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Hurrians and Their Gods in Canaan

Abstract

The first appearance of Hurrians and of personages bearing Indo-Aryan names in city-states of ancient Canaan can be dated to the late 16th century B.C. and be related to the expansive influence of the Mittannian empire. Information is provided mainly by written material from Shechem, by the tablets from Taanach, and by the Amarna letters, thus by sources dating from a period when Canaan was dominated by Egypt. Traces of this Hurrian presence are recognizable in Jerusalem until the 10th century B.C. and the Hurrian goddess Šuwala, the Queen of the netherworld, continued her career through centuries in the Hebrew literature in which she appears under the name of Sheol. Also a vague souvenir of the Hurrians persisted, called Horites in the Bible and regarded as a pre-Israelite population of Canaan. A particular attention is paid in the article to some personal names, like Šuwardata, Abdi-Ḫeba or Pora-Ḫeba, the name of a ruler of Jerusalem in the 14th century, further to Ḫutiya and to Bat-Tešub, also in Jerusalem.

Keywords: Hurrians, Indo-Aryans, Šuwardata, ARAD-Ḫeba, Šukri, *Šmgr*, *Tlmy*, *Ḫty*, *Btšbʿ*, *purame/pōra-*, *nataʾa, ewri*(*ni/e*), Šuwala/Sheol

The very name used by the Egyptians for Canaan since the early 15th century B.C. was the Land of Ḫor (*Ḫ3r*)[1], a word which at first had an ethnic connotation, designating the Hurrians, but was later used geographically and survived in the "Horites" of the Bible, wrongly listed among the native pre-Israelite populations of Canaan. In the 1990's, some thirty years after the publication of an article by R. de Vaux dealing

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[1] P. Vernus, *Les Hurrites dans les sources égyptiennes*, in: M.-Th. Barrelet (ed.), *Méthodologie et critiques* I. *Problèmes concernant les Hurrites*, Paris 1977, pp. 41–49.

with this subject[2], the Hurrian onomastics in Canaan attracted the attention of several scholars[3]. A somewhat broader approach to these questions will be presented in the following pages.

1. Mittanni

The Hurrian expansion as far as southern Canaan took place not long before the early 15th century B.C. and it should very likely be linked to the rising power of the Mittannian empire, with which the sources suddenly confront us in the same period. This important state emerged in the 16th century in the area of the Habur triangle; it united the whole of Northern Mesopotamia and started extending its influence southwards.

Wherever Hurrian personal names appear, quite distinct from the Semitic or Hittite-Luwian ones, the presence of this people must be assumed. However, next to linguistically Hurrian anthroponyms, often involving a Hurrian theonym as Tešub or Ḫeba(t), there is a smaller group of names, indubitably Indo-Aryan and therefore unrelated linguistically to those of the first category. They may contain Vedic theophorous elements and most of their bearers are kings, princes or high-ranking officials. Their presence is linked to Vedic horse-training terminology and to chariot-owning aristocracy called *mariyannu*, a derivative of Indo-Aryan *márya*, "young man" or "young warrior". Since there is so far no evidence for the presence of these Indo-Aryan elements in early Hurrian texts, one must assume that the Hurrian-speaking population was joined around the 16th century B.C. by a relatively small but well-armed group of Indo-Aryan newcomers who imposed their leadership and created the state of Mittanni[4].

The capital-city of Mittanni was Waššukkanni, most likely Tell Fekheriye, a very large mound which covers an important city of the mid-second millennium B.C. in the Habur headwater region and was several times excavated. The excavations resumed in 2006 yielded important remains from the Mittanni and Middle Assyrian periods, including many seal impressions on clay sealings and cuneiform tablets from different occupation phases. The importance of the site in the Middle Assyrian period and the remains of the Mittanni settlement with some sort of administrative function prior to the arrival of

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[2]   R. de Vaux, *Les Ḫurrites de l'histoire et les Horites de la Bible*, "Revue Biblique" 1967, 74, pp. 481–503.

[3]   N. Naʾaman, *The Hurrians and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine*, "Levant" 1994, 26, pp. 175–188; R.S. Hess, *Hurrians and Other Inhabitants of Late Bronze Age Palestine*, "Levant" 1997, 29, pp. 153–156; R. Zadok, *A Prosopography and Ethno-Linguistic Characterization of Southern Canaan in the Second Millennium BCE*, "Michmanim" 1996, 9, pp. 97–145; M. Giorgieri, *Zu den hurritischen Personennamen in den Amarna-Briefen*, "Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici" 1999, 41, pp. 63–83.

[4]   M.S. Drower, *Syria c. 1550–1400 B.C.*, in: *The Cambridge Ancient History* II/1, 3rd ed., Cambridge 1973, pp. 417–525, especially pp. 418–422. Surprisingly enough, H.M. Avetisyan, *Государство Митанни*, Erevan 1984, pays no attention to the Indo-Aryan component of the Mittannian state, although his map indicates a territory of Indo-Iranian tribes, south of the Urmia Lake. – The spelling Mittanni with geminated *t* and *n* is based on *EA* 24, col. III, 104, a letter written in Hurrian: KUR *M*[*i*]-*i-it-ta-a-an-né-e-we*, cf. G. Wilhelm, *Mittan(n)i, Mitanni, Maitani. A. Historisch*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* VIII, Berlin 1993–97, pp. 286–296 (see p. 187, §1.3).

Area of the Mittanni empire (ancient place-names in capital letters)

the Assyrians suggest identifying Tell Fekheriye with Waššukkanni. According to P.V. Bartl and D. Bonatz, this "strong possibility"[5] must still be confirmed by archaeological evidence. In fact, G. Wilhelm[6] had suggested some site to the north or northwest of Tell Fekheriye. However, the toponymic evidence favours an identification of Tell Fekheriye with Waššukkanni, because the old Semitic name of the site was Sikkān, attested on an Ur-III tablet as well as in Neo-Assyrian documents[7]. In fact, the place-name was preserved through the whole Mittannian period, since it was not only used by the indigenous population, but was even contained in the very name (Waš)šukkanni of the Mittannian chancellery. It is hard to find a Hurrian explanation for this toponym, but an Indo-European word might be hidden behind the added element waš, namely *$ų̯esā$, "gold", attested in Tocharian A as wäs[8]. The Indo-Aryan names of the Mittannian rulers and gods[9] favour such an interpretation, which would give the city the prestigious name of "Golden Sikkān". City names beginning with "gold" are attested in Slavonic languages: Zlatoust (Russia),

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[5]   P.V. Bartl, D. Bonatz, *Across Assyria's Northern Frontier: Tell Fekheriye at the End of the Late Bronze Age*, in: K. Aslıhan Yener (ed.), *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations between Syria and Anatolia. Proceedings of a Symposium held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koç University, Istanbul, May 31–June 1, 2010* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Supplement 42), Leuven 2013, pp. 263–292 (see p. 268).

[6]   G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, Warminster 1989, p. 27.

[7]   A.W. Bagg, *Sikānu/i*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* XII, Berlin 2009–11, p. 482. Some years ago, the writer has rejected this identification: E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* II (OLA 57), Leuven 1994, pp. 20–21; id., *The Aramaeans. Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (OLA 100), Leuven 2000, p. 120.

[8]   L. Isebaert, *De indo-iraanse bestanddelen in de tocharische woordenschat*, Leuven 1980, p. 251, §242.

[9]   G. Wilhelm, *Mittan(n)i* (n. 4), especially pp. 292–293.

Zlatopol (Ukraine), Złotoryja (Poland). *Waššu*, written ᵐ*Ú-aš-šu*, appears at Tell Brak as a Mittannian personal name[10] and the Indo-Aryan anthroponym *W'šw* can be read in the second Aramaic Laġmān inscription (line 3/4) from Afghanistan[11]. *Waššu* also occurs as first element in several names from Alalakh level IV: ᶠ*Wa-šu-mi-ia*, *Wa-šu-na-nu*, *Wa-šu-za-na*[12]. This may record the surname *Złotko* in Polish, literally "small gold", or the English first name *Goldee*.
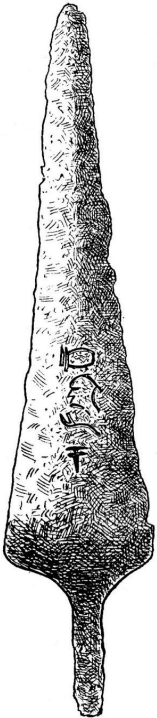
(after J.L. Starkey)

Lachish dagger

2. Hurrians and Indo-Aryans in Canaan

The Mittannian leadership was Indo-Aryan as shown by the royal names, which have a clearly Indo-European etymology. Some descendants of this Hurro-Aryan elite managed to take the power in Canaanite city-states, although the bulk of the local population was Semitic, while Egyptians regarded them as Hurrians because of the Hurrian elite ruling in these cities. Indo-Aryan names abound in the 14th century among the rulers of pharaoh's vassal states mentioned in the Amarna letters. We find, for instance[13], Aitukama at Kadesh on the Orontes, Aki-Tešub or Akiya at Niya on the Orontes, Biryawaza in Damascus, Šuwardata, ruling probably over Gath, i.e. Tell eṣ-Ṣāfī[14]. Endaruta appears as the ruler of Akšaph, Surata and Satatna are found at Akko, Biridiya at Megiddo, Šubandi in a city of southern Canaan, perhaps Ashkelon[15].

Lachish, Shechem, Hebron, Gezer

One of the oldest Hurrian names from Canaan can probably be read on the Lachish bronze dagger, retrieved from a tomb which can be dated in the 16th century B.C.[16] Four Proto-Canaanite signs have been engraved on the dagger blade and should very likely be

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[10] TB 7035: I.L. Finkel, *Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1985*, "Iraq" 1988, 50, pp. 83–86 (see p. 85, no. 10, 3).

[11] F. Rosenthal, *The Second Langhmān Inscription*, in: *H.L. Ginsberg Volume* (Eretz-Israel 14), Jerusalem 1978, pp. 97*–99*.

[12] D.J. Wiseman*, The Alalakh Tablets*, London 1953, p. 152a; id., *Ration Lists from Alalakh IV*, "Journal of Cuneiform Studies" 1959, 13, pp. 50–62 (see nos. 298, 14; 301, 8). See also S. Aro, *Uassurme*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* XIV, Berlin 2014–16, p. 257.

[13] R.S. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, Winona Lake 1993.

[14] Ibid., p. 161; G. Wilhelm, *Šuwardata*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* XIII, Berlin 2011–13, p. 376.

[15] R.S. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names* (n. 13), p. 154; R. Zadok, *A Prosopography* (n. 3), p. 112.

[16] O. Tufnell, *Lachish III. The Bronze Age*, London 1958, pp. 128–129, pl. 44, 1 and 45, 4. A good photograph is available also in: J.B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Tes*tament, Princeton 1954, no. 271, where the dagger is dated *ca*. 1500 B.C.

read *ṭrnz*, despite the reading *lrnz* proposed since by A.G. Lundin[17]. The interpretation of the first sign as *l* instead of *ṭ* is not convincing, not even seeing it on the photograph published by Lundin (Fig. 2), and his dating of the dagger to the 12th/11th century B.C. is certainly much too low. W.F. Albright has suggested that *ṭrnz* was the name of the dagger's owner, buried with his weapon[18], and he had related this name to *Tu/Ṭú-ur-ra-an-za*, attested on a tablet from Alalakh level IV[19], dated in the 15th–14th centuries B.C. The meaning of the name is uncertain, but the sign *ṭ* is now paralleled in the Proto-Canaanite jar inscription discovered at Lachish in 2014, where the last sign of line 3' certainly represents the same letter and allows reading the title *ꞈš-pṭ*, "judge", under *spr*, "scribe"[20]. The inscription seems therefore to have listed a few personal names, followed by a title.
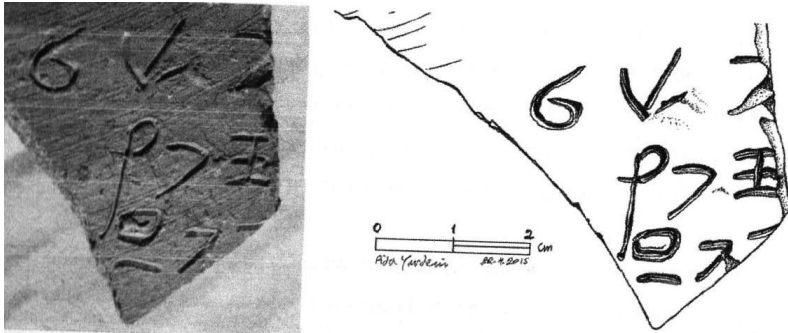
Fragment of the Proto-Canaanite jar inscription (after O. Dobovsky)

A contemporary Indo-Aryan name is borne by the addressee of the letter in cuneiform script, found at Shechem during the German excavations of 1926–1932 and published without delay by F.M.Th. Böhl[21]. The letter is neither late Old

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[17] A.G. Lundin, *Вронзовый кинжал из Лахиша с протосинайской надписью*, "Palestinskiy Sbornik" 1988, 28, pp. 178–182.

[18] W.F. Albright, *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and Their Decipherment*, Cambridge Mass. 1969, p. 10.

[19] D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (n. 11), p. 150, no. 139, 31. The transliteration of the text was published by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, *Die Soziale Struktur von Alalaḫ und Ugarit II. Die sozialen Gruppen… nach Texten aus Alalaḫ IV*, "Die Welt des Orients" 1969, 5/1, pp. 57–93 (see pp. 66–67, no. 11). A Hurrian theonym ᵈ*Tu-(u-)ur-ra* is attested at Boghazköy: G. Wilhelm, *Turra šuppena*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyrologie* XIV, Berlin 2014–16, p. 207. The sign *tu* can be read *ṭú* but, more importantly, the initial Hurrian dental *t* may be dissimilated into *ṭ* because of the following liquid *l/r* and this can be expressed in alphabetic script; cf. F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Studia Pohl 1), Roma 1967, p. 207, §10. For the interchange *l/r* see here below, p. 136, n. 90.

[20] This has not been recognized by the editors, who state that the sign in question "does not resemble any known letter": B. Sass, Y. Garfinkel, M.G. Hasel, M.G. Klingbeil, *The Lachish Jar Sherd: An Early Alphabetic Inscription Discovered in 2014*, "Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research" 2015, 374, pp. 233–245 (see p. 243b).

[21] F.M.Th. Böhl, *Die bei den Ausgrabungen von Sichem gefundenen Keilschrifttafeln*, "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins" 1926, 49, pp. 321–327 (see pp. 325–327), pl. 44–45. Fifty years later, Böhl turned back to this text: F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl, *Der Keilschriftbrief aus Sichem (Tell Balâṭa)*, "Baghdader Mitteilungen" 1974, 7,

Babylonian[22], nor it is going back to the Middle Bronze Age[23], unless Middle Bronze IIC or III is dated in Canaan *ca*. 1570–1470 B.C., following Manfred Bietak's dating of the transition from MB IIB to MB IIC or MB III *ca*. 1570 B.C.; the latter period would continue in Canaan until the reign of Tuthmosis III (*ca*. 1479–1425 B.C.)[24]. In any case, the short chronology established by H. Gasche, J.A. Armstrong, S.W. Cole, and W.G. Gurzadyan[25] dates the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon and the conquest of the city by Mursili I in 1499 B.C.

Now, what concerns the language of the letter found at Shechem, its characteristics have been clearly summarized by A.F. Rainey: "though the letter seems to be Old Babylonian in script and verbal usage, it reflects some syntactic phenomena that later became standard in the periphery, especially in Canaan"[26]. In other words, the letter in question should be dated from the early part of the 15th century B.C., as confirmed by the Indo-Aryan name *Biraššena* (*Bi-ra-aš-še-n*[*a*]) of its addressee[27]. The sender of the letter bears a feminine West-Semitic name, recognizable despite the lack of a determinative thanks to the ending *ti* of the passive participle of *mnw*: *Ma-ni-ti*-DINGIR [GEMÉ-*k*]*a*, "Manīti-Il, your [servant]". The name means "Esteemed by God" and it is followed by the usual politeness formula "your servant", used also by a daughter of the king of Mari writing to her father (*ARM* II, 112). At least one of the witnesses from the other Shechem tablet possibly bears an Indo-Aryan name *Šu*?-*ar-da*?-*ta*?, but the reading of three signs is uncertain[28] and the patronymic *Pá-al-sí-i* is of unknown origin.

A Hurrian name of the same period appears on the fragment of a white limestone stele (5 x 12 cm) found at Shechem. It bears the beginning of a Proto-Canaanite inscription, engraved vertically to the right of a broken figure and very likely giving the name and the title of the personage. It was published by F.M.Th. Böhl[29], who read the inscription *r'š š'r'*. The reading of the fifth letter has since been corrected into a somewhat particular *kaph* and the incomplete last sign, following the *'aleph*, has been recognized as *beth* or *daleth*[30].

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pp. 21–30. The letter and the list of witnesses from Shechem have been reedited by W. Horowitz, T. Oshima, *Cuneiform in Canaan. Canaanite Sources from the Land of Israel in Ancient Times*, Jerusalem 2006, pp. 121–125. They read the name of the letter's sender *Ma-ni-ti-Èl* [ÌR-*k*]*a* instead of the earlier *Ba-ni-ti-*ᵈ[…].

[22] B. Landsberger, *Assyrische Königsliste und "Dunkles Zeitalter"*, "Journal of Cuneiform Studies" 1954, 8, pp. 31–73, 106–133 (see p. 59, n. 121: "in guten Altbabylonisch geschrieben").

[23] S.J. Wimmer, *Sichem*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* XII, Berlin 2009–11, pp. 450–451.

[24] M. Bietak, *Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age*, "Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research" 1991, 281, pp. 27–72.

[25] H. Gasche, J.A. Armstrong, S.W. Cole, W.G. Gurzadyan, *Dating the Fall of Babylon. A Reappraisal of Second Millennium Chronology*, Ghent-Chicago 1998.

[26] A.F. Rainey, *Taanach Letters*, in: *F.M. Cross Volume* (Eretz-Israel 26), Jerusalem 1999, pp. 153*–162*, quotation from p. 155a*.

[27] M. Mayrhofer, *Zur kritischen Sichtung vorderasiatisch-arischer Personennamen*, "Indogermanische Forschungen" 1965, 70, pp. 146–163 (see p. 157).

[28] For the name, cf. here below, p. 136.

[29] F.M.Th. Böhl, *Die Sichem-Plakette. Protoalphabetische Schriftzeichen der Mittelbronzezeit vom Tell Balāṭa*, "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins" 1938, 61, pp. 1–25.

[30] É. Puech, *Origine de l'alphabet*, "Revue Biblique" 1986, 93, pp. 161–213, pl. II–III (see pp. 185–187).

(after É. Puech)

Fragment of the Shechem stele

As noticed already by the editor and more recently by S.J. Wimmer, the inscription should be read upwards[31]. The present writer reads there *r'š škr ' ⸢d⸣ [n …]*, "Chief Šukri, lor[d of …]". The Hurrian name *Šukri* is attested at Nuzi and at Alalakh[32], being apparently a shortened form of names ending with a theophorous element, as Tešub[33]. Such names occur already in the Mari archives[34]. The meaning of *šukri* is so far not established, but Urartaean *šu-ku-ri* seems to mean "called by"[35]. *Šukri* may be abridged from a name like the somewhat Akkadized *Šukrum-Tešub*[36], possibly "Called by Tešub". The personage of the Shechem stele was probably a ruler of the city in the 15th century B.C., represented in the attitude of a worshipper standing in front of a deity.

The administrative cuneiform text discovered in 1986 at Tell er-Rumeideh, the site of ancient Hebron, would contain a Hurrian feminine name. The tablet was published by M. Anbar and N. Na'aman[37], who dated it from the late Old Babylonian period, but they also noticed that the loss of mimation is typical of the post-Old Babylonian period and that -*t*- forms in the perfect of weak verbs, like *ir-te-ḫu* (line 8), characterize peripheral Akkadian in the Late Bronze Age. It seems therefore that the tablet should be dated from the early 15th century B.C. The name *Intu* (line 8) would be Hurrian[38],

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[31] S.J. Wimmer, *Sichimitica Varia*, "Biblische Notizen" 2001, 109, pp. 21–26.

[32] I. Gelb, P. Purves, A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, Chicago 1943, p. 259; D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (n. 11), no. 71, 1; M.A. Morrison, D.L. Owen (eds.), *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of Ernest A. Lacheman*, Winona Lake 1981, p. 488 (index). Cf. E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* ("Revue hittite et asianique" [1976–77], 34–35), Paris 1978–79, p. 241.

[33] F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (n. 19), pp. 212, 255–256.

[34] M. Birot, J.-R. Kupper, O. Rouault, *Archives royales de Mari* XVI/1. *Répertoire analytique. Noms propres*, Paris 1979, p. 199.

[35] G.A. Melikišvili, *Die urartäische Sprache* (Studia Pohl 7), Rome 1971, p. 87.

[36] M. Birot, J.-R. Kupper, O. Rouault, *Archives royales de Mari* XVI/1 (n. 34), p. 199.

[37] M. Anbar, N. Na'aman, *An Account Tablet of Sheep from Ancient Hebron*, "Tel Aviv" 1986–87, 13–14, pp. 3–12, pl. I.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 7, followed by R. Zadok, *A Prosopography* (n. 3), p. 104, §1141:5.

but *Inti-Ilu* appears at Nuzi[39] and the feminine name *I-in-tum* with mimation occurs at Mari[40]. It seems therefore that we deal with the preterit *yintu'* of the West-Semitic verb *nt'*, in Arabic *nata'a*, "to bulge out", and that *Inti-Ilu* refers to El's sexual act, like in the Ugaritian myth of the Birth of Gods[41]. The name thus means "El did have an erection" and *Intu*(*m*) would be an abbreviation of such a personal name.

Hurrian names would also appear on the inscribed fragment of the clay envelop of a tablet found at Gezer and published by A. Shaffer[42]. The inscription was collated by M. Anbar and N. Na'aman, who dated the fragment from the same period as the Hebron tablet and left only one name as possibly Hurrian[43]. The name in question should be read [*I*]*ḫ-lu-ma-an-ti* (line 4) and interpreted as the preterit *yi'lu* of the verb *'ly*, "to go up", with a subject being a derivative in *m*- of *nt'*, "to bulge out". The name is thus West-Semitic and means "The protuberance" or "The penis went up", again with a clear reference to a sexual act. Such names reveal the Canaanite and Amorite appreciation of some gods' and men's behaviour and acts.

Tell Taanach

Authentic Hurrian and Indo-Aryan names occur somewhat later on the cuneiform tablets discovered at Tell Taanach[44], on the southern fringes of the Jezreel Valley, some 30 km west of Beth-shân. The site was first excavated in 1902–1904 by E. Sellin, who found an archive of fourteen tablets and fragments in cuneiform script, dating from the later part of the 15th century B.C. These texts were soon published by Bedřich Hrozný[45]. Most findings of E. Sellin's excavations belong to the Filistin Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.

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[39] I. Gelb, P. Purves, A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* (n. 32), p. 220.

[40] M. Birot, J.-R. Kupper, O. Rouault, *Archives royales de Mari* XVI/1 (n. 34), p. 123.

[41] D. Manfred, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU: second, enlarged edition)* (Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens 8), Münster 1995, no. 1.23, 33–49. Cf. E. Lipiński, *Fertility Cult in Ancient Ugarit*, in: A. Bonanno (ed.), *Archaeology and Fertility Cult in the Ancient Mediterannean*, Amsterdam 1986, p. 207–215.

[42] A. Shaffer, *Fragment of an Inscribed Envelope*, in: W.G. Dever, H.P. Lance, G.E. Wright, *Gezer* I, *Preliminary Report of the 1964–66 Seasons*, Jerusalem 1970, pp. 111–114.

[43] M. Anbar, N. Na'aman, *An Account Tablet* (n. 37), pp. 7–8, 10–11.

[44] W. Horowitz, *Ta'annak, Tall. A. Philologisch*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* XIII, Berlin 2011–13, p. 387; D. Morandi Bonaccorsi, *Ta'annak, Tall. B. Archäologisch*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* XIII, Berlin 2011–13, pp. 387–388.

[45] F. Hrozný, *Keilschrifttexte aus Ta'annek*, in: E. Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek* (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 50/4), Wien 1904, pp. 113–122, pl. X–XI; id., *Die neugefundenen Keilschrifttexte von Ta'annek*, in: E. Sellin, *Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Ta'annek in Palästina* (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 52/3), Wien 1905, pp. 36–41, pl. I-III. A reprint of Hrozný's articles can be found in: S. Kreuzer (ed.), *Taanach/Tell Ta'annek. 100 Jahre Forschungen zur Archäologie, zur Geschichte, zu den Fundobjekten und zu den Keilschrifttexten* (Wiener alttestamentliche Studien 5), Frankfurt a/M 2006.

Excavations were resumed at the site by P.W. Lapp in 1963, 1966, and 1968. They led to the discovery of a cuneiform alphabetic tablet in 1963 and of a fragment in syllabic script with eleven names of witnesses, found in 1968 and soon published by A.E. Glock[46]. The tablet is classified as T.T. 950. The entire group of Taanach texts was reedited in 2006 by Wayne Horowitz and Takayoshi Oshima with bibliography, some new hand copies, and photographs[47].

The examination of the personal names in the Taanach tablets by W.F. Albright[48] and A.F. Glock[49] showed that 62% of the names are Northwest Semitic (21 names), while only 21% are Indo-Aryan (7 names) and 17% Hurrian (6 names). A more sophisticated count for the Taanach and Amarna tablets was made by R. Zadok[50]. The most complete tablets from Taanach are letters to a certain Talwašar (letters 1, 2, 5, 6), who bears a Hurrian name, the meaning of which has not yet been established. The name is attested also in an Egyptian text and was read *Twlw3śr* by M. Görg[51], who assumed that the addressee of the letter was the ruler of Taanach[52]. The first letter was addressed to him by ^{m}*Eḫ-li-*^{d}IŠKUR, certainly *Eḫli-Tešub*, "Saved by Tešub"[53].

Ginti-Kirmil

Several rulers of South-Canaanite city-states, named in the Amarna letters, bear Hurrian names, like Teḫu-Tešub, whose seat was unknown, or Tagi, ruler of Ginti-Kirmil[54] ("Wine-press of the Carmel"), that was usually identified with the Arab village of Ǧett in the Sharon plain, but this place is now attributed to Teḫu-Tešub thanks to a petrologic analysis of Amarna tablets sent by him[55]. The meaning of the element *teḫu/teḫi* is so far unknown.

Ginti-Kirmil must be a different place. In fact, Pliny mentions a Gitta north of Mount Carmel[56]. According to Justin Martyr (*ca*. A.D. 100–165) from Flavian Neapolis (Nablūs)[57], this Gitta was the home town of the famous sorcerer Simon Magus[58]. This

[46] A.E. Glock, *A New Taʻannek Tablet*, "Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research" 1971, 204, pp. 17–30.

[47] W. Horowitz, T. Oshima *Cuneiform in Canaan* (n. 21), pp. 127–151.

[48] F. Albright, *The Amarna Letters from Palestine*, in: *The Cambridge Ancient History* II/2, 3rd ed., Cambridge 1975, pp. 98–116 (see pp. 109–110).

[49] A.E. Glock, *A New Taʻannek Tablet* (n. 46).

[50] R. Zadok, *A Prosopography* (n. 3), especially pp. 116–120.

[51] M. Görg, *Zum Namen des Fürsten von Taanach*, "Biblische Notizen" 1988, 41, pp. 15–18.

[52] This was the idea of W.F. Albright, *A Prince of Taanach in the Fifteenth Century B.C.*, "Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research" 1944, 94, pp. 12–27.

[53] E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (n. 32), pp. 75–76.

[54] B. Faist, *Tagi*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* XIII, Berlin 2011–13, pp. 407–408.

[55] Y. Goren, I. Finkelstein, N. Naʼaman, *Inscribed in Clay* (Sonia and Mario Nadler Institute of Archaeology, Monograph Series 23), Tel Aviv 2004, pp. 256–258.

[56] Pliny, *Natural History* V, 75.

[57] Justin Martyr, *Apologia* I, 26, 5–6, critical edition by J.C.T. Otto, *Justini philosophi et martyris opera quae feruntur omnia* I, Jena 1842.

[58] Acts of the Apostles 8, 9–24.

could be Gittā Hēpher in Zabulon[59]. Y. Aharoni had already noticed that Ğett in the Sharon plain is far away from the Carmel range and he proposed to identify Ginti-Kirmil with "Gath of the Philistines"[60], which is located now at Tell eṣ-Ṣāfī. However, the ruler of Jerusalem wrote to Amenophis IV that hostile acts were carried out against him from the lands of *Še-e-ri* until Ginti-Kirmil[61]. This phrase certainly aims at indicating great distances, while Tell eṣ-Ṣāfī lies only 40 km west of Jerusalem. If *Še-e-ri* is the *Ś'r* of the Egyptian texts, as expected, Ginti-Kirmil should also be a relatively distant place. Gittā Hēpher might be a suitable location.

The name *Ta-gi* or *Ta-a-gi* of the ruler of Ginti-Kirmil means "beautiful" and can be an abridged name[62]. Another pattern of the same root, namely *Ta-a-gu*, occurs on a tablet from Taanach[63]. Tagi supported Milkilu of Gezer against the ruler of Jerusalem, but this information does not provide concrete data for the localisation of his principality.

Jerusalem, 14th century B.C.

The ruler of Jerusalem bears a Hurrian or a hybrid Hurro-Semitic name ᵐARAD-*Heba*[64], "Servant of Ḫeba(t)", the main Hurrian goddess whose worship must have been well established in the city. The same name occurs at Taanach, where one can read ᵐARAD-*He-⌈ba⌉-[at]*[65], and at Ugarit, also with the logogram: ᵐARAD-ᵈ*Ḫé-bat*[66]. The logogram ARAD, "servant", can be read *'abdi* in West-Semitic and the ruler's name is thus usually transcribed *'Abdi-Ḫeba*, assuming that the name was structurally Semitic. However, the reading ARAD = *'abdi* is not supported by any phonetic spelling and R.S. Hess proposed identifying the name with Hurrian *Puduḫepa*[67], the name borne by the wife of the Hittite king Ḫattusili III (*ca*. 1290–1250 B.C.)[68]. The meaning of the root *pud-/put-* is nevertheless unknown despite the large number of its verbal and nominal derivatives[69]. Instead, the Hurrian noun meaning "servant" is *purame*[70]. *Purame* occurs as an abbreviated personal name[71], but no Hurrian name is known so far with the element

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[59] Joshua 19, 13; II Kings 14, 25.

[60] Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, London 1967, p. 162, n. 106.

[61] El-Amarna letter 288, 26.

[62] E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (n. 32), pp. 249–250.

[63] F. Hrozný, *Keilschrifttexte aus Ta'annek* (n. 45), p. 122, no. 3, rev. 5'.

[64] El-Amarna letters 280, 17.23.34; 285, 2.14; 286, 2.7.61; 287, 2.65; 288, 2.

[65] F. Hrozný, *Die neugefundenen Keilschrifttexte* (n. 45), pl. III, no. 6, rev. 7.

[66] RS 17.332, line 1: J. Nougayrol, *Textes suméro-accadiens*, in: *Ugaritica* V (Mission de Ras Shamra XVI; BAH 80), Paris 1968, pp. 1–446 (see p. 21).

[67] R.S. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names* (n. 13), p. 193.

[68] G. Frantz-Szabó, A. Ünal, *Puduḫepa A*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* XI, Berlin 2006–08, pp. 106–108.

[69] E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (n. 32), p. 202.

[70] Ibid., p. 205.

[71] I. Gelb, P. Purves, A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* (n. 32), p. 118; N.J.J. Illingworth, *Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1986*, "Iraq" 1988, 50, pp. 87–108 (see p. 102); R. Pruzsinszky, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Emar*, Bethesda 2003, p. 682.

purame followed by a theonym. The basis of this word was nevertheless **pōra-*[72], which occurs in Hurrian personal names when it is determined by a second element, as apparently [P]u-ra-⌜Gu⌝-uš at Tell Taanach[73], *Pu-ri-Iš-[ḫa-ra]*, also at Taanach[74], *Pu-ri-Iz-⌜zu⌝-ia₈*[75], from the same site, and *Pu-ri-ᵈIŠKUR* at Ugarit[76]. The final vowel of *Pura* could be assimilated to the initial *I* of the following theonym or be weakened to *e*. These names would suggest a reading **Pura-Ḫeba* for ᵐARAD-*Ḫeba*.

The name *Pu-ra-Gu-uš* is regarded by R. Zadok as an Indo-Aryan name[77]. However, *Gu-uš* or *Ku₈-uš* can be an abbreviation of the name of the Hurrian Moon-god Kušuḫ, attested several times in onomastics[78]. In particular, a certainly Hurrian name ᵐEḫli-Kuša, "Saved by Kuš", occurs very often in the documents from Emar[79]. Išḫara is a pre-Hurrian goddess, equated often with Ištar[80]. She belongs to the Hurrian pantheon of Ugarit and played a major role in Hurrian mythology, as appears from the "foreword" of a collection of Hurrian mythological accounts, discovered at Hattuša in 1983[81]. *Pu-ri-Iš-[ḫa-ra]* appears in the fragmentary text discovered in 1968 at Tell Taanach and dating from the late 15ᵗʰ century, like the other tablets from the site. The name means "Servant of Išḫara" and might be considered a hybrid Hurro-Semitic name. From the same tablet comes the name *Pu-ri-Iz-zu-ia₈*. The apparent theophorous element is so far unknown, but the name could also be read *Pu-ri-Iz-zu-wi* and *w* be regarded as a phonetic variant of *m* in the name of Izzummi, the Hurrian "vizir" of the god Ea[82]. This theonym is considered to be an alteration of Akkadian *usmû*, "bifacial". Finally, *Pu-ri-ᵈIŠKUR*, attested at Ugarit[83], can certainly be read *Pu-ri-Tešub*, "Sevant of the Storm-god". The cuneiform sign *ri* can also stand for *re* and testify to a weakening of the vowel *a* in *Pōra-* followed by the theonym.

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[72] I.M. Diakonoff, S.A. Starostin, *Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language*, München 1986, p. 16.

[73] F. Hrozný, *Keilschrifttexte aus Ta'annek* (n. 45), p. 122, no. 3, rev. 10; cf. R. Zadok, *A Prosopography* (n. 3), p. 107, no. 20.

[74] A.E. Glock, *A New Ta'annek Tablet* (n. 46), p. 28, ad 8; cf. R. Zadok, *A Prosopography* (n. 3), p. 107, no. 28.

[75] A.E. Glock, *A New Ta'annek Tablet* (n. 46), p. 28, ad 8; cf. R. Zadok, *A Prosopography* (n. 3), p. 110, no. 86; W. Horowitz , T. Oshima, *Cuneiform in Canaan* (n. 21), p. 151. The first reading of the damaged sign ZU was *za*.

[76] RS 17.110:J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* IV, Paris 1956, p. 178.

[77] R. Zadok, *Some Kassite and Iranian Names from Mesopotamia*, "NABU" 1990, no. 72; id., *Prosopography* (n. 3), p. 107, no. 20.

[78] Cf. E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Studia Phoenicia XVIII; OLA 127), Leuven 2004, p. 499, n. 33, with further bibliography.

[79] R. Pruzsinszky, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Emar* (n. 71), p. 307.

[80] W.G. Lambert, *Išḫara*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* V, Berlin 1976–80, pp. 176–177.

[81] H. Otten, C. Rüster, *Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue und weitere Texte aus der Oberstadt* (Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi 32), Berlin 1990, no. 11., obv. I, 5; cf. H. Otten, *Ebla in der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Boğazköy*, in: H. Waetzoldt, H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla* (HSAO 2), Heidelberg 1988, pp. 291–292.

[82] E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (n. 32), p. 131.

[83] RS 17.110: in: J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* IV, Paris 1956, p. 178.

The Hurrian origin of the ruler of Jerusalem is supported not only by the theophorous element *Ḫeba*(*t*), but also by the title EN-*ri* he attributes to the pharaoh in one of his letters[84]. In fact, this word should be read *ewri* in Hurrian, "lord", "(great) king"[85]. However, one cannot exclude the possibility of a hybrid Hurro-Semitic name with ʿ*abdi*.

Gath

A neighbour of the ruler of Jerusalem was Šuwardata, probably residing at Gath, present-day Tell eṣ-Ṣāfī[86]; he was ruling also over Qeilah, identified with Khirbet Qīlā, 16 km northwest of Hebron. The same name possibly appears at Shechem in a list of witnesses from the same period[87]. This name is regarded as Indo-Aryan because of the element *data*[88]. However, the theophorous element *Šuwar* was identified with *Šuwal* by F. Gröndahl[89], considering the frequent *l/r* change in Hurrian[90] and the similarity of the Ugaritian names *Šu-wa-al-na*[91] and DUMU-*Šu-wa-ar-ni*[92]. Hurrian personal names formed with the theophorous element Šuwala occur at Nuzi and in texts from Alalakh IV, thus in the 15th–14th centuries B.C. *Šuwar-data* may thus mean "Given by Šuwala" and be a hybrid Hurro – Indo-Aryan name. It is not very likely, in fact, that Šuwala was an Indo-Aryan goddess, as suggested once by Benno Landsberger, who did not elaborate[93]. Her appearance in texts from the Ur-III period, i.e. in the 20th century B.C.[94], excludes such a possibility, because no Indo-Aryan presence can be detected at that time among the Hurrians. Her mention in Ur-III texts witnesses rather to contacts with the main Hurrian centre of Urkeš, present-day Tell Mozan[95], in the north-eastern Habur triangle, or with

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[84] El Amarna letter 286, 7.15.32.

[85] Bibliography on the subject can be found in: E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (n. 78), p. 499.

[86] Cf. here above, n. 14.

[87] It was published by F.M.Th. Böhl, *Die bei den Ausgrabungen von Sichem…* (n. 21), p. 322: *Šuʾ-ar-daʾ-taʾ*. The text has been reedited by W. Horowitz , T. Oshima, *Cuneiform in Canaan* (n. 21), pp. 123–125.

[88] R.S. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names* (n. 13), p. 161; R. Zadok, *A Prosopography* (n. 3), p. 111, no. 23251. For *data*, one could refer to Pahlavi *dātan*, Old Slavonian *dati*, "to give", Old Persian *dāta*, Latin *datus*, "given", etc.

[89] F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (n. 19), pp. 205, 256.

[90] M. Berkooz, *The Nuzi Dialect of Accadian*, Philadelphia 1937, p. 59; E.A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian* (AASOR 20), New Haven 1941, p. 27.

[91] RS 15.86, lines 10 and 19: J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* III, Paris 1955, pp. 51–52.

[92] RS 15.09, B, II, 11: J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* III (n. 91), p. 195.

[93] B. Landsberger, *Assyrische Königsliste* (n. 22), p. 130.

[94] L. Legrain, *Business Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur* (Ur Excavations. Texts III), London 1947, no. 1618, obv. 1-2; D. Loding, *Economic Texts from the Third Dynasty* (Ur Excavations. Texts IX), Philadelphia 1976, no. 111, col. III, 8'. Cf. R. Zadok, *Remarks on the Inscription of* Hdysʿy *from Tell Fakhariya*, "Tel Aviv" 9 (1982), pp. 117–129 (see p. 121, n. 4); M.-C. Trémouille, *Šuwala*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* XIII, Berlin 2011–13, p. 174.

[95] G. Buccellati, M. Kelly-Buccellati, *Mōzān, Tall*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* VIII, Berlin 1993–97, pp. 386–393.

Mardaman, possibly present-day Mardin[96], where a cult centre of Šuwala existed in later times[97]. Besides, Šuwala's Hurrian origins are confirmed by the fact that ^{d}Šu-wa-[la] is celebrated by singers "in the Hurrian language", as stated in a text from Boghazköy[98]. From her earliest mentions on, she appears as a goddess of the netherworld. If the proposed interpretation of the name of Šuwardata is correct, Šuwala was worshiped in the 14th century B.C. at Gath, 40 km from Jerusalem.

Beth-Anath

Beside Tešub, Hebat, and Šuwala, also the Sun-god appears in Hurrian anthroponomy revealing the cult of Šimegi, the Hurrian solar deity. This name occurs in the Bible and is borne by one of the Judges of Israel in the 11th century B.C. The man is called *Šmgr*[99] and is said to be native of Beth-Anath in Upper Galilee. His name, written Σαμεγαρ in the Septuagint, can be vocalized in the same way or as **Šimeg-ar*, "The Sun-god gave", since *ar-* means "to give" in Hurrian[100]. The verb appears usually as first element and this is the form of the very same name at Ugarit and at Nuzi: *'Aršmg / Ar-Šimiga / Ar-Šamiga*[101]. However, the verb is on the second place in the names *Ku-uš-ḫa-ri* and *Ku-ša-aḫ-e-ri*[102], "The Moon-god has given", mentioned on tablets from Alalakh level VII, dating from the later 17th century and the first part of the 16th century B.C., also in *Ku-ša-aḫ-a-ri*, attested on a tablet from Alalakh level IV dated in the 15th–14th centuries B.C.[103] These are inverted forms of *A-ri-Ku-šu-ḫu* and *A-ri-Ku-ša-aḫ*[104]. According to A. Goetze, the verb appears in the second place also in the name ^{f}*Kuw-ari/ē*[105]. One should probably add *Mu-ša-ri*[106], the inverted form of *A-ri-Mu-še*[107]. *Muš*, "rightful, right", is a divine epithet, especially of Ḫebat[108]. The inverted order of the elements possibly hides a grammatical difference between "has given" and "given by". The name *Šmgr* and the title of the personage are important, because they show that Hurrian names of the Late Bronze Age continued to be used in Canaan in Iron Age I and were not reintroduced by later immigrants. Such

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[96] D.O. Edzard, *Mardaman*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* VII, Berlin 1987–90, pp. 357–358.

[97] H. Otten, C. Rüster, *Texte in hurritischer Sprache* (Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi 35), Berlin 1993, no. 246, rev. 37'.

[98] H.G. Güterbock, K. Otten, *Texte aus Gebäude K. II. Teil* (Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi 11; WVDOG 73), Berlin 1961, no. 22, col. III, 3; cf. E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (n. 32), p. 321.

[99] Judges 3, 31; 5, 6.

[100] E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (n. 32), pp. 52–53.

[101] F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (n. 19), pp. 220, 253.

[102] D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (n. 11), p. 40, no. 40, rev. 1; pp. 140, 141, and pl. X, no. 25, 4; id., *Supplementary Copies of Alalakh Tablets*, "Journal of Cuneiform Studies" 1954, 8, pp. 1–30 (see p. 6, no. 40).

[103] D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (n. 11), p. 140, no. 217, 6.

[104] Ibid., p. 76, no. 29, and p. 129, nos. 155, 3; 169, 9.

[105] A. Goetze, in: F. Cornelius, *Chronology, eine Erwiderung*, "Journal of Cuneiform Studies" 1958, 12, pp. 101–104 (see p. 101); F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (n. 19), p. 238.

[106] D.J.Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (n. 11), p. 142, no. 175, 2.

[107] Ibid., p. 129, no. 148, 14.

[108] E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (n. 32), p. 173.

data also show that the confederation of Israelite tribes included Hurrians worshipping their gods and they indirectly confirm the continuity of a Hurrian rule at Geshur and in Jerusalem until the first part of the 10th century B.C.

Geshur, Jerusalem, 10th century B.C.

The ruler of the small state of Geshur on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee bore the Hurrian name *Talmiy*, "Great", in the 10th century B.C.[109] The name *Tlmy* corresponds to *Tal-mi-ia* at Alalakh and to *Tar-mi-ia* at Nuzi with the change *l/r*, frequent in Hurrian dialects[110]. It is most likely an abridged form of an anthroponym with a second theophorous element, probably Tešub, like *Tar-mi-Te-šub* at Nuzi. The kingdom was also called Beth-Maaka[111]. A new etymology might be proposed for this name on the basis of the personal name *Ma-ak-ku*, attested at Emar[112]. This kingdom extended northwards for about 40 km, as far as Abel-Beth-Maaka[113].

Texts referring to Jerusalem preserve more Hurrian elements. The Hebrew accounts about "Uriah the Hittite"[114] and "the threshing-floor of Arauna"[115] suggest in fact that a Hurrian prince was ruling in Jerusalem until the occupation of this city by David. The name *'wryh* is a Hebraized form of the Hurrian noun *ewri*, "lord", designating a ruler, and the correct spelling of "Arauna" seems to have been *'wrnh*[116], which is likely to have been the determinative single form *ewrine/ewirne* of the same word[117]. The Hurrian term is still correctly translated by *h-mlk* in II Sam. 24, 23, a precious gloss inserted in the text.

Now, the story of the murder of Uriah and taking possession of his wife, in II Sam. 11, appears as a tale based on an authentic record of David murdering the former ruler (*ewri*) and seizing the latter's harem (II Sam. 12:9a). To indicate assumption of the throne, David thus takes possession of his predecessor's wife, like Absalom did when he went to his father's concubines (II Sam. 16, 21–22). The request of Adoniah for Abishag roused the wrath of Solomon (I Kings 2, 22) on the same grounds, which also provoked Ishbaal when Abner asked for Saul's concubine (II Sam. 3, 7–8). *Ewri*'s qualification *h-Ḥty* suggests that the man was regarded as a foreigner, but one might surmise that *Ḥty* was

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[109] II Sam. 3, 3; 13, 37. Cf. F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (n. 33), pp. 259–260; E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (n. 32), p. 253.

[110] Cf. here above, n. 90.

[111] II Sam. 10, 6.8; 20, 14.15; I Kings 15, 20; I Chron. 19, 6–7; cf. the ethnic derivative in Deut. 3, 14; Josh. 12, 5; 13, 11.13; II Sam. 23, 34. See further E. Lipiński, *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age* (OLA 153), Leuven 2006, pp. 238–243.

[112] D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar VI/3*, Paris 1986, no. 137, 50 and 51.

[113] Cf. E. Lipiński, *On the Skirts of Canaan* (n. 111), pp. 243–249.

[114] II Sam. 11; 12, 9.10.15; 23, 39; I Kings 15, 5; I Chron 11, 41.

[115] II Sam. 24, 16.18.20-24; cf. I Chron. 21, 15.18; II Chron. 3, 1.

[116] This spelling occurs in II Sam. 24, 16 and it is confirmed by the Septuagint transcription Ορνα, both in II Sam. 24 (II Kings 24) and in I Chron. 21.

[117] E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (n. 32), p. 86. More literature about the subject can be found in: E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (n. 78), p. 500.

his proper name, viz. the frequent Hurrian name *Ḫutiya*[118], following the title like often in Hebrew (*h-mlk Dwd*) and already in the Proto-Canaanite inscription from Shechem (*r'š Škr*). His wife *Btšb'* may also bear a Hebraized Hurro-Canaanite name with the theophorous element "Tešub": **Bat-Tešub('*), "Daughter of Tešub". Her Hebrew name with *šb'* alludes instead to the oath sworn to her by David according to I Kings 1, 29–30. It belongs to the ingredients of the story of David's succession.

As for "Arauna", as explained above, it was no proper name at the outset, but the Hurrian qualification of a toponym: "the threshing-floor of the ruler". The original accounts or records, on which both stories are based, should of course go back to David's own days, but were not preserved.

3. The Hurrian goddess Šuwala

These data seem to be the latest signs of a Hurrian presence in Canaan, except the misunderstood references to Horites in later biblical texts and the numerous mentions of Šuwala, whose name is written *Š'wl* in Hebrew manuscripts. The *'aleph* is a scribal device indicating that one should not read **Šūl*. It is used also in the spelling *R'wbn* of the name of the Israelite tribe, wrongly spelled Ρουβην in the Septuagint. The earlier alphabetic spelling was *Ṯwl* at Ugarit and *Swl* at Tell Fekheriye, where *ṯ* is noted by *s*[119]. The cult of Šuwala is represented in Middle-Assyrian by the name *Erīb-Su-a-la*[120], "Šuwala has replaced", and it is still attested in the 7th century B.C. by the West-Semitic feminine name [f]*A-mat-*[(d)]*Su-'a-la*[121], "Maidservant of Šuwala"[122], Assyrian *s* corresponding to West-Semitic *š*, as usual.

In the Aramaic version of the Tell Fekheriye inscription, Šuwala is not identified with Šāla, but she replaces the Akkadian goddess, what some authors do not seem to have understood. They apparently misread the Aramaic version of the inscription and did not see that the Aramaic mention of Šuwala and of Nergal (lines 18-23) dismantles the

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[118] To the numerous attestations of the name at Nuzi and at Alalakh, one can add names from Emar: R. Pruzsinszky, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Emar* (n. 71), p. 479.

[119] Cf. E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* II (n. 7), pp. 31–32, 50, 73; id., *Šuwala*, in: O. Drewnowska (ed.), *Here & There. Across the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honour of Krystyna Łyczkowska*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 115–120; H. Niehr, *Unterwelt, Unterweltsgottheiten. D. Nordwestsemitisch*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* XIV, Berlin 2014–16, pp. 348–350 (see p. 349b, §4).

[120] Quoted by D. Schwemer, *Šāla. A. Philologisch*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* XI, Berlin 2006-08, pp. 565–567, especially p. 565, with unclear comments.

[121] Th. Kwasman, S. Parpola, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh. Part I: Tiglath-pileser through Esarhaddon* (State Archives of Assyria VI), Helsinki 1991, no. 142, 3 and rev. 3.

[122] An erroneous interpretation of the name is given by F.M. Fales, *Amat-Sūla*, in: K. Radner (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* I/1, Helsinki 1998, p. 99, despite the cuneiform sign /'/, which is not used to mark a simple long vowel.

parallelism of the Assyrian version[123], but corresponds exactly to the couple of ᵈŠu-wa-la and ᵈU.GUR in the Emar texts[124]. These authors have then recourse to the 19th-century practice of "correcting" the text and change *Swl* into *wsl*, "and Šala", without even trying to explain the presence of Nergal in the Aramaic version (line 23: *Nyrgl*).

Hebrew poetry used the parallelism Šuwala // Môt, the god of the netherworld in Ugaritic mythology, instead of Šuwala // Nergal or ᵈU.GUR, for instance, in Ps. 6, 6; 18, 6; 49, 15; 55, 16; 89, 49; Cant. 8, 7; 1QH 9, 4; 11QPsᵃ 19, 9–10[125]. In prose-texts, the phrase "to go down to Sheol" is used, where Sheol plays the same role as Ereškigal in Mesopotamia. The phrase became a literary euphemism meaning "to die", as we say "to depart" or "to pass away". The Semites had no own conception of the netherworld and conceived dead as a travel to join the forefathers. Hebrew Sheol was a borrowing, as shown by its connection with Šuwala. This still appears linguistically in the use of the word as feminine and in the fact that God was not supposed to have created the netherworld.

Where did the Hebrew tradition borrow the name and the conception of Šuwala as a goddess of the netherworld? – Possibly in Jerusalem, where Hurrian dynasty was ruling at least from the 14th to the first part of the 10th century B.C. The Hurrian conception of the role of Šuwala appears best in a Hurrian myth, in which her name is replaced by her title *Allani*, "the Lady", "the Queen", the determinative suffix *-ni/-ne* being added to *Allai*, "lady, queen"[126]. The mythological story, partly preserved on a broken tablet found at Hattuša in 1983[127], reports the visit of the Storm-god Tešub, king of heaven, to his sister Allani, "the Queen" of the netherworld. It is summarized by G. Wilhelm, as follows[128]: "Tešub is welcomed and greatly honoured, and the old gods, whom he once had chased into the netherworld, are sitting at his right side. Enormous quantities of oxen and sheep – actually 30,000 sheep according to the text – are slaughtered for the feast. Allani serves as her brother's cupbearer; she is holding a vessel in a peculiar way which the text carefully describes: she carries the vessel on four fingers – but here the text breaks off".

This story seems to reveal the original meaning of the phrase "to go down to Sheol", where the dead ones meet their forefathers at a banquet. Of course, this is no original Semitic idea, since even the Akkadians did not have an own Semitic name to designate the Queen of the netherworld. It is quite possible that nomadic or semi-nomadic Semites had a conception of the afterlife which was rather close to the oldest Egyptian ideas

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[123] M.-C. Trémouille, *Šuwala* (n. 94), p. 174, referring to D. Schwemer. This article shows that its author did not understand the present writer's comments.

[124] Cf. E. Lipiński, *Šuwala*, (n. 119), pp. 115–120.

[125] Cf. E. Lipiński, *The Image of God in Apocalyptic Writings*, "The Qumran Chronicle" 2013, 21, pp. 61–72 (see pp. 70–71).

[126] E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (n. 32), pp. 42–43.

[127] H. Otten, C. Rüster, *Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue* (n. 81), no. 13.

[128] G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians in the Western Parts of the Ancient Near East*, "Michmanim" 1996, 9, pp. 17–30 (quotation from pp. 19–20).

about the matter: a new life, to some extent similar to the earthly life. In any case, the discussions about the "personified Sheol" in the Bible[129] forget its Hurrian starting point with the goddess Šuwala.

Šuwala was progressively depersonalized and her name became a designation of the netherworld, for which there was no proper Semitic appellation, beside "earth", "vast earth", "land of no return". Even the feminine gender of the word was sometimes forgotten and the term was translated by Hades in Hellenistic times.

Beside Šuwala and the stereotyped mentions of the Horites, no traces of Hurrians appear in Canaan after the 10th century B.C. No places bear a Hurrian name and the individuals of Hurrian descent were obviously assimilated to the bulk of the local population, no longer bearing personal names that could be related to their ancestral language and culture.

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[129] For instance, J. Lemański, *Hebrajski Szeol na tle wyobrażeń eschatologicznych sąsiednich kultur*, "Scripta Biblica et Orientalia" 2011, 3, pp. 67–97.