

THE STORM-GODS OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST: SUMMARY, SYNTHESIS, RECENT STUDIES*

PART I

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Abstract

In many regions of the ancient Near East, not least in Upper Mesopotamia, Syria and Anatolia where agriculture relied mainly on rainfall, storm-gods ranked among the most prominent gods in the local panthea or were even regarded as divine kings, ruling over the gods and bestowing kingship on the human ruler. While the Babylonian and Assyrian storm-god never held the highest position among the gods, he too belongs to the group of ‘great gods’ through most periods of Mesopotamian history. Given the many cultural contacts and the longevity of traditions in the ancient Near East only a study that takes into account all relevant periods, regions and text-groups can further our understanding of the different ancient Near Eastern storm-gods. The study *Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens* by the present author (2001) tried to tackle the problems involved, basing itself primarily on the textual record and excluding the genuinely Anatolian storm-gods from the study. Given the lack of handbooks, concordances and thesauri in our field, the book is necessarily heavily burdened with materials collected for the first time. Despite comprehensive indices, the long lists and footnotes as well as the lack of an overall synthesis make the study not easily accessible, especially outside the German-speaking community. In 2003 Alberto Green published a comprehensive monograph entitled *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East* whose aims are more ambitious than those of *Wettergottgestalten*: All regions of the ancient Near East—including a chapter on Yahwe as a storm-god—are taken into account, and both textual and iconographic sources are given equal space. Unfortunately this book, which was apparently finished and submitted to the publisher before *Wettergottgestalten* came to its author’s attention, suffers from some serious flaws with

* I would like to thank M. Weeden for translating a first version of this article and for checking the English of the final text. Note the following abbreviations: *Wettergottgestalten*: Daniel Schwemer, *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen. Materialien und Studien nach den schriftlichen Quellen*, Wiesbaden 2001; *Storm-God*: Alberto R. W. Green, *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East*, BJS 8, Winona Lake 2003; *FM 7*: J.-M. Durand, *Le Culte d’Addu d’Alep et l’affaire d’Alahtum*, *Florilegium Marianum* 7 = *Mémoires de NABU* 8, Paris 2002; *FM 8*: J.-M. Durand, *Le Culte des pierres at les monuments commémoratifs en Syrie amorrite*, *Florilegium Marianum* 8 = *Mémoires de NABU* 9, Paris 2005; Feliu, *Dagan*: L. Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria*, CHANE 19, Leiden 2003.

regard to methodology, philology and the interpretation of texts and images. In presenting the following succinct overview I take the opportunity to make up for the missing synthesis in *Wettergottgestalten* and to provide some additions and corrections where necessary. It is hoped that this synthesis can also serve as a response to the history of ancient Near Eastern storm-gods as outlined by A. Green.

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1. 'Storm-God': *Scope and Limits of a Modern and Ancient Concept*

Deities with different names are frequently gathered under a single typological label, whether in Ancient Near Eastern Studies, or in the study of religions in general, when they display a broad agreement with regard to their central functions and profile. Typological classification can bring several deities together within just one cultural context or assemble divinities from different cultural traditions under one type. Typological labels such as 'storm-god' have no direct counterpart in the various ancient Near Eastern languages, and the identification of a series of deities as representatives of one particular type does not imply *a priori* that relationships can be reconstructed by historians of religion or that theological connections were made by the ancient scholars themselves.

It is not due to chance, however, that especially translations of ancient Near Eastern cuneiform texts use typological labels so frequently instead of the proper name of a particular deity. In cuneiform, even in scribal traditions that usually show a decided preference for syllabic writing, the proper names of many important deities were regularly written with the sign-combination for a Sumerian deity's name that served as a logographic writing for the particular god's name. The selection of a specific Sumerogram (or Akkadogram) to represent a god's name was normally determined by whatever deity was felt to be typologically related in the Sumerian pantheon to that particular god. The conventional Sumerographic writing of a divine name in cuneiform thus reflects a typological classification of the deity in question from the perspective of the respective scribal tradition. Yet not every Sumerographic convention for writing a divine name was established on the basis of the role of the god represented by the Sumerogram in Sumerian mythology.

Rather the scribal conventions of the neighbouring cuneiform culture from which cuneiform was adopted in the first place served as a direct model; the conventions of the linguistically heterogeneous North Syrian/Upper Mesopotamian area with Akkadian as written language, for example, served as a model for the use of Sumerograms among the Hittites.

In texts from regions or eras characterised by the coexistence of different languages and cultural traditions it is often difficult to identify what might be the 'right' reading of a Sumerographically written proper names of deities. In such cases one mostly resorts to the typological label ('storm-god' etc.). Indeed, Sumerographically written divine names were consciously used by the ancient scribes in this way. Thus, Sumerographically written divine names may well have been occasionally realised differently in letters of international correspondence in the usage of the sender to that of the recipient. Most importantly, however, the two- or three-columned god-lists, which were ordered according to criteria of theological typology and stemmed from the school tradition of Babylonia, although the genre spread to Assyria, Upper Mesopotamia and Syria, use the Sumerogram as the higher rubric to which various concrete names are assigned.¹

The manifold contacts between the regions and cultures of the ancient Near East also led to the proximity and co-existence of different polytheistic systems and thus to identifications and syncretisms between typologically similar deities with different names. Conversely local forms of the same god could be worshipped under various different names or epithets within one cultural context. Most ancient Near Eastern deities can therefore not be considered in isolation, but need investigation within the realms of a typologically coherent group. The definition of such a group should take its starting point from a manifestation of the particular type of god that is well documented in text and image, whose *modus operandi*, profile and basic functions serve as basis for the definition of the type; in the case of storm-gods the Assyro-Babylonian Adad would be the obvious starting-point. All those deities considered to be typologically related with the god chosen as starting-point or with each

¹ For a full discussion of the function and problems of typology in modern study of religions and in ancient theology see *Wettergottgestalten*, 5-9.

other, in as far as this is attested by the evidence of ancient Near Eastern texts and images, are then to be included in the inquiry. Furthermore, those deities should be included, whose *basic profile* corresponds to the generic definition, though connections to one of the gods from the first group are not recognisable in the transmitted corpus of texts and images. Given that the criteria of modern and ancient typology are mostly the same and that for many deities no detailed profile can be deduced from the sources, there are very few deities that can be assigned to this group (but see here 9.).

According to this definition the most important ancient Near Eastern storm-gods are the Semitic Hadda—West Semitic Hadda, Haddu, Hadad (Syria-Palestine, Upper Mesopotamia), Akkadian Adad, Addu (Babylonia, Assyria)—, Syro-Palestinian Baʿlu (Baʿal), Hurrian Teššub (Teššob) along with Urartian Teišeba (Syria, Mesopotamia, Kurdish mountain area, Anatolia), Hattian Taru and Hittite-Luwian Tarḫun(t) (Anatolia). On the other hand gods whose profile intersects in some respects with several or one of the ‘actual’ storm-gods without the basic distinction between the relevant deities being affected or without their mutual points of contact having led to a typologically motivated equation in antiquity, are better not to be assigned to the category ‘storm-god’. There is little to be gained from establishing an overly broad category that neither corresponds to a comparable category in ancient theology nor reflects any historical developments manifest in the available sources. Of course it deserves attention that a number of gods whose basic profile is not that of a typical storm-god are associated with phenomena like wind, storm and flood; but declaring them to be ‘storm-gods’ or even manifestations of ‘the storm-god’ does not lead to a meaningful interpretation of the phenomenon. Among the gods that are often misleadingly addressed as ‘storm-gods’ in secondary literature are above all:²

Enlil: The Sumerian father and lord of the gods is, together with the more remote An, the powerful ruler of the world who bestows

² Such an overly broad definition of the type ‘storm-god’ can be found e.g. in W. Gerhardt’s dissertation *The Weather-God in the Ancient Near Eastern Literature with Special Reference to the Hebrew Bible* (Dropsie College, Philadelphia 1963, supervised by M. Held), and is, in my opinion, also one of the basic methodological flaws in Green’s *Storm-God* (2003); an example of how such overly broad definitions necessarily mislead colleagues in neighbouring disciplines is A. Lichtenberger, *Kulte und Kultur der Dekapolis*, ADPV 29, Wiesbaden 2003, 36-39.

kingship.³ He creates the universe by dividing heaven and earth;⁴ residing in Nippur, the “bond between heaven and earth”,⁵ his special cosmic sphere are the earth (ki) and the lands (kur-kur), while heaven is ruled by An and the nether world by Ereškigal.⁶ Consequently Enlil is associated especially with the abundant growth of grain,⁷ but also with the space of air between heaven and earth; the latter may be reflected in his name.⁸ Within this context it cannot surprise that Enlil’s violent power can be likened to a devastating storm in literary texts.⁹ There is, however, no reason to assume that these passages refer to Enlil’s primary or original cosmological role within the Sumerian pantheon, and it is worth noting that the image of a devastating storm is used in Sumerian

³ Enlil’s standard epithet “father of the gods” is already attested at Ebla (see F. Pomponio—P. Xella, *Les dieux d’Ebla*, AOAT 245, Münster 1997, 9); for An and Enlil bestowing kingship cf. e.g. the first lines of the prologue to the Laws of Lipiteštar.

⁴ Attested in a number of passages, most clearly in the opening lines of the *Song of the Hoe* (ETCSL t.5.5.4).

⁵ Nippur’s epithet dur-an-ki is already attested in the Fāra-period zà-me hymns (see for the opening passage devoted to Enlil M. Krebernik, “Zur Einleitung der zà-me-Hymnen aus Tell Abū Šalābīh, in: *Beiträge zur altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde. Fs. B. Hrouda*, ed. P. Calmeyer e.a., Wiesbaden 1994, 151-157); for Nippur as cosmic capital see W. Sallaberger, “Nippur als religiöses Zentrum Mesopotamiens im historischen Wandel”, in: *Die orientalische Stadt*, ed. G. Wilhelm, Saarbrücken 1997, 147-168.

⁶ Cf. e.g. the opening lines of *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Underworld* (ETCSL t.1.8.14) and *Enki and the World Order*, ll. 61-65 (ETCSL t.1.1.3).

⁷ See already Th. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness*, New Haven—London 1976, 99, cf. also D. Schwemer, *ZA* 96 (2006) 270-273.

⁸ For this interpretation of the name (“Lord Ether”) see F.A.M. Wiggermann, “Mythological Foundations of Nature”, in: *Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*, ed. D.J.W. Meijer, Amsterdam e.a. 1992, 279-304; for the controversial discussion of the etymology of Enlil see D.O. Edzard, “Enlil, Vater der Götter”, in: *Semitic and Assyriological Studies. Studies P. Fronzaroli*, Wiesbaden 2003, 173-184, Th. Jacobsen, “The lil₂ of ^dEn-lil₂”, in: *dumu-e₂-dub-ba-a*. Studies Å.W. Sjöberg, ed. H. Behrens e.a., OPBF 11, Philadelphia 1989, 267-276, P. Michalowski, “The Unbearable Lightness of Enlil”, in: *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East (CRRAI 43)*, ed. J. Prosecký, Prague 1998, 237-247.

⁹ See the passages quoted by Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness*, 101-103 (for the three passages from Udam ki amus [p. 101, 102f.] see now *CLAM I*, 120ff.). Note that some of the passages quoted by Jacobsen, “The lil₂ of ^dEn-lil₂”, 271 to prove Enlil’s primary association with storm and wind do not stand up to closer scrutiny: Enlil is only one of a number of gods to be associated with one of the four winds (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 682 fn. 5609 with references); in the Sumerian proverb 3.25 in-bul-bul is not “sweeps along”, but “chaff” (see B. Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer*, Bethesda 1997, vol. I 84-85); in *MSL* 14, 332: 10-13 (Aa) Enlil is only one of a number of deities associated with ud (besides Adad, Šin and Ištar, cf. also *MSL* 14, 95: 151:2-3: Šamaš and Adad [Proto-Aa]).

literature to describe the power of any major god; Enki, for example, praises himself as “great storm (u₄-gal) rising over the great earth” (*Enki and the World Order* 1. 69).

Ninurta (Ningirsu): The prototypical Enlil-son embodies the type of the young warlike god who takes over the kingship from his father after having proved his supremacy by defeating the land’s enemies and forces of chaos. The same basic mythological motif is also connected with various storm-gods in different ways, just as conversely Ninurta, who is also a god of agriculture, in his role as warrior has power over storm and flood as weapons. Unlike Iškur-Adad whose rule over storms and flood includes his responsibility for rain and the growth of vegetation, in the hands of Ninurta storm and lightning are devastating weapons only, and his characterisation as a ‘storm-god’ is restricted to his acting as a warrior. That both, Ninurta and Adad, were envisaged as young storm- and lightning-wielding warriors was as obvious to the Babylonian scholars as it is to us, and a number of isolated associations between the two gods are attested in Sumerian literature and in Akkadian texts.¹⁰ Given the overall picture, however, these passages cannot be interpreted as traces of a true syncretism or a common origin of the two gods.

Marduk: Marduk’s unparalleled rise from local city-god of Babylon to head of the Babylonian pantheon and king—even god—of the gods makes him a notoriously difficult to characterise god. Sources for his role in 3rd mill. religion and his specific profile within the local pantheon of Babylon are almost non-existent,¹¹ and from the early 2nd mill. onwards his new role as young king of the gods is described and legitimised by using mythological motifs traditionally associated with other, more traditional divine kings, especially Ninurta, but also Enlil and probably Syrian Haddu as well.¹² Within

¹⁰ See here, sections 3. and 8., and *Wettergottgestalten*, 173-174, 188, 124-125 fn. 862 with references. For Ninurta see now A. Annus, *The God Ninurta in the Mythology and Royal Ideology of Ancient Mesopotamia*, SAAS 14, Helsinki 2002 (cf. my review *BiOr* 63 [2006] 554-556) and M.P. Streck, “Ninurta/Ningirsu”, *RIA* 9 (2001) 512-522.

¹¹ For Marduk see generally W. Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks. Die Stellung Marduks in der babylonischen Religion des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, AOAT 213, Kevelaer—Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982, W.G. Lambert, “Studies in Marduk”, *BSOAS* 47 (1984) 1-9, W. Sommerfeld, “Marduk”, *RIA* 7 (1987-90) 360-370.

¹² See especially W.G. Lambert, “Ninurta Mythology in the Babylonian Epic of Creation”, *CRRAI* 32, 55-60; for the possible, but not provable adaptation of motifs associated with Haddu of Aleppo in Marduk mythology see the discussion in *Wettergottgestalten*, 229-232.

the framework of the more developed Marduk theology of the late 2nd and 1st mill. the god can be identified with many of the Babylonian great gods and his profile becomes less and less well defined. One of the gods occasionally identified with Marduk in late 2nd and 1st mill. theology is the storm-god Adad,¹³ and, already in *Enūma eliš*, Marduk rules over the winds;¹⁴ also the lightning bolt is probably once attested as a symbol accompanying Marduk.¹⁵ Like Haddu of Aleppo he defeats the sea before becoming king of the gods; in his role as new Ninurta, storms, lightning and flood are among his weapons. Enbilulu, a god in charge of canals and irrigation, who seems originally to belong to the pantheon of Eridu, is identified with Marduk of Babylon, a development that probably went hand in hand with the identification of Marduk and Asalluḫi, like Enbilulu a son of Enki-Ea. A late theological list designates Enbilulu as the Adad, i.e. storm-god, of Babylon, and occasionally Adad is characterised as in charge of underground waters, just as Enbilulu is associated with rain in a few places.¹⁶ The identification of both Marduk and Adad with Enbilulu is, however, only an indirect connection between the two gods, and, more importantly, none of the points of contact that we have mentioned provide any proof for the hypothesis that Marduk himself originally was regarded as a local storm-god before acquiring a much broader profile due to his preeminent role in later Babylonian theology. Given that his traditional symbol is the spade it seems not unlikely that Marduk was conceived as a god associated with agriculture, and more specifically with the building and maintenance of canals.¹⁷ It goes without saying that such a profile would be very fitting for a god who was integrated into the pantheon of Eridu as son of Ea, the god of underground water, and identified with Enbilulu, the divine inspector of canals.

¹³ See *CT* 24, 50 BM 47406 obv. 10 (*Wettergottgestalten*, 78), *Enūma eliš* VII 119f. (*Wettergottgestalten*, 57). For ‘henotheistic’ hymns identifying Marduk (and Ninurta) with Adad see *Wettergottgestalten*, 665 fn. 5519.

¹⁴ *Enūma eliš* I 105ff., V 47ff. (cf. *Wettergottgestalten*, 506 fn. 4123).

¹⁵ Kudurru of Meli-Šipak, see D. Rittig, “Marduk (archäologisch)”, *RIA* 7 (1987-90) 372f.

¹⁶ For the relevant references see *Wettergottgestalten*, 90-91; for Adad in charge of underground water see *ibid.*, 170 with fn. 1202, 437-439.

¹⁷ For such an interpretation see e.g. A. Green, *CANE* IV, 1841, and now with numerous supportive passages from literary texts T. Oshima, “Marduk, the Canal Digger”, *JANES* 30 (2006) 77-88.

Anzu(d)-Anzû: The terrifying being of the mythic bird Anzu(d)-Anzû is commonly associated with the storm, and the image of the crying monstrous bird in the sky may be a mythological personification of the roaring (dust) storm or the storm cloud itself. There are, however, no sources that would associate the mythical bird with Iškur or Adad; contexts describing him explicitly as a storm-demon are lacking so far, though the cuneiform signs used to write his name (IM.MI, IM.DUGUD, both spellings attested early on) seem to suggest some connection with the storm wind (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 172-173 with the relevant references).

Dagān: Dagān was mainly worshipped in the Middle Euphrates region. In the extant sources he is clearly characterised as father and lord of the gods and consequently he was associated with Hurrian Kumarbi and Babylonian Enlil. His functions include ensuring abundance of crops, but there is no evidence for characterising him as a storm-god.¹⁸

Itūrmēr: He is an ancestral god of the dynasty of Zimrī-Līm of Mari, whose name is to be analysed as a personal name (Itūr-Mēr) and must be kept separate from the actual storm-god, W/Mēr (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 203-204 with the relevant references).

2. *Natural Phenomenon and Divine Manifestation*

Storm and tempest (along with lightning, thunder, clouds, rain and wind) belong to those natural phenomena that cannot be influenced by human intervention and, at the same time, are of immediate significance in agrarian societies for the survival of humans. Storm and tempest were felt to be a numinous power in all ancient Near Eastern societies; everywhere one of the great gods was thought to be the embodiment of and lord over the storms, tempests and associated phenomena. The relative significance and sphere of activities of the individual storm-gods was dependent, among other things,

¹⁸ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 282 with fn. 1944. Several more or less comprehensive studies on Dagān have been published since: B.L. Crowell, "The Development of Dagan: a Sketch", *JANER* 1 (2001) 32-83, Feliu, *Dagan* (cf. my review *ZA* 96 [2006] 270-273), A. Archi, "Translation of Gods: Kumarpi, Enlil, Dagan/Nisaba, Ḫalki", *OrNS* 73 (2004) 319-336. For Dagān's iconography see A. Otto, "Das Oberhaupt des westsemitischen Pantheons ohne Abbild? Überlegungen zur Darstellung des Gottes Dagan", *ZA* 96 (2006) 242-268.

on the climatic conditions in the individual regions. Thus the storm-god as bringer of rain has no role in the agrarian rituals of Babylonia, where agriculture was characterised by irrigation, while his characteristic as lord of the destructive storm—including dust-storms—is prominent. Particular significance for sea-faring can only be demonstrated for the storm-god in the Levantine harbour-city of Ugarit; a connection between storm and mountain gods is typical for landscapes in which cloud topped mountains can be observed etc. On the whole the storm-gods venerated in those parts of the ancient Near East more characterised by rainfall agriculture and dry farming, i.e. in Upper Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia and also in Assyria, occupy a more significant position among the great gods than in Babylonia, where Iškur-Adad as a rule belongs to the less important of the great gods.

But the particular significance of a storm-god within a local or regional pantheon is also dependent on many other factors, including the political. Also one should bear in mind that the imaginative world of religious literature is not necessarily restricted to the immediate experience of its authors. Thus the Babylonian storm-god Iškur-Adad appears from the earliest attestations as the propagator of plant-growth as well—a motif that is significantly missing from rituals of the same region, which are more tightly bound to everyday life.¹⁹ The relationship between the immediate experience of a natural phenomenon and the ideas associated with the divine manifestation perceived in the natural phenomenon, is of itself complex and additionally influenced by other factors. A reconstruction of this relationship as a simple transfer of the characteristics of the natural phenomenon into the world of religious imagery, as is often attempted,²⁰ over-simplifies the evidence and gives rise to misleading schematisations.

3. Sumerian Iškur

3.1 Name and Early History

The god particularly responsible for storms, wind, lightning, thunder and rain in texts written in the Sumerian language is called Iškur. His name is written with the same word-sign that also stands

¹⁹ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 163-165, 176-178, 179ff., esp. 182-183.

²⁰ A tendency that can also be observed in Green's *Storm-God*.

for the Sumerian word /im/ “wind, storm” (the oldest attestations have the form NI₂ = *Ķ*ATU 396, not IM = *Ķ*ATU 264). The etymology of the name is unknown. Iškur could be a case of an old polysyllabic Sumerian word that was no longer used apart from the name. At least just as probable, however, is that the name Iškur is of non-Sumerian (and non-Semitic) or ‘pre-Sumerian’ origin; speculation about a foreign origin of the god, however, brings us no further. Iškur is indirectly attested as early as the Uruk period city-list in the writing of his cult centre, Karkar, with the sign NI₂. Iškur is also already attested in the Early Dynastic god-lists from Fāra and Tell Abū Ṣalābīḥ (*Wettergottgestalten*, 11-12, 29-31, 129).

3.2 *Development of the Cult in the Third Millennium*

While the worship of Iškur in Babylonia thus reaches back into the prehistoric period, explicit evidence for the god’s cult can only be demonstrated in the pre-Sargonic period, namely for the cities Lagaš and Adab (*Wettergottgestalten*, 129-131).²¹ Certain entries in the administrative documents from Adab must be concerned with functionaries of Karkar, not far from Adab. There Iškur was worshipped as the main god of the local pantheon, as the lists of gods and place-names from Fāra and indirectly the city-list from Uruk attest (cf. later above all the Karkar Temple-Hymn of Enḫeduana, the Utuḫengal inscription, the Prologue of the Laws of Ḫammurāpi, the Temple Lists and numerous hymns and prayers).²² Evidence from Karkar itself (Tell Ġidr on the Tigris?) is not yet available, so that little is known about the cult at the local Iškur temple, the é-u₄-gal-gal-la “House of the big storms”, or any local Iškur traditions.

There is little that can be said with any certainty about the further development of the cult in the course of the third millennium, due to the scarcity of sources, which is at least partly due to Iškur’s secondary significance within most of the local panthea of Babylonia. From the Sargonic period on, besides Sumerian personal names with the theophoric element Iškur, Akkadian personal names with the theophoric element Adad or Adda are in evidence (Sumero-graphically ^dIŠKUR, but more rarely syllabically too, see *Wettergottgestalten*,

²¹ The reference to “a late Early Dynastic tablet from Mari” (*Storm-God*, 49) is largely irrelevant within this context, as the writing ^diškur in pre-Sargonic texts from Mari stands for Semitic Hadda (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 279-280).

²² See *Wettergottgestalten*, 131 (add there, fn. 902, A. 1209: 5 quoted in *CAD* E 172b), 134-135 and 136-137 with detailed references.

132-133). In the Ur III period Akkadian personal names with the theophoric element Adad are far more frequently attested than Sumerian personal names with Iškur; the fact that the latter in the Ur III period display a far higher density of attestation than in the previous eras despite a restricted number of formal types, is probably not only due to the multiplicity of the transmitted documents, but also to the influence of Akkadian nomenclature (see *infra*, 4.2, for the relationship between Iškur and Adad).

In the Ur III period Iškur shrines are attested in a larger number of cities, without these having had a pre-eminent significance within the religious life of the individual settlements or for the religious politics of the kings of Ur.²³ Only the queen Šulgisimtum, who hailed from the long since Akkadian-speaking area of North Babylonia, seems to have propagated the cult of Iškur (Adad) in any particular way, along with those of other deities from her homeland.²⁴ A series of administrative documents attests special field rituals that were carried out for Iškur, as the divine storm, when a storm threatened or in case of storm- or flood-damage (*Wettergottgestalten*, 163-165).

3.3 *Deities Associated with Iškur*

With respect to the filiation of Iškur, there are two competing traditions within Sumerian literature. In many texts the god of heaven, An (Anu) is seen as the father of Iškur (Adad); this presumably already old tradition takes over completely after the Old Babylonian period. The father of the gods and son of An, Enlil, also appears as the father of Iškur, mostly in mythological passages which describe Iškur as the youthful warrior who goes into battle for his father—a motif that is primarily connected with Ninurta, the archetypal son of Enlil. Given that the filiation to Enlil appears to be attested already pre-Sargonically outside of the various motifs of defeating enemies, this tradition cannot be simply explained by a—limited—syncretism of Iškur and Ninurta. We probably have two different

²³ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 135-163 on the evidence for Iškur's cult in Karkar (136ff.), Girsu (140ff.), Umma (145ff.), Nippur (150ff.), Ur (158ff.) and Uruk (161f.).

²⁴ *Wettergottgestalten*, 152, 158-160, 196-197; for the role of foreign princesses in introducing new religious traditions to the royal court see now also T. Sharlach, "Foreign Influences on the Religion of the Ur III Court", *SCCNH* 12 (2002) 91-114.

local traditions; the Enlil-tradition may actually have its roots in Nippur.²⁵

The wife of Iškur was held to be the goddess Medimša, who is already attested in the Fāra-period and whose name, following the later writing, was interpreted as ^dme-dim₂-ša₆ “Having beautiful limbs” without this necessarily having to capture the original etymology. Medimša is explicitly attested as the wife of Iškur only in tablets inscribed in the Old Babylonian period (god-lists, Sumerian religious literature); but there is no good reason to doubt the antiquity of the concept. There are no sources that provide any detailed information on Medimša’s character and attributes, but the sometimes naked rain-goddess depicted at the side of the storm-god on Akkadian cylinder seals is likely to be a pictorial representation of Iškur-Adad’s consort.²⁶

Iškur, who is responsible for heavenly waters, is praised as the twin brother of the son of An, Enki (Ea), who rules over the underground waters. Significantly the converse epithet is not found in connection with the much more distinguished Enki, for whom it would hardly have been an honour to be addressed as twin of the lower-ranking Iškur.²⁷ Vizier and messenger of Iškur is held to be the lightning god Ningir, given that lightning descends from the celestial seat of Iškur down to the earth (*Wettergottgestalten*, 59f.).

3.4 *Modus Operandi in Religious Literature*

With a few exceptions, all the myths and compositions in Sumerian that can give us information about Iškur’s sphere of activities in the world of religious ideas are transmitted on tablets written in the Old Babylonian period—a time by which Iškur had been long since merged into a single deity with Adad, with his roots in the Akkadian language tradition. There is, however, no compelling reason to generally deny a greater antiquity to texts that were transmitted late, and the traditions they re-work are likely to be older

²⁵ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 166-168; note that J. Klein’s article on the filiation of Nanna referred to p. 168 fn. 1188 has now been published as “The Genealogy of Nanna-Suen and its Historical Background”, in: *Historiography in the Cuneiform World (CRRAI 45)*, ed. T. Abusch e.a., Bethesda 2001, 279-301.

²⁶ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 170-171, 408 fn. 3418 with references.

²⁷ *Wettergottgestalten*, 168-170, cf. also M.W. Green, *Eridu in Sumerian Literature*, Diss. Chicago 1975, 91, and, for SEM 117, K. Hecker, *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik*, AOATS 8, Kevelaer—Neukirchen-Vluyn 1974, 38, 113, 118.

than the texts themselves, even if they represent compositions contemporary to the extant manuscripts. Essentially three complexes of motifs are connected with Iškur in the relevant sources:²⁸ 1) the destroyer who threatens fields and settlements with storm and flood,²⁹ 2) the bringer of rain, who nurtures vegetation and fauna, 3) the young warrior who goes into battle against an enemy land on his chariot drawn by storm-demons for his old father, An or Enlil, and lays waste to it.

The motif of the bringer of rain is already attested in the Fāra-period (so-called zà-me-hymns, compare also the Karkar temple hymn) and can be found in many later myths and cultic songs. It is worth noting that in Sumerian literature especially the plants of the steppe and the roaming flocks are said to profit from Iškur's rain whereas the irrigated fields are threatened by his violent storms. But as the myth *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* shows one was well aware of the fact that the storm-god's rain produced abundance of crops in other areas of the Near East.³⁰ The concept of Iškur as the bringer of rain may be connected with the idea of a cyclical return of Iškur at the beginning of the year, but the evidence for this is scant.³¹ It is also uncertain whether such an idea forms the background of a fragmentarily known, already pre-Sargonicly attested myth in which Iškur is held captive in the nether world.³² Be that as it may, it should be emphasised that the often-found characterisation of the Babylonian storm-god as a god of devastating storms in contradistinction to the storm-gods of Syria and Anatolia,

²⁸ The Sumerian cultic songs addressing Iškur are apparently extensively treated by W.W. Doyle, *The Storm-God Iškur-Adad: Texts and Studies*, Diss. Harvard 1976. The study, not distributed by UMI, is frequently quoted in Green's *Storm-God*, but still unavailable to me. While it is regrettable that the study could not be used at the time of writing *Wettergottgestalten*, it should be noted that many later treatments of the relevant texts (especially those by M.E. Cohen) are missing from the bibliography in Green's book whose discussion seems to rely heavily on Doyle's dissertation. It should be noted that an entirely new Sumerian hymn to Iškur has become known in the meantime. M.J. Geller, who brought the text to my attention and prepared a copy of the tablet, informs me that Laurent Herbenstreit is planning to publish the interesting text in a forthcoming fascicle of *RA*.

²⁹ See the references in *Wettergottgestalten*, 178f. and 175f. fn. 1238, 189ff.

³⁰ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 176-183, 196; for the passage quoted from *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (177f.) see now *ETCSL* 1.8.2.3.

³¹ Mainly a mythological passage in one of the versions of the Eršemma gu₄-maḥ pa-è-a, see *Wettergottgestalten*, 180-181.

³² Ni. 12501, see *Wettergottgestalten*, 179-180.

who are to be considered as rain-gods, is, while not entirely wrong, an unwarranted simplification and generalisation of the sources.

The motif of the young warrior is primarily known from the Eršema-songs addressing Iškur, which give the most impressive descriptions of the wild, loud roaring storm-god, who flattens everything in his path, by way of hymnic praise of the deity at the beginning of each composition. The motif itself shows clear points of contact with the mythology of Ninurta, without this having led to more extensive theological associations between Ninurta and Iškur. Ninurta is simply the most prominent representative of the genre of the warlike young son-god—a role that was (partially) associated also with other gods. There is no support for the central motif of the Ninurta mythology, the assumption of kingship after a victorious return, being associated with Iškur as well (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 183-188, 173f.).

4. *Semitic Hadda*

The cult of the semitic storm-god Hadda extended—like the Semitic languages—over the whole Near East. In the individual regions and eras different profiles of the god called upon by the name Hadda (and its phonetic variants) developed. We will distinguish in the following between two main lines of tradition that can be connected roughly with the Syro-Upper Mesopotamian area on the one hand (4.2) and the Assyro-Babylonian cultures on the other (4.3).

4.1 *Name and Early History*

The first textual attestation of the god Hadda can be found in the middle of the 3rd mill. in the cuneiform texts from North Syrian Ebla, where he belongs to the most important gods of the pantheon. The syllabic writing ^d’à-da always used in Ebla represents the oldest form of the name and is to be realised as *Hadda*. Etymologically the name can be connected to the Semitic root *hdd “to thunder”, which is attested in Ethiopic, Arabic and presumably in Hebrew as well, but no longer seems to have been productive in Akkadian and the other Semitic languages of the ancient Near East (*Wettergottgestalten*, 46).

The name Hadda, which thus represents the numinous experience of thunder and the roaring storm, occurs through time in the various Semitic languages in a number of different forms: in Akkadian

(Babylonian and Assyrian) the initial *h* is regularly weakened to a glottal stop; the name usually appears in the *status absolutus* form *Adad*, which is typical of divine names, without the *status rectus* form with the nominative ending *-u* (*Addu*) ever disappearing. The *status rectus* form *Addu* is especially (but not exclusively) used when the text is mainly talking about the natural phenomenon storm and less about the divine person (cf. the Akkadian substantive *addu* “storm”, similarly the relationship between the forms Šamaš and šamšu).³³ Particularly within the theophoric onomasticon, numerous other variant forms can be observed, particularly word final. In western Upper Mesopotamia and in Syria the old form *Hadda* (or with the nominative ending *Haddu*) predominates until the end of the 2nd mill. It is only in the cuneiform writing that the initial *h* is missing (it is rarely realised in writing as *h/ʔ*). Hieroglyphic Luwian seal inscriptions from 13th cent. Emar write the initial sound with the sign *i* that probably stands here for */ha/*. In 1st mill. Aramaic the older form *Hadda/u*, which was still kept in the onomasticon for a long time, was replaced in monumental inscriptions—presumably under influence from Assyrian—by the form *Hadad*, which corresponds to the Akkadian *status absolutus*; this then formed the basis for the representation of the name in Greek and Latin (*Adados*, *Adadus*, *Adad* etc.).³⁴

The fact that the root **hdd* is not productive any more in most Semitic languages of the ancient Near East, allows us to infer that the divine name is very old. Conversely *Hadda* does not belong to the Common Semitic gods which are to be found in all panthea with a Semitic linguistic background (like celestial bodies, the sun and Venus above all). One can conclude from this that the divine name was established by Semitic speakers in the Syro-Upper Mesopotamian area in the prehistoric period. When and where exactly these earliest roots of the god are to be sought and whether

³³ Note however that *addu* “storm” (for the noun cf. now also B. Groneberg, *Lob der Ištar*, CM 8, Groningen 1997, 26-27 II 28 with fn. 146 on p. 50) seems to be a secondary substantive derived from the divine name while *šamšu* is of course the normal word for “sun” in Akkadian.

³⁴ For an overview of all cuneiform syllabic, Egyptian hieroglyphic, Luwian hieroglyphic and alphabetic spellings of the name known to me in 2000 see *Wettergottgestalten*, 34-58; for a few important additions see the appendix at the end of this article. More attestations, especially within personal names, could be added by checking systematically the texts published after *Wettergottgestalten* went to print, but they are unlikely to change the overall picture.

the god worshipped as Hadda was perhaps a new name of a pre-Semitic storm-god worshipped under a different name by different linguistic groups, cannot be known. All attempts to reconstruct continuities between the inventory of images and symbols known from prehistoric eras (particularly the bull and the bucranium) and the securely attested symbols, attributes or means of representing Hadda in the historic periods, have to face considerable methodological problems (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 124-127, and *infra*, 10.).

4.2 *Assyro-Babylonian Adad (Addu)*

4.2.1 *The Third and Early Second Millennium*

The early history of Adad's cult in Babylonia and Assyria can only be schematically sketched because of the poor state of the sources. For all we know, Adad did not belong to the gods worshipped in Babylonia from the earliest historical periods on. The first clear syllabic writings of the divine name *Adad* are found in Ur III sources. But usually Adad is represented in writing by the Sumerogram ^dISKUR that can often already be found in Akkadian personal names of the Sargonic period. A number of Akkadian personal names of the same period contain a syllabically written theophoric element *Adda* or *Anda* (with dissimilation of the geminate), which can hardly be separated from the divine name Hadda (*Adda*, *Adad*). These writings, mainly attested in documents from Gasur (later Nuzi), show that in northern Mesopotamia, but in isolated cases also in Babylonia, the older form of the name, as it occurs in the pre-Sargonic texts from Ebla, was well known (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 46 with detailed references).

There are as yet no certain attestations for Adad before the Old Akkadian period, so it seems to be most plausible, as things stand, to assume that the spread of the cult of Adad over the whole of Babylonia and the associated assimilation of the god into the transmitted pantheon of southern Babylonia, which found its most pregnant expression in the actual merging of *Iškur* and *Adad* into a single deity, is to be dated to the Sargonic age.³⁵ As shown by the pre-Sargonic texts from Mari on the Middle Euphrates (where ^dISKUR

³⁵ This dating was already favoured by J.J.M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, Baltimore—London 1972, 153. Note that the references to *Adda* and *Addu* in pre-Sargonic personal names quoted by Roberts on p. 13 (and uncritically adapted by Green, *Storm-God*, 51) are based on misreadings (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 37 fn. 186).

is written for Hadda unlike in Syrian Ebla) the simple equation of Iškur and Hadda had already been established at that time, at least in the scribal culture, presumably simultaneously with the spread of Sumerian cuneiform into those areas where Hadda had been worshipped of old. How exactly the cult of Hadda (or Adad) spread in northern Babylonia, Upper Mesopotamia and in the region of later Assyria is unknown; it is equally difficult to assess the possible role the elite of the Akkade dynasty and Sargonic Akkadians in general played in that process.³⁶

By the Ur III period a sharp distinction between Iškur on the one hand and Adad on the other is no longer possible, even if the regional differences in the local cult traditions were certainly still visible. Indeed, the greater significance held by the cult of Adad in the Diyala and Middle Euphrates regions of old appears to have stimulated the cult of Iškur-Adad in Babylonia from time to time (see *supra*, 3.2). Also one can observe a significant shift in the iconography of the Babylonian storm-god during this period. Whereas Iškur-Adad's accompanying animal was traditionally the lion-dragon, a storm demon, the bull is increasingly found also in Babylonia as the symbolic animal of the god, a motif that in all probability has its roots in the North Mesopotamian and Syrian area and can only very occasionally be found in Babylonia during the Old Akkadian period. One can interpret this change in the iconography as an indication that traditions connected with the Semitic-Akkadian name Adad (Hadda) were increasingly merging with old traditions associated with Iškur during the Ur III period.³⁷

Iškur-Adad was of particular significance in the cult and royal ideology of the early Old Babylonian dynasties of Isin and Larsa, which, like most of the dynasties newly established in the early 2nd mill. were of Amorite origin. Iškur-Adad is the personal protective deity of several Isin-Larsa kings; unlike the preceding periods, he now as later securely belongs to the group of the 'great gods' (*Wettergottgestalten*, 197f.). Arguably these shifts in religious history,

³⁶ On the problems involved cf. the remarks in *Wettergottgestalten*, 196ff.; for the general problems of reconstructing the religious beliefs of the Sargonic period and their relationship to the presence of Akkadians in Babylonia during the Early Dynastic periods see A. Westenholz, "The Old Akkadian Period: History and Culture", in: P. Attinger—W. Sallaberger—A. Westenholz, *Mesopotamien: Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, OBO 160/3, Göttingen—Fribourg 1999, 78-84.

³⁷ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 124-125 with fn. 862 and 196-197, cf. also here 10.

which become visible in the Ur III period, can be ascribed to the increasing influence of elites with an Amorite background in Babylonia. What this implies for the interpretation of individual Sumerian royal inscriptions and Iškur-prayers of the Old Babylonian period, is mostly hard to estimate. Tradition and innovation are too closely intertwined.

4.2.2 *The First Half of the Second Millennium*

By the Old Babylonian period, Adad regularly belongs to the circle of the ‘great gods’, whose cults extend over all Babylonia and whose reputation is easily gauged from the frequency of personal names formed with them, by now with few exceptions Akkadian.³⁸ Sanctuaries of Adad are attested for the cities Babylon, Kiš, Pada, Dilbat, Lagaba and Sippar in northern Babylonia,³⁹ Ešnunna, Šaduppûm, Nērebtum, Mē-Turran and Simmurrum in the Diyala region,⁴⁰ a number of cities on the Middle Euphrates (cf. 4.3.2) as well as Adab (?), Isin, Nippur, Karkar, Uruk, Larsa and Ur in central and southern Babylonia,⁴¹ but could well be assumed for many other settlements.

Adad seems to have a particular role as guardian of oaths and thus god of law; oaths are often sworn before a divine symbol of Adad.⁴² Within the same context, in northern Babylonia as well as in Upper Mesopotamia and Assyria an institution called a *hamrum*,

³⁸ For the personal names formed with Adad (and Iškur) attested in the different text corpora from the Old Babylonian period see *Wettergottgestalten*, 306-308, 309-311, 312-314, 315, 316-317, 320-321, 330-346, 247-350, 352-359, 361-362, 264-367, 369-372, 376-384, 388-392, 395-397. With every publication of OB texts many more references can be added. Names not yet booked in *Wettergottgestalten*: *Adad-ša-takālim* (OECT 15, 234 obv. 5), *Gāmil(?)*-*Adad* (381 rev. 8). In OECT 15, 114 Vs. I 7 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 43) read probably *Iškure-namḫe* (for the type cf. *Wettergottgestalten*, 379 with fn. 3090). For the Old Assyrian evidence see *Wettergottgestalten*, 239-242 (note additionally *zi-kur*-^dIŠKUR in kt 92/k 144:16, *ir-bi*-^dIŠKUR in TC 1, 30:15, TPAK 1, 207: 3 [delete **Inbi-Adad*] and *ī-lá*-^dIŠKUR in AKT 2, 13: 58 [delete tentative **Šallā-Adad*]; all references courtesy K.R. Veenhof).

³⁹ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 304-350.

⁴⁰ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 350-359; for the stele of Dāduša see now B.K. Ismail—A. Cavigneaux, “Dādušas Siegesstele IM 95200 aus Ešnunna. Die Inschrift”, *BaM* 34 (2003) 129-156, P. Miglus, “Die Siegesstele des Königs Dāduša von Ešnunna und ihre Stellung in der Kunst Mesopotamiens und der Nachbargebiete”, in: *Altertumswissenschaften im Dialog. Fs. W. Nagel*, AOAT 306, Münster 2003, 397-418, and D. Charpin, “Chroniques bibliographiques 3. Données nouvelles sur la région du Petit Zab au XVIII^e siècle av. J.-C.”, *RA* 98 (2004) 151-166.

⁴¹ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 359-384.

⁴² For the attestations see *Wettergottgestalten*, 323-327.

often a shrine outside the city, plays an important role.⁴³ In Sippar, the main cult centre of the sun-god Šamaš, but also in other Babylonian cities, Šamaš and Adad are often called on together as divine witnesses in connection with court-cases and temple loans; sometimes they are joined in this function by the moon-god, Šin. In general there appear to have been close connections between the temple of Šamaš and the shrine of Adad in Sippar.⁴⁴ These close ties between the two gods can hardly be separated from the fact that Šamaš and Adad are attested in texts of different genres as *the* gods of divination by means of extispicy from the Old Babylonian period on; but the origin and the exact rationale behind this concept are still unknown (cf. 4.2.6).

As for the region that was to become the heartland of the later Assyrian empire, our sources are very much restricted to the city of Aššur and the archives of the Assyrian merchants in Anatolian *kārum Kaneš*. The old Adad temple of the city of Aššur is attested already in the early 2nd mill. It will have been among the most significant temples of the city and played an important role as creditor in Old Assyrian foreign trade. The importance of Adad within the traditional pantheon of the city of Aššur is also highlighted by the fact that the ancient institution of choosing a year-eponym was performed before Aššur and Adad.⁴⁵ It is possible that the colony in Kaneš had its own Adad temple, but so far all attesta-

⁴³ Independently from its presence in the Old Assyrian colony at Kaneš this institution is adopted in Hittite Anatolia as well where it is attested especially in texts of the Hurro-Hittite tradition. For a discussion of the relevant texts see *Wettergottgestalten*, 245-256. An additional reference to the *ḫamrum* in *kārum Kaneš* is kt 94/k 612: 11ff. (courtesy K.R. Veenhof). Further evidence for the possible location of the *ḫamrum* in Aššur itself as discussed in *Wettergottgestalten*, 246 fn. 1720 comes from kt n/k 511: 30 and kt n/k 1365: 36 referred to by Veenhof, “‘In Accordance with the Words of the Stele’. Evidence for Old Assyrian Legislation”, *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70 (1995) 1721 with fn. 12. For an oath in the *ḫamrum* of the city (Aššur) cf. now also kt 88/k 1059 obv. 1-4 (V. Donbaz, “*Maḫar paṭrīm ša Aššur*—a New Interpretation”, in: *Veenhof Anniversary Volume*, ed. W. van Soldt e.a., 92).

⁴⁴ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 321f., 323f. (cf. also 221f. fn. 1534 and 284 for Mari). It is interesting to see that the northern Babylonian tradition of invoking Šamaš and Adad as divine witnesses still survives in 15th/14th cent. Nuzi (*Wettergottgestalten*, 466 with fn. 3844); for the pair Šamaš and Adad in Middle Babylonian Babylonia see *ibid.*, 426 with fn. 3530 and 436.

⁴⁵ The evidence for this comes from the Neo-Assyrian period (Shalmaneser III), but there is little doubt that it reflects practices already well-established in the early 2nd mill. (see M.T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies* [Mesopotamia 4], Copenhagen 1976, 211-214).

tions of an Adad temple in Kaneš refer to the local Anatolian temple of the storm-god.⁴⁶ As elsewhere in his building projects, Šamšī-Adad I changed the Adad temple in Aššur into a double temple in which beside Adad his father, the sky-god Anu was worshipped. It appears reasonable to assume that the new Anu-Adad temple was erected in the same place where also the old Adad temple of the city had been situated.⁴⁷ Other important shrines of the storm-god within this general region were located in East-Tigridian Arraphum (Arraphē)⁴⁸ and in numerous towns of western Upper Mesopotamia (see below on Haddu and Teššub).

4.2.3 *The Second Half of the Second Millennium and the First Millennium*

The few sources on the Adad cult that are known from the Middle Babylonian period bear witness to continuous worship in most of the established shrines of Babylonia, without it being possible to follow the particular developments.⁴⁹ However, outside of literary texts, there are no further attestations of the shrine of Adad at Karkar after the Old Babylonian period; even whether the city itself continued to exist as a major urban centre cannot be shown with certainty. The old cult centre of Adad appears to have gradually decayed,⁵⁰ without a replacement being found elsewhere in Babylonia proper (but cf. below for Zabban). Consequently Adad was not seen as the main city god of any of the more important Babylonian cities. Nebuchadnezzar I renovated a shrine of Adad in Babylon; the dedicatory inscription composed for this occasion is directed to

⁴⁶ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 242-244; note that the PN *Ṭāb²-Adad referred to in *Wettergottgestalten*, 242 with fn. 1696 should probably be deleted and the passage better be read AH<.ME> ḫISKUR “kumrum-priest of Adad” (cf. *VS* 26, 32 rev. 18f., referred to *ibid.*, 243 fn. 1702). For the cult of the local storm-god in Kaneš see *infra*, 7.1.

⁴⁷ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 242, 264f., for the double-temples built by Šamšī-Adad see P. Miglus, “Auf der Suche nach dem ‘Ekur’ in Assur”, *BaM* 21 (1990) 303-320, esp. 307f.

⁴⁸ The storm-god’s sanctuary in Arraphum is mentioned in a number of texts from the times of Šamšī-Adad and his sons; it is possible that already during this period the local cult of the storm-god was largely Hurrian in character and the god himself was called Teššub by the Hurrian population of the region (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 265-267).

⁴⁹ Sanctuaries are attested for Nippur, Ur, Babylon, Hilpu near Sippar and probably also Uruk (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 424ff., *ibid.*, 428-434 for the Middle Babylonian personal names containing Adad).

⁵⁰ Note, however, the Middle Babylonian personal name *Riš-Karkara* (*Wettergottgestalten*, 435).

Marduk and Adad, which can be understood as an expression of the Marduk-theology practised under Nebuchadnezzar I, which subordinated all gods to Marduk on principle, without an actual equation of Marduk with Adad being implied. The curse formulas of the Middle and New Babylonian *kudurrū* inscriptions call on Adad regularly as the god who should destroy the fields of the contract-breaker by means of storm, drought and flood, thus bringing about a famine.⁵¹

The Neo-Babylonian and later sources bear witness to the god's continual worship in Babylon, Sippar, Borsippa, Uruk and Larsa, even into the Hellenistic period for some cases. Yet everywhere Adad (and with him Šāla) belonged to the lower-ranking deities.⁵² The only city where Adad was venerated as head of the local pantheon was Zabban in the north-eastern periphery of Babylonia. While the Adad cult at Zabban may look back at a long history, its importance is only evident from 1st mill. sources from both Babylonia and Assyria which show that the temple in Zabban was regarded as the most important shrine of the storm-god in Babylonia. It seems that the temple at Zabban had some ties with Sippar, as rations for Adad and Šāla of Zabban are registered in a Neo-Babylonian administrative document from that city (*VS* 6, 231 obv. 19-20).⁵³

The Anu-Adad temple in Aššur remained one of the most prominent holy places of the old Assyrian capital. Numerous rulers undertook building projects or dedicated votive offerings; Neo-Assyrian

⁵¹ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 435-439; for Adad's role in curse formulas see also S. Grätz, *Der strafende Wettergott. Erwägungen zur Traditionsgeschichte des Adad-Fluchs im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (BBB 114), Bodenheim 1998.

⁵² See *Wettergottgestalten*, 637-663; for Adad's role in the pantheon of Uruk see now P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian Period*, CM 23, Leiden—Boston 2003 and G.F. Del Monte, "Il quartiere del tempio di Adad ad Uruk in età seleucide", in: *Von Sumer nach Ebla und zurück. Fs. G. Pettinato*, ed. H. Waetzoldt, Heidelberg 2004, 23-34, for Babylon and Uruk M.J.H. Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon. The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practice*, CM 25, Leiden—Boston 2004. Note that the evidence from the cultic calendar of Babylon, *BRM* 4, 25 //, is erroneously presented in the section on Uruk in *Wettergottgestalten*, 648 with fn. 5271. For Neo-Babylonian Sippar see now also S. Zawadzki, *Garments of the Gods*, OBO 218, Fribourg—Göttingen 2006, 174-175.

⁵³ For Adad's temple at Zabban see *Wettergottgestalten*, 62, 88, 610, 646. The important position of Adad in the inscriptions of the rulers of Simurrum (later Zabban) during the Old Babylonian period suggests that the Adad temple of the city dates back to this period too (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 359).

ritual texts and the ‘Götteradressbuch’ of Aššur provide us some insight into the structure and cultic calendar of the Adad temple in the Neo-Assyrian period. Royal inscriptions and a few texts of Middle Assyrian court literature attest to the significance of Adad’s cult for the royal family. In particular Adad was seen as an important helper on campaign; special war-rituals were performed for him and Nergal, chariots carrying standards of both gods accompanied the king onto the battlefield in the Neo-Assyrian period. Middle and Neo-Assyrian onomastics show a multiplicity of personal names composed with Adad, and names such as *Gabbu-Adad* “Adad is all”, *Gabbi-ša-Adad* “All belongs to Adad”, *Gabbe-ina-Adad* “All is in Adad(’s hands)”, *Ištu-Adad-gabbu* “All comes from Adad”, *Adad-bēl-gabbe* “Adad is lord of all”, *Adad-bā(n)-kala* “Adad is the creator of all” and *Mannu-šānin-Adad* “Who could rival Adad?”—none of them ever attested in Babylonia—bear witness to the high rank Adad held in some areas of Assyria and Upper Mesopotamia.⁵⁴ The position of Adad among the great gods in the Neo-Assyrian imperial pantheon corresponds generally to the tradition dominant since the Old Babylonian period that ranks him after Šin and Šamaš.⁵⁵

In the Neo-Assyrian empire the Adad temple in Kurba’il at the northern-most point of the country was seen as the the main cult centre of the god; the most impressive testimony to the Neo-Assyrian ruler’s sponsorship of this temple is a statue of Shalmaneser III found in Nimrud that carries a dedicatory inscription to Adad of Kurba’il and certainly originally stood—or was intended to stand—in his temple.⁵⁶ Further Adad temples are attested for the (temporary)

⁵⁴ For *Gabbu-Adad* (NA), *Adad-bēl-gabbe* (MA and NA), *Gabbi-ša-Adad*, *Mannu-šānin-Adad*, *Adad-bān-kala*, *Ištu-Adad-gabbu* (all MA) see *Wettergottgestalten*, 582-586, 630f., for *Gabbe-ina-Adad* (MA) see S.M. Maul, “Drei mittelassyrische Urkunden aus Kulišhinaš”, in: *Von Sumer nach Ebla und zurück. Fs. G. Pettinato*, ed. H. Waetzoldt, Heidelberg 2004, 134 text 3 rev. 18’. Cf. also Adad-gabbu(- . . .) in *MARV* 4, 62 obv. 10. Note, however, that some of these name types are not exclusively attested with Adad, cf. e.g. *Gabbe-ša-Šamaš* in *MARV* 4, 61: 12’; the name *Adad-bēl-kala* is attested both in Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian texts.

⁵⁵ For the Middle Assyrian period see generally *Wettergottgestalten*, 573-587, for Adad’s position in the Neo-Assyrian official pantheon *ibid.*, 589-595, for Aššur’s Anu-Adad temple and its cult *ibid.*, 601-608.

⁵⁶ For the Adad temple at Kurba’il see *Wettergottgestalten*, 595-600; note that the important letter *ABL* 413 (596 with fn. 4813) has now been re-edited as *SAA* 16, 84 with a different interpretation of the fragmentary passage rev. 12-13.

royal seats of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, Kalḫu (Nimrud), Dūr-Šarrukīn, Nineveh and many other cities in the Assyrian heartland.⁵⁷

Later developments in the Assyro-Aramaean milieu of the 1st mill. are the hypostasis of Adad (or Hadad), Adadmilki, “Adad the king”, which is only attested in personal names (the relationship to *’drmlk* in II Kings 17: 31 is problematic), and the god Apladad, “Son of Adad”, whose cult was above all at home in the Middle Euphrates area and can be attested there until the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁵⁸

Outside of Babylonia, in Assyria and Upper Mesopotamia, but also in Syria and Anatolia, one often finds the numeral ^(d)10 as a logogram for Adad instead of the Sumerogram ^dISKUR at least from the 15th cent. on. It is used with exactly the same meaning as ^dISKUR, both writings are interchangeable. It is not excluded that the writing with the numeral was developed in the North Syrian—Upper Mesopotamian area where it is first attested. Through all periods it never became common usage in Babylonian scribal culture, where the simple *winkelhaken* becomes a logogram for Bēl (UMUN). The late ‘Astronomical Diaries’, however, use the sign 10 regularly as a shorthand for Adad, and this *may* reflect an old and originally Babylonian tradition not attested otherwise; it is worth noting that the series Sīn (30), Šamaš (20), Adad (10) fits perfectly the sequence of gods known from the god-list An—Anum and many later texts. The writing of divine names with numerals at all is cer-

⁵⁷ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 577-578 for local shrines of Adad attested during the Middle Assyrian period (add now Ṭabētu [Tell Ṭabān], see S.M. Maul, *Die Inschriften von Tall Ṭaban (Grabungskampagnen 1997-1999: Die Könige von Tabetu und das Land Mari in mittelassyrischer Zeit, ASJ Suppl. 2, Tokyo 2005)*; for the temples attested in Neo-Assyrian texts see *ibid.*, 595-611 (Assyria proper) and 612-626 (Neo-Assyrian Upper Mesopotamia, Middle Euphrates, see also *infra*, 4.3.4). Note that the Adad temple at Nineveh is already attested in a building inscription of Aššurnāṣirpal I (preserved on an unpublished tablet from Nineveh, not mentioned in *Wettergottgestalten*, 609, see D. Stronach, “Village to Metropolis: Nineveh and the Beginnings of Urbanism in Northern Mesopotamia”, in: *Nuove fondazioni nel Vicino Oriente antico: Realtà e ideologia*, ed. S. Mazzoni, Pisa 1994, 96). A few of the Neo-Assyrian documents from Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad mention Adad (without toponym) in their penalty clauses; it remains unclear whether the city itself had a temple of the storm-god (see K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*, Berlin 2002, texts 47, 62 and 64).

⁵⁸ For Adadmilki see *Wettergottgestalten*, 636-637, for Apladad *ibid.*, 626-628 (note that the Neo-Assyrian texts from Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad referred to in fn. 5057 and elsewhere have now been published by K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*, Berlin 2002), for the god Būru see *infra*, 5.4.

tainly a Babylonian invention, and even if the writing of Adad with the numeral 10 originated outside Babylonia the innovation built on and expanded a Babylonian model.⁵⁹

4.2.4 Adad in the God-Lists, the Circle of Deities associated with Adad
Iškur-Adad is mentioned in nearly all Babylonian god-lists with a more or less comprehensive circle of gods, which as a rule includes, besides Sumerian epithets that had become divine forms, above all Adad's consort Šāla with or without her Sumerian equivalents. The position of Iškur-Adad and his circle within the single-column god-lists of the Old Babylonian period is not very significant and seems to differ from text to text depending on local traditions.⁶⁰

Adad's most common ranking among the great gods is reflected—and in later periods greatly influenced—by his positioning in the comprehensive, two-columned, at least essentially Old Babylonian god-list An—*Anum*, which is already prefigured in the structure of the An—*Anum* fore-runner *TCL* 15, 10: Adad and his divine court stand at the end of tablet III after Sîn and Šamaš along with their circle of gods. Before the three heavenly gods, Sîn, Šamaš and Adad, the older generation of gods is presented (tablets I-II: Anu, Enlil, Mother Goddess, e.a.), while they are followed by the goddess of the planet Venus, Ištar (tablet IV). This basic concept is repeated or slightly modified in many later god-lists and also in numerous lists of gods in other textual genres, especially royal inscriptions. The proximity of Šamaš and Adad is not surprising in view of the close association of both gods with regard to extispicy and administration of justice in the Old Babylonian period (see *supra*, 4.2.2, and *infra*, 4.2.6).

The Adad section itself (III 206-278)⁶¹ is relatively simple in structure and does not contain any sub-circles. The text can be divided into twelve groups. The general organisation of the various Sumerian

⁵⁹ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 75-78, where the origin of the logogram is more confidently assigned to traditions outside Babylonia.

⁶⁰ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 12-16. Note that "Die bereits in Ur III-zeitlichen Handschriften bezeugte Weidnersche Götterliste" (p. 13) should be corrected to "Die vielleicht bereits in einer Ur III-zeitlichen Handschrift bezeugte Weidnersche Götterliste" (see F. Pomponio, *Nabû. Il culto e la figura di un dio del Pantheon babilonese ed assiro*, Studi Semitici 51, Roma 1978, 20).

⁶¹ Line count according to *Wettergottgestalten*, 17-28; this corresponds to ll. 206-283a in R.L. Litke's edition (*A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists An : A-nu-um and An : Anu ša amēli*, TBC 3, New Haven 1998 [1958]). For a commentary on the individual entries see *Wettergottgestalten*, 29-73.

names—most of them typical epithets—equated with Iškur-Adad partly follows the well-known principle that entries beginning with the same cuneiform sign are grouped together:

1. Ll. 206-209: Storm-gods written with the sign IM which is glossed as Iškur, Mur, Ilumēr, Adad and is equated (like all the following entries in the sub-groups 1-6) with the Sumerographic writing ^dIŠKUR (Adad).
2. Ll. 210-214: Sumerian epithets of Iškur-Adad that can be written with crossed IM or crossed EN.
3. Ll. 215-220: Sumerian epithets of Iškur-Adad that begin with lugal- “lord”. Note that the first of these names, Lugal-dalḥamun (dalḥamun written as crossed EN), is linked directly to the preceding entry Dalḥamun (written as crossed EN).
4. Ll. 221-227: Sumerian epithets of Iškur-Adad that begin with u₄- “storm”.
5. Ll. 228-231: Different Sumerian epithets of Iškur-Adad (without any recognisable internal coherence).
6. Ll. 232-238: Further Sumerian epithets of Iškur-Adad beginning with lugal- “lord”. The first entry of this group (Lugal-GÁN-sù-sù) is again linked to the preceding entries by common elements (Ug-me-me, Ug-sù, E₄-sù).
7. Ll. 239-245: Šāla, the consort of Adad, along with a series of Sumerian goddesses equated with her (Medimša, Šuzabarku, Mušmeḥuš, Kinnusum, Enmelulu).
8. Ll. 246-251: The children of Iškur-Adad: Mišaru “Justice” with his consort Išartu “Righteousness”, a further son Ušuramāssu “Heed his word”⁶² and finally three daughters (Šubanuna, Menunesi, Namašmaš).
9. L. 252: Nimgir “Lightning”, the vizier of Iškur-Adad.
10. Ll. 253-256: The two calves (Sumerian names) and two bulls (Šeriš and Māgiru) of Iškur-Adad.
11. Ll. 257-262: The six bull-lyres (or according to later interpretation “advisors”, Sumerian gu₄-balaĝ) of Iškur-Adad with their eloquent Sumerian names: Suragal “Great lamentation singer”, Usurra “Lamenting storm”, Pirigguduga “Roaring lion”, Uršanita “By his bellowing”, Šemungigi “He kept bellowing”.

⁶² For Ušuramāssu cf. (besides the commentary in *Wettergottgestalten*, 68-69) now also Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, 226-229

12. Ll. 263-278: Appendix to the Adad and Šamaš circle: different gods with the same or similar logographic writings which are equated above all with Šamaš or Adad (but also with Ea, Ištar and Nissaba) and thus find themselves inserted here after the circle of Šamaš and Adad but before that of Ištar. The section ends with the twin gods Šullat and Ḫaniš, who are equated with Šamaš or Adad respectively.⁶³

Among the later divine lists with Adad-sections, the two-columned list K 2100 (CT 25, 16-17) deserves special mention.⁶⁴ Its Adad-section in obv. I 1-41 doesn't follow any apparent system and looks very much like a succession of excerpts, as many of the entries are well known from An—*Anum* and other god-lists. It is different from most other god-lists in one respect, however, namely, that it also integrates foreign storm-gods and equates them with the Sumerogram for the Assyro-Babylonian Adad and calls them “storm-god (resp. Adad) of the land . . .”. Among others, Teššub is mentioned as the storm-god of Subartu, Buriyaš as the Kassite storm-god and Addu as the storm-god of the West; other ‘foreign’ storm-gods, such as Ba‘lu and Ilḫallabu, are included without any further information on their homeland.

4.2.5 *The Goddess Šāla*

The goddess Šāla is only attested from the Old Babylonian period; in Babylonia and Assyria she was seen throughout all periods as the consort of Adad and was equated with Medimša, consort of Iškur (further Sumerian equivalents are mentioned in the two-columned god-lists, but outside the god-lists, besides Medimša, only Šuzabarku is attested as such).⁶⁵ The origin and early history of the goddess cannot be reconstructed with certainty. She probably had her roots in eastern Upper Mesopotamia and was associated with

⁶³ The inclusion of Išhara in this group does not provide sufficient reason to characterise the whole group as a circle of Syrian gods (*contra* W. Sallaberger, “Pantheon”, *RLA* 10 [2004] 306).

⁶⁴ For the text see *Wettergottgestalten*, 78-86; *ibid.*, 73-78, 86-92 for other relevant texts.

⁶⁵ It should be noted, however, that Medimša as consort of Iškur-Adad is not attested before the Old Babylonian period either. Since the goddess herself is already mentioned in texts of the Fāra period this may be due to chance. For Medimša see *Wettergottgestalten*, 170-172; cf. also W.G. Lambert, “Sumerian Gods: Combining the Evidence of Texts and Art”, in: *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations*, ed. I.L. Finkel—M.J. Geller, CM 7, Groningen 1997, 6-7.

Hadda (Adad) early on, while in Syria, around the city Aleppo with its important sanctuary of the storm-god, Ḫēbat (the local goddess of the area?) was considered to be the consort of Hadda (Haddu, Teššub). Even the name *Šāla* cannot be explained with any certainty; a connection with Hurrian *šāla*-“daughter” seems most probable.⁶⁶

Originally *Šāla* was clearly distinguished from the Syrian-Middle Euphratian goddess *Šālaš* (a name that later, within the Hurro-Hittite tradition, takes the form *Šāluš*, too), who had always been considered in that region as the consort of *Dagān* and then also the consort of Hurrian *Kumarbi*, who was identified with *Dagān*.⁶⁷ As a result of the establishment of the cult of *Dagān* and his consort in Babylonia and Assyria⁶⁸ texts from the 14th cent. onwards occasionally confuse the two goddesses. The later manuscripts of *An—Anum* consider *Šāla* and *Šālaš* to be variants of one name. This late contamination of the two goddesses was still apparent as such for at least some of the ancient scholars: the exegetical god-list CT 25, 10 explains *Šālaš* as “*Šāla* of the Western Steppe” (cf. also *An—Anu ša amēli* 59).

Šāla was seen primarily as goddess of the fruits of the field and the harvest, being consort of the rain-bringer, *Adad*, who gives the fields the water they need to thrive. Her symbol is the ear of corn,⁶⁹ and her astral form is the star *Šer’u* “Furrow” in the constellation *Virgo*. The latter is depicted as a girl holding an ear of corn on a Seleucid astrological tablet, only separated by *Mercury*, in the form of an eight-pointed star, from the constellation *Corvus* which

⁶⁶ For *Šāla* see *Wettergottgestalten*, 397-412, cf. also my article “*Šāla*” in *RLA* (forthcoming).

⁶⁷ For *Šālaš* see *Wettergottgestalten*, 403-410 with further literature, cf. more recently also Feliu, *Dagan*, 288-293, D. Fleming, *ZA* 83 (2003) 35 and my article “*Šāluš*” in *RLA* (forthcoming).

⁶⁸ *Šālaš*’s cult was introduced to Babylonia as early as the Ur III period, cf. the place-name *Bīt-Puzriš-Šālaš* which is attested in a few texts from Umma (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 405 with fn. 3400 and W. Sallaberger, *ZA* 96 [2006] 269f.). *Šālaš* was equated with the Sumerian goddess *Kusig* (“gold”) in the Old Babylonian period (*MSL* 15, 36: 11:28), later god-lists give the name as *Ninkusig* (“lady gold”, the form *Nimkusig* is probably only a phonetic variant and not to be interpreted as “golden fly”, contra E. Flücker-Hawker, *Tiere in mesopotamischen Götternamen: Index der Götternamen und Beinamen*, 29 [<http://www.ane.unibe.ch/lenya/ane/live/forschung/dissertationen/fluecker.htm>]).

⁶⁹ Note that in *Wettergottgestalten*, 412 a reference to the usage of the ear of corn as symbol for *Šāla* on a Middle Babylonian *kudurru* should be added (see U. Seidl, “Die babylonischen *Kudurru*-Reliefs”, *BaM* 4 [1968] 138).

is associated with Adad.⁷⁰ While her symbol suggests a connection between Šāla and the fertile soil of the fields receiving Adad's rain, other aspects of her iconography show that she was also associated with the rain itself, as it seems very likely that the (sometimes) naked rain-goddess depicted together with the storm-god in 3rd and 2nd mill. art is to be identified with Medimša-Šāla (see *infra*, 10.).

4.2.6 Adad as God of Divination

The sun-god Šamaš and Adad are attested in texts of different genres as *the* gods providing the oracular decision for the inspection of entrails since the Old Babylonian period.⁷¹ The phrase *šurri Šamaš u Adad* “beginning of (the text concerning) Šamaš and Adad” could simply be used as a title for collections of extispicy omens.⁷² We do not know whether this tradition, which is replaced by the invocation of Šamaš alone at the inspection of entrails only late and never completely,⁷³ is originally Babylonian. Sumerian Iškur is never associated with extispicy in the sources known until now; conversely the connection between Hadda and the sun-god can occasionally be attested in Syria as part of oath-taking as early as pre-Sargonic Ebla.⁷⁴ This *may* indicate an origin of the motif in the Syro-Upper Mesopotamian area, but it can hardly prove such a hypothesis. It should be noted that Šamaš and Adad are referred to as a pair also outside the context of extispicy already in the Old Babylonian period, especially in northern Babylonia. Some documents point to a common role of the two gods within the context of jurisdiction and oath-taking, an area closely associated with extispicy where the two gods also give a verdict; other texts suggest that the connection between the two gods became more general in nature early

⁷⁰ A good photograph of the tablet (AO 6448+) is reproduced in *SAA* 8, 182f. (for an edition see E.F. Weidner, *Gestim-Darstellungen auf babylonischen Tontafeln*, SÖAW 254/2, Wien 1967). For the association of Adad with Corvus see *Wettergottgestalten*, 605 fn. 4892, 688f.

⁷¹ For Adad as god of divination and his association with Šamaš within this and other contexts see *Wettergottgestalten*, 221-226, 284, 683-686.

⁷² See *Wettergottgestalten*, 427-428, cf. now also P. Michalowski, “The Scribe(s) of MDAI 57 Susa Omens?”, *NABU* 2006/41.

⁷³ The *tāmītu* and *ikribu* texts preserve the invocation of both, Šamaš and Adad, down to the 1st mill., whereas the Sargonid extispicy queries (see *SAA* 4 for the genre) address Šamaš only.

⁷⁴ See 4.3.1, cf. also the sequence Šamaš—Addu in the god lists of treaties from Mari and Tell Leilan (*Wettergottgestalten*, 284; for A. 3592, quoted there fn. 1959, see now *FM* 8, text 34).

on, a notion that was certainly reinforced by Šamaš and Adad being placed one after another in the influential god-list An—*Anum* and its fore-runner (cf. *supra*, 4.2.2 and 4.2.4).

Objectively the storm-god may have been connected with divination for two reasons: on the one hand he was a celestial god who, being responsible for lightning, rain, clouds etc., had power over numerous ominous phenomena and dwelled in immediate proximity to the celestial sun-god. On the other hand the storm-god was lord of the winds, which were seen in Mesopotamia as the divine carriers; and indeed, an Adad-hymn from Babylonia transmitted in Hittite language praises the god as the one who brings the message of the entrail inspection from the depths of the Apsû to the tangible sheep's liver.⁷⁵ In the omen texts themselves Adad plays only a marginal role and is mentioned only in a fairly limited set of apodoses that reflect on his power either to grant plenty by providing rain or destroy the crops through storms and floods.⁷⁶ It should be noted, however, that the apodoses of a few omen texts from Upper Mesopotamia show the storm-god in a more prominent role, one that is in keeping with his position at the head of many local panthea in this region.⁷⁷

4.2.7 *Modus Operandi in Literary Texts*

Typical of Adad's *modus operandi* is his ambivalent nature: on the one hand he is the rain-god, occasionally credited further with mastery over subterranean water, who guarantees that the fields thrive and that the country survive; on the other hand he endangers the crop through storm, flood and drought. At the same time his violence in the storm is interpreted as a warlike attribute. Just this ambivalence appears to be the central theme of the Old Babylonian mythological text *CT* 15, 3-4, a *kummu*-song for Adad. The warlike

⁷⁵ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 222, and P. Steinkeller, "Of Stars and Men. The Conceptual and Mythological Setup of Babylonian Extispicy", in: *Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of William L. Moran*, ed. A. Gianto, *BibOr* 48, Roma 2005, 11-47, esp. 43-45.

⁷⁶ For Adad in omen apodoses see *Wettergottgestalten*, 416-419 (Old Babylonian period) and 687-694 (later texts).

⁷⁷ Cf. the *izbu* omen tablet from Tigonānum (M. Salvini, *The Habiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani*, *DA* 3, Roma 1996, 117-121, cf. *Wettergottgestalten*, 419) and a few yet unpublished *izbu* omen texts from a similar background in the Schøyen Collection, Oslo (MS 1806, 2797, courtesy A.R. George).

Adad has destroyed the land in a storm. Enlil sends Adad's sister, Bēlet-ilī, to appease the god and lead him before Enlil. The latter admonishes Adad to bestow rain and abundance on his own land and to march with the king as a storm of war against the enemy land.⁷⁸

In the Old Babylonian flood myth, too, it is Adad who is to bring about a famine for humanity through lack of rainfall, and who then has to be guarded in heaven by Anu because of his corruptibility. Apparently this passage was felt to be offensive in later times: in the later version of the flood myth Anu and Adad, father and son, guard the heavens together. The flood itself then is largely brought about by Adad, who comes riding on the four winds, his mules, surrounded by storms and roars with thunder.⁷⁹ In an Old Babylonian hymn to the mother-goddess the downpour during a thunder-storm is called the "flesh", i.e. the essence and typical activity, of Adad: [r]ādam šīr Adad nuḥuš apētīm "[d]ownpour, the 'flesh' of Adad, abundance for the people".⁸⁰

According to the Epic of Gilgameš, Adad, together with the storm-god Wēr (see *infra*, 9.1), guards the mountains of the cedar forest where Ḫuwawa lives. The passage evokes the image of the mountain region overhung with clouds and defended by warlike storm-gods, but is certainly contextualised by the fact that Wēr and Adad (resp. Haddu) were regarded as powerful gods particularly in the regions west of Babylonia.⁸¹

⁷⁸ For the text see *Wettergottgestalten*, 420-421. Note that B. Groneberg, "Searching for Akkadian Lyrics: From Old Babylonian to the 'Lieder Katalog' KAR 158", *JCS* 55 (2003) 59 reads the first two signs in obv. I 1 as [i]n-ḫu; while ḫu instead of the RI preferred in *Wettergottgestalten* is perfectly possible, it seems difficult to reconcile IN with the traces still visible on the tablet and correctly rendered in King's copy.

⁷⁹ For the relevant passages of the flood myth see *Wettergottgestalten*, 422f.; for a recent English translation see B.R. Foster, *Before the Muses*, ³2005, 227-253, note, however, that the interesting passage in II v 16'-17' (p. 244), clarified by C. Wilcke ("Kleine Notizen zu Atram-ḫasīs", *NABU* 1997/120) and now nicely confirmed by an unpublished fragment in the Schøyen Collection, Oslo (courtesy A.R. George), is still mistranslated.

⁸⁰ See M. Krebernik, "Altbabylonische Hymnen an die Muttergöttin (HS 1884)", *AfO* 50 (2003-04) 13-15 obv. II' 13'.

⁸¹ Cf. *Wettergottgestalten*, 207, 423; for the text see now A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, Oxford 2003, I 198f. (Yale col. iii 127-134). Note also that my attempt at *TIM* 9, 45 rev. 46'f. (n. 3512) is now out-dated by George's edition of the whole text (*Gilgamesh Epic*, I 252-259).

1st mill. incantation-rituals call on Adad to protect the crops in cases of storm-damage;⁸² he is addressed if thunderstorm and lightning ruined a building or if continuously rumbling thunder signaled portending evil. The Akkadian šu'ila prayers recited during such rituals provide a lively vision of Adad's activity as storm- and rain-god in their hymnic praise sections.⁸³ The motif of the young warrior who defeats the enemies and the powers of chaos, well-known from the Iškur mythology, is apparently still connected with Adad later on: the šu'ila 'Adad 1a' describes him as victor over the Anzû-bird. This narrative motif is otherwise primarily associated with Ninurta, especially in the Anzû myth itself, where Adad figures as one of the gods unsuccessfully sent against Anzû before Ninurta is called and vanquishes the rebellious monster.

4.3 *The Syrian and Upper Mesopotamian Hadda (Haddu, Hadad)*

4.3.1 *Hadda: The Third Millennium*

The earliest written evidence for the worship of the Semitic storm-god comes from the pre-Sargonic palace archives of North-Syrian

⁸² See *Wettergottgestalten*, 678-683 for rituals against field pests and storm addressing (among others) Adad. Note that CTN 4, 96 is a duplicate to K 151 edited there pp. 679ff. (cf. Schwemer, "K 151 // CTN 4, 96", *NABU* 2003/26). Unfortunately the duplicate, housed in Baghdad, is much damaged and contributes little to the reconstruction of the text. A few observations on the duplicate insofar changes of readings in K 151 are implied: obv. 2' (// 9): *ze-er²-ra* (// NUMUN-ra) *i-na me-ḫe¹-e*; 3' (// 10f.):] EN [A].GĀR *ḫu^f-ma²-la-at šar²-rat x-na¹* [; 4' (// 11f.): *a-gu¹-ú* 'ša² du²⁷ [līpuš]; 13' (// 20): *er-ba tuḫ-du*; 15' (// 22): KIS[LAḪ] *lik-ru-bu*; 16' (// 23):] 1-niš²⁷ *ḫi-id KISLAḪ li-kil-lu*; 17' (// 24): KISLA[Ḫ] *li-red-di*; 18²-21' // 25-28 read now: *itti ištāni liḫiqa tuḫdu, itti šūti liḫiqa mišaru, itti amurri liḫiqa ḫengallu, itti šadi liḫiqa Nišsaba*. For the remaining lines of the obv. only CTN 4, 96 is preserved, and too little is extant for a reconstruction of the text (note that 23' and 25' seem to repeat 16'). K 151 and the duplicate from Nimrud had roughly the same division of the text between obv. and rev., and the estimate of three missing lines in K 151 has to be corrected to approximately 6-8 lines. It is now clear that the incantation obv. 18ff. // 11'ff. ends in obv. 29' (...] *ḫe-a IDIM-šū-nu ÉN*) and is followed by a ritual instruction (rev. 1-6, much damaged, restore ... *tim-ri* *tu-tam-mar* in rev. 4, cf. K 151 obv. 15). In rev. 7-14 (// K 151 rev. 1'ff.) traces of the incantation An-gal ki-an-gal are preserved (cf. rev. 20 // 15'). The pertaining ritual instruction is almost completely preserved in K 151; read in rev. 12' *qaqqar maškani tuš-t[a-...]* (// *tu-uš-ta-n[a²-...]* in // rev. 17). The emendation of K 151 rev. 14' proposed in *Wettergottgestalten*, 680 with fn. 5588 is supported by the duplicate, the emendation in rev. 15' is not: the meaning is not affected by these changes.

⁸³ For the šu'ila prayers addressing Adad see *Wettergottgestalten*, 666-676; recent English translations of 'Adad 1a', 'Adad 4' and 'Adad 2' can be found in Foster, *Before the Muses*, 636-639.

Ebla.⁸⁴ In the Ebla texts the name of the god is always written syllabically ^d'à-da (*Hadda*), whereas the contemporary Early Dynastic texts from Mari following Babylonian custom use the logogram ^diškur.⁸⁵ According to the cult administration texts Hadda belonged to the group of the most significant gods in Ebla. The temple of the god in Ebla has not yet been securely localised;⁸⁶ apparently there was also a sanctuary within the 'palace' (sa-za_x^{ki}).⁸⁷ A number of further locations surrounding Ebla possessed temples of Hadda, for which rations were booked in Ebla (Hadda of Armi, Abati, Lub and Luban).⁸⁸ The most significant Hadda sanctuary in Ebla's domain was however without doubt the temple of Hadda in Ḫalab (Aleppo, see 4.4). Hadda of Ḫalab himself possessed sanctuaries outside of Ḫalab (certainly in Dub), just as in later periods. Whether this was also the case for Ebla is not yet certain. But it is clear that the temple of Hadda in Ebla maintained close administrative ties to the sanctuary in Ḫalab; even with regard to the cult calendar extensive similarities can be observed.⁸⁹ Both the temple of the city-god Kur(r)a and the temple of Hadda served as locations for oath-taking. A state treaty is ratified by oath before Kur(r)a and Hadda. Another oath is taken before Kur(r)a, the sun-god and Hadda; in the context of the cursing of a potential oath-breaker Hadda is called upon together with the sun-god. These are the earliest attestations for the invocation of the sun-god together with the storm-god within a juridical context, a constellation well known

⁸⁴ See generally *Wettergottgestalten*, 93-122.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Wettergottgestalten*, 46 with fn. 244 and 111 with fn. 767.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Wettergottgestalten*, 94, 103-108. A. Archi, "The Head of Kur(r)a—The Head of 'Adabal", *JNES* 64 (2005) 85 assumes that Hadda's sanctuary at Ebla was situated within the temple of Kur(r)a. While there is no doubt that Hadda was (occasionally?) worshipped in the temple of Kur(r)a (cf. *Wettergottgestalten*, 101, 106f.), it seems unlikely that all references to the temple of Hadda (é ^d'à-da) in the administrative texts refer either to the temple of Hadda of Ḫalab or to a sanctuary that formed only part of the city-god's temple.

⁸⁷ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 111 with reference to TM.75.G.2507 obv. II 34-III 7, an unpublished text quoted by F. Pomponio—P. Xella, *Les dieux d'Ebla*, AOAT 245, Münster 1997, 51. This reference is not booked in *RGTC* 12/1, 280f. in the section on deities with a cult in 'Saza'.

⁸⁸ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 111-112.

⁸⁹ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 108-111, 103-105; note that Archi, *JNES* 64 (2005) 85 apparently assumes that all these references refer to the temple in Aleppo, while at Ebla according to his interpretation Hadda had only a shrine within the temple of Kur(r)a.

from Old Babylonian and later Babylonia; given that they are thus far isolated, their significance is difficult to assess.⁹⁰

The goddess Ḫābatu (Ḫa'abatu, always spelled ^dḫa-a-ba-du)⁹¹ was worshipped as the consort of Hadda in Ḫalab and Ebla. Ḫābatu is an early form of the name of the consort of the Syrian storm-god's consort, Ḫēbat, who is well-attested from the Old Babylonian period onwards. The etymology of Ḫēbat is controversial. The ending with the apparent feminine morpheme *-at-* argues for a Semitic formation. A derivation from the city-name Ḫalab ("the Ḫalabaeen"), as argued by A. Archi, seems possible, but remains without certain proof. The available 3rd mill. sources give no information whatsoever on Ḫābatu's profile and character. The circle of deities associated with Hadda in this early era is otherwise unknown; attempts to explain the names of the gods Kur(r)a and 'Adabal (^dNI-da-KUL) as epithets of Hadda remain unconvincing.⁹²

Hadda is called upon in a group of Eblaite incantations to release evil.⁹³ One of the incantations invokes Hadda so that he might destroy the evil in a storm by throwing hail-'stones', a motif that has numerous parallels in the Sumero-Akkadian literature of Babylonia, where it appears as the destruction of the enemies by hail. In a group of very similar incantations the evil is supposed to be magically bound to the weapon of Hadda. A parallel formulation is also used in the same incantations in relation to two other gods, namely Ammarig and Dunnān. Following later sources it seems likely that Ammarig is a mountain-god, and the same may be true for the otherwise unknown Dunnān (there is no evidence for a connection with the *dunnānu* of *Maqlû* V 21). If so, this would

⁹⁰ *Wettergottgestalten*, 106-107, cf. here sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.6.

⁹¹ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 115-116; but note that the alleged variant spelling ^dḫa-a-à-ba discussed there based on two unpublished attestations quoted by Pomponio—Xella, *Dieux d'Ebla*, 189 texts 3) and 5) have been called into question. According to H. Waetzoldt, *Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungstexte aus Ebla. Archiv L. 2769, MEE 12 = MVS 7, Roma 2001, 470 ad § 62c* the attestation of the name in TM.75.G.2428 (= *MEE 12, 35*) has to be deleted, whereas the divine name in TM.75.G.2429 rev. VI 8 (*MME 12, 36*) should rather be read ^dḫa-sa-ba, though ^dḫa-à-ba seems not entirely excluded.

⁹² For a discussion of the arguments involved see *Wettergottgestalten*, 112-115; on Kur(r)a see now also W. Röllig, "Phönizisches aus Nordsyrien und der Gott Kurra", in: *Punica—Libya—Ptolemaica, Fs. W. Huß*, ed. K. Geus—K. Zimmermann, OLA 104, Leuven 2001, 41-52 and M.G. Amadasi Guzzo, *OrNS 71 (2002) 317-318*.

⁹³ For a discussion of the relevant passages see *Wettergottgestalten*, 116-119; several studies by P. Fronzaroli have contributed to a better understanding of the Eblaite incantations, most recently: "The Hail Incantation (ARET 5, 4)", in: *Fs. B. Kienast*, ed. G. Selz, AOAT 274, Münster 2003, 89-107.

be the first attestation of the later well documented connection between mountain- and storm-gods in the Syro-Anatolian area. The hypothesis that these incantations provide the first documentation of the later well-attested and certainly ancient motif of the victory of the storm-god over the sea remains problematic (cf. *infra*, 8.).

4.3.2 *Haddu (Addu): The First Half of the Second Millennium*

In Syria and Upper Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period the name of the Semitic storm-god usually had the form *Haddu* according to syllabic writings. In cuneiform the name appears as *Addu*, rarely *Ḫaddu* resp. *ʾAddu*, in later alphabetic scripts and in Egyptian hieroglyphs the name is written with an initial *h*.⁹⁴ The evidence from the texts points to a wide diffusion of the cult over the whole region; often the storm-god stood at the top of the particular local pantheon, in local onomastics Addu is by far the most frequent or one of the most frequent theophoric elements. Important cult centres explicitly attested in the texts include Ḫalab, Kallassu, Alalaḫ and Ugarit in North Syria,⁹⁵ Qaṭṭarā, Šēḫna (Šubat-Enlil), Kaḫat, Nagar, Nawala, Andarig, Saggarātum and Kulmiš in Upper Mesopotamia,⁹⁶ Ḫarrādum, Terqa, Appān, Mari itself and a few more smaller cult places in Mari's vicinity as well as Tuttul in the region of the Middle Euphrates.⁹⁷ Other places, such as Syrian Qaṭna,⁹⁸ where important sanctuaries of the storm-god are mentioned

⁹⁴ A representative collection of syllabic writings for Adad, Addu etc. through all periods is given in *Wettergottgestalten*, 37-58. Note that for the texts from Alalaḫ, level VII, now the new editions published in *UF* 36 and 37 by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz as well as F. Zeeb, *Die Palastwirtschaft in Altsyrien nach den spätaltbabylonischen Getreidelieferlisten aus Alalah (Schicht VII)*, AOAT 282, Münster 2001, have to be consulted.

⁹⁵ For Ḫalab see here 4.4; for Alalaḫ cf. *Wettergottgestalten*, 217-219; for Ugarit *ibid.*, 216 with fn. 1498 (on A. 2094 cf. now Durand, *FM* 7, pp. 8-9); for Kallassu *ibid.*, 213, the important text A. 1121+ has now been re-edited by Durand as *FM* 7, text 39. I remain unconvinced by the identification of Alalaḫtum with Alalaḫ proposed there 65-66, especially since two distinct toponyms Alalaḫu and Alalaḫtu appear already to be attested in the Ebla texts (see *RGTC* 12/1, 32).

⁹⁶ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 268-279.

⁹⁷ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 277-304; for Tuttul see M. Krebernik, *Tall Bi'a/Tuttul II. Die altorientalischen Schriftfunde*, WDOG 100, Saarbrücken 2001, 145 KTT 344 (for a list of personal names combined with Addu in the Old Babylonian Tuttul texts see *ibid.*, p. 201a); for Ḫarrādum see now F. Joannès e.a., *Haradum II. Les textes de la période paléo-babylonienne (Samsu-iluna, Ammi-saduqa)*, Paris 2006, for the 'Ḫana tablets' cf. A.H. Podany, *The Land of Hana. Kings, Chronology, and Scribal Tradition*, Bethesda 2002.

⁹⁸ For Qaṭna see *Wettergottgestalten*, 507, and note for the Old Babylonian period the intriguing seal of Iṣḫi-Addu whose legend can now be fully reconstructed

in texts of later periods, have been excluded from this list, though it is more than likely that the storm-god temples of these cities look back on a long tradition.

For this period, we only have more detailed information about the cult of Addu and his position in the pantheon from Mari for the time being, where worship of Addu can be shown to have existed continually since the Early Dynastic period.⁹⁹ Addu stands at the top of the Pantheon along with Dagān and Itūrmēr, the local dynastic god. Rations for the temple of Addu in Mari are frequently attested in documents of the cult administration, without them revealing any more detail about the structure of the sanctuary. Dagān and Addu were responsible for the enthronement of the king and were seen as the special protective deities of kingship. Among the priests of the temple there are some high-ranking individuals, like princess Inibšīna, who has the title of “wife (implied meaning: high priestess) of Addu”.¹⁰⁰

We do not know with certainty how the relationship between Dagān and Addu was defined on the Middle Euphrates during the Old Babylonian period. Dagān was regarded as the father of the gods *par excellence*. In the later Ugaritic myths the storm-god Baʿlu carries the petrified epithet “Son of Dagān”, which must continue older North Syrian traditions, because on the level of mythological action ʾIlu was seen as the father of Baʿlu and the father of the younger generation of gods in general. The model for this filiation is surely the generational sequence Kumarbi—Teššub in Hurrian mythology, as Kumarbi was equated with Dagān in Upper Mesopotamia and on the Middle Euphrates. Whether the thus indirectly implied filiation Dagān—Addu can be assumed before the ‘Hurrianisation’ of Upper Mesopotamia that started in the late Old Babylonian period remains questionable.¹⁰¹ Explicit information about the filiation of Addu in Mari and in the Syro-Upper

(D. Morandi Bonacossi—J. Eidem, “A Royal Seal of Ishhi-Addu, King of Qatna”, *Akkadica* 127 [2006] 41-57, whose interpretation of the seal holds up against the objections raised by J.-M. Durand, “Le dieu majeur de Qatna”, *NABU* 2006/87).

⁹⁹ *Wettergottgestalten*, 279-282, 282-304 with further bibliography, on the pantheon of Mari and other cities on the Middle Euphrates see now also O. Rouault, “Religion et cultures locales dans le Moyen-Euphrate syrien au Bronze Moyen”, *Hethitica* 15 (2002) 217-232. For M. 7014 quoted on p. 299f. see now *FM* 8, text 13.

¹⁰⁰ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 280, 299 with references; cf. now also J.-M. Durand, “Une princesse mariote prêtresse d’Addu”, *NABU* 2006/49.

¹⁰¹ For a filiation Dagān—Addu argue e.g. Rouault, *Hethitica* 15 (2002) 223f. and Feliu, *Dagan*, 293-295 (cf. my remarks in *ZA* 96 [2006] 273).

Mesopotamian area generally is only given by seal inscriptions, which call Anu the father of Addu in agreement with the tradition already dominant in Babylonia in the Old Babylonian period.¹⁰² Given that inscriptions on seals are heavily formalised, their evidence does not carry too much weight, but they do caution against taking a filiation Dagān—Addu for granted during the period of the Mari archives, before this hypothesis can be based on more solid evidence.¹⁰³

The question of who was venerated as consort of Addu in Mari cannot be answered definitely either. Given the close contacts to Aleppo and a few other indicators we can probably assume that in Mari, too, Ḫēbat stood at Addu's side. This, however, cannot be taken for granted *a priori*, because in other cities of Upper Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period local city goddesses¹⁰⁴ were worshipped at the storm-god's side, thus presumably in Šēhna, Nagar, perhaps also in Qaṭṭarā. One should also bear in mind the later combination of Ištar and the storm-god in the East Tigris area, possibly also in the official pantheon of the Mittani empire, a tradition traces of which are still noticeable in Neo-Assyrian penalty clauses.¹⁰⁵

Very little is known about the cult calendar at the Addu sanctuary of Mari; special rituals for Addu could be carried out before

¹⁰² See *Wettergottgestalten*, 298 (a seal from Mari) and 282 (a seal from Ugarit and an unprovenanced Syrian seal).

¹⁰³ Note that I still find it very unlikely that the sequence (Dagān), Bēl-mātim, NINḫursagga (= Šālaš), (Bēlet-ekallim, Nikkal), Bēl-Terqa in the sections of the Mari 'panthea' referring to Terqa is to be interpreted (Dagān), Addu (= Bēl-mātim), Šālaš, (. . .), Dagān (= Bēl-Terqa). It would be very unusual structurally to have the son in the first position, followed by his father's wife, and the father only in the third position. It seems much more natural to assume that both, Bēl-mātim and Bēl-Terqa, are forms of Dagān (god of the land and of the city), the more universal aspect of Dagān being named first, followed as usual by the spouse, and in third position the local city-god. The whole section would then be concerned only with Dagān and his circle (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 277 fn. 1911 *contra* J.-M. Durand, *La religion en Siria durante la época de los reinos amorreos según la documentación de Mari*, MROA II/1, Sabadell 1995, 172ff., Pompoinio—Xella, *Dieux d'Ebla*, 98f., and, more recently, Feliu, *Dagan*, 58f., 88f. and Rouault, *Hethitica* 15 (2002) 222-224 with fn. 33).

¹⁰⁴ Possibly forms of Ištar, whatever that may imply in concrete terms.

¹⁰⁵ For the consorts of Addu in Šēhna, Nagar and Qaṭṭarā see *Wettergottgestalten*, 271f., 273f. (for A. 2945 see now *FM* 8, text 3), 268f., for the imperial pantheon of Mittani see *ibid.*, 460f., for Ištar-Šawuška as consort of the storm-gods in Nuzi, Ḫilmani, Ulamme and Tilla *ibid.*, 464-466, for the combination of Adad and Ištar in Neo-Assyrian penalty clauses *ibid.*, 598-600.

the harvest to prevent storm-damage, as this is attested for so many other periods and regions of the ancient Near East.¹⁰⁶ The *zukurum*-rite to be performed for Addu that is mentioned in the Mari letter A. 1121+ refers, as convincingly argued by D. Fleming, probably not to a festival at one of Addu's major temples (be it Aleppo, Kallassu or Mari), but to a ceremony performed outside Mari within a tribal context for which funding is requested from Zimrī-Līm.¹⁰⁷

4.3.3 *Haddu, Teššub and Ba'lu: The Second Half of the Second Millennium*

The political and cultural character of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia changed profoundly in the late Old Babylonian period. Hurrian princedoms, known since the Ur III period, superseded the Amorite ruling houses on a broad front until the rise of the Mittanian empire with its Hurrian character. The kingdom of Yamḥad with its capital Ḫalab became ever more politically insignificant and large parts of northern Syria came under Hittite rule. For the first time in history sources are available for the Syro-Palestinian area ('Canaan') that throw light on the worship of Haddu in this region, which was characterised by previously unattested languages, various 'Canaanite' dialects and Ugaritic.

This complex cultural situation is reflected, not least, in developments in the history of religion and particularly in those connected with the cult of the various storm-gods venerated in this region. Canaanite-Ugaritic, Old Syrian-Amorite, Hurrian, Assyro-Babylonian and Hittite-Luwian traditions, too, are found in combination and parallel to each other. Without exception the different storm-gods that stem from the afore-mentioned traditions are equated with each other in Late Bronze age Syria and Upper Mesopotamia; mutual influences between the different traditions associated with the individual storm-gods are a necessary consequence without the different names, myths and cult traditions ever being systematically bound into a unitary syncretistic theological construct anywhere. If

¹⁰⁶ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 299-301 for the few bits of information we have. For rituals performed in case of damage caused by storms cf. now also *FM* 8, text 23.

¹⁰⁷ See D.E. Fleming, *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's Archive*, MC 11, Winona Lake 2000, 113-126. For a re-edition of A. 1121+ and of the closely related letter A. 1968 see now with detailed commentary Durand, *FM* 7, texts 38 and 39. Both books unfortunately came to late to be taken into account for *Wettergottgestalten* (on p. 213 "Viehlieferungen an den Addu-Tempel in Kallassu" must be corrected to "Viehlieferungen für das *zukurum*-Ritual des Addu").

phonetic complements do not advise against this, it is recommendable for practical reasons to read the generally Sumerographic writings for a particular storm-god in a given text according to the respective linguistic context; hybrid formations like Eḫli-Addu or Ikūn-Teššub, which contradict this basic principle, do however occur in the onomastica.

The old centres of the Haddu-cult in Syria, Upper Mesopotamia and on the Middle Euphrates, as they are known from the Old Babylonian period, still exist in Hurrian garb as temples of Teššub. But even during the period of the Mittanian Empire and the Hittite domination of North Syria large parts of the population spoke Semitic idioms so that the inherited name Haddu (Hadda) never disappeared, but continued being used next to Teššub. At the same time, firstly along the Syro-Palestinian coastal strip, *ba'lu*, originally an epithet of the storm-god, came to be established as the proper name of the Syrian storm-god (Ba'lu, Ba'al), a development that sent waves far into the hinterland. This complex situation is most apparent in the texts from Emar on the Middle Euphrates (14th-13th cent.), which clearly show that the scribes there wrote the names Haddu and Ba'lu both with the Sumerogram ^dISKUR.¹⁰⁸ Given that Emar served as a Hittite garrison, Hittite-Luwian cults were introduced in the city and Hurrian traditions are still observable in the onomasticon, too. Contacts with Assyria and Babylonia were a matter of course in a city on the Euphrates. The multiplicity of traditions connected with the storm-god can be appreciated from a view of the different representations of the storm-god attested on cylinder seals from this city, which are now available in a comprehensive edition by D. Beyer that includes an in-depth discussion of the various iconographic traditions in the depiction of the storm-god as they appear on the Emar seals.¹⁰⁹ Since the most important groups of texts for the religious historical developments of this era are not primarily associated with the name Haddu, but with Ba'lu and Teššub, they will be dealt with here in sections 5. and 6.

¹⁰⁸ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 548-552, cf. now also R. Pruzsinszky, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Emar*, SCCNH 13, Bethesda 2003, especially 186 with fn. 368. For the Hieroglyphic Luwian writings cf. now J.D. Hawkins, in: S. Herbordt, *Die Prinzen- und Beamteniegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbulln aus dem Nišantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*, Mainz 2005, 298 and 295.

¹⁰⁹ See D. Beyer, *Emar IV: Les sceaux*, OBO SA 20, Fribourg—Göttingen 2001, *passim*, esp. 299-306.

4.3.4 *Aramaean Hadad, Assyrian Adad and Luwian Tarḫunza: The First Millennium*

From the beginning of the 1st mill. clear regional and cultural differences in the nomenclature of the storm-god become apparent once more. While the name Ba'al continued to be used in the coastal strip of Palestine, Syria and Southern Anatolia, the old name Hadda/u, became predominant in Aramaean Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. It is much attested in the Aramaic onomasticon in this form (*hd*, *d*, but also *hdd*),¹¹⁰ but was generally realised as Hadad under Assyrian influence (< Adad) outside of the onomastics.¹¹¹ Among Aramaic and Neo-Assyrian personal names variant forms like Dadda (Daddi etc.) occur, which are rendered logographically as ^dU.U, a writing not attested before the Neo-Assyrian period.¹¹² In Aramaean Damascus—and possibly in other places too—Rammān served as an epithet of the local Hadad.¹¹³ In Luwian inscriptions of the same period the storm-god was called Tarḫunza; he often has the epithet “of heaven” (cf. 6.4 on Ba'alšamēm, and 7.1 on the name of the Hittite-Luwian storm-god).

Hadad was among the most important gods both of the Aramaean pantheon and within the Hittite-Luwian tradition. He was at the top of the hierarchy in numerous local panthea, where he was seen as divine king and as the god that bestowed kingship on the local ruler. Speculation about a connection between the wild bull as supposed totemic animal of the Aramaic tribes and the wild bull as symbolic animal of Hadad¹¹⁴ stands and falls solely with the etymology of Aram as “wild bull” for which conclusive arguments have still to be presented. Little is known about the circle of deities associated with Hadad, as no Aramaic mythological texts have survived. There is no evidence for the alleged syncretism between storm-god and moon-god in the textual record, and the iconographic evidence adduced for this development does not hold up

¹¹⁰ For a representative collection of attestations see *Wettergottgestalten*, 52-53, 55; not included there are the new texts published by A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes*, HEO 34, Genève 2001. Note that some of the ‘Brussels texts’ (referred to by their O-number in *Wettergottgestalten*) are edited there pp. 131-147.

¹¹¹ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 53f. with fn. 292.

¹¹² See *Wettergottgestalten*, 81f. and 606 with further literature.

¹¹³ For Rammān(um) see *Wettergottgestalten*, 34-35 fn. 173, 198-200, 623-624, E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans. Their Ancient History Culture, Religion*, OLA 100, Leuven 2006, 627-630 and Schwemer, “Rammānu”, *RIA* (forthcoming).

¹¹⁴ Thus Lipiński, *The Aramaeans*, 52-54.

under closer scrutiny.¹¹⁵ In Guzana, which was under strong Assyrian influence, Hadad's consort was called Šāla.¹¹⁶ The same must have been the case in many Upper Mesopotamian cities. In Karkamiš, with its strong Luwian elements, Hēbat stood at Tarḥunza's side.¹¹⁷ Her name does not occur in contemporary or later Aramaic inscriptions and seems to disappear completely from the record with the gradual weakening of Luwian traditions in 8th and 7th cent. Syria.¹¹⁸ In the Hellenistic-Roman period Aštarte (Venus, as in Heliopolis) or Atargatis (as in Hierapolis) were called the consorts of Hadad (Zeus, Jupiter). Ugaritic Ba'lu had already been associated with 'Attartu and 'Anatu, but a differentiated picture of the complex developments associated with the consorts of Adad cannot currently be provided.¹¹⁹

Temples of Hadad (or Tarḥunza or Adad) in Upper Mesopotamia are attested for Guzana and Sikkāni, the latter possibly the same site as the old Mittanian capital Waššukkanni with its important Teššub temple,¹²⁰ Urakka, Saba'a and a place in the vicinity of the modern village Anaz.¹²¹ In North Syria sanctuaries of the storm-god can be shown to have existed in Zincirli, Tell Tayinat (probably ancient Kinalua), Ḥalab,¹²² as well as in Turlu Höyük, Karkamiš

¹¹⁵ Cf. G. Bunnens, *Tell Ahmar II. A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-God at Til Barsib-Masuwari*, Leuven 2006, 72 *contra* M. Novák, "Zur Verbindung von Mondgott und Wettergott bei den Aramäern im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.," *UF* 33 (2001) 437-452.

¹¹⁶ For the problematic passage of the Fekheriye inscription mentioning Šāla see *Wettergottgestalten*, 408-410 (cf. also "Šāla" in *RIA*, forthcoming).

¹¹⁷ Tarḥunza and Hēbat are named as a pair in a number of inscriptions of the Karkamiš corpus; also the traditional triad Tarḥunza, Hēbat and Šarrumma is still attested at this period (see *Wettergottgestalten*, 622 with fn. 5022).

¹¹⁸ One of the latest attestations comes from the Luwian personal name Hiba-(a)zammī attested in a Neo-Assyrian letter of the late 8th cent. (see *PNA* 2/1, 471a), for further 1st mill. references see M.-C. Trémouille, "Hēbat. Une divinité syro-anatolienne," *Eothen* 7, Firenze 1997, 237.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Wettergottgestalten*, 542-544.

¹²⁰ *Wettergottgestalten*, 612-618. Note that the restoration [TI.MEŠ] given for l. 2 of the inscription on the god standing on the lion should be corrected to [ti-me]; for this convincing interpretation of the parallel texts see J.N. Postgate, "The Columns of Kapara", *Afo* 29-30 (1983-84) 55 (not referred to, however, in *CAD* T s.v. *timmu*). Guzana and the orthostats of Kapara especially have been the object of renewed interest in recent years, see W. Orthmann, *Die aramäisch-assyrische Stadt Guzana. Ein Rückblick auf die Ausgrabungen Max von Oppenheims in Tell Halaf*, Saarbrücken 2002, N. Cholidids—L. Martin, *Der Tell Halaf und sein Ausgräber Max Freiherr von Oppenheim*, Mainz 2002; cf. also Lipiński, *The Aramaeans*, 119-133.

¹²¹ For Urakka, Saba'a and the stele found near Anaz see *Wettergottgestalten*, 618-620.

¹²² See *Wettergottgestalten*, 620, 622f., for Ḥalab cf. also the following section.

and Tell Aḥmar (ancient Masuwari/Til Barsip) on resp. not far from the Euphrates.¹²³ To the south Hamat had a sanctuary of Tarḥunza (later worshipped as Ba‘alšamêḥ?) and the main temple of Damascus was home to the storm-god Hadad (Rammān).¹²⁴ Finally the city of Anat on the Middle Euphrates with its Adad temple should be mentioned here.¹²⁵ In most of these places the storm-god stood at the head of the local pantheon, and if not so, he belonged to the small group of the most important deities worshipped in the given region.

4.4 *The Storm-God of Aleppo*

The temple of the storm-god of Ḥalab, the history of which can now also be followed back into the Early Bronze Age archaeologically, stood throughout all eras of ancient Near Eastern history in a prominent position on the mound of the modern citadel of Aleppo. The thickness of the preserved wall foundations shows that the temple itself must have been a towering building which could be seen from afar in the plain around the city.¹²⁶

In the written tradition the sanctuary is first attested in the pre-Sargonic texts from Ebla as the most important temple of North

¹²³ For the Adad-stele from Turlu Höyük see B. Balçioğlu—W.R. Mayer, “Eine neuassyrische Votivstele aus Turlu Höyük”, *OrNS* 75 (2006) 177-181, pl. XII-XIII. For Karkamiš and Tell Aḥmar see *Wettergottgestalten*, 621-622, for the storm-god stele TELL AḤMAR 6 and the cult of the storm-god at Tell Aḥmar generally see now G. Bunnens—J. D. Hawkins—I. Leirens, *Tell Ahmar II. A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-God at Til Barsib-Masuwari*, Leuven 2006. The storm-god of Kar-Shalmaneser (= Til Barsip = Tell Aḥmar) is also mentioned in the curse formula of an inscription from Ḥadattu, see H. Galter, “Der Himmel über Hadattu. Das religiöse Umfeld der Inschriften von Arslan Tash”, in: *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*, ed. M. Hutter—S. Hutter-Braunsar, AOAT 318, Münster 2004, 175f., 178-180.

¹²⁴ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 623-624 (cf. also Schwemer, “Rammānu”, *RIA* [forthcoming]), for the Hazael-inscriptions cf. now also I. Kottsieper, *TUAT. Ergänzungslieferung*, ed. O. Kaiser, Gütersloh 2001, 180-181, *ibid.*, 176-179 a translation of the Tel Dan inscription, for which see most recently G. Athas, “Setting the Record Straight: What are We Saying about the Tel Dan Inscription?”, *JSS* 51 (2006) 241-255 with further references.

¹²⁵ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 625-626, but note that it is not entirely certain that Rammānu und Madānu, as suggested on p. 626, were worshipped in the Adad-temple of Āl-Gabbāri-dū.

¹²⁶ For the excavations on the citadel of Aleppo see K. Kohlmeyer, *Der Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo*, Gerda Henkel Vorlesung, Münster 2000, and J. Gonnella—W. Khayyata—K. Kohlmeyer, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo und der Tempel des Wettergottes*, Münster 2005, especially 75-113.

Syria with supra-regional significance. Already in this period the cult of Hadda of Ḥalab was not limited to Aleppo itself; temples of Hadda of Aleppo are encountered in other cities as far as Mari on the Middle Euphrates. The administrative texts from Ebla provide only very limited information on the cult of Hadda's temple at Aleppo, but it seems that what little more is known about the practices at Ebla's Hadda-temple is very much modeled on the more prominent sanctuary of the storm-god at Aleppo.¹²⁷

After this, extensive source-material on the storm-god of Aleppo is only available in the Old Babylonian period, during which Aleppo was the royal residence of the powerful kingdom of Yamḥad. From this period, too, no written sources from Ḥalab itself are available. Beside the texts from Alalakh, it is particularly texts from Mari, especially the correspondence of Zimrī-Līm with Aleppo, which give us important information.¹²⁸ Addu of Ḥalab was at the top of the pantheon of Yamḥad, the king of Yamḥad was the "beloved of Addu" and the land of Yamḥad itself can simply be called the "Land of Addu". The king acted politically and militarily according to the will of Addu, who was consequently supposed to be the one who had directed political events in the past.¹²⁹ Within this ideology the initiation into kingship particularly was a privilege of the god, this too even with regard to kings under the patronage of Yamḥad, like Zimrī-Līm of Mari. In the discernment of divine will, and not least in the political argumentation as well, the oracle of Addu of Ḥalab played an important role.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 108-111 (cf. also *supra*, 4.3.1), but note that A. Archi, *JNES* 64 (2005) 85 apparently takes many of the attestations that in our opinion refer to Hadda's temple in Ebla as referring to the temple in Aleppo.

¹²⁸ The relevant texts have now been (re-)edited and discussed by J.-M. Durand in *FM* 7.

¹²⁹ I still cannot see anything out of the ordinary in the fact that the principal god of Yamḥad is regarded as the god who bestows kingship and thereby assigns the respective territory to each given king (cf. *Wettergottgestalten*, 214 fn. 1477). The same is true for Dagān of Tuttul in the 3rd mill. (cf. *RIME* 2.1.1.11: 14-28), for Marduk in the late 2nd and 1st mill. and for Sîn during the reign of Nabonidus (cf. P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus*, YNER 10, New Haven—London 1989, 43-65, esp. 56f.). For the mythological motif of the storm-god's victory over the sea that is used within this context see *infra*, 8.

¹³⁰ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 211-214, where a reference to J. Sasson's article on the usage of prophecies in political argumentation should be added ("The Posting of Letters with Divine Messages", in: *Florilegium marianum II. Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot*, ed. D. Charpin—J.-M. Durand, Mémoires de NABU 3, Paris 1994, 299-316).

The great eminence of Addu of Ḫalab and the political weight of the kingdom of Yamḥad—the latter certainly reinforced the former—are also expressed in the fact that the ruler of Elam presented a bow as a votive gift to Addu of Ḫalab.¹³¹ Zimrī-Līm of Mari dedicated among other things a statue of himself to Addu of Ḫalab,¹³² about the placing of which there were differences of opinion. The king of Mari demands that it be placed on the lap of the divine statue—thus obviously a seated image—, whereby he is picking up the well-known motif of the raising of the ruler in the lap of the divine king. Yarīm-Līm of Yamḥad replies that this position is already occupied by a statue. The fragmentary text appears to indicate that this was a statue of the sun-god.¹³³ Why a statue of the sun-god might have been placed on the lap of the storm-god of Aleppo is not known. One would rather expect a subordinate son-deity on the lap of the main god.¹³⁴ Yet there is nothing to support a filial relationship between Addu and a solar deity.¹³⁵ Further speculation is prohibited in view of the fragmentary state of the text and the fact that the preserved ^dURU (the sun-god) could also be the second part of a personal name.

In the Old Babylonian period too, the goddess Ḫēbat, attested already at Ebla (Ḫa(l)abatu), was seen as the consort of Addu of Ḫalab. There is no evidence concerning the further court of the god.¹³⁶ The arms of the victorious warrior, Addu, were worshipped as movable cult symbols and could be taken into battle as a kind of field-standard.¹³⁷ There is no support, in my opinion, for any actual ‘temple asylum’ of the storm-god of Aleppo.¹³⁸ It is likely

¹³¹ See Durand, *FM* 7, 11-13, text 4.

¹³² For Zimrī-Līm’s various activities see *Wettergottgestalten*, 214-215 and Durand, *FM* 7, 14-58.

¹³³ Thus the reconstruction at Durand, *FM* 7, 44 text 17 obv. 15 (relevant the whole passage obv. 8-l.e. 20, note that obv. 11 should be read *i-na pa-ḫa-al-li⁷-š[u]* instead of *a-na pa-ḫa-al-li⁷* [^dISKUR], cf. the expected bound form *pa-ḫa-al⁷ dISKUR* in the preceding line).

¹³⁴ In a Hittite ritual Šarrumma is sitting on the storm-god’s lap, just as the ‘Two-Šarrummani’ gods are imagined to be sitting on Šarrumma’s lap, see *Wettergottgestalten*, 486f. with fn. 3972, 3977.

¹³⁵ Such a concept is known from Hattian-Hittite tradition (cf. 7.2), but this has no relevance for the storm-god theology at Ḫalab in the Old Babylonian period.

¹³⁶ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 220-221.

¹³⁷ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 215-216, 217; the most important evidence for this concept, A. 1858, has now been edited as *FM* 7, text 5.

¹³⁸ *Contra* Durand, *FM* 7, 3-7; see already *Wettergottgestalten*, 212 fn. 1467 (with previous literature) and Schwemer, *AJO* 50 (2003-2004) 412a.

that one of the important festivals of Aleppo's storm-god was celebrated in the month Ḫiyaru. The evidence for this *ḫiyaru*-festival, however, comes mainly from later periods and parallels in other places; but probably it is not due to chance that Niqmepuḫ of Ḫalab dedicates a statue of himself on the 26th of Ḫiyaru.¹³⁹

As in previous periods the cult of Addu of Ḫalab spread far beyond Ḫalab itself. As shown by a list of oath-gods from Mari he was seen as the most important local storm-god of the ancient Near East beside the storm-god of Kumme (Teššub or Addu).¹⁴⁰ Even the later dynasty of Ḫalab residing in Alalaḫ worshipped Addu of Ḫalab as the highest god of the pantheon. In the inscription of Idrimi the storm-god has the unique epithet "lord of heaven and earth and of the great gods".¹⁴¹ In the second half of the 2nd mill. the cult of the storm-god of Aleppo can be attested in all places where storm-gods occupy an important position in the pantheon, as in Nuzi to the east of the Tigris, in Ugarit on the Syrian Mediterranean coast (where he is already attested in the Old Babylonian period), in Tunip, Emar, in various places in Anatolia, not least in Ḫattuša itself.¹⁴² In all these places the god was addressed by the name that was the usual name of the storm-god in each cultural context (Addu, Adad, Ba'lu, Teššub). By what name he was addressed in his home sanctuary can only be surmised with difficulty. The princes of Alalaḫ will have been following an old tradition when they used the name Addu (or Haddu), but at the same time an increasing Hurrian influence has to be factored in,

¹³⁹ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 217f. with fn. 1510 on AIT *63 rev. 19ff. (the year date almost certainly refers to the storm-god of Ḫalab, not the storm-god of Alalaḫ). A *ḫiyaru*-festival of the storm-god, closely connected with the month name Ḫiyaru, is attested for Old Babylonian Tell Leilan (*Wettergottgestalten*, 252f.), Late Bronze Age Ugarit (*ibid.*, 521f.), Emar (*ibid.*, 559f., now also Fleming, *Time at Emar*, 168-173) and the cult of the storm-god of Ḫalab at Ḫattuša (*Wettergottgestalten*, 497f., cf. now also M. Hutter, "Das *ḫiyara*-Fest in Ḫattuša. Transformation und Funktion eines syrischen Festes", in: *Silva Anatolica. Studies M. Popko*, ed. P. Taracha, Warsaw 2002, 187-196). This *ḫiyaru*-festival is not identical with the *ḫârum*-rite (*contra* Durand, *EM* 7, 69, see already *Wettergottgestalten*, 217 fn. 1510, cf. also Fleming, *Time at Emar*, 172). Note that the original evidence for a connection between the *ḫârum*-ritual and the *ḫiyaru* of the storm-god, namely the *ANŠE ʿIŠKUR in *ARM* 26/1, 20 obv. 7 does not hold up against collation (see Durand, *EM* 7, p. 69).

¹⁴⁰ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 301f.

¹⁴¹ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 490-494.

¹⁴² See *Wettergottgestalten*, 464f. (Nuzi), 515, 521f., 548 (Ugarit), 490 with fn. 3999 (Tunip), 562 (Emar), for Anatolian sanctuaries of the storm-god of Aleppo *ibid.*, 490 fn. 4003, for his cult at Ḫattuša *ibid.*, 494-502.

which at least led to the fact that the cult of the storm-god of Ḫalab at Ḫattuša, already well-attested in the 15th cent., is essentially characterised by Hurrian tradition.¹⁴³

Exactly how and when the cult of the storm-god of Aleppo was adopted at Ḫattuša cannot yet be reconstructed in detail on the basis of the available sources. The so-called Puḫānu chronicle suggests that the cult of the storm-god of Ḫalab had already been introduced at the time of Ḫattušili I in connection with this king's campaigns in northern Syria.¹⁴⁴ From Tudḫaliya I on we can observe the proper integration of the god into the Hittite imperial pantheon; the golden age of the cult can be dated to the Empire Period. Muwatalli II undertook a re-organisation of the festivals of the storm-god of Ḫalab, who was by now also called storm-god of Ḫalab of Ḫatti (resp. Ḫattuša). His son Muršili III obviously worshipped the storm-god of Ḫalab, among others, as his personal protective deity.¹⁴⁵ The cultic calendar of the temple of the storm-god of Ḫalab in Ḫattuša comprehended 13 special festivals beside the regular rites, and the temple was also visited by the king as part of the Spring and Autumn festivals, which spread over many days. It has not yet been possible to localise the temple with any certainty in the archaeological remains.¹⁴⁶ According to the *kaluti*-list the circle of deities associated with Tešsub of Ḫalab in Ḫattuša included Anatolian deities beside the Syro-Hurrian ones. It is not clear how far these circumstances can be transferred to the sanctuary at Ḫalab itself. Ḫalab, which was a Hittite vice-regency from

¹⁴³ Cf. now also A. Archi, "Hurrian Gods and the Festivals of the Hattian-Hittite Layer", in: *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tudḫaliya IV*, PIHANS 103, Leiden 2006, 147-163.

¹⁴⁴ For the relevance of the Puḫānu chronicle and its interpretation see (beside *Wettergottgestalten*, 494f.) I. Singer, "'The Thousand Gods of Hatti'. The Limits of an Expanding Pantheon", *IOS* 14 (1994), 86-87 and most recently A. Gilan, "Der Puḫānu-Text—Theologischer Streit und politische Opposition in der althethitischen Literatur", *AoF* 31 (2004) 263-296, esp. 275f. For the adoption of the cult before the Empire period cf. also Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, "Brief Comments on the Hittite Cult Calendar: The Outline of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival", in: *Kaniššuar. Studies H.G. Güterbock*, ed. H.A. Hoffner, Jr.—G.M. Beckman, AS 23, Chicago 1986, 109 with fn. 37 (cf. *Wettergottgestalten*, 494 fn. 4049).

¹⁴⁵ See J.D. Hawkins, "The Storm-God Seal of Mursili III", in: *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.*, ed. G. Beckman e.a., Winona Lake 2003, 169-175.

¹⁴⁶ But cf. M. Popko, "Zum Tempel des Teššup von Ḫalap in Ḫattuša", *AoF* 29 (2002) 73-80, and for a critique of Popko's proposal Archi, art. cit. (n. 143), 159 with fn. 47.

Šuppiluliuma I on, must have been exposed to considerable Hittite influence, especially since the significance of Ḫalab was primarily religious, while the political centre of power lay in Karkamiš.

The end of Hittite rule in North Syria does not appear to have hindered the continuity of the cult in Ḫalab. The temple was renovated, presumably around 1100, by a prince by the name of Taita, whose Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription for Tarḫunza of Ḫalab was found in a central position in the temple itself.¹⁴⁷ He obviously ruled over a significant territory in northern Syria, including Aleppo (Wadasatini). It has not yet been possible to place other Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, such as the Babylon-Stele and Babylon-bowls, which in all probability originally come from the Aleppo sanctuary, precisely in history. According to the excavated remains, the early Iron-Age temple was destroyed not long after 900 and apparently was not re-built on the same spot. However, later Hieroglyphic Luwian and Aramaic inscriptions from northern Syria (Körkün, Sfire)¹⁴⁸ show that there must have been a new temple building, presumably not far from the older building on the citadel, where one would then also look for the Hellenistic temple of Zeus. It is not known whether it was already an Aramaean prince of Arpad who was responsible for this restoration of the temple. The supra-regional significance of the sanctuary is documented in this era primarily by the sacrifices that Shalmaneser III offers in Aleppo, as well as the fact that according to the so-called ‘Götteradressbuch’ the city of Aššur had a shrine of Adad of Aleppo at least in the Neo-Assyrian period.¹⁴⁹

In the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions the storm-god of Ḫalab is called Tarḫunza, as one would expect, in the Aramaic ones he is Hadad and in the Assyrian and Babylonian 1st mill. texts he is referred to as Adad. The name Teššub was no longer used as normal name for the North Syrian storm-god, but lived on as the name of a subordinate god, separate from Tarḫunza, at least in Til Barsip (TELL AHMAR 1 and 6) and, as the onomasticon informs

¹⁴⁷ J. Gonnella—W. Khayyata—K. Kohlmeyer, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo und der Tempel des Wettergottes*, Münster 2005, 90-94. An edition of the inscription is being prepared by J.D. Hawkins.

¹⁴⁸ For the relevant passages of the texts see *Wettergottgestalten*, 620f. with further literature.

¹⁴⁹ See *Wettergottgestalten*, 620 with fn. 5007.

us, presumably also in Karkamiš. Whether the mention of an Adad of Ḫallab (^dIŠKUR *ḫal-lab*) in a document of the Persian period from Borsippa is really connected to the storm-god of North Syrian Ḫalab¹⁵⁰ is extremely questionable; one would rather opt for the North Babylonian Ḫallab.

To be continued.

¹⁵⁰ Thus R. Zadok, “An Achaemenid Queen”, *NABU* 2002/65 on BM 29447 obv. 6; cf. also *Wettergottgestalten*, 54 with fn. 297 on the problematic PN ^d*ad-da-ḫa²-la-ab*, which more likely refers to the Aleppine storm-god.