

## THE PANTHEON OF EMAR

Gary Beckman (Ann Arbor)

Among the “Thousand Gods”<sup>1</sup> of the Hittites were the deities of subject realms incorporated into the state cult when their homelands were absorbed by Hatti. While the sources at our disposal are not sufficient to allow a proper consideration of the panthea of most vassal states,<sup>2</sup> the hundreds of texts recovered at Meskene/Emar do make it possible to study “all seventy gods of the land of Emar”.<sup>3</sup> Since Maciej Popko has devoted the greater portion of his scholarly research to Hittite religion,<sup>4</sup> it seems fitting to dedicate to him this concise overview<sup>5</sup> of the *Götterwelt* of the Late Bronze Age Middle Euphrates.<sup>6</sup>

In the pages that follow I collect all attestations of deities in economic and administrative documents from Emar, as well as those from the colophons of scholarly texts. I have not included occurrences in the body of literary compositions, since these works were for the most part imported from Mesopotamia and do not necessarily reflect native beliefs.

<sup>1</sup> *LI-IA DINGIR*<sup>MES</sup>; for passages employing this expression, see B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon* (Leiden 1998), 978.

<sup>2</sup> See only G. del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion according to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit* (Bethesda 1999), 43-86 for Ugarit, and I. Singer *apud* S. Israel, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study* (Atlanta 1991), vol. 2, 180-82 for Amurru.

<sup>3</sup> *Emar VI* 373:40: 70 *DINGIR*<sup>MES</sup> *gáb-bi [ša<sup>KUR</sup>]/t-mar*. Here and elsewhere in this essay I cite this text by the line numbers established in the new edition by D. E. Fleming, *Time at Emar. The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's House* (Winona Lake 2000), 234-57. As with Hatti's thousand divinities, the number seventy is conventional: more deities than this are attested in the texts and fewer gods are actually the recipients of local worship.

<sup>4</sup> As exemplified by his masterful *Religions of Asia Minor* (Warsaw 1995).

<sup>5</sup> Due to limits of space, this is primarily a collection of material, intended to fill the gap left by the absence of onomastic indices in most of the primary publications of the Emar tablets, particularly in *Emar VI*. For a more synthetic treatment, see my contribution to G. del Olmo Lete (ed.), *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo II/2, Semitas Occidentales*. Second, rev. ed. (Madrid, forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> No systematic discussion of this pantheon has yet appeared. See only T. R. Kammerer, *Šimā milka. Induktion und Reception der mittelbabylonischen Dichtung von Ugarit, Emār und Tell el-'Amārna* (Münster 1998), 63-84, who focuses, however, on gods appearing in the literary material.

Attestations<sup>7</sup>

The material pertaining to each deity is presented according to the following format: **Divine name**<sup>8</sup> (cultural group<sup>9</sup>). Orthography: attestations.<sup>10</sup> Literature. Remarks.

**Aba** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*A-ba*: *Emar* VI 380:17.

**Adam(ma)** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*A-dam*: *Emar* VI 446:95 (month); *TBR* 16:46 (month); 17:42 (month).

**Adam(ma)tera/i** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*A-dam-ma-te-ra*, <sup>d</sup>*A-tam-ma-te-ra*, <sup>d</sup>*A-<sup>du</sup>dam-te-ri*: *Emar* VI 369:33, 66; 446: 89; 465:2; *EmarJ* 24:17; 28:8 (treasure); *Hirayama* 48:7! (<sup>TRU</sup>*Ešši*; treasure). D. E. Fleming, *HSS* 42, 75; A. Tsukimoto, "Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (III)", *ActaSum* 14 (1992), 299; J. G. Westenholz, *EmarJ*, 62.

**Alal(u)** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*A-lál*, <sup>d</sup>*A-la-al*: *Emar* VI 274:3; 370:110 (priest); 373:83; 378:9; 380:5; 382:14; 385:9; 434:4?; 447:9 (temple); 452:41 (temple), 50 (temple). A. Archi, "Substrate: Some Remarks on the Formation of the West Hurrian Pantheon", in *I's Alp*, 12.

**Allani/u** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*Al-la-a-ni*, <sup>d</sup>*Al-la-nu*: *Emar* VI 472:58; 473:8; 476:20. V. Haas, *GHR*, 405 f.

**Allatu** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*Al-la-tu<sub>4</sub>*: *Emar* VI 274:[5]?; 383:11 (*ša kibri*). D. Yoshida, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnengöttern bei den Hethitern*. THeth 22 (Heidelberg 1996), 50.

**Amaza** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>*A-ma-za*: *Emar* VI 373:[83]; 378:9; 385:9; 447:9 (temple).

**Anan(i/u)** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*A-na-an*: *Emar* VI:74; 471:26. R. Lebrun, "Divinités louvites et hourrites des rituels anatoliens en langue akkadienne provenant de Meskéné," *Hethitica* 9 (1988), 153 n. 20.

**Anna** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*An-na*: *Emar* VI 373:99 (*ša kibri*); 381:16 (*kibri*); 382:5 (*kibri*); 392:[7] (*ša kibri*); 446:77 (month); 447:13; 471:26. R. Lebrun, *op.cit.*, 152 f.

<sup>7</sup> Fragmentary and doubtful names have not been included, nor have those that appear only as elements of theophoric personal names.

<sup>8</sup> I have not ventured to interpret ideograms whose reading is uncertain or ambiguous. Of course, the same god or goddess may well have been represented by both ideographic and phonetic writings – note the cross-references.

<sup>9</sup> Mes = Mesopotamian. WS = West Semitic. Hurr = Hurrian. Hitt = Hittite (including Luwian). In several instances the assignment to a group remains tentative.

<sup>10</sup> Brackets enclose the numbers of lines in which a divine name has been fully or largely restored. Brief indications of the contents of some lines are given in parentheses.

- Ar'uri** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ar-i-ri*, *Ar-i-ri*: *Emar* VI 393:1, 3 (ša <sup>d</sup>NIN.KUR.RA), 6 (*nāqirtu*), 8, 18.
- Assila** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*As-si-la*: *Emar* VI 388:11.
- Aštar** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Aš-tar*: *Emar* VI 373:101; 378:39 (MUL); 384:4. A. Tsukimoto, "Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (I)", *ActaSum* 12 (1990), 184, 211 n. 8.
- Aštar-ḥaši** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Aš-tar-ḥa-ši*, <sup>d</sup>INANNA-ḥa-ši: *Emar* VI 767:26; *Emar.J* 25:8 (treasure). J. G. Westenholz, *Emar.J*, 65. = Aštar of Ḥaššum?
- Aštar-šarba** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Aš-tar-ša-ar-ba*: *Hirayama* 3:6 (street). J. A. Belmonte, *N.A.B.U.* 1997, No. 87.
- Aštarte** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Aš-tar-ti*: *Emar* VI 153:2 (ša *abbi*; gate); 413:3. D. E. Fleming, HSS 42, 220 f.; J. G. Westenholz, *Emar.J*, 75. Cf. <sup>d</sup>INANNA, <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR.
- Aya** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*A-ja*: *Emar* VI 543A:colophon; 544A:colophon; 545A:colophon; 603A:colophon. A. Archi, "Šalaš Consort of Dagan and Kumarbi", in *I's Howl and ten Cate*, 5 n. 25. = Ea?
- Ba'al** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Ba-'lu*: *TBR* 15:20 (ITI *Ba'-'lu'* *Halab*). Cf. <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR, Bēlu.
- Baliḥa** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>*Ba-li-ḥa*, <sup>d</sup>*Ba-li-ḥé*: *Emar* VI 378:19 (ša *ḥutani*), 20 (ša KIRI<sub>6</sub>.NUMUN ša LUGAL). A. Archi, *op.cit.*, 8 f. Cf. KASKAL.KUR.RA(MEŠ).
- Bēlet-dūri** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Be-lé-et-BAD*: *RE* 11:6 (gate). P.-A. Beaulieu, *N.A.B.U.* 1989, No. 64.
- Bēlet-ekalli** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>NIN.É.GAL, <sup>d</sup>NIN.É.GAL-*li*: *Emar* VI 274:4; 373:[15], 29, 58, 87; 378:13; 379:2; 380:1, 12; 381:17; 382:9; 460:11, 23; *Hirayama* 42:19, left edge.
- Bēlu** (WS). <sup>d</sup>EN, EN: *Emar* VI 373:14 (KILAM, SIME(Š)), 114 (*Gabba*), 126 (*Akka*), 127 (*Imar*), 130 (*šalūli pasūri*), 131 (*Buzqa*), 132 (*Yabur*), 133 (*Na-*), 138 (*Šagma*), 152 (*Rabba*), 160 (*raqāti*); 177:25 (*Tabniya*); 378:1 (*buqāri*), 22 (*raqāti*), 23 (*Yardani*), 45 (*Rabba*); 379:2 (KILAM); 380:10 (SI<sup>II</sup>); 381:9 (SI); 382:7 (SIMEŠ); 447:11 (*šuparāni*); 448:19 (*bitari*), 21 (*Halab*); 452:41 (*dadmī*), 54 (*Akka*); *Emar.J* 19:7 (SIMEŠ); *RE* 71:35 (*Halaba*); 82:24 (*gab'a*); 84:6 (EN <sup>URU</sup>*Buzqa*<sup>KI</sup>); *TBR* 57:7 (*bēl ḥizari*); 87:36 (ITI EN *Halab*). J. G. Westenholz, *Emar.J*, 51. Cf. Ba'lu, <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR.
- Dagan** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>*Da-gan*, <sup>d</sup>KUR: *Emar* VI 17:34; 125:37; 140:1 (*bēl-nabi-ilsī*); 274:1, 2 (<sup>URU</sup>*Tuttul*), 10, 15', 18'; 275:2; 276:12 (EN *Tabniya*); 279:21; 286:14?; 296:8?; 319:4; 336:108; 369:55, 57

(NIN.DINGIR; EN *Šumi*); 370:46 (temple), 47; 373:[12] (EN *buqāri*), [13], 18 (EN SIG<sub>4</sub>), 19, 20, 22, 41 (EN *buqāri*), 43 (EN *buqāri*), 45, 48, 50, 77 (EN *buqāri*), 78, 79, 91 (*ša É.GAL-li*), 97 (EN *ḥarri*), 98 (EN *qūni*), 100 (EN *karāši*), 101 (EN *dadmī*), 115 (EN *amqi*), 116 (EN *Šumi*), 117 (EN *Buzqa*), 118 (EN *Yabur*), 149 (EN *ṣalūli pasīri*), 150 (EN *maṣṣari*), 154 (EN *išpat*), 155 (EN *ḥa-PA-x*), 163 (EN *buqāri*), 171 (EN *buqāri*), 174, [180] (EN *buqāri*), 187 (EN *buqāri*), 189, 190 (*abu*), 192, 197, 202; 374:[19] (EN *buqāri*), 20 (EN *buqāri*), 375: 2, 3, 10, 17, 19; 376:2, 3; 378:2 (EN *buqāri*), 3 (GAL), 17 (*zikri*), 24 (EN *Mišla*), 379:3 (EN *karāši*), 6 (EN *dadmī*), 7 (EN *ṣalūli pasīri*), 5 (EN *qūni*); 380:3 (EN SIG<sub>4</sub>), 13 (EN *Tabnia*), 15 (EN *karāši*), 19 (EN *amqi*), 20 (EN *dadmī*); 381:[6] (SIG<sub>4</sub>), 13 (*Tabnia*), 14 (EN *dadmī*), 15 (*qūni*); 382:10 (GAL), 11 (EN *dadmī*), 13 (EN *Tabnia*), 16 (EN *qūni*); 383:1 (É KI), 5 (EN *Tabnia*), 6 (EN *Yabur*), 7 (EN *amqi*); 384:1 (EN *ḥarri*); 385:2, 8, 11; 386:20 (temple); 387:25 (temple); 388:14 (EN *amqi*); 392:3 (temple), 6 (*ša ruḥḥāte*), 11; 393:9, 10; 394:27, 30, 32, 34, 37 (temple); 396:5 (EN *qidaši*); 402:7; 403:6; 406:11; 446:8, 50, 54, 63, 79, 96 (temple), 99; 447:8; 448:2, 4, 18 (temple); 452:40 (temple), 46; 453:4; 462:6, 8 (EN KARAŠ); 463:3, 7; 469:2; 524:1 (EN *karāši*), [7] (EN *qarūi*); 528:5; 531:2; 541B:colophon; 544B:colophon; 545B:colophon; 545G:colophon; 545V:colophon; 555D:colophon; *Emar.J* 30:5 (treasure); *Gs Kutscher* 6:32; *Hirayama* 46:28; *RE* 15:32; 70:1; *TBR* 5:28 (*ša qināti*); 9:45; 52:19; 86:38. A. Archi, in *F's Houwink ten Cate*, 2 f.; V. Haas, *GHR*, 163-67; I. Singer, "Towards the Image of Dagan, the God of the Philistines," *Syria* 69 (1992), 431-50.

**Damkina** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Dam-ki-na*, <sup>d</sup>DAM.KIAN.NA: *Emar* VI 378:5; 541B:colophon; 544B:colophon; 545B:colophon; 545G:colophon; 545V:colophon; 548A:colophon; 555D:colophon.

**Ea** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>É.A: *Emar* VI 370:64, [82] (temple), 83; 373:13, 80; 378:5, 36 (*ša* <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>DUB.SAR), 38 (*ša* <sup>LÚ</sup>SIMUG.MEŠ); 379:4; 380:11; 382:12; 386:1 (<sup>EZEN</sup>*kissi*), 2, 8 (temple), 10, 11; 393:16; 394:22 (temple); 448:5; 541B:colophon; 544B:colophon; 545B:colophon; 545G:colophon; 545V:colophon; 548:H:[colophon]; 555D:colophon. J.-M. Durand, *N.A.B.U.* 1989, no 111; A. Archi, "The God Ea in Anatolia", in *F's NÖzgülç*, 27-33.

**Ereškigal** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>EREŠ.KI.GAL: *Emar* VI 385:26, 31, 33; 543A:colophon; 544A:colophon; 545A:colophon; 545U:colophon; *ActaSum* 10 (1988), C:3, 6, [9], 10 (temple). D. Yoshida, *THeth* 22, 48-50.

- Erra** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Er-ra*: *Emar* VI 289:6 (EN *Šagma*; treasure); *EmarJ* 28:6 (<sup>URU</sup>*Ešši*; treasure); 30:9; *Hirayama* 48:5 (<sup>URU</sup>*Ešši*; treasure). J. G. Westenholz, *EmarJ*, 71, 75.
- Erua** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*E-ru<sub>6</sub>-a*: *Emar* VI 567:colophon.
- Gadda** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Ga-ad-dá*, *Ga-ad-dá*, *Ga<sub>14</sub>-ad-da*: *Emar* VI 369:34 (temple), 36 (temple); 373:158 (temple); 461:4, 5 (temple). V. Haas, *GHR*, 574 n. 225; M. Dietrich, “Die akkadischen Texte der Archive und Bibliotheken von Emar”, *UF* 22 (1990), 36. Cf. Papsukkal.
- Gašru** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Ga-aš-ru*: *Emar* VI 274:19; 379:5. A. Archi, in *Fs Alp*, 7 n. 6.
- Gula** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Gu-la*: *Emar* VI 546A:colophon; 567:colophon.
- Ḫallaba** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ḫal<sup>2</sup>-la-a-ba*: *Emar* VI 373:137.
- Ḫalma** (Syrian). *Emar* VI 287:6 (priest, treasure); 373:[76], 91; 378:12; 393:9; 446:95 (month), 102; 463:18. D. Prechel, *Išhara*, 86.
- Ḫamari** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>*Ḫa-ma-ri*: *EmarJ* 19:1. J. G. Westenholz, *EmarJ*, 50. Cf. *Il Imarī*.
- Ḫanana** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ḫa<sup>2</sup>-na-na*: *Emar* VI 373: 108 (*ša ekalli*), 109 (*ša URU<sup>KI</sup>*).
- Ḫa(n)dasšima** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ḫa-an-da-si-ma*, <sup>d</sup>*Ḫa-an-da-ši-ma*, <sup>d</sup>*Ḫa-da-ši-i-ma*: *Emar* VI 471:19; 472:364; 474:5; 485:[2]. E. Laroche, “Observations sur le rituel anatolien provenant de Meskene-Emar”, in *Fs Pugliese Carratelli*, 115.
- Ḫapa(n)tal(i)** (Hitt). <sup>d</sup>*Ḫa-pá-tal*: *Hirayama* 11:34.
- Ḫašinnu** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Ḫa-ši-in-nu<sup>ni</sup>*, <sup>d</sup>*Ḫa-ši-in-nu*, <sup>d</sup>*Ḫa-ši-inu*: *Emar* VI 375:[5], 6, 12, 22 (*ša dX*); 448:1, 4. Divinized cultic implement.
- Ḫazzi** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>*Ḫa-zi*, <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>*Ḫa-zi*: *Emar* VI 472:58; 473:9; 476:21. K. Koch, “Ḫazzi-Šafôn-Kasion. Die Geschichte eines Berges und seiner Gottheiten: Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament”, in *OBO* 129, 171-223. Divinized mountain.
- Ḫepat** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>*Ḫé-pát*, <sup>d</sup>*Ḫé-pá-at*: *Emar* VI 288:[1] (treasure); 369:35, 49, 52; 373:159 (baetyl); 378:4; 444:3; 463:27, 28; 483:[1]. A. Archi, in *Fs Alp*, 12-14; D. E. Fleming, *HSS* 42, 75 f.; M.-C. Trémouille, *Ḫebat*, 211-13.
- Ḫulelu** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ḫu-le-e-li*, <sup>d</sup>*Ḫu-le-la*: *Emar* VI 369:73 (table), 75. D. E. Fleming, *HSS* 42, 191 f.; D. Arnaud, *Présence arabe*, 21.
- Ḫurra(š)** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>*Ḫu-ur-ra-aš*, <sup>d</sup>*Ḫu-ur-ra*: *Emar* VI 472:58; 473:9; 476:[20]. = <sup>G<sup>U</sup></sup>*Ḫurri*?

- II Imarî** (Syrian). DINGIR *I-ma-ri*: *EmarJ* 27:9. J. G. Westenholz, *EmarJ*, 50. Cf. Hamari.
- IIū Emar** (Syrian). DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> URU<sup>I</sup> *E-mar*: *Emar* VI 538I:colophon; 538K:colophon; 541B:colophon; 544B:colophon; 545B:colophon; 545G:colophon; 545V:colophon; 548H:colophon; 555D:colophon; 602A:colophon; Msk 74232n:colophon.
- IIū kašarāti** (Syrian). DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ka-ša-ra-ti*: *Emar* VI 378:18 (*ša išiḫi*), 35. Cf. Ugaritic *ktrt*.
- IIū Uri** (Syrian). DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> URU<sup>I</sup> *U-ri*: *EmarJ* 30:19.
- IIū Wakat** (Syrian). DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> URU<sup>I</sup> *Wa-k[a-at]*: *EmarJ* 19:6.
- Imlikū** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Im-li-ku*: *Emar* VI 373:[134] (*ša* 6 KÁ.GAL<sup>MEŠ</sup>); 378:41 (*ša* KÁ.GAL.MEŠ).
- Immar(n)i** (Hitt). *Im-ma-ri*: *Emar* VI 452:36 (LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>). Cf. <sup>d</sup>*Immarui* in Boğazköy texts.
- INANNA** (Mes, WS). <sup>d</sup>INANNA: *Emar* VI 43:1; 265:11 (URU<sup>KI</sup>); 373:92 (*ša abī*), 93, 94 (*ša duriši*), 109, 145 (GAŠAN A-[]); 378:44 (GAŠAN *enī*); 379:1 (*tāḫāzi*), 6 (*šuparāti*); 380:2 (*tāḫāzi*), 16; 381:11 (*tāḫāzi*); 382:6 (*tāḫāzi*); 383:2 (É <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR), 3 (É SILA.LÍM.BI), 4 (*duriši*), 12 (*kibri*); 384:2 (*abī*); 413:4 (*ša* É), 5 (*ša* É SILA.TAB.TAB); 460:1 (MÉ), 6 (*tāḫāzi*), 9 (*tāḫāzi*), 25 (*duriši*), 26 (*abī*); 504:[2] (*ša šubi*); *EmarJ* 30:1 (*tāḫāzi*; treasure). Cf. Aštarte, *IŠTAR*.
- Išhara** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>*Iš-ḫa-ra*: *Emar* VI 125:38; 282:6 (treasure); 373:95 (GAŠAN URU<sup>KI</sup>), 96 (*ša* LUGAL), 97 (*ša* MUNUS.MEŠ *anabbiyāti*); 378:26 (GAŠAN *Tunnab*), 27 (GAŠAN *Huša*), 28 (GAŠAN *Irar*); 379:3 (*ša anabbiyāti*); 381:12; 382:[15]; 383:10 (*ša* MUNUS.MEŠ *anabbiyāti*); 385:8; 387:[1], 10, 11, 12, 16, 25; 393:4; 446:32; 452:42; 464:2; 483:6; *EmarJ* 19:3 (*ša* URU); *Hirayama* 30:39; *TBR* 48:49; 50:41. D. Prechel, *Išhara*, 164 f.; J. G. Westenholz, *EmarJ*, 50.
- IŠKUR** (Mes, WS, Hurr, Hitt). <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR, <sup>d</sup>U: *Emar* VI 17:35; 42:4, 12, 17, 21; 45:1; 52:1; 57:3; 58:6; 59:2; 159:5 (street); 202:13; 274:3; 275:1, 6; 369:passim (NIN.DINGIR; temple); 370:33 (NIN.DINGIR), 35, 49, 57 (temple); 371:16 (temple); 372:4; 373:12, 78, 128, 139 (KUR *Bašalma'*), 143 (EN *Imar*), 158 (*ša* É *Gadda*); 378:4, 25 (EN *Imar*); 380:4; 381:7; 382:2; 385:16 (NIN.DINGIR); 402:2; 446:49, 90 (hunt), 106 (temple), 109, 115; 447:8; 452:2; 461:6, 8, 9, 12; 463:25, 27; 467:2, 3; 469:2; 471:6 (*puḏallimmi*); 472:17 (KUR *Nerikka*), 24 (*piḫaimmi*), 32 (*Nerikki*), 48 (*piḫaimmi*), 50 (*puḏallimmiū*), 52 (*ḫa-*

- païmmi*), 57 (*ša šamê*); 473:2 (*puḍallimmi*), 4 (*ḥapaïmmi*), 8 (*ša šamê*); 476:13 (*piḥaïmmi*), 27 (*puḍallimmi*); 479:8; 538L:colophon; 567:colophon; *Emar.I* 8:18 (*zābiḥu*); 19:4 (image); 31:3 (*piḥaïmmi*); *Hirayama* 1:7 (street); 46:28; *RE* 27:9; *TBR* 48:49 (*ḥēl Gur-x-x-ad*). D. E. Fleming, HSS 42, 71 f., 214-16, 223-27; J. G. Westenholz, *Emar.J*, 77. Cf. Ba'lu, Bēlu.
- IŠTAR** (Mes, WS, Hurr, Hitt). <sup>d</sup>*IŠg-TÁR*: *Emar* VI 274:3 (*ša šubi*), 6 (KÁ *Amita*), 7 (*hiriqāti*), 8 (*enī*, URU, *šuparāti*), 9 (*aba'ū*), 16 (*euī*), 19; 276:8; 300:3 (*ša HUR.SAG*); 370:20 (MĒ), 21, 71, 73, 84; 373:15 (LÚ *tāhāzi*), 88 (*ša šubi*); 429:[4] (*ša abī*); 466:89 (hunt); 452:5 (*ša «šubi»*), 10 (*ša šubi*), 14 (*ša šubi*), 15 (*ša hiriqāti*), 17 (*ša abī*), 21; 459:6; 472:38 (*ša* <sup>URU</sup>*šamuḥa*); 495:[3?] (*tāhāzi*); 496:5; 553:4; 567:colophon; *Hirayama* 19:14 (NIN <sup>URU</sup>*ḥaza*). W. von Soden, *N.A.B.U.* 1987, No. 46; D. E. Fleming, HSS 42, 221-23. Cf. Aštarte, INANNA.
- KASKAL.KUR.RA** <sup>(MĒŠ)</sup> (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>KASKAL.KUR.RA <sup>MĒŠ</sup>, <sup>d</sup>KASKAL.KUR.RA, <sup>d</sup>KASKAL.KUR: *Emar* VI 168:36 (street); 373:141 (*ša KIRI<sub>6</sub> ekalli*), 146 (*ša ḥuttāni*), 151 (*ša ḥiḥi*); 378:35, 43 (*ša ḥiḥi*); 379:8+ (*ša KIRI<sub>6</sub> ekalli*), 9+ (*ša KIRI<sub>6</sub>.NUMUN*). G. Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen* (Padua 1996), 26. Cf. Baliḥa.
- Keldi** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*Ke-el-de-e*, <sup>d</sup>*Ke-el-di*, <sup>d</sup>*Ke-el-di*: *Emar* VI 475:2; 480:7; 481:2, 4; 482:2; 490:5.
- Kubaba** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>*Ku-ba-ba*: *Hirayama* 19:15.
- Lamassu** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>LAMMA: *Emar* VI 282:7 (decorative element).
- Li'mi-šarta** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Li-i-mi-šar-ta*, *Li-i-mi-šar-ta*: *Emar* VI 373:146 (gate); 378:14, 15; 393:[11].
- Lulaḥḥu** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Lu-lu-ḥi*, <sup>d</sup>LÚ.LĀL: *Emar* VI 274:19; 452:55; *Gs Kutschner* 3:5 (street); *RE* 9:5 (É *hedru*); *TBR* 98:11 (gate).
- Madi** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*Ma-a-di*, <sup>d</sup>*Ma-dii*: *Emar* VI 472:60; 473:13; 480:8; 483:4; *Emar.J* 31:[5] (baetyl). A. Archi, in *F's NÖzgüç*, 29f.; J. G. Westenholz, *Emar.J*, 77.
- Marduk** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU: *Emar* VI 537A:colophon; 541B:colophon; 544B:colophon; 545B:colophon; 545G:colophon; 545V:colophon; 555D:colophon.
- Milku** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Mil<sup>l</sup>-ku*, <sup>d</sup>*Mil-ku*: *Emar* VI 472:62; 473:15. R. Lebrun, *He-thitica* 9, 152.
- Musanu** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Mu-sa-ni*: *Emar* VI 447:12 (temple).

- Mušītu** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Mu-ši-tu<sub>4</sub>*, <sup>d</sup>*Mu-ši-ti*: *Emar* VI 373:112; 472:58; 473:10; 477:1.
- Mūšu** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Mu-ši*: *Emar* VI 484:6.
- Nabû(m)** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Na-bi-um*, <sup>d</sup>AG: *Emar* VI 378:37 (*ša É ḫippi<sup>MEŠ</sup>*); 537A:colophon; 537C:colophon; 541A:colophon; 541B:colophon; 541D:colophon; 543A:colophon; 544A:colophon; 544B:colophon; 545A:colophon; 545B:colophon; 545G:colophon; 545U:colophon; 545V:colophon; 555D:colophon; 575:colophon; 603A:colophon.
- Nanni** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>*Na-an-ni*, <sup>d</sup>*Na-ni*, <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>*Na-ni*: *Emar* VI 472:58; 473:9; 476:21; 483:3. Divinized mountain.
- Nārum** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>ID: *Emar* VI 378:40. Divinized river.
- Nawarni** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*Na-wa-ar-ni*: *Emar* VI 373:140; 475:[6]. A. Archi, in *Fs Alp*, 12; V. Haas, *GHR*, 332; id., in *RIA* 9,1 (*Emar* VI 475:6 : *Naw[arbi<sup>2</sup>]*).
- Nergal** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Nè-iri<sub>11</sub>-gal*: *Emar* VI 76:7 (*burqa*; street); 274:5 (EN KILAM); 373:84 (EN KILAM), 85 (EN SIMEŠ); 378:10 (EN KILAM), 11 (EN SIMEŠ), 34 (*gabbi ... ša URU<sup>KI</sup>*); 380:9 (KILAM); 382:4 (EN KILAM); 383:9 (EN *Buzqa*); 465:4 (EN KILAM); 471:14; 472:60, 68; 473:13; 474:3; 479:2; 483:4; 489:2; 520:3, 5; 532:4; *EmarJ* 29:14 (EN *Šagma*; treasure); 31:5 (baetyl); *Gs Kutscher* 6:21 (<sup>L1</sup>SANGA *ša É<sup>d</sup> Nergal ša KILAM*), 26, 30, 33; *Hirayama* 43:1 (EN *ša šarri*); *TBR* 87:4 (*ša NA<sub>4</sub>*), 9 (*ša NA<sub>4</sub>*), 11, 14, 22. R. Lebrun, *Hethitica* 9, 151 f.; A. Tsukimoto, *ActaSum* 14 (1992), 291; D. E. Fleming, *HSS* 42, 277; J. G. Westenholz, *EmarJ*, 73, 77 f. Cf. Ugar.
- NIN.DUB.GAL.GAL** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>NIN.DUB.GAL.GAL: *Emar* VI 543A:colophon; 544A:colophon; 545A:colophon.
- NIN.KALAM** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>NIN.KALAM: *Emar* VI 282:6 (treasure). D. E. Fleming, *ZA* 83 (1993), 95. = <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA<sup>1</sup>?
- Ninkarrak** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Nin-kar-ra-ak*: *TBR* 50:41. D. Prechel, *Išhara*, 188.
- NIN.KUR(.RA)** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>NIN.KUR.RA, <sup>d</sup>NIN.KUR: *Emar* VI 168:7 (street); 268:7, 9, 21, 23; 274:10; 284:9 (treasure); 287:5 (<sup>URU</sup>*Uri*; treasure); 369:20 (temple) and passim; 371:11; 373:14, 86, 147 (GAŠAN *naḫli*), 148 (GAŠAN *qaqqari*), 153 (GAŠAN *išpat*), 157 (*ša KÁ Li'mi-šarta*); 375:11; 378:12, 14 (*ša KÁ Li'mi-šarta*), 16 (GAŠAN *qaqqari*), 46 (*ša išpat*), 47 (*ša mākāli*), 48 (*kamāri*); 379:1; 380:6; 381:5; 382:1; 385:5, 7, 21; 388:2; 393:2, 3, 7; 410:6; 412:4; 418:2; 432:2, 4; 446:58, 59; 452:33 (temple); 469:3; *AuOr* 5, No. 4:33 (month); *EmarJ* 8:1 (gate), 5 (street), 6; 26:1 (treasure); 30:16; *Hirayama* 3:6 (street); *RE*



21:8; 54:11; 68:7 (street); *TBR* 19:32 (ITI <sup>d</sup>[NIN.KUR š]a *kussi*); 69:41 (month); 101:2. A. Tsukimoto, *ActaSum* 12, 184; D. E. Fleming, *HSS* 42, 73 f., 169-72, 252 f.; W. Sallaberger, *ZA* 86 (1996), 145 f.

**Ninlil** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Nin-lil*: *Emar* VI 378:2. D. E. Fleming, *HSS* 42, 252.

**NIN.URTA** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA: *Emar* VI 1:15, [16], 26; 2:17, 28; 3:24; 4:12, 23; 9:23, 24, 34; 11:21; 12:9, [10]; 17:34; 109:25; 110:29; 123:9; 125:37; 126:7, 8, 19; 130:22; 139:30, 31, 39; 144:13, 14, 24; 145:3, 5; 146:10, 11, 21; 147:20, 21, 32; 148:7, 8, 16; 149:15, 16, [23]; 150:11, 12, 22; 151:[2], 3, [13]; 152:7, 8; 153:7, 8, 19; 155:[1], [4]; 194:[11], 14; 197:[17], [21]; 202:18; 274:1, 6; 275:4; 311:6! (temple); 370:52, 53; 373:13, 24, 25 (temple), 45 (temple), 82, 142 (*ša mākāli*), 144 (EN *kumari*), 164, [165], 175, 178 (temple), 184, 203; 375:16; 378:7; 379:1; 380:7; 385:8; 387:1, 10, 12, 15, 25; 388:55 (temple); 406:8; 446:23, 32; 449:2; 452:25 (temple); 458:2; 469:1; 495:1; 499:2; *ActaSum* 14 (1992), 311: 20, 25; *AuOr* 5, No. 1:9; No. 2:[2], 3; No. 3:14; *EmarJ* 4:17; 6:8, 10, 19; 10:12; 24:2; *Gs Kutscher* No. 4:8, 9, 19; 6:32; *Hirayama* 2:7, 8, 7; 7:11, 12, 19, 40; 46:28; *Iraq* 54 (1992), 98 No. 4: [12], [25]; *RI* 2:8, 9, 21; 14:21; 15:32; 16:14, 15, 24; 22:8, 17; 24:7, 8; 29:13, 25; 33:28; 34:13, 14, 27; 52:8, 10, 21; 70:26; 71:9, 10, 21; 81:9, 10, 22; 91:7, 8, 17; *TBR* 1:6; 2:9, 10, 21; 3:10, 11, 22; 4:8, 20; 5:34, 36; 6:9, 10, 22; 7:8, 9, 19; 8:9, 10, 19; 9:18, 19, 45; 10:9; 11:15, 16, [26]; 13:11, 13, 24; 14:7, 9, 29; 15:11; 16:23, 32; 19:10, 16, 20; 49:19 (month); 63:18. D. Arnaud, "La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite : l'administration d'après trois lettres inédites," *AuOr* 2 (1984), 184; D. E. Fleming, *HSS* 42, 248-52; id., "A Limited Kingship: Late Bronze Emar in Ancient Syria", *UF* 24 (1992), 65 n. 42; id., *ZA* 83 (1993), 94 f.; J. G. Westenholz, *Emar.I*, 91-93 (seal); *42<sup>e</sup> CRRAI*, 153 ff.

**Nisaba** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>NISABA: *Emar* VI 537C:colophon; 541A: colophon; 541B:colophon; 541D:colophon; 543A:colophon; 544A:colophon; 544B:colophon; 545A:colophon; 545B:colophon; 545G:colophon; 545V:colophon; 555D:colophon; 575A:colophon; 603A:[colophon].

**PAP.PAP** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>PAP.PAP: *Emar* VI 537A:colophon; 543A:colophon; 544A:colophon; 545A:colophon.

**Papsukkal** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>PAP.SUKKAL: *Emar* VI 68:3. M. Dietrich, "Die akkadischen Texte der Archive und Bibliotheken von Emar", *UF* 22, 36. = Gadda?

**Pudal(l)im(m)i/û** (Hitt). <sup>d</sup>*Pu-da-li-im-mi*: *Emar* VI 472:[64]; 478:4; 479:[5]. R. Lebrun, *Hethitica* 9, 150 f. Cf. <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR *pudallimmû*.

- Sibitti** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Si-bit-ti*, <sup>DINGIR.MEŠ</sup>*ŠA-bit-ti*, <sup>d</sup>IMIN.IMIN.BI, <sup>d</sup>IMIN.BI: *Emar VI* 373: 136; 378:7; 472:8, 17, 24, [27], 42, [60]; 473:13; 476:23; 477:3, 8; 483:5. E. Laroche, in *F's Pugliese Carratelli*, 115.
- Sarpanitu** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Sar-pa-ni-tu<sub>4</sub>*: *Emar VI* 537A:colophon; 541B:colophon; 544B:colophon; 545B:colophon; 545G:colophon; 545V:colophon; 555D:colophon.
- Šaggar** (Syrian). <sup>d</sup>*Ša-ag-ga-ar*, <sup>d</sup>*Šag-gār*, *Ša-ag-ga-ru-ri*, <sup>d</sup>ĤAR-ar, <sup>d</sup>HAR: *Emar VI* 373:[86], 125, 171, 178, 187, 190; 375:4; 378:12; 446:45; 532:[7]. D. E. Fleming, HSS 42, 205 n. 11, 253; S. Dalley and B. Teissier, "Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar and Elsewhere", *Iraq* 54 (1992), 90 f.; D. Prechel, *Išhara*, 86. Cf. <sup>d</sup>XXX.
- Šahru** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ša-aḥ-ri*: *Emar VI* 369:24 (table), 52, 96; 371:10. D. E. Fleming, HSS 42, 79.
- Šalaš** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*Ša-la-aš*: *Emar VI* 480:3; 541B:colophon; 544B:colophon; 545B:colophon; 545G:colophon; 545V:colophon; 555D:colophon. A. Archi, in *F's Houwink ten Cate*, 1-6; J. G. Westenholz, *Emar.I*, 47-48.
- Šanda** (Hitt). <sup>d</sup>*Ša-an-da*: *Emar VI* 471:19; 472:70; 474:4; 479:3; 485:[2]. R. Lebrun, *Hethitica* 9, 152; A. Kammenhuber, "Marduk und Santa in der hethitischen Überlieferung des 2. Jt.s v.Chr.", *Or* 59 (1990), 193-95.
- Šarrumma** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>LUGAL-ma: *Hirayama* 46:28. V. Haas, *GHR*, 390-92; M.-C. Trémouille, *Hebat*, 35 n. 104.
- Šaššabet(t)u**, pl. **Šaššabeyanātu** (WS). <sup>d</sup>*Ša-aš-ša-be-tu<sub>4</sub>*, <sup>d</sup>*Ša-aš-ša-be-ti*, <sup>d</sup>*Ša-aš-ša-bit-ti*, <sup>d</sup>*Ša-ša-be-et-tu<sub>2</sub>*, <sup>DINGIR.MEŠ</sup>*Ša-aš-ša-be-e-na-tu<sub>4</sub>*, <sup>DINGIR.MEŠ</sup>*Ša-aš-ša-be-ja-na-ti*, <sup>DINGIR.MEŠ</sup>*Ša-ša-be-ja-na-ta*: *Emar VI* 373:17, 25, 46, 56, 188, 197; 378:8; 385: G[12], F21; 396:4; 458:10; *EmarJ* 24:18. D. E. Fleming, HSS 42, 251; M. Dietrich, "Die Parhedra im Pantheon von Emar. Miscelanea Emariana (I)", *Uf* 29 (1997), 115-22; J. G. Westenholz, *EmarJ*, 65.
- Šeliš** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*Še-li-iš*: *Emar VI* 472:58; 473:9; 483:2. V. Haas, *GHR*, 319 f., 471 f. = <sup>(G1)</sup>Šeri.
- Šuwala** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*Šu-ṭa-la*: *Emar VI* 328:[2]; 385:23; 388:6, [57]. M.-C. Trémouille, "L'iconographie de la déesse Hebat à la lumière des textes", *SMEA* 34 (1994), 88 n. 4.
- Taḥagu** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ta-ḥa-gu*: *Emar VI* 472:46. Cf. <sup>d</sup>*Taḥangulla* in Boğazköy texts.
- Taḥagunanu** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ta-ḥa-gu-na-mi*: *Emar VI* 472:46.

- Tašmiš(u)** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*Ta-aš-mi-iš*: *Emar* VI 472:40. R. Lebrun, *Hethitica* 9, 152.
- Tenu** (Hurr). <sup>d</sup>*Te-e-nu ni*: *Emar* VI 471:24; 472:72; *Emar.J* 31:6 (baetyl). V. Haas, *GHR*, 332; J. G. Westenholz, *Emar.J*, 78.
- TIBIRA** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>URUDU.NAGAR: *Emar* VI 393:11.
- U** (Mes, WS, Hurr, Hitt). See IŠKUR.
- Udḥa** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ud-ḥa*: *Emar* VI 140:3, 6; 373:110; 379:3; 380:18; 384:3; 385:22; 446:36; *Gis Kutscher* 6:8 (<sup>URU</sup>*Tuša'u*; street). Cf. Wadḥa.
- Ugur** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*U-gur*: *Emar* VI 385:23. V. Haas, *GHR*, 367 f. Cf. Nergal.
- Uštam** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Uš-tam*: *Emar* VI 475:4.
- UTU** (Mes, WS, Hurr, Hitt). <sup>d</sup>UTU: *Emar* VI 274:7; 373:12, 29 (*ša ekalli*), 46 (*ša ekalli*), [58] (*ša ekalli*), 81, 90 (*ša ekalli*); 378:6, [15] (*ša ekalli*); 380:8; 447:10 (temple); 463:12; 471:10 (*ša šamê*); 472:34 (*ša šamê*), 55 (*ša šamê*); 473:6 (*ša šamê*); 479:1 (*ša šamê*); 541B:colophon; 544B:colophon; 545B:colophon; 545G:colophon; 545V:colophon; 548H:colophon; 555D:colophon; *Hirayama* 46:25; RE 27:4, 9; 28:48; 84:14; *TBR* 41:37; 86:38.
- Wadḥa** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ua-adḥa*: *Emar* VI 137:6 (vineyard). Cf. Udḥa.
- Wardanati** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ua-ar-da-na-ti*, *Ua-ar-da-na-ti*<sub>4</sub>: *Emar* VI 137:1 (gate); 168:8 (gate); 206:[1] (gate).
- We'da** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Ue-'-da*: *Emar.J* 24:16. J. G. Westenholz, *Emar.J*, 62.
- Yami** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Ya-a-mi*: *Emar* VI 373:102. D. E. Fleming, *HSS* 42, 300.
- Zababa** (Mes). <sup>d</sup>*Za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>*: *Emar* VI 521:[4?]; 529:5; *SMIA* 30 (1990), 26:4 (month). V. Haas, *GHR*, 364.
- Zarmatu** (uncertain). <sup>d</sup>*Za-ar-ma-a-tu tu<sub>4</sub>*: *Emar* VI 448:20, 21 (cart).
- XXX** (Mes, WS, Hurr, Hitt). <sup>d</sup>XXX: *Emar* VI 274:7; 279:48 (priest); 298:1; 320:9 (priest); 373:13, 29 (*ša ekalli*), 58 (*ša ekalli*), 81, 89 (*ša ekalli*); 378:6, [14] (*ša ekalli*); 380:8; 382:3; 472:55; 473:6; 532:3; 541B:colophon; 544B:colophon; 545B:colophon; 545G:colophon; 545V:colophon; 548H:[colophon]; 555D:colophon; *Emar.J* 25:1 (treasure); *Hirayama* 46:28; *TBR* 97:4 (treasure). V. Haas, *GHR*, 373-75.

The information presented above may be conveniently abstracted in chart form:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> "X" here indicates that a given divinity is reported to possess a temple or shrine, to be served by a priest or other functionary, to receive worship, to be the owner of a treasure (*sikiltu*) or valuables, or to be the eponym of a street, gate, or month. The final column notes whether a deity appears in theophoric personal names.

## The Deities of Emar

Divine name	cultural group	É	priest	worship	treasure	street	gate	month	PN
Aba	WS			X					X
Adam(ma)	Hurr							X	X
Adam(ma)tera/i	Hurr			X	X				
Alal(u)	Mes	X	X	X					X
Allani/u	Hurr			X*					
Allatu	Hurr			X					
Amaza	Syrian	X		X					
Anan(i/u)	uncertain			X					
Anna	uncertain			X				X	X
Ar'uri	uncertain		X	X					
Assila	uncertain			X					
Aštar	WS			X					X
Aštar-šaši	WS				X				
Aštar-šarba	WS					X			
Aštarte	WS			X					X
Aya	Mes								X
Ba'al	WS							X	X
Baliha	Syrian			X					
Bēlet-dūri	Mes						X		
Bēlet-ekalli	Mes			X					
Bēlu	WS			X				X	X
Dagan	Syrian	X	X	X	X				X
Damkina	Mes			X					
Ea	Mes	X		X					X
Ereškigal	Mes	X		X					
Erra	Mes				X				
Erua	Mes								
Gadda	WS	X							
Gašru	WS			X					X
Gula	Mes								X
Hallaba	uncertain								
Halma	Syria		X	X	X			X	X
Hamari	Syrian			X					
Hanana	uncertain			X					
Ha(n)das/šima	uncertain			X*					
Hapa(n)tal(i)	Hitt								
Hašinnu	Mes								
Hazzi	Syrian			X*					

Divine name	cultural group	É	priest	worship	treasure	street	gate	month	PN
Hepat	Syrian			X	X				X
Hulelu	uncertain			X					
Hurra(š)	Syrian			X*					
Il Imarī	Syrian								
Ilū Emar	Syrian								
Ilū <i>kašarāti</i>	Syrian			X					
Ilū Uri	Syrian				X				
Ilū Wakat	Syrian								
INANNA	Mes. WS	X							
Imlikū	WS			X			X		
Immar(n)i	Hitt								
Išhara	Syrian			X	X				X
IŠKUR	Mes. WS. Hurr. Hitt	X	X	X		X			X
<i>IŠTAR</i>	Mes. WS. Hurr. Hitt			X			X		
KASKAL. KUR.RA <sup>(MES)</sup>	Syrian					X			
Keldi	Hurr			X*					
Kubaba	Syrian								X
Lamassu	Mes								
Li mi-šarta	uncertain			X			X		
Lulabhi	Mes	X		X		X	X		
Madi	Hurr			X*					X
Marduk	Mes								X
Milku	WS			X*					
Musanu	WS	X							
Mušitu	WS			X					
Mišu	WS			X*					
Nabū	Mes			X					X
Nanni	Syrian			X*					
Nārum	Mes			X					
Nawarni	Hurr			X					
Nergal	Mes		X	X	X	X			X
NIN.DUB. GAL.GAL	Mes								
NIN.KALAM	Syrian				X				
Ninkarrak	Mes								
NIN.KUR.(RA)	Syrian	X		X	X	X	X	X	
Ninlil	Mes			X					

Divine name	cultural group	É	priest	worship	treasure	street	gate	month	PN
NIN.URTA	Syrian	X		X	X <sup>3</sup>			X	
Nisaba	Mes								
PAP.PAP	Mes								
Papsukkal	Mes				X				
Pudal(l)im(m)i/ú	Hitt			X*					
Sibitti	Mes			X					
Šarpanitu	Mes								
Šaggar	Syrian			X					X
Šahru	uncertain			X					
Šalaš	Hurr			X*					X
Šanda	Hitt			X*					
Šarunna	Hurr								X
Šaššabet(tu)	WS			X					
Šcliš	Hurr			X*					
Šuwala	Hurr			X					
Tahagu	uncertain			X*					
Tahagunanu	uncertain			X*					
Tašmuš(u)	Hurr			X*					
Tenu	Hurr			X					
TIBIRA	Mes			X					
Udha	uncertain			X		X			X
Ugur	Mes			X					
Uštam	uncertain			X*					
UTU	Mes, WS, Hurr, Hitt	X		X					X
Wadha	uncertain								
Wardanati	uncertain						X		
We'da	Mes			X					
Yami	uncertain			X					
Zababa	Mes							X	
Zarmatu	uncertain								
XXX	Mes, WS, Hurr, Hitt		X	X	X				X

I proceed with brief comments on each category of information:

É: The French excavators identified only two or three "temple" structures at Meskene.<sup>12</sup> While other religious buildings may well have been

<sup>12</sup> On this question, see D. E. Fleming, *Time at Emar*, 4-6, with previous literature.

situated outside of the area of excavation, it is likely that many of the divine “houses” (É) mentioned in the texts were modest structures or simply rooms or niches within the precincts of more important deities.<sup>13</sup>

*Priest:* Unless specified otherwise in the citations above, cultic personnel in question are designated by the Sumerogram SANGA. Compared to the large number of officiants known from the Boğazköy texts, surprisingly few religious functionaries are attested at Emar. All practitioners of the city’s religious establishment were seemingly under the supervision of the “diviner of the gods of Emar”.<sup>14</sup>

*Worship:* The service tabulated here might take the form of offerings, invocations, purifications, or yet other varieties of cultic attention. An asterisk in this column indicates that the god or goddess concerned is worshipped solely in the Anatolian rituals, irrelevant to the religious life of the indigenous population.<sup>15</sup>

*Treasure:* The acquisition and storage of garments or ornaments for a deity is a further indication that he or she was actively worshipped at Emar. Interestingly, some of the attested inventories list property of deities resident in other cities, such as Erra and Adammatera of Newtown (<sup>TRU</sup>Ešši). This demonstrates that Emar was a regional religious center as well as a political capital and economic hub.

*Street:* Information registered here and in the following category is drawn primarily from descriptions of real property and therefore reveals something about the actual layout of the town. Since streets and alleyways (*luḫinnū*) are otherwise named after humans who probably held property abutting the thoroughfare in question,<sup>16</sup> their association with a divine name quite likely means that a shrine to a particular divinity was situated in the vicinity.

*Gate:* These attestations involve either the ideogram KÁ.GAL or simple KÁ. In the latter instance, it is possible that we are dealing with the entrance to a temple or shrine, rather than with a city gate.

*Month:* Theophoric month names are useful indexes to the concerns of local religion at Emar, since as far as can be determined, each eponymous

<sup>13</sup> The temple for “Nergal of the Stone” constructed and attended to by a private citizen (TBR 87) is unlikely to have been a large building.

<sup>14</sup> On this office, see D. E. Fleming, *Time at Emar*, 13-47.

<sup>15</sup> *Emar VI* 471-90. On these ceremonies, performed by natives on behalf of the gods of their imperial masters, see R. Lebrun, *Hethitica* 9, 147-55.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., KASKAL-nu ša <sup>m</sup>.I-mur-ri, *Emar VI* 169:6; lu-ḫi-in-nu ša DUMU<sup>MŠŠ</sup> <sup>m</sup>lg<sup>1</sup>-mu<sup>1</sup>-li<sup>1</sup>, *Emar VI* 206:8.

god received special attention at some point in the month bearing his or her name.<sup>17</sup>

*Personal names:*<sup>18</sup> Care must be exercised in interpreting this information, since foreigners whose names might commemorate the deities of their homelands were present in some numbers at the trading center that was Emar. It is unlikely, for instance, that the Babylonian goddess Gula – attested in the Meskene records only in two colophons and in the name Kidin-Gula – was much honored by native Emariotes. On the other hand, while Marduk is known only from colophons and as a component of two personal names, one of these latter is of distinctive local type: Zū-Marduk.

The fact that some theonyms popular in the onomasticon are absent or poorly represented in the cult, and that conversely, some prominent divinities seldom if ever appear in theophoric names is striking. Perhaps we should be so bold as to pair up these anomalies: Is the Rašap common in personal names<sup>19</sup> the same figure as the ubiquitous NIN.URTA of rituals and documents?<sup>20</sup> After all, both Rašap and Ninurta are characterized as aggressive warrior deities in texts from other sites. Less speculative is the equation of *IŠTAR* and *INANNA* in cultic texts with Aštartu/i of the onomasticon.

<sup>17</sup> See D. E. Fleming, *Time at Emar*, 208.

<sup>18</sup> Representative names: Zū-Aba: *AuOr* 5, 17:1; Adamma-ilī: *TBR* 65:1; Alal-abu: *RE* 81:13; Abda-Anna: *TBR* 68:12; Aštar-abu: *Hirayama* 23:1; Aštartu-'ila: *TBR* 46:4; Šc'i-Aya: *Emar VI* 109:39; Abī-Ba'al: *TBR* 69:36; Bēlu-kabar: *TBR* 64:4; Šadi-Dagan: *RE* 73:4; Ea-bēlī: *Hirayama* 30:5; Ilī-Gašru: *Emar VI* 148:10; Kidin-Gula: *Emar VI* 25:6; Zū-Ḥalma: *RE* 82:28; Ḥepat-ilī: *RE* 25:3; Išhara-abu: *TBR* 84:4; Ḥinna-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR: *Emar VI* 158:4; Eḥli-Kubaba: *Hirayama* 19:8; Enna-Madi: *Hirayama* 3:4; Zū-Marduk: *Emar VI* 336:75; Nabūm-malik: *Hirayama* 10:8; Nergal-ir'amši: *Gs Kutscher* 6:4; Šaggar-abu: *Hirayama* 9:23; Šalaš-bc: *EmarJ* 17:5; Ari-Šarrunma: *Emar VI* 43:20; Silla-Udḥa: *TBR* 63:11; Abī-<sup>d</sup>UTU: *Emar VI* 80:36; Abdi-<sup>d</sup>XXX: *Emar VI* 7:6.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., Abi-Rašap: *RE* 56:26; Rašap-ilī: *TBR* 15:19.

<sup>20</sup> See already my remarks in "Hittite Administration in Syria in the Light of the Texts from Ḥattuša, Ugarit and Emar", in M. W. Chavalas and J. Hayes (eds), *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria* (Malibu 1992), 48 n. 66. J. G. Westenholz, *EmarJ*, XV, has recently suggested that behind NIN.URTA, who is unquestionably the tutelary deity of Emar, might stand simply "the Emariote God", that is, *Il Imarī*, or perhaps <sup>d</sup>*Ḥamari*.