

ihm erwidert hat, daß sei jetzt ganz unmöglich, wenn sich der Fürst nicht etwa direkt an den Sultan wenden wolle, und auch das verbürge noch keinen Erfolg. Darin ist also offenbar nichts zu machen. [...]

Mit herzl. Grüßen verbleibe ich, geehrter Herr General-Direktor

in hoher Verehrung
Ihr treu-ergebener
Carl Humann

KIZZUWATNA AMID ANATOLIAN AND SYRIAN CULTS

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1. The Kizzuwatna cults, which we know from the documents collected in the Hattuša archives, show how massive the influence of the Hurrian culture was in the region which, in the 15th century B.C. stretched from the Cilician plains to the north-east of the Taurus range, up to the Euphrates. Evidence has survived, however, of cults prior to this period, at least at the core of Kizzuwatna: the Cilician plain with Tarsus and the mountains crossed by the Seyhan and Ceyhan valleys. This region was in direct contact with Syria, to which it was bound with cultural ties formed in the early centuries of the second millenium B.C. The study of the Hittite culture also in its contacts with neighboring peoples was dear to Fiorella Imparati, with whom I have had a close friendship since my early days in Anatolian studies.

2. Išhara, the great Syrian goddess of the third millenium B.C., maintained her role until the 16th century circa, as shown in the Hurrian *Epos of Release from Slavery*. The subject of this poem is about the war of Hurrian groups against the city of Ebla, which led to its destruction. Išhara was invoked in the poem alongside Teššup and Allani, and appeared in the contexts, albeit fragmentary, where Teššup, together with Šuwalijaz, face Ebla. The role of Išhara, "the young girl *clever* at speaking, the goddess *known* for her wisdom", had to be that of trying to convince Ebla, her city, of the goodness of Teššub's claims, which were in some way the Hurrian claims.¹

During that period, Išhara had also acquired an important role in Kizzuwatna. Talzu, a king of the region (who can be dated to no later

¹ For Išhara according to the Ebla texts, see A. Archi, "Divinités sémitiques et divinités de substrat. Le cas d'Išhara et d'Ištar à Ebla", M.A.R.I. 7 (1993), pp. 71-78. The passage of the goddess' cult in Syria from third to second millennium B.C. is studied by A. Archi, "Formation of the West Hurrian pantheon. The case of Išhara" (*forthcoming*). For the goddess in the Epos, besides the proem, I 1, Vs. I 4-6, see the fragments nos. 37, 14'; 43, r. Kol. 4'; 67, 4', in E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I*, Wiesbaden 1996 (StBoT 32). On Išhara, see in general, V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Leiden - New York - Köln 1994), pp. 393-405; D. Prechel, *Die Göttin Išhara* (Münster 1996).

than the 15th century), donated several villages surrounding Tarsus to the goddess together with the mountainous territory that took the name of "Mountain of Išhara". This donation was increased by Šunaššura, who was one of Talzu's successors, and confirmed by an anonymous Hittite king by decree (KUB XL 2; ^{ur}Tar-ša in Vs. 30', HUR.SAG Iš-ḫa-ra in Vs. 13', 14'; a cult place for the goddess also existed at Nēriša, Vs. 33').²

This document (which we own in a later copy) can probably be dated to the time of Šuppiluliyuma I, when many official cults of Kizzuwatna had already been Hurrianized. In spite of this, no Hurrian elements are shown. The name of the Storm god, mentioned at the beginning in relation to an oracular question, is written ^dIM-aš Vs. 4' and ^dIM-ni in 6'. It is, therefore, the Hittite-Luwian *Tarhun(t)-*, and not Teššub. The gods who came "to the rescue of the Storm god" are ^dMu-u-wa-nu-uš, ^dMu-wa-at-ta-al-li-iš and ^dGIBIL (Vs. 5'-6'), who are associated with Išhara's cult (Vs. 15'-17', Rs. 10). *mūwanu-* and *muwat(t)alli-* "mighty" are the two epithets of the Storm god derived from Hittite *mūwa-* "might, power".³ Images were made of these gods and three stelae (^{ma}ḫuwašī-) were erected on the mountain of Išhara. Hittite documents explain that images were carried in processions to these stelae during the Spring festival.⁴

3. These cultic elements documented by KUB XL 2 prove that Kizzuwatna belonged to the Anatolian culture, but it was open to old Syrian religious practices. Some decades after Talzu, Hurrian traditions were established in Kizzuwatna. The Hurrians had also incorporated the Syrian Išhara into their cults. The ritual of Ammiḫatna, the "priest (^{lu}SANGA) of Išhara", KBo V 2 (CTH 471), quotes the goddess inside the Hurrian pantheon, which was opened by Teššub and Kumarpi.⁵ Ammiḫatna belonged to a strongly Hurrianized milieu, as another two rituals show, of which he is the author: CTH 472 and 473.

Tuwanuwa (classical Tyana), on the other side of the Taurus range

just north of the *Pylae Ciliciae*, show elements close to those documented by KUB XL 2. According to KUB XX 1 (CTH 719), at Tuwanuwa (II 30'), the ordinary cult was entrusted to an *ENTU* priestess and a priest, ^{lu}SANGA (II 11'), which proves there was an influence of Syrian tradition.⁶ This document mentions also a ritual "to draw the god from the path", DINGIR^{lam} KASKAL-az ḫūittija-, celebrated by the Old Woman, ^{sa}ŠU.GI (III 15), perhaps for the construction of a new temple dedicated to Ištar of the Field (III 27, and the parallel text KBo VIII 100 I 4', 12'). Even the Hittite king (^dUTU^{si}: II 28'-30') participated in this ritual. The main deities, other than Ištar of the Field, were the Sea (^dAruna, II 32', III 5. 11. 16), the Storm god *mūwanu* (II 5', 33', as in KUB XL 2), and ^dHu-(úr-)du-ma-an (II 26', III 2, 21, 23, 28 ; KBo VIII 100 I 14', 16'). The name of this god, not otherwise noted, is apotropaic if derived from *ḫurt-* / *ḫuwart-* "to curse". The pantheon of the ordinary cult was made up of fifteen gods whose names are all in lacuna (II 12'-26') except those of ^dIš-ḫa-ra in II 20 and Hurduman in II 26'.

4. The cult of the Sea (Aruna) was spread along the coast and through the *Pylae Ciliciae*, up to Hupišna, classical Kybistra, some dozens of kilometres to the west of Tuwanuwa, in the Lower Region. Among the gods venerated together with Huwaššana, the deity of the city, was a group made up of Anna, Aruna, Zarnizza and the river Šarmamma, which are always listed in this order.⁷

Anna, the non-Assyrian deity more often quoted in the documents of the Old Assyrian merchants,⁸ is mentioned in the Hittite period only in the Hupišna festivals and in some documents from Emar. These two data help to delimit the region where the cult of this deity was spread. In Hupišna, Anna, probably a goddess, is always followed by the Sea, and the mention of the river Šarmamma also refers to the aquatic realm;⁹ in Emar, an Anna "of the bank", *ša kibri*, is known.¹⁰ The deity also

² The text has been published by A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, pp. 61-67.

In Cilicia was bought the seal of a certain "Indilimma, son of Šardamu, servant of Išhara", to be dated to the Old Hittite period, see R.M. Boehmer - H.G. Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy* (Berlin 1987), pp. 38-40, with Abb. 26 a.

³ See CHD, L-N, pp. 316-317; H.Cr. Melchert, *Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon* (Chapel Hill, N.C.), p. 151.

⁴ A. Archi, UF 5 (1973), pp. 18-17; G. Wilhelm, *Kuşaklı-Sarissa* 1.1. *Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäude A* (Rahden/Westf. 1997), pp. 17-20.

⁵ The ritual has been transcribed by J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* II² (Heidelberg 1967), pp. 34-39.

⁶ On the relevance of the *entu* priestess in Kizzuwatna and its adjacent regions, see A. Archi, "Textual form and levels of comparison", *Festschrift V. Haas* (Saarbrücken 2001), pp. 24-25.

⁷ See, e.g., KBo XXIV 24 IV 15; XXIX 93 I 17 and 130 Vs. 16-17; KUB LIV 9 III 2-3 and 20 III 6-7.

⁸ See H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion* (AoF, Beiheft 13/14; Graz 1961), p. 27.

⁹ See B.H.L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*, I (Leiden - New York - Köln 1998), p. 30.

¹⁰ D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar VI.3. Textes Sumériens et*

appears in two sections of the Anatolian ritual from Emar together with several Hurrian gods, the Luwian Storm gods *piḫaimmi*, *pudalim(m)i*, *ḫaba(h)immi* and Šanda of Kizzuwatna. Here, Anna belongs to a group of gods of Kizzuwatna and the Lower Region. Her name is written: ^d*A-na-an(-ma)*, *Emar* VI 471, 26; 472, 74', with the Hittite accusative ending -*n* as part of the name, showing that the Emar scribe considered Anna a foreign deity in this case, which is further proof of the Anatolian origin of this goddess.

5. Milkū was another of the deities already known at Emar who was received there subsequently also through the Hittite rites. "The seven ^d*Im-li-ku* of the seven (!) gates" appear in *Emar* VI 373, 124'; 378, 41'. This name (in the plural) applies to the guardians of the Netherworld.¹¹ The Anatolian rituals list ^d*Mil'*/*Mil-ku* after Nergal, *Emar* VI 472, 62'; 473, 15', and prove that Milku was known by the Hittites as a god of similar functions, whom they had acquired from Syria. The treaty of Muṣili II with Tuppi-Tešup of Amurru lists Milku/ū as a god or a group of gods of Amurru, after the Storm god of Tunip and the Storm god of Aleppo at Tunip, KBo XXII 39 III 16'-17': ^d*Mi-il₅-ku* [KUR ^u*A-mu*]-*ri*.¹² By reorganizing the local cults at Kaštama and other towns close to Nerik, Tuḫaliya IV introduced to northern Anatolia some foreign deities like the Storm god of Aššur and Ištar of Nineveh. Among these gods, who reflect the political interests of the Hittites of that period, there was also Milku, in the plural: ^d*Mil-ku-uš*, ^d*Mi-il₅-ku-uš*, ^d*Mil'₅-ku-uš*.¹³

The Pantheon of Ugarit has ^dTišpak = Hurr. *mi-il-ku-un-ni* = Ugar. *ga-ša-ru*, *Ugaritica* V 137 IV a 15, IV b 12. Ugar. *gtr-* should be a denomination of the defunct king, who was considered a tutelary deity,¹⁴

Accadiens (Paris 1986), nos. 373 (*zuku* festival), 89'; 381, 16; 382, 5; 392, 7 ^d*An-na* without epithet, in nos. 446, 77'; 447, 13'.

¹¹ D. Arnaud, *AEPHER* 92 (1985), p. 235. On Milku at Emar, cfr. B.B. Schmidt, in: *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, M.W. Chavalas ed. (Bethesda 1996), pp. 142-143.

¹² Cfr. G.F. Del Monte, *Il trattato fra Muṣili II di Hattuša e Niqmepa' di Ugarit* (Roma 1986), pp. 172-173.

¹³ The texts are KUB XII 2; XXXVIII 6 and 16, studied by L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 8 (1961), pp. 185-188, 205-206; LVII 106; HT 14; see the quotations by van Gessel, *Onomasticon*, I, p. 309. It was E. Laroche, "Glossaire de la langue hourrite", *RHA* 34-35 (1976-1977), p. 170, who recognized the correct reading of this DN, a contribution apparently ignored by Ch. Carter, *JNES* 39 (1980), pp. 313-314.

¹⁴ See G. del Olmo Lete - J. Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica*, I (Barcelona 1996), p. 153, with previous bibliography; see further M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, *Jahwe und seine Aschera* (Münster 1992), pp. 65-74.

but the equivalence with Tišpak points to a different original meaning. In the Emar documents, ^d*Ga-aš-ru* follows Dagan, one of the major local gods, and does not seem connected to funerary cults: *Emar* VI 274, 19; 373, 119' (*zuku* festival); 379, 5 (see also the PN ¹*I-lr*-^d*Ga-aš-ru*, 148, 10). The epithet *gašru* "strong" is earned by Ninurta in the Anzu Myth.¹⁵ Eblaite ^d*Ga-sa-lu* /*gaš(a)ru*/, attested only in TM.75.G.2238 obv. VII 3, VIII 20, must also be considered a former epithet.¹⁶

6. An Autumn and Spring festival for Išhara seems to have reached Hattuša directly from Aštata, and was translated by one of the scribes sent from the Hittite capital to Emar.¹⁷ It concerns the fragmentary tablet KBo XXIX 213 + YBC 16812(+),¹⁸ where Išhara is celebrated "as (it is used) in Šuruna(?)", Vs. I 1: ^u*Šu*-[*ru*]-*na-aš*. Šurun(a) was a town in the land of Aštata on the western bank of the Euphrates.¹⁹ While the restoration of the geographical name is not sure, the cults described are similar to those at the Emar festivals, and the pantheon is surely Syrian. Seven gods are listed there: Išhara and Beltu (Ištar), the Moon (^d30) and the Sun, Ḫalma and Šangara, Tuḫḫitra (Vs. 11-12, 27-31, Rs. 17'-20'). This latter god is known only from this text. Instead, Ḫalma appears in

¹⁵ See W.W. Hallo - W.L. Moran, *JCS* 31 (1979), p. 72. P. Steinkeller, *ZA* 77 (1987), pp. 165-166, mentions, however, the equivalence GİR-ra = *gašru*, and GİR-ra is perhaps connected with Erra.

¹⁶ The text has been published by G. Pettinato, *OA* 18 (1979), pp. 160-175, who equates this god and Ugar. Košar, see *ibid.*, p. 106. This seems not probable, see already A. Archi, in: *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of S. Alp* (Ankara 1992), p. 7.

¹⁷ See E. Laroche, "Emar, étape entre Babylone et le Hatti", in: *Le Moyen Euphrate*, J.Cl. Margueron ed. (Strasbourg 1980), pp. 235-244.

¹⁸ Its duplicate, KBo XXI 42 (CTH 641,2) has been copied by a certain Hapati-UG at the time of Tuḫaliya IV (colophon, VI 6: *PA-NI* ¹*Ši-pa-LU* *IŠ-TUR*; the scribe Šipaziti is mentioned in the witnesses' list in the donation of Šaḫurunwa). A description of this festival has been given by Haas, *Religion*, pp. 400-401, who considers it a festival of Kizzuwatna. The list of the other joined fragments is given in note 183; add KBo XXXV 263, see S. Košak, *Konkordanz der Keilschrifttafeln II* (StBoT 39; Wiesbaden 1995), pp. 65, 224-225, ad 711/b. A study of the fragment YBC 16812, together with KBo XXI 42, has been given by H.G. Güterbock, in: *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mém. E. Laroche* (Paris 1979), pp. 138-142. The whole tablet has been transliterated and translated by Prechel, *Išhara*, pp. 231-244, who follows the interpretation given by Haas.

¹⁹ See the literature quoted in G.F. del Monte - J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte (Rép. Géogr. 6; Wiesbaden 1978)*, p. 369, and, in general, on the toponym Šura in northern Syria, see K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens* (Wiesbaden 1980), pp. 57-66.

Emar texts, and is once associated with Šangara / Šaggara:²⁰ *Emar VI* 378, 12 (Nin-kur, Šaggar, Halma). The other occurrences are 373, 93' (*zukru* festival: Halma is preceded by Ištar and followed by Ištar and Išhara); 393, 9 (Halma is followed by Dagan); 446, 95' and 102' ("In the month of Halma... on the eighth day, Halma gets out."); 463, 18'; 287, 6.

E. Laroche has noted that the PN written in cuneiform ^d30-*a-bi* corresponds to Hieroglyphic Hittite *Sa-ga+ra-bu*, the name of the Moon-god at Emar was therefore Š/Saggar(u).²¹ Consequently, scholars usually read the logogram ^d30 as Šaggar, which occurs in several personal names.²²

The god Šaggar is attested to, other than the text quoted above (with Halma) and the fragmentary *Emar VI* 532, 7', in the *zukru* festival, 373, 42 ("in the fifteenth day, the day of Šaggar", Š[a-a]g-ga-ri), 76' (^dNin-kur ^d[Ša-ag-ga-ar-ù ^dHal-ma), 115' (^dŠa-ag-[ga-ar]), 176'-183' ("in the second day, in the day of Šaggar, Ša-ag-ga-ri, ... at the eve, Šaggar, ^dŠa-ag-ga-ar, [] in the temple of Ninurta..."); 193'-195' ("the fifteenth day, Šaggar, Ša-ag-ga-ru, Dagan, the lord of the cattle, and all the gods ... Dagan, the father, and Šaggar, ^dŠag-gar, ...").

Not only Saggar, but also the Moon-god, written ^d30, occurs in the *zukru* text, in connection with the Sun-god, Šamaš. This points to the reading of the logogram as Sîn, at least in these sequences, *Emar VI* 373, 9-10: ^dUtu ... [^dX] ... ^dÉ-a ... ^d30 ... ^dNin-urta, 27 and 56: ^dNin-é-gal-*li* ^d30 ù ^dUtu, 70'-72': ^dÉ-a ... ^d30 u ^dUtu ... ^dNin-urta, 77'-80': ^dNin-é-gal-*li* ... ^dIš-tar ... ^d30 ... ^dUtu. ^d30 and ^dUtu occur together also in the offering lists *Emar VI* 378, 6, 14-15 and 380, 8, while 382, 1-4 has: ^dNin-kur, ^dIškur, ^d30, ^dNergal. The Hittite text KBo XXIX 213(+) does not therefore show any anomaly by listing ^d30 and ^dUtu together with Halma and Šangara: it just follows the Emar usage.

The fact that Šaggar is an ancient Syrian Moon god is confirmed by

²⁰ This has been noted by Haas, *Geschichte*, p. 568, note 191.

²¹ E. Laroche, «Akkadica» 22 (1981), p. 11. For this name, see also H. Gonnet, in: D. Arnaud, *Textes Syriens de l'âge du Bronze Récent* («Aula Orientalis» - Supplementa 1; Barcelona 1991), p. 199, no. 21e; no. 81a (at p. 207) has ¹A-bi-^d30, while the hieroglyphic inscription is illegible.

²² In *Emar VI*.3, D. Arnaud read Sîn in the Semitic PNs, and Kuzuḫ in the Hurrian ones, see, e.g., ¹A-bi-^d30 Abi-Sîn, ¹A-ri-^d30 = Ari-Kuzuḫ, *Emar* 123, 3 and 214, 1. In Arnaud, *Textes Syriens*, we have, instead, Abi-Šaggar, Abu-Šaggar, and, of course, Eḫli-Kuzuḫ, see pp. 160 and 171; see also no. 97, 4: ^{ša} ^d30 "(a vessel) of Šaggar". For these PNs, see also, G. Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar* (Padova 1996), pp. 124 and 129; J. Goodnick Westenholz, et alii, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. The Emar Tablets* (Groningen 2000), p. 110, and no. 25, 1: ^{šu}-kut-ti-^d30 "ornamentation of Šaggar".

Ebla, as seen by St. Dalley. In the incantation *ARETV* 4 (4), ^dSa-nu-ga-ru₁₂ and his "two horns", 2 si, follows ^dUtu, and corresponds in the parallel passage V 1 (8) to: 1 iti "first month / new moon".²³ This god seems to be attested only twice in the administrative documents: TM.75.G.1923 obv. V 9-11: níg-ba *Ib-ri-um* ^dSa-nu-ga-ar Má-NE^{ki} (a town not far from Emar, whose principal deity was Išhara);²⁴ TM.75.G.2428 rev. XII 25-27: níg-ba *ma-lik-tum* ^dSag-gar (with assimilation of *n*, as in the second millennium). Ebla also knew Suinu, later known as Sîn, as did Emar of the Hittite period.²⁵ Therefore, Šanugar / Šaggar represented originally the New Moon and the Crescent. The Šaggar mountain, the Jebel Sinjār, a long stretch on the geographical map, was visually perceived as being curved and hence got its name from its form.²⁶ The *zukru* festival of Emar follows the moon in its different phases until the full moon ("on the fifteenth day..."), which is the day of Šaggar. Suggesting that Šaggar represented at Emar the moon in its different phases, we can eliminate the oddity that this deity was celebrated especially on the fifteenth day.

²³ St. Dalley - B. Teissier, «Iraq» 54 (1992), pp. 90-91.

²⁴ An = Anum IV 281-282, in: R.L. Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists* (Bethesda 1998), p. 166, lists Saggar as the husband of Išhara, connecting in this way two Syrian deities.

²⁵ A. Archi, *Or.* 63 (1994), pp. 252-256. M. Krebernik, *RIA* 8, 5/6 (1995), pp. 363-364.

²⁶ M. Stol, *On Trees, Mountains and Millstones* (Leiden 1979), pp. 75-82, identified ^dSaggar with the Jebel Sinjar, discovered the reading ^dSaggar for ^dĪAR and connected the name of the city Saggaratum with that of the mountain. J.-M. Durand, in: P. Mander - J.-M. Durand, *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo*, II/1. *Semitas Occidentales (Ebla, Mari)* (Barcelona 1995), p. 184, suggests to distinguish between the name of Moon-god, with /š/, and that of the mountain, with /s/, because at Mari there is ^dŠa-ga-ar be-el Kur-da^{ki}, while the beginning of the name of Saggaratum is written with *Sa*. D. Prechel, who has collected all the material concerning this matter in: *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift J. Renger*. B. Böck - E. Cancik-Kirschbaum - Th. Richter edd. (Münster 1999), pp. 375-379, notices, however, that the name of the mountain was written ^dŠa-ga-ar at Tell Leilan / Šeḫna, and the PN *Puzur-sa-ga-ar* is attested at Kültepe / Kaniš. At Ebla SA, and probably also SAG, stay for both /s/ and /š/. ^dSag-gar of TM.75.G.2428 rev. XII 27 is a variant of ^dSa-nu-ga-ru₁₂. The passages where *Sag-gar*^{ki} occurs, show that it has to be identified with later Saggaratum, or, in any case, has to be connected with the Jebel Sinjār, as it has been suggested by A. Catagnoli - M. Bonechi, *N.A.B.U.* 1992/65 (at the end). In TM.75.G.1923 obv. II 6-10, a man from Saggar reaches Tuttul: NP *Sag-gar*^{ki} kaskal níg-kas₄ *Du-du-lu*^{ki}. According to the following document, Saggar was a town of the region of Nagar (Tell Brak), TM.75.G.2502 obv. XV 20-27: PN ³A-du^{ki} wa PN *Na-gar*^{ki} wa PN *Sag-gar*^{ki}, rev. XV 27-XVI 4: *Na-gar*^{ki} ... *A-bu-li-un*^{ki} ... *Na-ba-ti-un*^{ki} (= Tell Beydar) ... ³A-du^{ki} ... *Sag-gar*^{ki}. On these towns, see A. Archi, *Subartu* IV,2 (1998), pp. 7-8.