

Annu in Mari texts: A god or goddess?

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In the Mari texts a deity named Annu(m) appears very frequently in women's personal names. It is the intention of this paper to investigate this deity and to make a new suggestion about his or her identity.

The majority of these Annu(m)-names occur in the four long texts, *ARM IX 291*¹, *ARMT XIII 1*,² *TEM IV (Tablet C)*,³ and *RA 65 (B)*,⁴ which are the major sources of women's personal names from Mari. The number of the legible women's names in these four documents amount to some 1,330. Of these, 290 names contain a specific divine name. The chart below lists the number of occurrences of more frequently occurring divine names in each of the four documents.

This paper is a part of my dissertation in progress under the guidance of Professors T. H. Gaster and M. Held. I am much honored to present it to the *Festschrift* in honor of Professor Gaster.

1 This tablet was found in Room 5. Although the date is not preserved, it probably dates back to Zimri-Lim's reign, like the other documents found in the same room (See M. Birot, *Syria* 35 [1958], 9). The tablet contains more than 140 legible names of women designated mostly as *amat*-PN, 'maid-slave of so and so', but also *almattum*, 'widow', or *qaššattum*, 'consecrated woman'. They are listed according to the locality of their origin. From the subtotals given at the end of each group, we know that at least 18 women of Zarri-Rabiyum, 128 women of Yâ-il, 31 women of Narâ, 7 women of Tillazib and 24 women of Nihadî were listed on this tablet. All these place names are probably to be located in the district of Terqa. Of these legible women's names about 26 contain a divine name.

2 This tablet, originally found in Room 115, is a long list of people, many of whom are women textile workers. According to G. Dossin, they were captives taken from conquered Ašlakkâ by Zimri-Lim. (Dossin's introductory essay to *ARMT XIII 1*. See, however, Sasson, *RA* 66 [1972], 179.) The list includes some 560 legible women's names of which 134 names contain a divine name. The location of Ašlakkâ is sought in the general area of the Upper Habur. Cf. J. -R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris, 1957), 9-10.

3 The tablet, found in Room 79, is a record of oil distribution to various types of women functionaries. They are attached to temples or to the palace. Of 169 legible women's names, 31 contain a divine name. The text is published by M. Birot in *RA* 50 (1956), 57-72.

4 This tablet was found in Room 135, and dates back to the reign of Sumu-Yamam. Most of the women in this list are weavers. The list contains some 460 legible women's names, of which 99 contain a divine name. As for the dating of Sumu-Yamam's reign, see G. Boyer, *ARMT VIII*, 183, n. 2, and G. Dossin, *RA* 64 (1970), 18-19.

	<i>ARM</i> IX 291	<i>ARM</i> XIII	<i>TEM</i> IV	<i>RA 65</i> B	Total
Annu(m)	6	34	3	21	64
Ištar	3	35	6	11	55
Dagan	3	6	2	9	20
Išḫara	1	10	1	8	20
Ea	0	7	3	4	14
Sîn	0	8	1	4	13
Admu	0	7	1	3	11
Šamaš	0	6	3	2	11
Kakka	4	4	0	2	10
Nanna	1	5	1	3	10
Mamma	3	0	1	4	8

The few points emerge from observation of the chart. (1) Annu(m) is either the most (in *ARM* IX 291 and *RA* 65 [B]) or the second most (*ARMT* XIII 1 and *TEM* IV) popular deity in the women's names. The only deity comparable to Annu in this respect is Ištar, who shares the first and the second positions with Annu(m). The third position seems to be contested by Dagan and Išḫara. They are then followed by Ea, Kakka, Mamma, Sîn, and Šamaš, but the exact ranking following the fourth position is not possible. (2) Annu(m)'s popularity is not limited to any single one of the four major sources mentioned above. This fact in turn implies that Annu(m) enjoyed his or her popularity among women in such regions as Terqa with its surrounding areas, Ašlakkâ, and Mari.⁵ (3) Furthermore, Annu(m) cannot be regarded as a patron deity of any one particular profession or social class, as was Aya for *nadîtu*-women.⁶ It is true that many of the women in *ARMT* XIII 1 and *RA* 65 (B) are textile workers, but this is due partly to the fact that Mesopotamian textile workers were predominately women, and partly to the fact that Annu(m) was quite popular in women's names.

The appearance of names containing Annu(m) is by no means limited to these four major Mari sources of women's personal names. For example, Annu-ta[lê] is listed as one of the twelve palace-women in *ARM* VIII 67:2, 88:9. One Annum-ummî is in charge of the issuance of beer in *ARM* IX 7:5, and in *ARM* IX 25:40 // 26:13' Annu-tukultî is a flour-woman.

The following is a list of all the Annu-names found in the published Mari texts.⁷ When-

5 Cf. the footnotes above.

6 See R. Harris, "The *nadîtu*-woman," *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* (Chicago, 1964), 116-17.

7 The texts covered for this study are: *ARM* I-X; *ARMT* VII 281-309; *ARMT* XI-XIII; all the extraneously published texts in various periodicals that are listed in Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965), 274-77 (hereafter *APNMT*). To be added to this list are: Dossin, *RA* 64, 17-44; idem, "La Route de l'Étain au Mésopotamie au temps de Zimri-Lim," *ibid.*, 97-106; idem,

ever possible, a transliteration and translation are given. The suggestions in Huffmon's *APNMT* being generally accepted in our translation of the Amorite names, readers should consult the appropriate section of that book, as indicated below. Because the Akkadian Annu-names are less problematic, the translation is only exceptionally justified in the notes. Roman numerals (I, II, III, etc.) indicate the volume number of *ARM(T)*. TEM IV refers to the text published by M. Birot (see n. 3).

^mA-ba-An-n[u] 'Annu-is-the-father' (?).⁸
AB ii 28.⁹

Abī-Annim (A-bi-An-nim) (Probably a geographical name).¹⁰
II 58:6.

^mAmmīni-Annu (A-mi-ni-An-nu) 'Why-O-Annu?'¹¹
VII 180 ii 15'.

Annu-amriya (An-nu-am-ri-ya).
RA 65, B iv 47

Annu-ašīya (An-nu-a-si-ya) 'Annu-is-my-physician'.
XIII 1 ix 60.

Annu-ašri (An-nu-aš-ri) 'Provide (-me-with-food)-O-Annu!'¹²
VIII 1:49, envelope.

Annu-bāsti (An-nu-ba-aš-ti) 'Annu-is-my-dignity'.
RA 65, B vii 27 (cf. Sasson, *RA* 66, 179).

Annu-damqa (An-nu-dam-qa) 'Annu-is-sweet'.
XIII 1 x 51.

Annu-dunnī (An-nu-du-un-ni) 'Annu-is-my-strength'.
XIII 1 iii 37; *RA* 65, B vii 15 (cf. Sasson, *RA* 66, 179).

"Deux listes nominatives du règne de Sūmu-Iamam," *RA* 65 (1971), 37-66 (Tablet A = A. 3562, Tablet B = A. 3151). (All the names appearing in A. 3562 and A. 3151 are indexed in *RA* 65 [1971]. 184-90, by J. -M. Aynard. See also J. M. Sasson's "Notes," *RA* 66 [1972], 179.)

8 See below for the discussion on this name.

9 This text is published by M. Birot in *RA* 49 (1955), 15f.

10 See below for the discussion on this name.

11 Cf. *Am-mi-ni-Da-gan* in F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, (Rome, 1967), 99 (hereafter *PNTU*).

12 *ašri* in such a name as *Ašri-Enlil* suggests that the element is a substantive, 'one who is taken care of'. Ranke (in *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, *BE Res.* 3 [1905], 222 [[hereafter *EBPN*]]) had earlier suggested 'my sanctuary?' for this element. But it is also possible to take the element, when it appears finally, as a feminine imperative form of Akk. *ašāru*, 'to provide with food rations'. See *Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung*, *MVAG* 44 (Leipzig, 1939), 181, 258 (hereafter *ANG*); Huffmon, *APNMT*, 173; *CAD A*², 456 for discussion.

Annu-gāmīlī (An-nu-ga-me-il-ti) 'Annu-is-my-sparer'.¹³
RA 65, B vii 65.

An-nu-[h] a-a-am.
 XIII 1 ii 62.

Annu-ḥannī (An-nu-ḥa-an-ni) 'Annu-is-my-grace'(?).
 IX 291 iv 41'; XIII 1 vii 38; *RA* 65, B vi 46. (*APNMT*, 200)

Annu-ḥaš / znī (An-nu-ḥa-as-aš / z-ni).
 IX 291 ii 22; XIII 1 vi 43. (*APNMT*, 203)

Annu-ḥitlal (An-nu-ḥi-it-la-al).¹⁴
RA 65, B iii 18.

Annu-ipḥa (An-nu-i-ip-ḥa) 'Annu-is-brilliant'.
 XIII 1 viii 29. Cf. Annu-yapha below. (*APNMT*, 212)

Annu-išḥa (An-nu-iš-ḥa) 'Annu-is-the-help'.
 XIII 1 v 46, xi 5, xiii 28. (*APNMT*, 215)

An-nu-kum.
 XIII 1 vi 8.

Annu-kutmī (An-nu-ku-ut-mi).
 XIII 1 vii 77.

Annu-lamassī (An-nu-la-ma-sī) 'Annu-is-my-protective-genie'.
 IX 24 iii 47 (// 27 v 13); XIII 1 vii 8, x 64; TEM IV
 vii 29; *RA* 65 B iii 16, vi 6.

Annu-lamassitum (An-nu-la-ma-sī-tum) 'Annu-is-the-protective-genie'.
RA 65, B ii 13.

Annu-mana (An-nu-ma-na).
 IX [24 iv] 6 (// 27 v 35).

Annu-napiḥ (An-nu-na-pi-ḥ) 'Annu-shines'.
RA 65, B v 24.

Annu-napi<š>ti (An-nu-na-pi-<iš>ti) 'Annu-is-my-life'.
 XIII 1 vi 61.

Ann[u]-nīrī (An-n[u]-ni-ri) 'Annu-is-my-light'.
 IX 291 iv 38'. (*APNMT*, 243)

13 Feminine participle of *gamālu*, 'to perform a kind act, to spare' with first person singular pronominal suffix?

14 Compare *l/2* form of *alālu* III of *AHw.*, 34, 'to sing a joyous song'. The form here is imperative.

Annu-puṭrī (An-nu-pu-uṭ-ri) 'Absolve-O-Annu'.
RA 65, B i 19, ii 16, iii 34.

Annu-[r]aḥmī (An-nu-[r]a-aḥ-mi) 'Annu-is-my-love' (?).
XIII 1 iv 11, 44. (APNMT, 261)

Annu-rīmši (An-nu-ri-im-ši).
IX 291 ii 34; XIII 1 xi 45; RA 65 B i 71.

Annu-ṣulūl[u] (An-nu-ṣú-lu-l[u]) 'Annu-is-the-protection'.
VII 185 ii 7'.

An-nu?-ša-tum.
XIII 1 iv 46.

[A]nnu-šimḥī ([A]n-nu-ši-im-ḥi) 'Annu-is-my-joy'.
XIII 1 xiv 24. (APNMT, 250)

Annu-taḥnum (An-nu-ta-aḥ-nu-um).
RA 65, B i 72, iv 15.

Annu-talé (An-nu-ta-al-e) 'Annu-has-prevailed'.
VIII 67:2; 88:[9]. (APNMT, 224).

Annu-tappī (An-nu-tap-pī) 'Annu-is-my-friend',
XIII 1 iii 36, vii 58, ix 2, x 50.

Annu-tarām (An-nu-tar-a-am, var. An-nu-ta-ar-am) 'Annu-has-loved'.
XIII 1 ix 1, xiii 16; TEM IV ii 17 (var.). (APNMT, 261)

Annu-tarbi (An-nu-tar-bi) 'Annu-has-been-great' (?).
XIII 1 xi 47. (APNMT, 260)

Annu-tasmah (An-nu-ta-ás-ma-aḥ) 'Annu-has-hearkened'.
TEM IV iv 6. (APNMT, 249-50).

Annu(m)-tillatī (An-nu-til-la-ti, var. An-nu-um-ti[-la?-ti?]),
Annu-is-my-rescue-troop'.
X 117:[10] (var.); XIII 1 x 3.

An-nu-ti-ri.
IX 291 iii 11', 46'.

Annu-tukultī (An-nu-tu-ku-ul-ti) 'Annu-is-my-trust'.
IX 25:40 (// 26:13'); XIII 1 x 4: RA 65 B i 37, iii 17, iv 30.

Annu-tunum (An-nu-tu-nu-um).
RA 64, 17:4

^mAnnu-ṭāb (An-nu-DÚG) 'Annu-is-sweet'.
VIII 35:7; 73:3.

Annum-ummī (An-nu-um-um-mi) 'Annum-is-my-mother'.
Ix 7:5; XIII 1 iv 48, v 7.

Annu-yapḥa (An-nu-ya-ap-ḥa) 'Annu-is-brilliant'.
XIII 1 iv 3, vi 52. (APNMT, 212)

mIddin-Annu (I-din-An-nu, var. I-di-An-nu) 'Annu-has-given'.
VII 217:7; 225:5' (// 226:45); VIII 44:8'; 62:1: IX 253
iv [5]; 284:1: 287:20; X 90:23: XII 217:7; XIII 1 vii 77;
RA 64, 10:5; RA 65, A ix 31.

Rāḥa-Annum (Ra-ḥa-An-nu-um) 'Annum-is-the-shepherd (?)'.
AB iv 51 (APNMT, 260)

m/fŠilli-Annu (Šī-li'-An-nu) 'Annu-is-my-shelter'.
mVII 180 iv' 36; fXIII 1 x 65. (APNMT, 257)

Many of the predicates¹⁵ in the Annu(m)-names listed above are employed in combination with so many different deities that it is rather unlikely that an examination of these elements would lead us any closer to the understanding of Annu(m) in Mari texts. However there are some other elements used in Annu(m)-names that may shed some light on the deity under discussion. DN-*ummī* is one of the most frequently appearing women's name types. The divine names used as the subject in women's names of this type from Mari are: Annu(m), Bēlet-ēkallim, Dīrītum, Išḥara, Ištar, Kišītum, Mammītum, Nāru, Ningal, Ninḥur-sagga, Tabubu, ^dUTU and *ilī*.¹⁶ It is easily noticed that, apart from Annu(m), Tabubu, ^dUTU and *ilī*, all the rest are without question female deities. The usual designation of a personal deity, *ilī*, can stand for a male as well as a female deity.¹⁷ As for ^dUTU, it usually stands for Šamaš in the Akkadian literature and onomastics. However, as J. J. M. Roberts correctly notes,¹⁸ it cannot be excluded from consideration that a female solar goddess might underlie the Sumerogram. As is well known, we have a female solar deity in Ugarit.¹⁹ In Hittite texts ^dUTU can stand either for the solar goddess of Arinna or for the solar god Eštan.²⁰ In Central and South Arabia Šams was usually considered as a female deity.²¹ Thus it is not inconceivable that behind the ^dUTU of a personal name Ummī-^dUTU a female solar deity's name is hidden.

Tabubu appears at least four times exclusively in women's names from Mari,²² but the deity does not seem to be attested elsewhere. It is quite tempting to consider that Tabubu

15 These include *iddin*, *nīri*, *šilli*, *lasasī*, *ḥanni*, *tillati*, *ipḥa/yapḥa*, *damqa*, *taiē*, *tappī*, *tukultī*.

16 This list of the divine names appearing with *ummī* in the Mari texts is found in the author's Ph.D. dissertation, in progress.

17 Cf. *Ilī-Ištar* (ARM IX 298:8) and *Sīn-ilī* (ARM I 61:33).

18 J. J. M. Roberts, *The Early Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore, 1972), 52 (hereafter ESP).

19 Namely, Špš. Cf. M. H. Pope, in H. W. Haussig, ed., *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* (Stuttgart, 1965), 1:308-9 (hereafter *WdM*).

20 Cf. E. von Schuler in *WdM*, 196-98.

21 Cf. M. Hofner in *WdM*, 467 and 529f.

22 ^d*Ta-bu-bu-ḥa-li-ya* (ARMT XIII 1 vi 13), *Ta-bu-bu-ḥa-aš / z-ni* (RA 65 B iii 19), *Ta-bu-bu-šī-im-ḥi* (ARMT XII 265:4) and *Ta-bu-bu-um-mi* (ARMT XIII 1 vi 57).

is also a femlae deity in light of its so far exclusive appearance in female personal names including Tabubu-ummī. The only obstacle for such an argument is a feminine name, ^d*Ta-bu-bu-ḫa-li-ia*, which may be translated as 'Tabubu is my maternal uncle'. But we should also like to point out that there is *Ḫa-li-dM[a-a]m-m[a]* in ARM VII 181:11. If the divine name in this personal name is correctly read, we find here that *ḫālu* can also be used as a predicate of a feminine deity. There would then be no difficulty in seeing Tabubu as a feminine deity.

There are a few occasions, however, where 'mother' is used as a predicate to a male deity or even deified male king in Semitic and Sumerian onomastics. Thus we find in Ugarit '*ttr'um* along side of '*ttr'ab*',²³ and AMA-NANNA and AMA-^dŠULGI in Fara and Ur III personal names.²⁴ We may also recall that Azitawadda declared, "Baal made me a father and a mother to the Danunites."²⁵

Nevertheless, a conclusion may be drawn from these facts that in a nominal sentence name DN-ummī, or rarer Ummī-DN, DN is usually a female deity; Annu is, therefore, most likely to have been a female deity.

There are also other elements which would cumulatively support such a conclusion. *Puṭrī* in the name Annu-puṭrī, which no doubt means 'Absolve, O Annu!', clearly indicates that Annu, to whom a plea is made, must be a female deity because of the feminine imperative form of *paṭāru(m)*.²⁶ The same verbal form again appears in another woman's name Ištar-puṭrī, 'Absolve, O Ištar!'. When the deity to whom a plea is made is a male deity, the form is *puṭram*, as in Sîn-puṭram, 'Absolve me, O Sîn!'.²⁷

Furthermore, names consisting of a third person feminine preformative form of a verb with a masculine deity as its subject are extremely rare in Akkadian onomastics. So, also, is a combination of a male deity as the subject and a feminine stative as the predicate.²⁸

23 See A. Caquot, "Sur l'onomastique religieuse de Palmyre," *Syria* 39 (1962), 241; F. Gröndahl, *PNTU*, 46, 378.

24 H. Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3^e dynastie d'Ur* (Paris, 1968), 193, n. 5 (AMA-NANNA), 374 (AMA-^dDUN]=ŠUL]-GI). We also find Ummī-Suen and Ummī-Šamaš in Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic personal names. Cf. Sollberger, *ZA NF* 16, 8; Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian MAD* 3 (Chicago, 1957), 43.

25 *KAI* II, 26:3. This was kindly pointed out to me by Professor J. Teixidor. In addition to Azitawadda, one can quote an Akk. prayer to Marduk: *bēlu attāma kīma abī u ummī ina amlūti tabāšši*, 'You are (truly) the lord and are like father and mother among men' (cited in Stamm, *ANG*, 209, ultimately from Hehn, *BA* 5 [1905], 350:34 [=Mullo-Weir, *LAP*, 377]). However, 'father and mother' in these passages can be considered as a hendiadys, as Professor Gaster has personally suggested to the author.

26 In Old Babylonian personal names in which a plea is made to a deity in an imperative form of a verb, the gender of the imperative agrees with the sex of the deity addressed. Cf. D. O. Edzard, "mNingal-gāmil, Ištar-damqat. Die Genuskongruenz im akkadischen theophoren Personennamen," *ZA NF* 21 (1963), 117.

27 It is not excluded that *aš-ri* when it appears finally, as in *An-nu-aš-ri*, is also a feminine imperative form of *ašāru*, 'to provide with food rations'. See above, n. 12.

28 D. O. Edzard states in *ZA* 21, 127, "Theoretisch wäre zu dem Typus ^mGnf.-m. oder ^mm.-GNf. der gegenfall möglich, der ^fGNm.-f oder ^ff.-GNm. lauten müsste; etwa *Sin-muballītat oder *taddin-Sin. Solche Fälle sind aber nicht belegt." However, there are some exceptions. For example, ^f*Ta-ra-am*^d-IM (Ranke, *EBPN*, 195b); ^f*Nu-nu-ta-ab-ni* (*ARMT* XII 265:1); ^f*Ta-ṭa-ab-E-šar* (*ARMT* XIII 1 vi 42).

Thus, the appearance of Annu(m) in such names as Annu-taḥnum, Annu-talē Annu-tarām, Annu-tarbi, Annu-tasmaḥ, Annu-damqa, Annu-ipḥa, Annu-yapḥa and Annu-išḥa seems most likely to indicate a female deity.

There are, however, some difficulties against which our findings must be weighed. The first of such difficulties may be provided by a name *A-ba-An-n[u]*. If *A-ba* is to be translated 'father', as in some Sargonic and Ur III personal names,²⁹ and if, at the same time, M. Birot's reconstruction of the divine name is correct, then Annu should be considered as a male deity. However, according to the autographed text in *RA* 49 (1955), 16, so little trace of a sign is left after the DINGIR-sign that we doubt whether M. Birot's reconstruction is the only possible one. Furthermore, this is the only *A-ba-DN* in the entire corpus of Mari personal names.

The second difficulty is to explain another personal name, *A-bi-An-nim*. The name occurs in the following context: *tuppam ša abī ušabbilam ešme aššum mē ana A-bi-An-nim wa-aš-su-ri-im abī [iš] puram*, "I heard the tablet which my father had sent to me. My father wrote to me about sending water to *A-bi-An-nim*" (*ARM* II 58:5-8). It is quite likely that the name is a geographical name, as Finet notes,³⁰ although there may still remain a need to interpret the geographical name.

The third problem, a more serious one, is provided by such names as ^fAnnu-ḫitlal and ^fAnnu-napiḥ, if *ḫitlal* and *napiḥ* are to be considered, respectively, as a masculine imperative of I/2 form of *ḫalālu*³¹ and as a masculine stative of *napāḫu*. Adding to this problem are *An-nu-[ḫ]a-a-am*, *An-nu-kum* and *An-nu-tu-nu-um*, which are not explainable at the moment.

To sum up our examination of the Annu(m)-names, despite the fact that there are some indications to the contrary, there is sufficient evidence to warrant seeing a female deity in many, if not all, of the Annu(m)-names from Mari.

Thus far we have taken for granted that *an-nu(-um)* in Mari personal names is a divine name. There were different translations given to *an-nu(-um)* in some Kassite personal names, such as 'grace' (A. T. Clay) and 'Ein Ja (eine unverbrüchliche Zusage)' (J. J. Stamm).³² However, these translations were based on a very limited number of name types in which *an-nu(-um)* appeared, at a time when a vast number of Mari personal names were not yet available,³³ and would not be applicable to our *an-nu(-um)*, which appears undeniably as a divine name.

The only suggestion about the identity of a deity called Annu(m) is that this deity is

29 Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian*, 11.

30 A. Finet, *ARMT* XV, 140.

31 See above, n. 14.

32 A. T. Clay translated *an-nu* in such Kassite personal names as *An-nu-pî-Sukkal* and *An-nu-pî-šū*, "grace" or "favor" (*Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Kassite Period*, *YOS* I [New Haven, 1912], 158b and 157b). But this was not applicable to *an-nu* in *An-nu-ba-ni*, as he himself admitted. Stamm (*ANG*, 233-34) found parallel names to these Kassite personal names in the Old Babylonian onomastics, names such as *An-um-pî-^dUTU* and *AN-pî-šā*, and yet refused to consider *annu*, appearing in Kassite names, as a divine name, despite the fact he saw a certain structural and theological relationship between *annu* in the Kassite names and *Anu(m)* in the Old Babylonian names.

33 The first published texts *ARM* 1 (*TCL* XXII), appeared in 1946.

indeed Anu(m), the supreme deity of the Mesopotamian pantheon.³⁴ The most important piece of evidence for this identity is found in an inscription of Annu-banini (written: *An-nu-ba-ni-ni*), a Lullubian king of the Sargonic period. Not only do we find *An-nu* in his name, but more importantly we find in a curse formula a pair *An-nu-um* and *An-tum* immediately followed by Enlil and Ninlil, Adad and Inanna, Šin and Šamaš. . . .³⁵ Thus, there is no question about the fact that Annum in the Annu-bānīni inscription is the Mesopotamian supreme deity.

However, the mere formal agreement of the writing between *An-nu-um* in this inscription and *An-nu(-um)* in Mari texts hardly justifies the equation of the two deities in our specific case. Let us assume for the sake of argument that Annu(m) in Mari texts is in fact the same supreme deity of the Mesopotamian pantheon, and we will then be confronted by several difficult questions. First, why is the supreme deity of the Mesopotamian pantheon, so popular in Mari personal names, not included in the official pantheon of Mari? Annu(m) or Anu(m) is not only excluded from the official pantheon, but rarely is his name mentioned outside personal names.³⁶ Second, why is Annu(m) invoked almost exclusively in women's personal names and more frequently than any other deities except possible Ištar? Third, why is Annu(m) called 'mother'? Fourth, why is Annu(m) addressed, as if Annu(m) were a female deity in a feminine personal name, Annu-puṛri?

It seems impossible under the set assumption to give a satisfactory answer to any of the questions listed above. Furthermore, we find *Ša-lim-a-nu-um*, a patronymic of one of the *limu*-officials of the Assyrian interregnum.³⁷ More interesting is *A-nu-um-a-ḫi* (RA 65 [1971], 53, A xi 43). The name appears in the same tablet dated to Sumu-Yamam along with *I-di-An-nu* (RA 65 [1971], 51, A ix 31). It is reasonably sure that *A-nu-um* here is the supreme deity of the Mesopotamian pantheon. If so, it is all the more justified to distinguish *An-nu(-um)* from *A-nu-um* in Mari texts and to consider Annu(m) as a goddess instead of a god, without denying the possibility that behind *An-nu(-um)* the name of a supreme deity, Anu(m), may also be hidden in some cases.

34 See Huffmon, *APNMT*, 270-71, and M. Birot, *RA* 49 (1955), 20, n. 5. As for the double *n*, Huffmon explains it as AN with a phonetic complement *-nu*. Roberts explains the double *nn* in Annu-bānīni as an Akkadianized spelling with doubling of the last consonant of An, the supreme deity of Mesopotamia (*IESP*, 8). However, Roberts does not give any reference to Annu(m) in Mari texts. W. L. Moran, with his usual insight, clearly sees a problem in Annu(m) of Mari texts, when he says, "The identity of this god is a problem" (*Biblica* 50 [1969], 45). In personal names from Ugarit a deity called 'n is known. However, since 'ayin is expressed by ḫ in Mari texts as it is in a divine name Ḫanāt (cf., for instance, *ARM* VII, 181:13'), 'n cannot be a deity identifiable with our Annu(m). This deity 'n may be hidden in ḫa-an in Mari personal names. See Huffmon, *APNMT*, 199.

35 F. Thureau-Dangin, *Sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1907), 172. See a new translation in E. Sollberger and J. -R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes* (Paris, 1971), 168.

36 We may have a divine name, Annum, in *ARM* X 117:10 instead of a personal name, Annum-ti[llatī]. Cf. Moran, *Biblica* 50 (1969), 45.

37 G. Dossin, "Les noms d'années et d'éponymes dans les 'Archives de Mari,'" A. Parrot, ed., *Studia Mariana* (Leiden, 1950), 54.