the Anu section that, in our opinion, is not binding.

In order to discuss the problem a schematic version of the forerunner of *An-Anum* (FAA) and *An-Anum* (AA) is presented below. I left out those items of the ancestry of An in AA that do not occur in FAA and can be explained either by the introduction of a list from a different tradition (above, 5) or by the introduction of variants to reach the number of twenty-one single items (i.e. exactly half of Enlil's ancestry of twenty-one pairs): Anšar - Ninšar (variants of Anšargal and Ninšargal), and *ALAM* - *ALAM*, spellings of Alala - Belili.

		FAA	AA
1		^d En-ki ^d Nin-ki	
2		An	An
3	a b c d	An-šár-gal ^d En-uru-ul-la	An-ki (single god) ^d Uraš ^d Nin-uraš (also ^d Ki-uraš, see n.20) An-šár-gal ^d Ki-šár-gal ^d En-uru-ul-la ^d Nin-uru-ul-la
4	a b	^d Uraš ^d NIN-ì-li	^d NIN-ì-li, wife of An
5	a b	^d Nammu ^d Ama-tu-an-ki	^d Nammu, mother of Enkig ^d Ama-ù-tu-an-ki: ^d Nammu (identification)
6	a b	^d En-líl	^d En-ki ^d Nin-ki ^d En-líl

The historical order of gods in FAA is briefly discussed by Lambert (1975:52). He considers the "Mother-who-gave-birth-to-Heaven-and-Earth" (5b) to be a primeval being, since this is what the name suggests. Since there are no essential differences of opinion on the grouping of items, we start with the groups, not with single items. On the basis of the meaning of 5b, Lambert reads the list "upward": 5-4-3-2. This makes 5b the ancestor of them all, and 3 the ancestors of Anu, the desired result. There is, however,

another way of obtaining this result, at first sight less elegant, but not objectionable once the upward reading principle is accepted: applying this principle twice, that is on 2-3, and on the resulting list, giving 5-{(3-2)-4}.

Another point that needs attention is the place of 5 in the second solution. When upward reading is applied to a series 1-(3-2)-4-5, this results in either 1-5-{(3-2)-4}, or in 5-{1-(3-2)-4}.

Before we choose one of the alternatives, we must look at the order of items in AA. This text explicitly calls 3 the ancestors of An, and on this basis it is universally accepted that the order is reversed. Inside section 3, however, the reading is downward, since form (single god) and meaning (Heaven-Earth) of An-ki do not allow it to be derived from a pair (a more advanced type of procreation) denoting a much less general cosmic entity ("Earth").

What was valid for 5 (Amatuanki) in FAA is valid for her in AA too: her name shows that she precedes 2-4. In AA, however, simple upward reading is impossible: the wife of An would precede An, and ancestor 3d would precede ancestor 3a, the much more general single An-ki. Here too the alternative solution can be applied: the upward reading principle is applied first to 2-3, and then to the whole group, giving 5-{(3-2)-4-6a}.

The second solution has a number of important advantages above the first one, upward reading of single items as proposed by Lambert:

a. *Uraš (4) can be taken as the wife of An.*

The first solution makes Uraš precede An, turns her into a cosmic entity, a form of earth, and leaves An without a wife. Uraš, however, is not ki (see above 5), Uraš is An's wife elsewhere, and AA identifies the second member of group 4 as "wife of An". An is the king of the gods, and the name of An's wife, *Bēlet-ilī*, "Queen of the Gods", is not a name but an explanatory epithet, just like Amatuanki is not a name but an explanatory epithet that in two column lists we would expect in the right hand column (see note 20). When *Bēlet-ilī* here is not a name but an epithet, there is no need to identify this deity with *Bēlet-ilī/Ninhursag*, which would make *hursag* a form of *uraš*, and obscure her position as sister of Enlil, born much later (see above, 6, end).

b. *The position of Nammu (5) in the list can be clarified.*

AA, in keeping with traditions at least as old as FAA, calls Nammu the mother of Enkig, and since An is his father, Nammu is sometimes his partner (or has been). Nammu is not only a primeval deity, preceding An, but also a goddess of the later universe, simultaneous with An; and having or having had relations with him, she appears as such after his wife (see note 24, especially Neumann AoF 8:78ff.).

c. *In AA Amatuanki precedes what she gave birth to, An-ki.*

d. *The ancestries of An and Enlil can be integrated into a coherent cosmogony.*

To show this, we give a diagram of the lists organized after the second solution:

	FAA: 5 - {1-(3-2)-4} ⁶²	AA: 5 - {(3-2) - 4 - 6a}
A	5 Nammu Amatuanki	
B		3a An-ki
C	1 ^d En-ki ^d Nin-ki	
D	3c An-šár-gal d ^d En-uru-ul-la 2 An ∞ ^d Uraš/ <i>Bēlet-ilī</i> 4	3c An-šár-gal ^d Ki-šár-gal d ^d En-uru-ul-la ^d Nin-uru-ul-la 2 An ∞ <i>Bēlet-ilī</i> 4
E		6a ^d En-ki ^d Nin-ki

After Enki and Ninki are stripped of their personalities and shown as what they are, ki, "Earth"⁶³, the diagram immediately shows the disparity between the ancestors of Enlil and those of An: while Enlil is derived from ki (C), which in its turn is derived from an-ki (B), An is derived from Anšargal, who in his turn should be derived from An-ki, but does not fit. Secondly, while the derivation of Enlil from Enki-Ninki makes sense, the derivation of An from a form of An seems superfluous. The assumption that 3c and 3d originally had a meaning that did not match the ancestors of

Enlil is born out by *FAA*, which is now completely understood: 2: The god, 3cd: deified epithets (with a meaning related to but not identical with ancestry), 4: his wife and her epithet, 5: a goddess by whom he had a child. The form of the Anu section of *FAA* is exactly like that of gods that do not have a relation with the cosmogony. In this vein we explained (above, 5) Anšargal, "Totality of Heaven", as the Heaven, distinct from the sky god An who lives there.

Now, omitting An's wife and his spurious ancestors, we can simplify the scheme still further, and extort cosmogonic sensibility:

	<i>FAA</i>	<i>AA</i>
A	Nammu Amatuanki	
B	-	An-ki
C	ki	
D	an	an
E		ki

The meaning is immediately clear: Nammu gave birth to An-ki, undivided Heaven-Earth, which in turn split into Heaven and Earth, at the same time, since the two lists are indifferent to order here. The separation of Heaven and Earth in the god lists is a fact, as is the integration of the ancestries of An and Enlil. There are no two different traditions concerning world origins in the god lists. Earth, posited by Lambert as prime element (Lambert 1983:219f.) practically dissolves, while water comes out strengthened (ibid. 220f.); the separation of Heaven and Earth may be rooted in prehistory (Lambert 1975:56), but is of prime importance for the understanding of Mesopotamian mythology.

EXCURSUS.

Additions and comments to Tsukimoto 1985:212ff.

The attestations for *du₆-kù* are collected and numbered by Tsukimoto. These additions and comments follow the same order. This is what the numbers in section 6 refer to.

O. Reading: see Böhl, AfO 11 1936/37:208; Falkenstein, ZA 49 1950:103¹⁰; Kramer JCS 18 1964:48¹⁰⁷; see also below, 9a.

2b. Enkum and Ninkum sometimes are listed among the ancestors of Enlil (*An-Anum* MS KBo 26 1 v 5f., Geller *FUH* 57), and sometimes called "the father and mother of all gods" (*STBU* 2 20 r. 7ff. and duplicates, also in the Bab. inc. cited by Lambert, *RIA* 3 470?). They are sages and servants at the court of Enkig and might, together with *engur* (note 33), belong to a spurious set of ancestors of Enkig.

e. Eninnu of Ningirsu: Gudea St. B v 48, *TCS* 3 31:245.

f. Isin: *CT* 42 38:12 (see Kramer, *JCS* 18 1964:48¹⁰⁷).

g. Ur: according to van Dijk 1964:48¹²², *du₆-ùr* in Ur corresponds to *du₆-kù* elsewhere (references see *RGTC* 2 37).

3a. For text and translation see Tsukimoto 1985:204. With a word play the *du₆-kù* is called the *du₁₀-kù*, the "Holy Lap" of Enlil, see J.S. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* 1983:193.

b. Ad *TRU* 4:11 see Landsberger *LSS* VI/1-2 33. Four pieces of cattle for Ninlil and Duku, "things for the Duku festival" (*nig-ezem-ma du₆-kù-ga*) in Nippur from Puzriš-Dagan on the 27th VII of AS 1 (*MVN* XII 122). An Oakk. text from Nippur records offerings for a procession (*kaskal*) in the month Duku (Westenholz, *ECTJ* 162, 166, see also 160).

c. See also S. Oh'e, An Agricultural Festival in Tummal in the Ur III period, *ASJ* B 1986 121-132.

5a. See now B. Alster and H. Vanstiphout, *Lahar and Ashnan*, *ASJ* 9 1987 1-44. The *kur-sag-an-ki-bi-da-ke*, "Mountain of Heaven and Earth" is, according to all commentators, identical with the *du₆-kù* from which Lahar and Ashnan descend later in the text (40ff.). It is not a "Weltberg" which is Heaven and Earth (so Kramer, see Jacobsen's objections, 1946² 141), but the cosmic mountain *inside* Heaven and Earth (above, 3). Here An spawned the Anunna gods (1f.), it is the *ki-ulutum dingir-re-e-ne-kam*, "birthplace of the gods" (26).

d. *du₆-kù kur-idim*, "Holy mound, mountain of the spring" is where the evil demons come from (Geller *FUH* 769), and is to be connected with the *idim-abzu*, the "spring of Apsù" as their place of origin (*FUH* 402, 404, see *CAD* N/1 *nagbu*, lexical section). The demons are the older brothers (*šeš-gal*) of Enki (*FUH* 390), sons of the same father, An (*FUH* 247, 359, 367, 378, see also Frank, *LSS* III/3 18ff. for the later sources, and L. Cagni, *L'Épopée de Erra* 60:28); Earth is their mother, Lamaštu, another child of An, is their sister. Apparently they were born in the early days of the cosmos. Later, when man is already created, Heaven and Earth produce *azag*, the enemy of established rule, defeated by Ninurta (*Lugal-e* 26f.). The demons are nomadic raiders, like their parents without interest in the welfare of humanity which is not interested in their welfare either; they have no temples and grab what they can.

e. King, *STC* II Pl. LXIII f. (plus unpublished joins and duplicate, K 7052, see Borger *HKL* II 129). SB Myth, "The Toil of Babylon". The people of Babylon do *ilku* work for the gods, but their cries and laments disturb some god's sleep, and he decides to take measures, to turn over the *pašû*. At the end the *bābiū*, "carriers" (etymological speculation) suffer. What happens in between is not clear, but the actors indicate that Holy Mound is involved, or at least the early cosmos: Enlil (iii 5'), ^dEn-šár, one of his ancestors and here father of the Annunaku, ^dNin-ki, ^dLugal-du₆-kù-ga, and finally Ashnan, who must be destroyed (all K 7052).

f. King, *CT* 13 35-38, see Bottéro-Kramer 1989:497ff. In *Enūma Eliš* Enlil and his father Lugaldukuga are replaced by Marduk and his father Ea, which is why after this time Lugaldukuga is a name of Ea, and ^dDUMU-du₆-kù-ga of Marduk (9b; not because there was also a duku in the temple in Eridu and Duku is used as a name of Apsù, as Lambert *RIA* 7 133 seems to imply). In this etiological incantation Lugaldukuga/Ea founds Esagil on *apsù*, all the lands still being sea (10ff.). Then Marduk proceeds with creation. The use of the name Lugaldukuga for Ea in this

context suggests identification of Esagil with uru-ul-la (the Anunnaku created by Marduk live there), with du₆-kù underneath. The elevation of Babylon in this sense is known from other sources (Lambert, in W.S. McCullough ed., *The Seed of Wisdom* (1964) 7; von Soden, *UFO* 3 1971 253f.; see also *Iraq* 47 1985 4 iii 8f.).

6b. In the *akītu* festival at Babylon Marduk replaces Enlil when decreeing the fates on the duku. The rituals of the 8th and 11th day of Nisan (*VAB* 4 126 ii 54ff.) are treated in several theological commentaries, with several different names for duku: DU₆.KÙ SIKIL (*CT* 46 53 II 14), KI.TUŠ KI SIKIL (*KAR* 142 i 3) and DU₆ KI SIKIL (Cavigneaux, *Texts from Babylon* I 141).

d. By Enlil: *VAS* 2 8 i 36f. The Enki and Ninki gods are involved in: deciding the fates in *SKIZ* 46:114 and *JAOS* 104 1984 265:1.8; with "perfecting the me" in *AFO* 24 1973 7 r.4, and with "establishing reason" (*umuš-gál*) in *JAOS* 104 1984 265:1.7).

8. Underground existence of Enki and Ninki is implied by Krebernik, *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla* (1984) 228f., *Urn.* 49 ii 1 where they are associated with the roots of tamarisk and reed, and probably *OIP* 99 48:68 (*zà-mī* hymn to Nergal). In later incantations too, they are generally associated with the *Kultmittel*, or among the personnel of Enki with whom the *āšipu* is identified, see Geller *FUH* 56 and commentary, *VAS* 17 14:4, 19:1, Wilcke, *AFO* 24 14 5:7 and commentary, *CT* 44 26:5ff. and dups., *CT* 16 18 //40 (tablet H) // *Iraq* 42 1980 32:1'-12' and unpublished dups. In view of the genitive the goddess Ninkik that sends up snakes in the Stela of the Vultures probably does not belong here (references see *FAOS* 6 387. The same deity appears in an Ur III field name, see Pettinato *UNL* I/1 227, a-šā gaba-^dNin-ki-ka). They live in the underworld in *EASOR* 94 1944 8:14ff. (death of Gilgamesh), and some of them, mixed with ancestors of An, are doormen in the underworld in later texts (*KAR* 142 iv 12ff., *AnSt* 10 116, see also Borger, *ZA* 61 76:36ff.). In *STBU* 2 16 iv 13 the gods living in Heaven and the gods living on Earth are contrasted with the gods that live in Dukuga, which must denote the underworld here.

9a. For the variation Ur-du₆-kù: Urdu(*IR*₁₁)-kù see Krecher, *WdO* 18 1987:8.

i. ^dEn-du₆-kù-ta-è-dè, "Lord who descends from Duku", *An-Anum* I 86, one of three chief cooks of An.

j. ^dMen(var. Min)-du₆-kù-ta-è, "crown that descends from Duku", *An-Anum* I 66, dupl. VAS 24 17:19, one of the children of Ninšubura.

k. ^dLugal-sa-du₆-kù, see Lambert *RIA* 7 151, possibly corrupt.

NOTES

1. Babylonian science and technology are discussed by A.L. Oppenheim, *Man and Nature in Mesopotamian Civilization, Dictionary of Scientific Bibliography* XV 1987 634-666.

2. See S.M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus, SANE* I/5 1978:16, 31f.

3. In Sumerian, the older language, there is no disjunction, and conjunctions are hardly ever used.

4. See P. Machinist, *On Self-Consciousness in Mesopotamia*, in: S.N. Eisenstadt (ed.), *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations* (1986):183-202. The assumption underlying my contentions is not that the inhabitants of Mesopotamia could not think, but that they did not do it often, and that the common acceptance of logical methods must show in speech by an increasing use of the logical tools (this could be investigated and refuted, in general as well as specifically for Mesopotamia). The simple fact that the documents show little explicit logic then means that logical explanation was not commonly practiced, and not accepted in the explanation of the facts of life and nature. This is not to say, of course, that disconnected islands of logic may not have risen out of the ocean of *post hoc* explanation, for instance in distant regions of thought like mathematics. In the central sectors, history is paramount.

5. For the god lists in general, see W.G. Lambert, *RIA* 3:473ff. For *An-Anum*, cited also as the "canonical list" or AA: R.L. Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God Lists An:^dA-nu-um and An:Anu šá amēli*, diss. Yale (1958) with the addition of *KBo* 26 1 + *KUB* 3 118; forerunner of *An-Anum*, cited also as *FAA: TCL* 15 10:1ff. (ancestor lists); for the Mari god lists: W.G. Lambert, *A list of Gods' Names found at Mari, Fs Birot* (1985):181-190.

6. A. Alberti, *A Reconstruction of the Abu Salabikh God List, SEL* (1985):3-23 (ancestors: 12:255ff.), and M. Krebernik, *Die Götterlisten aus Fara, ZA* 76 1987:161-204 (ancestors: 164 n.7, with a discussion of the ED evidence. See also J. Van Dijk, 1964:6ff. (transcriptions and discussions).

7. *SF* 23 v 17ff., see Krebernik, *ZA* 76 1987:164 n.7.

8. *CT* 42 4 iv 1ff. and duplicates, see Kramer *JCS* 18 1964 19:36; van Dijk *SGL* II 151, and Lambert, *Fs* Albright 364:19 and commentary.

9. *CT* 51 106 r. 1ff.; *CT* 16 13 ii 1ff.; Ebeling *ArOr* 21 1953 381:13ff., 396:70ff. Pre-*Enuma Eliš* mythology (Enlil is the "king of the gods") is reflected in Ebeling *ArOr* 21 1953 361:1ff. (SB): Anšar and Kišar, "Totality of Heaven and Earth", ancestors of An, head the list, followed by the "Lords, mothers and Fathers of Enlil", the first to be created, [máš]-sag sig,-ga: *ašarēdū banūtu*. Although they have no individual *zi-pà* formula, this should not be taken to mean that, against all traditions, here Anšar and Kišar are the ancestors of Enlil. A parallel in the same text with one formula for more gods is 371:21f. The text continues with a further pair of ancestors of An, En/Ninuruulla, then Enlil and Ninlil (and his sister Ninḥursaga and her husband), then An's son Enkig. An and Uraš, whom we would expect before Enkig, are omitted, but known elsewhere in the text (An: 362:26, 363:34, 365:16, 368:56; Uraš: 366:39). By embedding the text points to a more complicated relation, but as a list it cannot be more explicit. The relation between the items is dependent on the separation of Heaven and Earth resulting in An(šargal) and (En/Nin)ki, see below 5 and especially 9. Lambert, under cover of his neolithic origins theory (see below, 9), ignores the second item, and constructs a "fourth version" of Enlil's parentage, making him descend from the ancestors of An (1971:470). The first version makes him a son of An, rare according to Lambert, the second version makes him descend from Earth, that is Enki and Ninki (1971:469, 1975:50ff., 1983:219), the only version that makes sense; the third version, descendancy of all gods from Enmešara, is based on insufficient evidence, see below 7.

10. J.S. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* (1983) 60;207f. See below, 7.

11. See R.R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World*, *YNER* 7 (New Haven 1977) 44f. (genealogies in ancestor cult), 113f. (genealogy of the Hammurapi dynasty).

12. This item is not completely stable, *An-Anum* has the variants -ú-ti-la and -ti-la, *CT* 42 iv 6 has -utu-lá, *PRAK* II C 72:17 has -mu⁷-ti-la, *CT* 16 13 ii 22¹ -u₄-til-la. No firm conclusions can be built on it.

13. So also Lambert 1971:470.

14. See Krebernik, *ZA* 76:164 n.7.

15. According to Lambert the pairs between Enki-Ninki and Enlil indicate only the passage of time (1971:469; 1975:52; 1983:219). Since Lambert separates Enmešara from the ancestors proper (note 13), the only difference between Lambert's view and that presented here lies in the treatment of Enduku (see below, 6), to whom we ascribe a cosmogonic function, while Lambert does not (but see his article *Lugal-dukuga*, in *RLA* 7 1987:133, where a "cosmic Duku" appears.

16. *SKIZ* 46:114; *MNS* 35 r. 7; *CT* 44 26:5 and duplicates (cf. Prosecký, *Fs Matouš II* 247); *PBS* I/2 107 r. 7; Geller *UHF* 56 and later duplicates, etc. Irregular is *Inanna and Ebiḫ* 18: en-ul en-šār-gin, úduḡ gur₄-gur₄-re-za, "when like Enul and Enšar you ... the mace" (*PBS* 10/4 9:18 and duplicates).

17. See G. Komoróczy, *The Separation of Sky and Earth. The Cycle of Kumarbi and the Myths of Cosmogony in Mesopotamia*, *Act. Ant. Hung.* 21 1973:21-45; Kramer 1944:39ff.; *PSD* B bad B mng. 3; and especially Lambert *Or. Ant.* 20 1981:90 for the ED *UGN* attestations.

18. Lambert 1983:221 assumes "divine activity from outside the elements" and apparently considers Enlil a late addition to a mythological theme inherited from prehistoric times (1975:56). See also below, 9.

19. Enlil descends from Earth: Lambert 1971:470; 1975:50ff. and 1983:219.

20. ^dUraš is the wife of An (after Antum) in the OB Nippur god list (*SLT* 122 and 124 i 3), see also Klein, *TAPS* 71 36:50 (spelled ^dUr₄-ra-aš, see 29, n. 155), *OECT* 5 19:38, *JCS* 29:6 (parents of Martu), Kramer *Sumer* 4 1948:26, Falkenstein *ZA* 52 1957:72ff. As wife of An she has a fitting epithet, nin-dingir-re-e-ne, "queen of the gods" (*SGL* II 74), deified in the forerunner of *An-Anum* as ^dNIN-i-li (see below, 9). In the litanies (see above note 8, also *MAT* 12:29) An and Uraš precede the list of ancestors of Enlil, and she has the epithet ki-še-gu-nu, "where barley sprouted". Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven 1976) 95 and 249 n. 86, derives Uraš from the Semitic root "to plough", and translates "The Tilt". Later An has other wives, and Uraš is in *An-Anum* made into a male ancestor supplied with a wife based on his own name (^dNin-uraš, also ^dKi-uraš, see Wiggermann *JEOL* 27:94 n.20). Only the epithet ^dNIN-i-li remains at its original place as wife of An, see below 9.

21. We read nam-šul = meṭlūtu. For a different interpretation see van Dijk 1964:39ff. and 1976:128, followed by Alster *JCS* 28:122; cf. Wilcke *Afo* 24 1973:9.

22. See A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (1987, hereafter *Livingstone*) 79ff., 82:1ff., 124:2; also Lambert 1975:56ff.

23. See F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Babylonian Prophylactic Figures* (Amsterdam 1986) 288ff.

24. See Jacobsen 1946(2):138. Since she is the mother of An, she can have been his wife only later, in the finished universe, not as primeval ocean. See Neumann, *AoF* 8 1981:78ff. (wife of An, mother of Enki). In *Enki and Ninmah* 17 she is the "first mother (ama-igištu), who gave birth to all the gods (dingir-šār-šār)". Cf. Civil, *OrNS* 54 27¹ (<namnam).

25. But later she does, see note 24. More on this deity below, 9.

26. Translated after *CT* 24 19 i 3. See also *AMT* 30/3:14 + 18/11:6.

27. See below, 9.
28. On the scheme An - male: Ki - female, En - male: Nin - female.
29. See Lambert 1985 for the second set of pairs and their cosmogonic meaning. Since none of the names in this second set is Sumerian (Dūri, Dāri, Lahmu and Lahamu are Semitic) we assume a foreign tradition absorbed by Sumerian cosmogony.
30. The resulting list may have had a cosmogonic intention in *Enūma Eliš*. The primeval gods in the Kumarbi myth are related to this second set of pairs, see *RIA* 6 sv. Kumarbi, and Komoróczy, o.c. n.17.
31. See van Dijk 1964:13, 15, 42. Many historical cities can have this epithet' (*BiOr* 45 1988:57: Tummal, Nibru, Kullab, Unug, Ereš, Kisiga, Ur, Zimbir).
32. See Tallqvist, *StOr* 5/4 1934:36. Enuruulla and Ninuruulla become door men in the underworld (below 6.8; in *AnOr* 21 361:7 they are *ša eršet la tāri*, "of the land of no return". In Mesopotamian cosmogony there seems to be no room for a separate underworld of the dead. The underworld is *ki-gal*, "old earth" (in *Ereš-ki-gal*), or */irigal/*, the "old city" (in the Old Babylonian loan word *Irkalu*, and in *Nergal*). Other terms are geographical (*Hubur*, *Kur*, *A-ra-li*).
33. See Kramer, *JAOS* 105 1985:139 n.17, but the spelling *an-gur*, in Gudea speaks against it (Jacobsen *JCS* 2 1948:118 n.6). See also below, 6.2b.
34. Edited by A. Schaffer, *Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgamesh* (1963), unpublished dissertation, Univ. of Penn.
35. The numbers in this section refer to the numbered attestations of the excursus.
36. Astrolab B compared with the commentary on *iqgur-ipuš* (Tsukimoto 1985:201ff.) and especially the incantation cited in 2b and below 7.
37. Deciding the fates is an elementary event at the start of the organized universe, see *Enki and Ninmah* 3; *KAR* 4:4, 12; Kramer *CRRAI* 11 1964:97 ff., 1ff. See F. Rochberg-Halton, *Fate and Divination in Mesopotamia*, *CRRAI* 28 1982:363ff.
38. For time in cosmogony see Lambert 1983:220ff. and 1985:189ff. It plays a part in the second set of ancestors of Anu as *Dūri - Dāri* who may refer to undefined time before days, months and years, as well as to eternal time. The evidence Lambert cites to prove *Dūri - Dāri* to be ancestors of Enlil is dubious (it is an abacadabra incantation), which weakens the case for "eternal time" as an element of cosmogony considerably.
39. For a recent treatment of this theme see G. Komoróczy, *Work and Strike of Gods*, *Oikumene* 1 1976:9-37. The antiquity of this motif is proved by an Akkadian seal, Boehmer *UAVA* 4 Abb.353, where in the

middle of the scene we see a kneeling god being executed by a larger standing one assisted by a second god of equal size, while on the side smaller gods are building a temple - a background event. The killed god may be one of the "carpenter gods" (^dnagar-^dnagar), perhaps Alla (written with the same sign ^dNAGAR), who in KAR 4:21f. give their blood for the creation of man. The mourning cult for Alla is associated with that of Dumuzi. Later they are both among the rebels executed by Ninurta or Marduk (see Nougayrol RA 41 1947:30, Lambert JAOS 103 1983:204). The seal has of course nothing to do with *Enūma Eliš* (Opitz AfO 6 1930-31:61f., with good photograph).

40. Since there are no details concerning the enemies of Ninurta other than azag (*Lugal-e*), they cannot be dated in mythological time with certainty. When azag is defeated, man exists; the other monsters may have been defeated before azag, since he is not among the trophies (Cooper, *AnOr* 52 1978:141ff.). In *Enūma Eliš* the monsters, successors of Ninurta's trophies, are Tiamat's brood, and their defeat takes place before Marduk creates the modern universe. In earlier mythology too they are related to Sea (Wiggermann, *Babylonian Prophylactic Figures* 281f.), but since monster theory is heavily restructured in *Enūma Eliš*, we cannot simply conclude that their defeat took place before man was created.

41. In the incantation *anamdi šipta* (BAM 4:338, 17 and duplicates) Sumuqan, Kusu, Ašnan, Siris and [Ningišzida] are listed after the ancestors of An. That these gods are at home in the context of creation is proved by *BMisc* 12:27ff., where among other gods building and serving temples, Ea creates Ašnan, Laḥar, Kusu, Siris and Ningišzida. The creation of man before Laḥar and Ašnan is based on good traditions (*TMHNF* 3, 10 nr. 5, and *CT* 13 35-38). A more logical order is, however, found in the highly theoretical late incantation cited above (*BMisc* 12): first craftsmen build the temple, then provisions (gods) and divine servants, then the king, and finally mankind.

42. Lambert's completely different assessment of the cosmogonic function of Ninḥursag (as a form of Earth, Uraš; Lambert 1983:219f.) is based on what I consider an erroneous interpretation of the Anu section in the forerunner of *An-Anum* (see below, 9).

43. Also spelled ^dEn-me-en-šár-ra (*SGL* II:152, *BASOR* 94 1947 8:17), ^dEn-me-en-an-šár-ra (*SGL* II:152 n. 16), ^dMe-en-šár-ra (Livingstone o.c. n.22, 124:1), ^dEn-me-šára (!, *PDT* 545), ^dEn-me-ša-ra (Hallo, *HUCA* 29 1958:69ff. no. 6, *TCL* V 6053 iii, Fish, *Cat. Sum. Tablets John Rylands* 146, all Ur III; *CT* 36 26:3, OB lit.). In *JCS* 24 1971:4 ii 12 en-me-šár-ra-ke₄ (Enki) is a genitive, "lord of all me", which does not prove that it is a genitive in the god's name as well. In *AfO* 25 (next note) no vowel follows, the form may or may not be a genitive. Attestations for me-šár-ra are collected by S. Cohen, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (1973) 219ff.

44. M. Civil, *Enlil and Namzitarra*, *AfO* 25 1977:65-71, 68:17f.: u₄ (^dEn-me-šár-ra šeš-ad-da-zu LÚ x GĀntenū/ŠÈ-da-a/nam-^dEn-líl ba-e-DU-a u₄-dè en-gim nam [ga]-zu e-še. The spelling without the determinative is also attested in *PSBA* 30, 80f. Civil considers the

possibility that the reference to the raven is based on a pun (u, ...ga-zu).

45. Jacobsen 1946(2):139: 'at the beginning of the genealogy, before everything else, stands the active principle of the world itself, ..."Lord (en) *modus operandi* (me) of the universe (šār-ak)"' (but note that šār is not a genitive here, Falkenstein *SGL* I 95). Also Lambert 1971:470 considers the possibility that E. was the first god, father of the rest. He cites *ABRT* 2 13 (Borger *ZA* 61 1971 77) where E. precedes Anu and Enlil but nothing makes him the father of all gods, and *BAM* 3 215 (also below note 54) and *BM* 45637+ where not only E. but also Enkum and Ninkum (Lambert 1971:470b) are father and mother of all the gods.

46. Hallo, *HUCA* 29 1958 69ff. no. 6, *PDT* 545, see also *TCL* V 6053 iii 20.

47. *VAT* 8917 24-29, see Livingstone 124. The chariot of E. appears among the constellations, see Weidner, *StOr* 1 1925:352ff., *Afo* 4 1927:74, 77f., Gössmann *ŠL* IV/2 nos. 89 and 122. In *CT* 46 51 12 the "temple of the chariot of Enlil" is associated with E. See Livingstone 147 for an explanation of the ritual to which *VAT* 8917 is a commentary.

48. See M.E. Vogelzang, *Bin Šar Dadmē*, 1988, and H.W.F. Saggs, "Additions to Anzu" *Afo* XXXIII 1988:1-29.

49. See Alster, *JCS* 24 1973 124.

50. For the names of the seven sons see Livingstone 190:10ff. and dups. (for this list: *An-Anum* I 139ff. with *KBo* 26 1 + *KUB* 3 118, *RACC* 14 iii 3ff., 24, K 4806 i 1'ff. and further texts). Doubtful: *AnSt* X 1960:120 iv 42 (two daughters of ^d[X] and Enmešara. Underworld), *RA* 24 1927:31:2 (*Papsukkal ilitti E.*). They are identified with (or identify) the seven sons of Qingu in another cultic commentary (Livingstone 124:1, *VAT* 8917; forty sons of Q. *ibid.* 126:3). Unclear: "...Enmešara Anu, who, to save his life, handed over his sons" *ibid.* 190:5. Sometimes at least ^dVII.BI are the sons of Enmešara, Livingstone 126:5, 176:29f. (?), 128:21, and in the apotropaic texts cited in note 53. At night, they are the Pleiades (Weidner *StOr* 1 1925:353, perhaps in astrolab B, Reiner, *BPO* 2/2 81:19ff., if the agricultural activities described there are correctly compared to those in the incantation to Enmešara *ZA* 61 1971 77:45ff.).

51. See Heidel 1951:41⁸⁹, Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson *JNES* 20 1961:178f., Bottéro, *CRAI* 26 1980 45¹⁷, *ZA* 73 1983:199¹⁴⁷, Lambert, *CRAI* 26 1980 64f., van Dijk *RIA* 3:535a, and above note 39.

52. Livingstone 190:15, 204. Read perhaps U[RÌ] in *RA* 41 1947:31 AO 17626 r. 6 = Livingstone 198:6. See also *SBTU* 2 29 ii and *ABRT* I 57 r. 2 ff.

53. The text Wiggermann, *Babylonian Prphylactic Figures*, 40:311ff., is an incantation to seven (apotropaic) statues of ^dVII.BI, the sons of Enmešara. The seven ^dDUMU.MEŠ.ZI of Assyrian temples may belong here (Frankena, *Takultu* 85:44), with Dumuzi as a generic

form for dead god.

54. Lambert, *AnSt* 20 1970 112:2, cf. however 114:15, where the same bird with the same cry belongs to Nuska (Enmešara occurs in the preceding line). In *PSBA* 30 81 C 1, 3, 13 also there is *hītu*, in obscure context. Corrupt and obscure is the incantation *SBTU* 2 20 r. 7ff., dups. *BAM* [[?]]215 r. 44ff., Scheil *RA* 18 1921:20f. no. 16, related (?) BM 45637+ (Lambert 1971:470). Three pairs of Enlil's ancestors are addressed, among them Enmešara and Ninmešara, and the ritual makes it clear that they are Anunnaki who are expected to speak from the underworld. Is it Enmešara who says 'lord of the lands, fierce king, king of justice (Enlil), what did I sin that you turned me into clay'? The ritual takes place at the end of Abu, which suggests a connection with the *šerti Anunnakī* of *Afo* 18 1957 292:44.

55. Livingstone 82:10: "the ghost (*eṣemmu*) of Enmešara keeps crying "burn me, burn me" (*qi-ma-ni*"); does he mean his corpse (*SBH* 146:42)? Qingu suffered the same fate, Livingstone 120:6, 169.

56. Livingstone 82:10, cited in the preceding note.

57. Livingstone 190:3f., with (among others) Lugaldukuga, Dumuzi and Alla consigned to Irkalla (the underworld); Livingstone 194 at the right and 198, together with Dumuzi, Qingu, Alla, Lugaldukuga (and others) among seven conquered Enlils (^dEN.LÍL.MEŠ *kišitti*), who, like prisoners of war, are blinded, see van der Toorn, *VT* 36 248ff., Livingstone 126:7, 194 at the right. Also K 8111+ (cited in part by Landsberger, *WZKM* 57 1961:3): (among others) Enmešara, Qingu, Anzū, Lugaldukuga (partly restored).

58. See the text cited in note 55.

59. See G. Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos "Inanna und Enki" unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Liste der me* (1973), A. Cavigneaux, "L'essence divine", *JCS* 30 1978 177-181. Note that sometimes the old gods too assist at deciding the fates (above 6.6d).

60. *ér-ama-a-a-dEn-líl-lá* at Duku: see note 10, *ér-du₆-kù-ga*, see Tsukimoto 213 3a; Astrolab B (Reiner *BPO* 2/2 81, offerings for Anunna, *kispu* for Lugaldukuga, Enki and Ninki in month *du₆-kù*, the month of the grandfather of Enlil, here Lugaldukuga), *Iqur-īpuš* commentary *CT* 41 39:6ff. (*kispu* for Anunna, offering for E[nki]), also in *Tešrīt*, the month of the grandfather of Enlil, Lugaldukuga), both texts are discussed by Tsukimoto 201ff.; *KAR* 178 r. iii 18ff., offerings for Enki and Enmešara on 29 *Tešrīt*; weeping ritual for Lugaldukuga: *ZA* 6 243:35, in *Tešrīt* (emended by Lambert, *RLA* 7 133b), for Enmešara: *ZA* 6 243:36, month *Ṭebēt* (cf. *CLBT* B 4 iv 1'ff., where Enki and Ninki are mentioned in connection with a *kispu* ritual on 11 *Ṭebēt*), *SBH* 146 35-43 (in *Kislīm*). See also van Dijk, *RLA* 3 535a.

61. I will resist the temptation to make a schematic drawing, since there are too many unknowns. For a discussion of later (*Enuma Eliš*) cosmological concepts, see Livingstone 79ff., Lambert 1975:56ff., 61ff., and 1983:221.

62. Order in *FAA*: second variant of the alternative solution. In both lists Amatuanki precedes Enki-Ninki. The ancestor Uraš is left out, it is the wife of An promoted to ancestor on the basis of theology and language (ki and uraš are not distinguished in Babylonian, and both are translated with *eršetu*, "earth").

63. Thus Lambert 1971:470 and 1975:50ff.; cf. 1983:219 (Enlil descends from Earth).

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