

NOTES

¹ See, e.g., W. von Soden, *Herrscher im alten Orient* (Berlin etc. 1954), p. 123 ("Orakelfragen"); M. Weippert, ARINH (1981), p. 99 ("Orakelanfragen"); M. deJong Ellis, JCS 41 (1989) 171 ("oracular queries"); and A. K. Grayson, CAH, 2nd ed., III/2 (1991), p. 129 ("oracle requests"), all referring to the extispicy queries edited in SAA 4. Elsewhere, Grayson uses the term "oracle" to refer the Assyrian prophecy corpus (e.g., BHLT [1975], p. 13f).

² See E. Weidner, "Babylonische Prophezeiungen," AfO 13 (1939/41) 234-7; A. K. Grayson and W. G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies," JCS 18 (1964) 7-30; W. W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses," IEJ 16 (1966) 231-42; R. D. Biggs, "More Babylonian 'Prophecies,'" Iraq 29 (1967) 117-32; R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten: Zwei prophetische Texte," BiOr 28 (1971) 3-24; H. Hunger, "Die Tontafeln der XXVII. Kampagne," UVB 26/27 (1972), pp. 82 (W 22307/7 "Prophezeiungen"), 87 and Taf. 25g, and idem, SpTU I (1976) pp. 21-3 and 124; H. Hunger and S. Kaufman, "A New Akkadian Prophecy Text," JAOS 95 (1973) 371-5; A. K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical Literary Texts* (Toronto 1975), pp. 11-37 ("Akkadian Prophecies"); R. D. Biggs, "The Babylonian Prophecies and the Astrological Traditions of Mesopotamia," JCS 37 (1985) 86-90; idem, "Babylonian Prophecies, Astrology, and a New Source from 'Prophecy Text B,'" Festschrift Reiner (1987), pp. 1-14; see further W. G. Lambert, "History and the Gods: A Review Article," Or. 39 (1970) 170-7, esp. 175ff, and idem, "The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic" (The Ethel M. Wood Lecture ... 22 February 1977, London: The Athlone Press 1978), pp. 1-20. For a detailed exposition of the reasons why the term "prophecy" should not be applied to this type of text see Ellis, JCS 41 (1989) 146ff; cf. also S. Kaufman, "Prediction, Prophecy, and Apocalypse in the Light of New Akkadian Texts," Proceedings of the 6th World Congress of Jewish Studies I (Jerusalem 1977), pp. 225f.

³ See, e.g., A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago 1964), p. 221: "Ecstasis as a means of communication between god and man did not occupy the important position in Mesopotamia that it did in Syria and Palestine ... The Western concept (Mari—and, of course, the Old Testament) [is] deeply alien to the eastern, Mesopotamian, attitude toward the god-man relationship"; note also A. K. Grayson, BHLT (1975) 14: "Akkadian prophecies are also quite different from biblical prophecy," R. D. Biggs, Iraq 29 (1967) 117: "The [prophetic] practices attested in Mari ... are probably of Western origin and not from Mesopotamia"; and cf. J. Bottéro in J.-P. Vernant et al. (eds.), *Divination et rationalité* (Paris 1974), p. 94f.

⁴ See H. Tadmor, "The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact," CRRAI 25 (1982), p. 458, and "Monarchy and the Elite in Assyria and Babylonia: The Question of Royal Accountability," in S. N. Eisenstadt (ed.), *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations* (New York 1986), p. 223f; M. Weippert, "Assyrische Propheten der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals," ARINH (1981), p. 104, and "Die Bildsprache der neassyrischen Prophetie," OBO 64 (1985), p. 86. A. R. Millard, RHR 202 (1985) 133f, rejects the alleged Western origin of Mari and NA prophecy and regards them as purely Mesopotamian phenomena.

⁵ Note also the alternation of Ištar and Mullissu in the epistolary formula "may Aššur and Ištar/Mullissu bless the king" (for Aššur + Ištar see ABL 152, 209, 217, 533, 1249, 1415, and CT 53 18 and 500; for Aššur + Mullissu see ABL 87-98, 213, 330, 396-398, 480-483, 547, 562, 577, 1015, 1433 and GPA 240). Cf. also CT 53 235 [Aššur Ištar Bel Nabû] as against ABL 149 = LAS 317 [Aššur Mullissu Nabû Marduk].

⁶ See, e.g., the hymn to Nanaya/Ištar published by Reiner, JNES 33 (1974) 224ff, and nn. 10, 130, 183 and 189f below. Both Banitu ("Creatrix") and Urkittu (the "Urukite") are appellatives of Ištar extremely common in Neo-Assyrian personal names but rare in official cultic texts. On Banitu see K. Deller, Assur 3 (1983) 142f; in STT 88 iii 6, she is listed (after Mušabšitu "Creatress") as one of the images of Ištar worshiped in the Aššur temple of Nineveh. For Urkittu cf. Cyprus ("the Cyprian"), a frequent appellative of Aphrodite.

⁷ See in more detail JNES 52 (1993) 204f, AOAT 240 (1995) 398ff, and p. 6, commentary on oracle I.4. The notion of Nabû as judge over life and death also surfaces in no. 9:20f, to be compared with SAA 3 13:19ff ("Please Nabû, do not abandon me! My life is written before you"). See also below, nn. 41 and 196f on the archangel Michael, the Jewish equivalent of Nabû, and his equation with Christ. References to "the book of life" in the Bible and later Jewish literature are collected in S. Paul, "Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life," JNES 5 (1973) 345-354. In SAA 3 12 r.9, Nabû is addressed with his name Šiddukišarra (lit., "the accountant of the entire cosmos") in a telling context: "My life is finished; Šiddukišarra, where can I go? I have reached the gate of death; Nabû, why have you forsaken me?"). On this passage see also n. 268 below.

⁸ In Jewish mysticism, divine names and cognomens are viewed as garments in which God dresses "in accordance with what is appropriate for the moment" (Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, p. 224; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 170, 177, 209f, 223 and 226, and see nn. 47, 112 and 114 below). It is important to realize that these "names" and "garments" functionally correspond to Assyrian "gods," foreign gods being explicitly defined in this same text as names and garments of YHWH, just as in *Enûma eliš*. Tablets VI and VII, Mesopotamian gods are presented as "names" of Marduk. Cf. the gnostic text Trimorphic Protennoia, where the Logos tells of herself: "I revealed myself in the likeness of their (= the Powers') shape. And I wore everyone's garment and I hid myself within them, and [they] did not know the one who empowers me. For I dwell within all the Sovereignities and Powers and within the Angels ... And none of them knew me, [although] it is I who work in them" (NHC XIII 1, 47, 15ff = Robinson NHL p. 520). Compare the term *prosôpon/persona* (actually, "[factor's] mask") introduced by Hippolytus to refer to the Trinitarian God in his three aspects or manifestations (Kelly *Doctrines*, p. 114f). See also nn. 9, 19, 23, 189, 192 and 248 below.

⁹ The affinities of oracle I.4 with the Trinitarian doctrine cannot be brushed off as merely accidental. The final formulation of the latter ("one substance — three persons") has as its point of departure the Neoplatonic hypostases doctrine, which was inspired by the Chaldaean Oracles' triadic view of the universe, particularly their description of the "Father" as a trinity-in-unity (cf. R. T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* [London 1972], p. 106). A trinitarian concept of God is implicit in the Assyrian doctrine of kingship as a divine institution materialized in the "consubstantial" trinity of the king, the queen, and the crown prince (i.e., father, mother and son), each of the three functioning in different ways as God's representatives upon earth. See nn. 123, 158 and 196f below for the king and the crown prince as images of Enlil/Marduk and Ninurta/Nabû, and n. 159 for the queen as the image of Mullissu/Ištar (the divine mother of the king); see also n. 197 for the consubstantiality of the king and the crown prince, and nn. 25, 179 and 205 for the complementarity of the heavenly and mundane realms. For Mullissu/Ištar as the "Holy Spirit" see pp. XXVff and XL.

Note that the iconographic representations of Aššur in Assyrian glyptics (the winged disk) occasionally include an anthropomorphic triad of gods: a central figure depicted inside the disk, and two minor accompanying figures riding

on its wings, see fig. 1 above and Appendix B in JNES 52 (1993) 201f. The central figure (raising its hand in a gesture of blessing) can be identified as Enlil/Marduk, the figure on the right wing (receiving the blessing) as Ninurta/Nabû, and the figure on the left wing (likewise raising its hand in blessing) as Mullissu/Ištar of Babylon (Zarpanitu), see JNES 52 185 n. 93; for the beard of the female figure, see n. 97 below, and for the scene itself, SAA 3 37 r.24ff. In some representations, the accompanying figures are reduced to mere volutes emerging from the central figure; often a single volute stands for all three figures (see JNES 52 165 n. 25 and App. B). This implies not only that the accompanying figures were conceived as essentially one with the central figure, but that all three together constituted an indivisible, homogenous whole. Hence the configuration Enlil/Marduk–Mullissu/Ištar–Ninurta/Nabû does not just represent a triad of gods but a true “trinity-in-unity” in the Christian and Neoplatonic/Chaldean sense of the concept. Cf. St. John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images* (transl. D. Anderson, Crestwood, NY, 1980), p. 20: “When we speak of the holy and eternal Trinity, we use the images of the sun, light, and burning rays; or a running fountain; ... or a rose tree.”

Also note that the Assyrian version of the trinity underlying oracle 1.4 (Father–Mother–Son) is explicitly attested in Gnosticism, e.g. in the treatise Trimorphic Protennoia, where we read: “Now the Voice that originated from my Thought exists as three personences: the Father, the Mother, the Son” (NHC XIII 1, 37, 20ff = Robinson NHL p. 514); see also The Apocryphon of John, NHC II 1, 9, 10f = Robinson NHL p. 109, and n. 77 below.

¹⁰ See notes on oracles 1.6 iii 23-27, 24, iv 14-17; 2.4 iii 16; 3.3 ii 14 and 21; and 9:5. In SAA 3 13, three Ištar figures (Mullissu, Urkittu, Queen of Nineveh) coalesce with Nabû, who in this text (line 15) appears as the progenitor of the king, a role elsewhere ascribed to Ištar. Note the affinities of the passage to the “trinitarian” oracle (1.4) just discussed: “My life is written before you (Nabû), my soul is deposited in the lap of Mullissu.” For this passage see also nn. 106 and 268 below.

¹¹ Oracles 3.4-5 are explicitly defined as “words of Ištar of Arbela,” the Goddess speaking, as usual, in the first person singular. In the second oracle (3.2), defined as “well-being” in the text, the oracular deity is not identified by name, but the content of the text as well as parallel oracles leave no doubt that Ištar of Arbela is in question (cf. nos. 1.4:30ff and 2.4, and note also 1.9 referring to a “well-being” sent by Ištar to the king). The first oracle (3.1) is very fragmentary but refers to Aššur in the third person and thus parallels no. 3.2.

¹² Note, however, that in no. 5:3 the king’s cry for help is heard by Ištar, not Aššur, as in the passage Streck Ash p. 78:79ff cited in the note on no. 3 ii 21. Cf. also no. 1 iv 29ff.

¹³ Note also the interchange of Aššur, Ištar and *ilu* “God” in Assyrian personal names discussed in JNES 52 [1993] 187 n. 187 (see also n. 272 below), and the designation of Ištar of Arbela as *Aššur-Ištar* in the Takultu god-list 3 R 66 r. vii 18 (Frankena Takultu p. 7, cf. discussion *ibid.* p. 79). The “composite deity” Aššur-Ištar occurs also in line v 24 of the same text between *Aššur-Aššur* “Aššur as Aššur” and *Aššur-Ilil* “Aššur as Enlil,” on which see n. 59 below.

¹⁴ The same problem is of course also inherent in Christianity, whose Trinitarian doctrine has been criticized since antiquity for introducing “a new, more sublime form of polytheism” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 16 [1974], p. 282, under “different manifestations of God”). On the history of the Trinitarian doctrine see Kelly *Doctrines*, *passim*. Note esp. *ibid.* p. 111ff on God’s “immanent plurality” (Hippolytus) and p. 113 on the idea of “distinction” not “division” or “separation” inherent in the concept of the Trinity (Tertullian, quoting “the unity between the root and its shoot, the source and the river, and the sun and its light as illustrations”). See also *ibid.* p. 265f, and cf. J. Taylor, JSOT 66 (1995) 32 n. 18 on the relationship between Yahweh and “his Asherah” (see n. 199ff below), and G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (New York 1969), pp. 105-8, on the relationship between God and “his Shekhinah” (see nn. 98 and 146 below).

¹⁵ See the analysis of the name Aššur and its variant spellings in JNES 52 (1993) 205ff.

¹⁶ Cf. the name Gabbu-ilani-Aššur “Aššur is the totality of gods” in BaM 24 (1993) 262 no. 18:7 and 18, dated 744/3 BC. See also the discussion in JNES 52 (1993) 187 n. 97 of names like Gabbu-ilani-ereš (“The totality of gods requested”) and its abbreviation, Ilani-ereš (“God [lit. “gods”] requested”), alternating with Aššur/Ilu/Ištar-ereš (“Aššur/God/Ištar requested”). As a designation of God, *gabbī ilāni* and its abbreviation *ilāni* “gods” (wr. DINGIR.MEŠ) constitutes a perfect parallel to the biblical *elōhīm* “God” (lit. “gods”), on which see nn. 30f below.

¹⁷ E.g., Assurbanipal’s hymn to Aššur, SAA 3 1, lines 26-29: “(Even) a god does not comprehend [...] your majesty, O Aššur; the meaning of your [majestic designs] is not understood,” and see my discussion in JNES 52 (1993) 185f.

¹⁸ See Craig ABRT 1 83 // SAA 12 86:7-11, where Aššur is called “creator of himself, father of the gods, who grew up in the Abyss; king of heaven and earth, lord of all the gods, who ‘poured out’ the supernal and infernal gods and fashioned the vaults of heaven and earth, the maker of all the regions, who lives in the [pur]ic starlit heave[ns]”; SAA 3 1:15f, “creator of the creatures of heaven and earth, fashioner of the mountains, [...] creator of the gods, begetter of Ištar”; and Sg 8 314ff, “Aššur, the father of the gods, the lord of all lands, the king over the totality of heaven and earth.” Note also En. el. I 14f, where Anšar (= Aššur) is said to have “reflected” Anu as his “heir,” and see the discussion in JNES 52 (1993) 191. Cf. also n. 22 below.

¹⁹ Note, e.g., the prayer of Tukulti-Ninurta I, KAR 128 (13th century BC), where Šamaš and Adad are respectively invoked as the “radiance” and the “voice” of Aššur. See further n. 23 below.

²⁰ See n. 8 above, and cf. Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, p. 13f: “There are Names in charge of prayer, mercy and forgiveness, while others are in charge of tears and sadness, injury and tribulations, sustenance and income, or heroism, loving-kindness and grace... When [one] needs to request something from God he should concentrate on the Name designated to handle that question”; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 166f and 190f.

²¹ On the problematics of the traditional classification of religions into monotheistic and polytheistic ones see G. Ahn, “Monotheismus’ - ‘Polytheismus’: Grenzen und Möglichkeiten einer Klassifikation von Gottesvorstellungen,” AOT 232 (1993) 1-24; see also N. Lohfink, “Gott und die Götter im Alten Testament,” in K. Rahner et al. (eds.), *Theologische Akademie* 6 (Frankfurt a.M. 1969), pp. 50-71, esp. p. 65. The whole problem disappears as soon as “monotheism” and “polytheism” cease to be viewed as mutually exclusive concepts, in other words, as soon as it is realized that God can be at the same time both “one” and “many.”

²² Cf. the concept of God of Eastern Christian mysticism, which distinguishes between the “essence of God” and “divine attributes,” the latter being regarded as energies that penetrate the universe (see n. 60 below, and cf. nn. 9 and 41). It is good to keep in mind that there is a direct historical link between Christian and Assyrian concepts of God through Neoplatonic philosophy and the Chaldaean Oracles (see nn. 9, 105, 126 and 130ff). Note that Origen’s

trinitarian scheme admits the existence of "spiritual beings ... coeternal with the Father [and] in their degree equally entitled to be called gods" (Kelly *Doctrines*, p. 131).

Assyrian "monotheism" was, of course, rooted in earlier Mesopotamian religion, whose concept of God has close parallels in Hinduism and Egyptian religion (see n. 30 below). There is an important difference, however. Whereas in India and Egypt the single transcendent source of the multiplicity of gods could only be defined in negative terms as "non-existence," Assyrian imperial monotheism introduced Aššur as an intermediate entity between non-existence and existence: the infinite metaphysical universe (AN.ŠAR) engulfing and pervading the physical universe (see JNES 52 [1993] 191). This innovation made Aššur, a "God that created himself," the source of all manifest divine powers (i.e., gods) worshipped in the world, and thus the omnipresent, universal God of the empire (cf. SAA 2 6:393f. "To the future and forever Aššur will be your god, and Assurbanipal ... will be your lord"). Theologically, Aššur corresponds to the *En Sof Or* ("boundless light") of Jewish mysticism, see JNES 52 (1993) 185f and 208, and to the concept of "God beyond the gods" or "greater God" introduced by 20th-century Christian apologists as a reaction to Nietzsche's "death of God."

²³ See JNES 52 (1993) 185 nn. 93f for a discussion of the winged disk symbol of Aššur, which unifies several "great gods" (represented symbolically) into a single composite divine being. Note also the text CT 24 50 edited in AOAT 240 (1995) 398ff, which presents 14 "great gods" of the Babylonian pantheon as functions, tools, and qualities of Marduk (the Babylonian national god), as well as KAR 25 ii 3-15, a prayer to Marduk defining various "great gods" as qualities, powers and attributes of Marduk (his "kingship, might, wisdom, victory, strength, counsel, judgment," etc.). The latter text recalls a well-known Talmudic passage (TB *Hagigah* 12a) attributed to the early third-century scholar Rav: "By ten 'words' was the world created: by wisdom, by understanding, by reason, by strength, by rebuke, by might, by righteousness, by judgment, by compassion, and by loving kindness." On this list, which brings to mind the classic kabbalistic decad of divine powers, see JNES 52 (1993) 186 Fig. 10 and 171 n. 49, and nn. 55, 63 and 112 below.

²⁴ See JNES 52 (1993) 185 n. 94 and 187 n. 97, and n. 13 above.

²⁵ This analogy is not accidental, for the empire was conceived of as the counterpart (*tamšīlu*) of the divine world, referred to as the "kingdom of heaven" in oracle 2.5. See nn. 179 and 205 below and my article "The Assyrian Cabinet" (AOAT 240, 1995), passim, and cf. Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, p. 12: "Our Sages aroused us with the rule: 'The Kingdom of earth is the same as the Kingdom of heaven.'" Note that in the Byzantine empire "imperial ceremonial was the image of the heavenly order" (ODB [1991], p. 1981). Note also Lowell K. Handy, *Among the Host of Heaven* (Winona Lake 1994), who argues that the ANE pantheons functioned as "bureaucracies" and mirrored the social structures of the city states. On the king as God's representative on the earth, see JNES 52 (1993) 167; SAA 10 (1993), p. XVff; and p. XL with n. 193 below.

²⁶ See in detail my article "The Assyrian Cabinet," AOAT 240 (1995) 379-401.

²⁷ Cf. n. 28 and see E. Cassin, "Note sur le *puhrum* des dieux," in A. Finet (ed.), *La voix d'opposition en Mesopotamie* (Bryssels 1975), p. 113; M. deJong Ellis, "Mesopotamian Oracles and Prophetic Texts," JCS 41 (1989) 127-186, esp. p. 139, and A. Malamat, "The Secret Council and Prophetic Involvement in Mari and Israel," in R. Liwak and S. Wagner (eds.), *Prophetie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im alten Israel: Festschrift für Siegfried Herrmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart 1991), 231-236, on the divine council in the Old Babylonian prophecies from Eshnunna and Mari; and I. Starr, *The Rituals of the Diviner* (Malibu 1983), pp. 51ff, on the council in OB extispicy texts. The OB Diviners's Prayer (Starr's Text A) portrays the giving of omens as a sitting in judgment of the council of gods; on p. 57f, Starr points out that "there is a marked interplay between celestial and terrestrial judicial roles in ritual of the diviner" (cf. n. 25 above). In the Sumerian Deluge story (Lambert-Millard *Atra-hasis* p. 142 iv 158), the resolution of the divine council to destroy mankind is referred to as *di-til-la*, "final sentence," the terminus technicus of Sumerian court decisions.

²⁸ See p. XXV with n. 60ff. R. Gikatilla, in whose *Gates of Light* the divine assembly figures prominently, elaborates on the issue as follows (p. 212f): "One finds that all the Holy Names and their Cognomens ... are intermingled and sustain each other. Irrespective of whether they are from the right or left, each one has the same intention and that is to cleave to the name YHVH... You should not think that the groups to the right and left quarrel with each other, or hate each other, or contradict each other, God forbid. It is only that when you see them disagreeing, they are merely negotiating a judgment to bring the justice of the world's creatures to the light of true justice... All the factions of right and left love each other... All agree on the unification of the Name." Note that the council metaphor was also used in early Christianity to illustrate God's essential unity behind his seeming (trinitarian) plurality: "Tertullian exerted himself to show that the threeness was in no way incompatible with God's essential unity, ... noting that on the analogy of the imperial government one and the same sovereignty could be exercised by coordinated agencies" (Kelly *Doctrines*, p. 113; see also n. 40 below).

²⁹ See AOAT 240 (1995) 385 with n. 17, and Fig. 2 *ibid*. Note that the Assyrian copies of the Mesopotamian god list An-Anum (Lambert, *RIA* 3, pp. 275f), which presents the Mesopotamian pantheon as a heavenly royal court, does not include Aššur either but begins with Anu, the "mirror image" of Aššur. Cf. n. 18 above, and see AOAT 240 (1995) 386 and JNES 52 (1993) 179f, 185 and 191.

³⁰ For Iran see S. A. Nigosian, *The Zoroastrian Faith: Tradition and Modern Research* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1993), pp. 70-89; for Egypt see J. Baines in B. E. Shafer (ed.), *Religion in Ancient Egypt* (London 1991), p. 188f, and E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (London 1983), and "Die Anfänge von Monotheismus und Trinität in Ägypten," in K. Rahner (ed.), *Der eine Gott und der dreieine Gott* (Munich and Zurich 1983), pp. 48-66; for Ugarit and ANE "Heno/Cosmotheismus" (*hén kai pán*) see O. Loretz, "Die Einzigkeit Jahwes (Dtn 6, 4) im Licht des ugaritischen Baal-Mythos," AOAT 240 (1995) 215-304, esp. 231ff; for classical Greece and Hellenism see O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen* II (2nd ed. Berlin 1963), esp. p. 158 with reference to the Orphic logos, "Zeus was the first, Zeus the last... Zeus is the head, Zeus is the middle, everything is Zeus. Zeus is the ground of the earth and the stary heaven," whose antiquity is ascertained by an allusion to it in Plato's *Laws* (785E); cf. R. T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London 1972), p. 104: "Educated pagans were insistent that the supreme deity's glory is best revealed in the multiplicity of subordinate gods he had produced (cf. Enn. II 9.9, 26-42, Porphyry C. Chr. frs. 75-8)." Rudolph *Gnosis*, p. 287, points out that the "monotheistic idea [of God as the summing up of all divinities and divine powers which shape and control the universe] is already found in early Hellenism, as the hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes (about 300 BC) impressively demonstrates." For (Vedic) India, see R. E. Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads* (2nd ed., London 1931), p. 23ff.

The cuneiform spelling of Iran. *Baga* "God" with the logogram DINGIR.MEŠ "gods" in a LB document from Ecbatana dated 491 BC (^mDINGIR.MEŠ—*da-a-ta*, JCS 28 40 no. 28, rendering *Baga-data* "Given by God," see M. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia* [Costa Mesa 1992], p. 50) implies that Ahura Mazda was understood in the early Achaemenid period as "the sum total of gods," exactly as Aššur centuries earlier (see n. 16 and note Ahura Mazda's takeover of Aššur's winged disk icon in Achaemenid imperial art). The same spelling is also attested for Yahweh in late 5th century cuneiform documents from Nippur (cf. ^m*ba-na-a'*—DINGIR.MEŠ, BE 9 25:1 and 45:1 [434 BC], corresponding to ^m*ba-na-ia-a-ma* "Yahweh has created" in CBS 4993+2 [same person], see R. Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia* [Haifa 1979], p. 12), establishing a direct link with the equation (Ass.) *ilāni* = (Hebr.) *elōhīm* "God" discussed in the next note.

³¹ Note that not only is *elōhīm* an exact equivalent of Assyrian (*gabbi*) *ilāni* "(all) gods" as a designation of God (see n. 16), but, like Assyrian *ilāni*, it is also at the same time used in the sense of "(individual) gods, divine agents"; see Enc. Jud. 2 (1972) 956, s.v. angels, with the comment "The Bible does not always distinguish clearly between God and His messenger" (citing as examples Gen. 16:7, 13; 21:17ff; 22:1ff, 11:18; and Ex. 3:2). In the meaning "God," both *elōhīm* and its Assyrian equivalent are construed as singular nouns; the underlying plurality is, however, clearly implied by Gen. 1:26 and 3:22, which in gnostic texts are understood to refer to the divine "rulers" (*archontes*) of the universe, the equivalents of the Assyrian "great gods" (see NHC II 1, 21, 17ff and NHC II 4, 88, 25ff = Robinson NHL pp. 117 and 164f, and cf. n. 44 below). For rabbinical exegesis of Gen. 1:26 and 3:22, see Gen. Rabba VIII 9:11-31. In Ps. 82:1-2, "God takes his stand in the court of heaven to deliver judgment among the gods," and Ps. 95:3, "the LORD is a great God, a great king over all gods" (// Ps. 96:4 and 97:7ff), Yahweh is portrayed as president of the divine council (see just below).

I. Gruenwald (pers. communication) objects to interpreting *elōhīm* as "the sum total of gods," pointing out that "one should distinguish between the many 'names' and 'faces' of God and actual multiplicity. What does it really mean that the OT God had different names? A variety of local traditions, perhaps? Elohim is a plural form, but it indicates as a name the notion of majestatis pluralis." As stated above (n. 21), I do not believe that monotheism and polytheism were mutually exclusive concepts in antiquity, and consequently regard a distinction made between "names and faces of God" and "actual multiplicity" — however relevant from the modern point of view — as artificial and anachronistic when applied to antiquity. As hypostatized divine powers, Assyrian gods (like Jewish angels/gods) could at the same time be both "names and faces" and multiple manifestations of God. See further nn. 8, 20 and 28 above, and nn. 33, 41, 47, 55, 58 and 60 below.

³² See H.-J. Fabry, ThWAT V (1986) 775-82, s.v. *sōd* (with detailed bibliography); Enc. Jud. 2 (1972) 957f, sub "Angels as a Group"; H. W. Robinson, "The Council of Yahwe," JTS 45 (1944) 151-7; E. C. Kingsbury, "The Prophets and the Council of Yahwe," JBL 83 (1964) 279-286; J. Gray, *I & II Kings (OTL)*, London 1970, 443ff; E. Mullen, *The Assembly of God* (Chico 1980), p. 205ff; A. Rofé, *The Prophetic Stories* (Jerusalem 1988), pp. 142-52; M. E. Polley, "Hebrew Prophecy Within the Council of Yahwe," in C.D. Evans et al. (eds.), *Scripture in Context* (Pittsburgh 1980), pp. 141-56; A. Malamet, "The Secret Council and Prophetic Involvement in Mari and Israel" (n. 27 above), pp. 231-236; M. Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 34, Tübingen 1992; ref. courtesy I. Gruenwald), and recently H.-D. Neef, *Gottes himmlischer Thronat: Hintergrund und Bedeutung von sōd JHWH im Alten Testament* (Stuttgart 1994; ref. courtesy M. Nissinen).

³³ 1 Kgs. 22:19-23 = 2 Chron. 18:18-22. For our argument it is immaterial whether the account is historical or "deuteronomistic" fiction. Ahab died in 853 BC according to Reade's calibrated chronology (*Mesopotamian Guidelines for Biblical Chronology*, SMS 4/1 [1981] 8).

³⁴ This verse recalls oracle 1.4 referring to "Sin (Moon), Šamaš (Sun), and sixty great gods" standing with Bel ("Lord") at the birth of Esarhaddon, and oracle 2.2, referring to "sixty gods standing at the [right] and left side" of the oracular deity. Cf. Jer. 8:2 and 2 Kgs. 23:4ff, where "the host of heaven" is similarly associated with Baal, Asherah, the sun and moon, and the planets. On the "host of heaven" see also my remarks in AOAT 240 (1995) 395f and below, nn. 41 and 53.

³⁵ See Isa. 6:1-2; 40:22-26; Jer. 23:18-24; Ezek. 1:22-26; Dan. 7:9ff; Job 1:6-7 and 15:8; note that the council members are here explicitly called "gods" (*bny h'lhym*). See also Ps. 2:4, 89:5f, 103:19 and 123:1.

³⁶ See Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, p. 35ff (1 Enoch), 51 (2 Enoch), 56f (Apocalypse of Abraham), 60f (Ascension of Isaiah), 63ff (Revelation of John), 71f (Apocalypse of Paul), 94f (Talmud), 116 (On the Origin of the World), 128ff (Ezekiel the Tragedian), 145 (Hekhalot Zutreti), 153ff (Hekhalot Rabbati), 183 (Maasheh Merkavah), 194 (Sefer Hekhalot), 211f (Masekhet Hekhalot), and 214 (Shiur Qomah); Scholem *Origins* (1987), pp. 145-8; Enc. Jud. 2 (1972) 968ff, sub "Angels in the Talmud and Midrash" ("From the third century, the expression of God's 'familia' (*Pamalya*) or the heavenly court of justice is found in the sources. God takes no action without prior consultation with the 'familia," *ibid.* 969); Zohar II 128a and passim; *Gates of Light*, pp. 139, 194 and passim ("the Great Heavenly Court of Seventy-One"). On the latter expression see AOAT 240 (1995) 396ff; note that this court is referred to by Gikatilla (*ibid.* p. 275) as "the heavenly court known as 'the gods' (*elōhīm*)," and cf. n. 31 above!

³⁷ E.g., Isa. 6:6, Ezek. 10:2, Dan. 7:9 (furnace at the throne of God); Ps. 89:5f, 102:25, 104:2, 148:4 (succession of heavens); Isa. 6:1, Ps. 48:3, 102:19, 104:3 (heavenly palaces); Gen. 28:12 (ladders to heaven); Gen. 28:17, Job 38:10 and 17 (heavenly gates, doors and gatekeepers); Ps. 46, 48, 93:1 and 145:11; 2 Esdras 7:26 (heavenly city and kingdom).

³⁸ See, e.g., the Revelation of John (heavenly Jerusalem), E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, Teil II (3rd ed., Tübingen 1964), and Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, pp. 120f, 142ff, 161f and 209; Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, pp. 11 and 177.

³⁹ See oracle 1.6 (golden chamber in the midst of the heavens, lamp shining before God), 2.5 (kingdom of heaven), and 3.3 (gate of heaven); see also below, n. 248. For other Mesopotamian texts see Horowitz *Cosmic Geography* (1997), passim; e.g., BWL 136:182f, OECT 6 pl. 12:10, and En. el. V 9 (gates of heaven); SAA 3 39:31f (three heavens, lamp shining before Bel, who sits on a lapis-lazuli dais in a temple in the middle heaven); STT 28 v 13 = AnSt 10 122 v 13, and Starr Barū 30:9 // RA 38 87:11 ([lapis lazuli] ladders to heaven).

⁴⁰ See n. 9 above and New Catholic Encyclopedia I (1967), p. 507 ("Angels are held to spiritual intelligences created by, not emanating from, the divine substance ... A worthy man's spiritualization at the resurrection will make him the angel's equal."). Note that although the Church Fathers decidedly opposed efforts to identify angels with pagan gods, in early Christianity angels were commonly believed to have participated in the creation, to move the stars and to be placed over nations and cities, the four elements, and plants and animals (*ibid.* p. 511 with refs.).

According to Athenagoras (c. AD 176), "We affirm a crowd of angels and ministers, whom God, the maker and creator of the world, appointed to their several tasks through his Word. He gave them charge over the good order of the universe, over the elements, the heavens, the world, and all it contains" (C. C. Richardson [ed.], *Early Christian Fathers* [New York 1970], p. 309); cf. Enc. Jud. 2 (1972) 963ff and below, n. 41, for similar views in Jewish apocrypha and mysticism. Note also R. J. Hoffmann, *Porphyry's Against the Christians* (Amherst, NY, 1994), p. 84: "You say, 'The immortal angels stand before God, ... and these we speak of as gods because they are near the godhead.' Why do we argue about names? ... Whether one addresses these divine beings as gods or angels matters very little, since their nature remains the same."

⁴¹ For angels as powers of God in the Hekhalot texts see J. Dan, *The Revelation of the Secret of the World: The Beginning of Jewish Mysticism in Late Antiquity*, Brown University Program in Judaic Studies, Occasional Papers Number 2 (Providence 1992), p. 17, and idem, *Three Types of ancient Jewish Mysticism* (Cincinnati 1984), p. 17. Note that in J. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia 1913), the Mesopotamian gods Samaš, Sin, Bel, Nanaya and Nergal are invoked as "holy angels" (*ml'k'*; charm no. 36), while the angel Rahmiel (Ugaritic Rahmaya) is paired with "Dlibat the Passionate," i.e., Mesopotamian Dilibat/Venus (Mandean Libat; charm no. 28), and Metatron, Hadriel, Nuriel, Uriel, Sasgabiel, Hafkiel and Mehafkiel are defined as "the seven angels that go and turn around heaven and earth and stars and zodiac and moon and sea" (ibid. p. 97). In contemporary Greek papyri, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and other angels are invoked as "gods" (ibid., p. 99). A Hebrew magical-astrological text from Nisibis (M. Gaster, "Wisdom of the Chaldeans," PSBA 22 [1900] 329ff), equates seven angels with the seven classical planets (among others, Michael = Mercury), commenting on Anael = Venus: "This ruler is in the likeness of a woman. He is appointed on all manner of love. On her right arm serves an angel whose name is Arbiel, on the left one called Niniel." Here Anael certainly is the goddess Anat (cf. W. L. Michel, "BTWLH," "virgin" or "Virgin (Anat)" in Job 31:1?, Hebrew Studies 23 [1982] 59-66), while the names Arbiel and Niniel doubtless derive from Ištar of Arbela and Ištar of Nineveh.

The association of angels with planets is not a late phenomenon in Judaism; see above n. 34 on the "hosts of heaven," and note the passage in Ezekiel the Tragedian (2nd cent. BC) discussed by Gruenwald *Apocalyptic* p. 130, where the hosts of heavenly stars fall on their knees before Moses and then march past his throne. In the apocryphal literature angels were not only commonly associated with stars (e.g., 1 En. 18:13ff and 21:33ff; Jub. 19), but there were also angels of the elements, like of the spirit of fire, and of the seasons of the year, of the wind, the clouds, darkness, snow and hail, thunder, and lightning (see Enc. Jud. 2 [1972] 964 for refs.).

In sum, the angels of first millennium AD Judaism in every respect corresponded to Mesopotamian gods. Keeping in mind the Christian definition of angels as creatures of God (n. 40 above), it comes as no surprise that the Church Fathers accused the Jews of "praying not to the God but to angels and practicing magic" (see Gruenwald *Apocalyptic* p. 230 n. 17, discussing the magical treatise *Sefer ha-Razim*). As pointed out by Gruenwald (ibid.), such practices are, however, not evidence of polytheistic or syncretistic beliefs: they are perfectly in line with biblical and rabbinic monotheism and have to be judged in the light of nn. 8 and 20 above.

It should be noted that the alleged author of Montgomery's charms 8, 9, 17, and 32-33, Joshua ben Perahia (early 1st cent. BC), was an early hero of the Law (cf. Pirke Aboth 1:7) and hence certainly a highly respected member of the rabbinic community. In Sanh. 107b he is associated or confused with Jesus of Nazareth, and not for the assonance of name only: his reputed ascent to heaven reveals him as an emulator of Adam Qadmon, the "perfect man," who as personification of Michael/Metatron was by definition believed to wield extraordinary magic powers (cf. SAA 10 p. XIX and n. 121 below). See further Collins *Scepter and Star*, p. 139.

⁴² For the derivation of the menorah from the ANE sacred tree see G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion* (Uppsala 1951), p. 64ff (with illustration of a menorah-shaped tree in Mesopotamian glyptic); L. Yarden, *The Tree of Life: A Study of the Menorah, the Seven-branched Lampstand* (Ithaca, NY, 1971; rev. ed. Uppsala 1972); C. Meyers, ThWAT IV (1984) 981-7 s.v. *mnwrh*; and recently J. Taylor, "The Asherah, the Menorah and the Sacred Tree," JSOT 66 (1995) 29-54 (ref. courtesy T. Veijola). In Ex. 25:40, the menorah is explicitly associated with "the design (*tbny*) which you were shown on the mountain," i.e., the burning bush (Ex. 3: 1f, cf. Deut. 4: 15f). According to St. John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images* (transl. D. Anderson, Crestwood, NY, 1980), p. 65, "The burning bush was an image of God's mother (Theotokos)"; cf. nn. 47, 98, 133 and 199ff below.

For the menorah as a distinctive symbol of Judaism in the post-exilic period see Widengren, loc. cit. Note that while in 1 Macc. 1:21 the lampstand occupies a position of central importance among the cult objects carried off from the temple by Antiochus in 169 BC (as 200 years later by Titus), it does not have this status in the lists of booty carried off by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 BC (2 Kgs. 24:13ff and Jer. 52:17ff). This suggests that the menorah was introduced as a religious symbol only in the post-exilic period, in order to distinguish clearly the "deuteronomistic" form of Judaism from its 'idolatrous' predecessor. See p. XXVI with n. 65, and cf. Job 29:2 and Ps. 132:17. See also p. XLII with n. 201f below for the association of the sacred tree with Asherah in pre-exilic Israel, corresponding to its association with Shekhinah and Tiferet in Jewish mysticism (nn. 47 and 133) and with Mullissu and Ištar in Assyria (n. 133), and note that the cherub-flanked tree (n. 98) constituted the principal decorative motif of the temple of Solomon (1 Kgs. 6f, cf. Ezek. 40f) and of the Tabernacle (Ex. 25 and 36).

⁴³ On Kabbalah as a direct continuation of apocalyptic and rabbinic mystical tradition see M. Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven 1988), p. 30ff and I. Gruenwald, "Reflections on the Nature and Origins of Jewish Mysticism," in P. Schaefer et al. (eds.), *Gershom Scholem's Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism 50 Years After* (Tübingen 1993), pp. 25-48. Several central kabbalistic concepts and doctrines are already attested in the Babylonian Talmud (e.g., Maashe Bereshit, Maashe Merkavah, ten divine powers, God's infinite expansion at Creation, the pillars, the story of the Four Sages, Metatron, Sandalphon, the four beasts). The antiquity of the kabbalistic interpretation of the menorah (see n. 44) is confirmed by Philo (Moses 2.102-3), according to whom "the menorah is the symbol of heaven and its lights, of the planets"; cf. Zech. 4: 1-14 and Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 5.6.34.9-35.2 ("the lamps symbolize the seven planets and the menorah itself is the sign of Christ"), and see further Morton Smith, *Studies in the Cult of Jahweh II* (Leiden 1996), p. 138. On the relevance of Kabbalah to the study of Assyrian religion see I. Gruenwald, "How much Qabbalah in Ancient Assyria?" *Methodological Reflections on the Study of a Cross-Cultural Phenomenon*, in S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting (eds.), *Assyria 1995* (Helsinki 1997), pp. 115-127.

⁴⁴ See, e.g., Scholem *Origins*, p. 82; Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, pp. 15, 22, 31f, 221, and passim; Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 113f. On the technical meaning of the term sefirah in the *Sefer Yezirah* and the writings of Abraham Abulafia ("primordial/ideal number") see Scholem *Origins*, p. 26f, and Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 349 n. 323; according to I. Gruenwald

(pers. communication), the term denotes "notions and entities that have numerical value(s)", as in Pythagoreanism. The sefirotic powers (associated in the *Bahir* with the archangels, see Gottfarstein *Bahir*, p. 87, and Scholem *Origins*, p. 148) correspond to the gnostic "archons" (the divine powers who rule the physical universe) and to the Assyrian "great gods," both associated with planet(ary) spheres, see Parpola, AOAT 240 (1995) 390 n. 34 and 397; note that in the gnostic treatise Trimorphic Protennoia, the archons explicitly state they "sprouted from a Tree" (Robinson NHL p. 518 = NHC XIII 1, 44, 20), and that in Lk. 13:18, the "kingdom of God" is compared to a tree. On the association of the sefirot with (planetary) spheres see Scholem, Enc. Jud. 10 (1972) 572f, and nn. 34, 41, 111 and 114-117 below. On the sefirot as an anthropomorphic structure related to the primordial perfect man (Adam Qadmon) see M. Idel, "Un figure d'homme au-dessus des sefirot," Pardes 8 (1988) 129-150. Note also Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, p. 211: "Through this way one describes the heavenly constellations, the camps and its hosts; some are called by the name 'eye,' some 'ear,' some 'lips,' and some 'mouth,' some are 'hands,' and some 'legs.' And when one refers to them as unity they are called 'Adam.' All these constellations, camps and hosts are interconnected and they receive substance and overflow from each other. All of them receive the illuminating power from Keter."

⁴⁵ See S. Parpola, "The Assyrian Tree of Life: Tracing the Origins of Jewish Monotheism and Greek Philosophy," JNES 52 (1993) 161-208.

⁴⁶ In this context also note the prominent role of the pomegranate (the chief symbol of God's "unity in multiplicity," see JNES 52 [1993] 164 n. 21 and above, p. XXI with n. 30) in Jewish mystical thought and religious iconography, e.g. in the ornamental decoration of the robe of the Jewish High Priest, on which see J. Börker-Klähn, RIA 3 620a with reference to Ex. 28:33ff.

⁴⁷ See in detail JNES 52 (1993) 177ff and AOAT 240 (1995) 385ff; on the anthropomorphic tree from Assur (fig. 5) see JNES 52 (1993) 186 with n.32, and AOAT 240 (1995) 386f. Despite Frayne NABU 1997/23 and Uehlinger NABU 1997/83, following G. Kryszat, AOAT 240 (1995) 201-214, the figure cannot represent a "mountain god," as it lacks the divine crown; its position behind the throne of the highest god in the seal BIF VR 1992.13 (NABU 1997 p. 80) corresponds to that of Enoch/Metatron in Jewish mysticism, see n. 196 below. Cf. also the cylinder seal VA 10537 from Uruk showing the ruler as the "tree of life," with sheep nibbling at the buds of the tree as in the Assur relief (A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* [Berlin 1940], no. 29).

Note that in Kabbalah, the divine name YHWH, like Ištar (see below, n. 133), is associated with both the trunk of the Tree and its central sefirah (Tiferet, "Beauty"). Cf. Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, pp. 147, 209 and 223f: "Know and understand that the name YHVH is likened to the trunk of a tree and all the other holy names are like its branches; all are attached to each other from above, below, and all sides... The attribute YHVH stands in the centre line and stands in the middle of all the Names. Thus the name YHVH is the essence of the middle line... This sphere is also called Tiferet... Understand why the letter VAV, which is called the Middle Line and is the Name YHVH, is Tiferet: for it includes all, and it governs all, and it dresses in all the Names in accordance with what is appropriate for the moment" (cf. n. 8 above, and see nn. 112, 114, and 133f below).

The equation of YHVH with Tiferet — on the basis of the position of the names in the Tree — opens an interesting perspective. If YHVH = Tiferet (the essence or "Beauty" of God), then the biblical designation of oracles, "word of YHWH," seemingly so different from the Assyrian one (see above, p. XVIII), turns out to be an exact functional equivalent of the Assyrian "word of Ištar"! Note that in Gikatilla's *Gates of Light*, p. 211, YHVH is not referred to as male but (like Ištar) as *androgynous*, with the remark, "this is the essence of our esoteric beliefs." See p. XXIX with n. 97 and p. XXXVII on the androgyny of Ištar and the androgynous role of YHWH in biblical prophecy, and see further nn. 98, 133 and 199ff on the association of Ištar, Mullissu, Shekinah, and Asherah with the sacred tree.

⁴⁸ Ištar also appears as a convener of the divine council elsewhere in Mesopotamian sources, e.g. in STC 2 pl.78:38 (*Ištar mupahhirat puhri* "convener of the assembly") and, under the name Nisaba, in BBR 89f r. iii 37 (see Lambert-Millard Atra-hasis, p. 154), *mupahhirat ilāni rabūti mupahhirat ilāni daiāni* "convener of the divine judges"; note also Gilg. XI 167 and 205. This role is explained by her nature as the power of love that binds together opposites (cf. below, nn. 90, 130 and 134), and it corresponds to her central position in the tree (above, n. 47) and her representation as an eight-pointed star in Assyrian iconography, the eight points of the star symbolizing the eight other "great gods" of the tree (see JNES 52 [1993] 188 nn. 99 and 101, and fig. 14 above).

⁴⁹ Gilg. XI 14 and 121f; cf. n. 114 below. Note that the behaviour of Ištar in causing the deluge corresponds to that of Tiamat, who in En. el. I 125f, against her original inclination (cf. I 26-28), is moved to destroy her "noisy offspring." For "noisy" in the meaning "imperfect, sinful," see the note on no. 2 ii 19 below, p. 16, and cf. V. Afanasieva, "Der irdische Lärm des Menschen (nochmals zum Atramhasis-Epos)," ZA 86 (1996) 89-96, esp. 93ff.

⁵⁰ Cf. the beginning of oracle 3.4 with Lambert-Millard Atra-hasis, p. 121:44ff: "Enlil opened his mouth to speak and addressed the assembly of all the gods: 'Come, all of us, and take an oath to bring a flood.'"

⁵¹ Cf. AOAT 240 (1995) 386 with n. 20 on the Pauline doctrine of ecclesia as the corporate body of Christ. Note that the Last Supper, too, sealed a covenant destined to end a period of divine wrath and to initiate a new era in God's relationship with man. The role of Christ in the Last Supper corresponds to that of the Assyrian king, who imposed treaties as the representative of Aššur and sealed them with the God's seal (see SAA 2 p. XXXVI).

⁵² The choice of the epithet "*lord of the gods*" (rather than the usual "father of the gods") in this oracle was dictated by the political situation (see below, pp. LXIV and LXX), the oracle being certainly addressed as much to the convened vassal rulers and their gods ("let them see and hear") as to the king himself.

⁵³ See G. W. Ahlström, "An Archaeological Picture of Iron Age Religions in Ancient Palestine," StOr 55 (1984) 117-145. For Judah note, e.g., 2 Kgs. 23:4ff (reign of Josiah, c. 637-609 BC); Jer. 2:28 = 11:13, "For you, Judah, have as many gods as you have towns"; *ibid.* 8:2, "They shall expose them [= the kings of Judah, priests and prophets] to the sun, the moon, and all the host of heaven, whom they loved and served and adored, to whom they resorted and bowed in worship"; Jer. 7:17f, "in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem, ... women are kneading dough to make crescent-cakes in honour of the queen of heaven, and drink-offerings are poured out to other gods than me"; cf. Jer. 44:19, "When we burnt sacrifices to the queen of heaven and poured drink-offerings to her, our husbands knew full well that we were making crescent-cakes in the form of her image," and see Weinfeld, UF 4 (1972) 150, n. 137. For Israel note simply Hosea 3:4f, "The Israelites shall live many a long day without king or prince, without sacrifice or sacred pillars, without image or household gods; but after that they will again seek the LORD their God and David their King." On the "hosts of heaven" see also nn. 34f and 41 above.

⁵⁴ In addition to the passages referred to in n. 34f, note the prominence of the name "YHWH of Hosts" (*yhwh šb'wt*) in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and "God of Hosts" (*lhy šb'wt*) in Hosea and Amos.

⁵⁵ Cf., e.g., Isa. 40:26, "Lift up your eyes to the heavens; consider who created it all, led out their host one by one and called them all by their names"; *ibid.* 45:12, "I alone, I made the earth and created man upon it; I, with my own hands, stretched out the heavens and caused all their host to shine"; *ibid.* 24:21, "On that day the LORD will punish the host of heaven in heaven"; Jer. 10:12f, "God made the earth by his power (*kh*), fixed the world in place by his wisdom (*hkmt*), unfurled the skies by his understanding (*tbwnt*)."

The last passage, which refers to powers of God by names that had canonical status in later Jewish mysticism, strongly suggests that the doctrine of divine powers crystallized in the kabbalistic Tree diagram already was part and parcel of Jeremiah's (or his editor's) concept of God. The passage has a close parallel in Prov. 3:19f, implying that this doctrine was by no means confined to the prophet alone: "In wisdom (*hokhmah*) the LORD founded the earth, and by understanding (*tevunah*) he set the heavens in their place; by his knowledge (*daat*) the depths burst forth." What is more, in David's blessing to Solomon (1 Chron. 29:11) we have a sequence of five divine powers that could derive directly from Kabbalah: "Thine, O LORD, is the greatness (*gedullah*), the power (*gevurah*), the beauty (*tiferet*), the victory (*nezah*), and the glory (*hod*)." Not only are the names of the powers identical, but also their order of enumeration is the same as in the later mystical tradition! A similar sequence of divine powers, explicitly associated with the Tree, occurs in Isaiah 11:1-2: "Then a shoot shall grow from the stock of Jesse, and a branch shall spring from his roots. The spirit of the LORD (*rwh yhwh*) shall rest upon him, a spirit of wisdom (*hokhmah*) and understanding (*binah*), a spirit of counsel (*atzah*) and power (*gevurah*), a spirit of knowledge (*daat*) and the fear of the LORD" (see Weinfeld, ZAW 88 [1976] 40-42, and for a kabbalistic exegesis of the passage, Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, p. 330). Note also Jer. 17:7f, "Blessed is the man who trusts in the LORD... He shall be like a tree planted by the waterside" (cf. "Sulgi ... a datepalm planted by the watercourse," Witzel KSt 5 30 ii 1!) and Isa. 61:3, "They shall be called Trees of Righteousness, planted by the LORD for his glory." For a passage in Isaiah (Isa. 30: 30f) linking the sefirah of Hod "glory" with the thunderstorm, see the discussion in JNES 52 (1993) 181.

⁵⁶ For the divine powers as God's "hands" (Isa. 45:12) and "agents" see p. XXI above, and my "Assyrian Cabinet," AOA 240 (1995) 385ff. The imperfect nature of angels and foreign gods and their total dependence upon Yahweh are consistently stressed in later Judaism, from the Apocrypha, Talmud and Midrash through medieval mysticism, see Enc. Jud. 2 (1972) 965 and 969, and note Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, p. 260f: "You must not believe the vain words of the empty-headed who say there is no power in the gods of other nations and that they are not called elohim. What you must realize is that YHWH ... gave power and dominion to every minister of the nations to judge his people... Know and believe there is no power among the other elohim which are the gods of the nations, except for the power which YHWH gives them to judge and sustain their nation."

⁵⁷ See, e.g., Lambert-Millard Atra-hasis, p. 57:198ff: "Nintu opened her mouth and addressed the great gods, 'It is not possible for me to make things, skill lies with Enki.'" Cf. oracle 2.2:24f.

⁵⁸ Note the apparent "relapse into polytheism" in a Jewish incantation text of the Talmudic period, discussed by Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, p. 149. For Christianity note simply St. John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images. Three Apologies Against Those Who Attack the Divine Images* (transl. D. Anderson, Crestwood, NY, 1980), pp. 97 and 107: "The unbelievers mock us because we honor the cross, and they infer that because we venerate the holy images, we are idolaters and worshippers of wooden gods... Far be it from us to do this! ... We make golden images of God's angels, principalities and powers, to give glory and honor to Him." Note the very similar distinction made by Porphyry between idolatry and veneration of divine images, e.g. "Those who make images as objects of veneration for the gods do not imagine that [God] himself is in the wood or the stone or the bronze used in the making of the image. They do not think for a moment that if a part of the image is cut off the power of God is thereby weakened" R. J. Hoffmann, *Porphyry's Against the Christians* [Amherst, NY, 1994], p. 85).

⁵⁹ See, e.g., the anthropomorphic representations of Aššur in Sennacherib's seal of Aššur (SAA 2 p. 28), the Bavian and Saitai reliefs of Sennacherib (SAA 2 Fig. 5 and J. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture* [London 1983], frontispiece; Thureau-Dangin, RA 21 [1924] 185-197), and the Senjirli stele of Esarhaddon (SAA 2 Fig. 7 = J. Börker-Klähn, *Altorientalische Bildstelen II* [1982], no. 219; Thureau-Dangin, RA 21 196). The identification of the god next to the king as Aššur in all these representations is rendered certain by the inscription on the seal of Aššur (SAA 2 p. XXXVI). It should be noted, however, that anthropomorphic representations of Aššur are rare and virtually limited to the reign of Sennacherib only, who explicitly refers to himself as "maker of the image of Aššur" in his inscriptions (see Tadmor, SAAB 3 [1989] 30). It is hence likely that they have to be considered in the light of this king's efforts to abolish the status of Marduk as a rivalling imperial god by equating him with Aššur, and that Aššur in these representations is portrayed as "Assyrian Enlil" (i.e., the "king of the gods"), a designation making it possible to represent him iconographically in the guise of Enlil/Marduk without compromising his status as a transcendent, universal god. Note that the image of Enlil/Marduk had already long been used in this function in the winged disk icon of Aššur (see above, nn. 9 and 23), and that in the Senjirli stela the pair Aššur/Enlil + Mullissu (topping the stela) makes a triad with Ninurta, who supports the two in a caryatid-like fashion (fig. 2). On Sennacherib's religious reforms see also E. Frahm, AFO Beih. 26 (1997) 282ff with earlier literature.

⁶⁰ See JNES 52 (1993) 185. The distinction made between God (the winged disk) and his emanations (the Tree) lives forth in the Eastern branch of Christian mysticism, which distinguishes between the "essence of God" and "divine attributes," regarded as energies that penetrate the universe. Creation is conceived of as a process of emanation, whereby the divine Being is "transported outside of Himself ... to dwell within the heart of all things" (Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *On the Divine Names*, iv 13).

⁶¹ K 6177 + K 8859 B 8-9, see A. R. George, "Sennacherib and the Tablet of Destinies," Iraq 48 (1986) 133-146, especially p. 142ff.

⁶² *Idel Kabbalah*, p. 55.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 53f; cf. G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism* (New York 1969), p. 131. On the unification of the ten sefirot through prayer see also Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, p. 114. Note that the Alenu le-Shabeah prayer proclaiming the sovereignty and unity of God, now recited at the conclusion of every synagogue service, is taken to be composed by the very same talmudic scholar Rav whose list of ten divine powers was discussed in n. 23 above. On Alenu le-Shabeah and its role in Merkavah mysticism see Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, p. 182, and Dan, *Three Types of Jewish Mysticism* (1984), p. 13.

⁶⁴ E.g., Isa. 45:20, 46:6f, 48:5; Jer. 10:3-16, 16:18-21, 18:15, and passim; Ezek. 6:4-8, 8:3-12, 14:3-11, 16:17-22; Hos. 8:5f, 10:5-7, 11:12, 12:10f, 13:2; Amos 5:26; Mic. 1:7, 5:13f (idolatry); Jer. 2:23, 5:19, 7:9, 8:2, 9:14, 11:10-17, 16:11, and passim; Ezek. 8:13-17; Hos. 2:8-17, 7:5, 9:10, 10:5, 12:10f, 13:1; Amos 3:14f, 5:5, 8:14 (heavenly bodies and foreign gods).

⁶⁵ Similar considerations were behind the Byzantine iconoclasm (eighth to ninth cent. AD), whose organizers maintained that making an image of the sacred reduced it to an apparent, material aspect only, and that "worshippers" of such images violated the cardinal principles of Christianity and committed the mortal sin of idolatry. Note that this effort, and also the iconoclastic crusade of Josiah (2 Kgs. 22f), was organized by the state (the Isauric emperors) with the active support of the clergy, and thus was by no means in conflict with the teachings of the church, but has to be understood in the light of n. 58 above. Cf. also A. A. Bialas, *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 1 [1967], p. 514 (italics mine): "St. Paul implicitly teaches veneration of angels (1 Cor 11.10; Gal 4.14), but such cult is to be given in a manner that does not derogate from Christ; he shows displeasure at false or exaggerated cult to angels. In Ap 22.8-9 St. John is rebuked and corrected for offering excessive veneration to an angel but not for venerating him. Fathers of the East and West showed their approval of angelic cult and testified to its early existence. They warned against idolatrous cult of angels (Aristides), condemned latreutic acts of worship toward angels (Origen), defended angelic cult as distinct from adoration reserved to God alone (Eusebius)."

For a contemporary Assyrian text attributing the death of Sargon II to his excessive veneration of the gods of Assyria over those of Babylonia, see H. Tadmor, B. Landsberger and S. Parpola, "The Sin of Sargon and Sennacherib's Last Will," *SAAB* 3 (1989) 3-51. See also n. 200 below.

⁶⁶ See pp. XXIf and XXIV with nn. 31ff, 35, 37, and 53ff above; note especially Ezek. 1, whose description of God inevitably recalls Aššur's representation as the "winged disk" (see JNES 52 [1993] 201f and the discussion *ibid.* pp. 185 and 205). Note also the image of the arrow-shooting 𐎶𐎶𐎶 in Zech. 9:14, Ps. 7:12, 18:14, 64:7, Job 6:4, 16:13, and Deut. 32:42, and compare the arrow-shooting Marduk in SAA 3 37:11-15 and in the winged disk (see JNES 52 [1993] App. B and pp. 165 n. 25, 185 n. 93, and 204; SAA 3 Fig. 2, and often).

⁶⁷ Cf. A. R. George, *RA* 85 (1992) 158, who observes, commenting upon the term *ilu sahhiru*, 'prowling god': "Some explanation is needed to suggest how this ecstatic cultic performer comes to be considered a 'prowling god'... The idea is that the regular, if temporary, seizure of man by god manifestly demonstrates that individual's divinity. In effect, he personifies a god, and the god is incarnate in him. The divine inspiration of the ecstatic is a notion familiar to ancient Mesopotamia, and may be implicit in the terminology. *lu.AN.dib.ba.ra*, a term for another kind of ecstatic (Akk. *mahhû*), may be interpreted as "one struck by a passing god." The temporary nature of the frenzy explains the adjective *sahhiru*: the god constantly prowls from place to place like the malignant demons with which this discussion opened, entering now this individual and now that. But unlike those demons he is no foul incubus in search of a victim; instead he seeks a human medium through whose inspiration divine will can be revealed."

⁶⁸ See, e.g., *The Random House College Dictionary* (rev. ed. 1975), s.vv. "heart" (4. feeling; love; affection, 5. spirit, courage, or enthusiasm, 6. the innermost or central part of anything, 7. the vital or essential part; core) and "spirit" (1. the incorporeal part of man ... such as the mind or soul, 3. a supernatural, incorporeal thing, as a ghost, 5. an angel or demon, 6. Spirit, the divine influence as an agency working in the heart of man, 7. Spirit, the third person of the Trinity, 8. the soul or heart as the seat of feelings or sympathies, 21. the Spirit, God). For Akkadian *libbu* "heart" as the seat of emotions see CAD s.v., mng. 3c and AOAT 240 (1995) 387.

⁶⁹ Note the Assyrian personal name *šar-ilāni-ilā'i* "The Spirit of God is my god" (APN p. 216), where *šar ilāni* is the perfect equivalent of Hebrew *ruaḥ elohim* "Spirit of God"; see n. 31 above for *ilāni* "God", and cf. Akk. *šaru* "wind, breath, flatus" (CAD Š/2 133) with Hebr. *ruaḥ* "wind, breath, spirit" (HAL p. 1197ff, see also n. 74 below) and Greek *pneuma* "(prophetic) spirit." Note also the names (Ṭab-)šar-Ili/Aššur/Ištar "Good is the spirit of God/Aššur/Ištar," Ṭab-šar-Mullissu/Arbail/Sin "Good is the spirit of Mullissu/Arbela/the Moon" (for the latter see n. 174 below), and Ṭab-šar-Nabū "Good is the spirit of Nabū" (APN pp. 216 and 236f; SAAB 5 11:3). Cf. SAA 3 12 r.4f, "O Nabū, where is ... your pleasant breath (*šarka ṭābu*) which wafts and goes over the weak ones (devoted) to you." On the Assyrian term for "soul" (*napšutu*) see nn. 10 and 106.

⁷⁰ Note KAR 102:15, *ši-kin ka-ka be-lum* ⁴š.TAR MUL.MEŠ "your utterance, O Lord, is Ištar of the stars," and see on this text JNES 52 (1993) 240f. Cf. Mt. 10:19, "It is not you who will be speaking; it will be the Spirit of your Father speaking in you." In Rom. 5:5, the Holy Spirit is associated both with God's love and man's heart, as its seat of love ("God's love has flooded our innermost heart through the Holy Spirit he has given us.") Note also Rom. 8:11-17 and Rom. 8:26, "Through our inarticulate groans the Spirit himself is pleading for us."

⁷¹ See 2 Chron. 15:1 and 20:14-17; Num. 24:2ff // 15ff; 1 Sam. 19:20; 1 Cor. 14:1-39; 1 Thess. 5:19-20, etc. Note that the spirit of the LORD (*rwḥ yhwḥ*) figures in the list of divine powers in Isa. 11:1-2, discussed above, n. 55. See also Isa. 59:21, "My (God's) spirit which rests in you and my words which I have put in your mouth." The Christian (Trinitarian) Holy Spirit has been explicitly equated with the OT prophetic Spirit since the early second century, see Kelly *Doctrines*, pp. 61f, 102f and 257 (citing Athenagoras, Chrysostom, Hippolytus, Justin, Tatian, Theophilus and Athanasius). According to Athenagoras, "the prophets prophes[ied] in a state of ecstasy (*kar' êkstasin*), the Spirit breathing through them much as a musician breathes through a pipe," while Chrysostom speaks of St. John and St. Paul as "musical instruments played upon by the Holy Spirit" (*ibid.*, p. 62).

⁷² See, e.g., G. Leick, *A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Mythology* (London and New York 1991), pp. 96 and 98; M. Gallery Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Palo Alto 1985), p. 113; S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford 1989), p. 323; E. Reiner, *Poetry from Babylonia and Assyria* (Michigan 1985), p. 30. All these definitions agree with Ištar's epithets *bēlet qabli u tāhāzi* "Lady of Battle and War" and *bēlet ruāmi/rāmi*, "Lady of Love" (Tallqvist *Götterepitheta* p. 62f).

⁷³ Note the Spirit's appellative "Lord" in the Nicene Creed and the masculine gender of Latin *Spiritus Sanctus* (as against Greek [neuter] *pneuma hāgion* and Hebr. [fem.] *rwḥ qdš*), and see Kelly *Doctrines*, p. 94, on the identification of the Spirit with the Son of God; cf. also *ibid.* pp. 92, 102, 103, 112, 252, 255ff, etc., where the Spirit is consistently referred to as "He." On the masculinization of the Spirit in Western Christianity see A. Baring and J. Cashford, *The Myth of the Goddess: Evolution of an Image* (London 1991), p. 611f.

⁷⁴ See, e.g., Isa. 11:1-2, 40:7, Hos. 1:5; Gen. 1:2, Num. 24:2ff, 2 Chron. 15:1, 1 Sam. 19:20; Num. 11:26; the plain *ruaḥ* "spirit" is both feminine and masculine in the Hebrew Bible (see HAL p. 1197b). By contrast, Syriac *rūh/rūhō* "spirit" is usually fem. except when used of the Holy Spirit (*rūh qdēšō* or *rūhō qadīšō*), see Payne Smith p. 533b.

⁷⁵ See Warner *Virgin Mary* p. 38, who notes that two prominent Church Fathers, Origen and Jerome, quote this work without criticism (Origen, *In Jeremiam*, Homily 15:4; Commentary on John 2:12; Jerome, Commentary on Micah 7:16, on Ezekiel 16:13; on Isaiah 11:9). See also below, n. 98.

⁷⁶ "[Thereafter Sabaoth created] another being, called Jesus Christ, who resembles the savior above in the eighth heaven and who sits at his right upon a revered throne, and at his left, there sits the virgin of the holy spirit, upon a throne and glorifying him" (NHC II 5, 105, 25-31 = Robinson NHL p. 176, see Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, p. 116). Note also the early second century (AD 116) Book of Elchasai opening with a vision of two enormous angelic beings, male and female, the former one referred to as "Hidden power" (= saviour/Michael), the latter as the "Holy Spirit" (G. P. Luttikhuisen, "The Book of Elchasai: a Jewish Apocalypse," *AuOr* 5 [1987] 101-6).

⁷⁷ See n. 9 above and NHC II 1, 2, 14ff (The Apocryphon of John) and XIII 1, 37, 20ff (Trimorphic Protennoia) = Robinson NHL pp. 105ff and 514. Cf. also NHC II 3, 71, 16ff = Robinson NHL p. 152 (The Gospel of Philip, 3rd cent.): "Adam came into being from two virgins, from the Spirit and from the virgin earth."

⁷⁸ NHC III 3 ms. V 9, 5 (Eugnostos, 1st cent. BC) and III 4, 104, 19-20 (Sophia of Jesus Christ, 1st cent. AD) = Robinson NHL p. 231.

⁷⁹ NHC XIII 1, 35, 1ff (Trimorphic Protennoia, 2nd cent. AD) = Robinson NHL p. 513.

⁸⁰ NHC XIII 1, 45, 2ff (Robinson NHL p. 519).

⁸¹ NHC VII 2, 50, 27f (The Second Treatise of the Great Seth) = Robinson NHL p. 363. See further Rudolph *Gnosis*, p. 81, and R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and early Christianity* (New York 1966), pp. 50 and 55. For Ištar's epithet *harimtu* ("whore") see Tallqvist *Götterepitheta* p. 101 and Reiner *JNES* 33 (1974) 224:ff.

⁸² See nn. 86 and 192 below.

⁸³ For the dove as Aphrodite's bird, frequently sacrificed to her, see J. R. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (London 1977), and cf. Flavius Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* (ed. F. C. Conybeare, Loeb 1912), I 25. On white doves in the cult of the Cypriote Aphrodite (Venus Barбата), see M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, "Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst," *Orientalisches Archiv* 3 (1913) 177, and cf. below, nn. 88 and 97. On white doves in the cult of the Palestinian Aphrodite and on Anat referred to as a dove in Ugaritic texts (// Ps. 68:14f) see M. Weinfeld, "Semiramis: Her Name and her Origin," *Festschrift Tadmor* (1991), pp. 101ff.

⁸⁴ M. R. James (ed. and trans.), *The Apocryphal New Testament – Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypses* (Oxford 1926), p. 388.

⁸⁵ For verses 1:15 and 4:1 ("How beautiful are you, my dearest, your eyes behind your veil are like doves") see nn. 111 and 117 below; for verses 5:2 and 6:9 ("my dove, my perfect one") see n. 97. For verse 2:14 ("My dove ... let me see your face") cf. the topos of seeing the face of the Shekhinah (God's feminine aspect) in Jewish mystical texts, on which see Idel *Kabbalah*, pp. 80-83 with many examples.

⁸⁶ See n. 99 below, and cf. nn. 47, 60, 98, 111, 120 and 151. The Hebrew phrase "made me" (*qny*) in Prov. 8:22 is a pun associating the theme of creation (cf. *qnh šmym w'rs*, Gen. 14:19) with that of acquiring a wife (*qnh 'sh*, Ruth 4:10) and gaining wisdom (*qnh hkmh*) and understanding, cf. Prov. 4:7 "The first thing is to gain wisdom and ... understanding (*qnh bynh*)"; similarly Prov. 16:16 and 17:16. On Wisdom and Understanding as divine powers, see nn. 23 and 55 above; on the association of Wisdom with God's feminine aspect (Shekhinah) in Jewish mysticism see C. Poncé, *Kabbalah* (San Francisco 1973), p. 256f, who points out that "some kabbalists go even as far as to say that when God enters paradise every midnight to converse with the righteous, he also performs a sacred union with his Shekhinah."

⁸⁷ TB *Hagigah* 15a. Cf. oracle 2.3 in this volume.

⁸⁸ Note the pun "dove" (tu) = "to give birth" (tu) inherent in the cuneiform sign TU (originally a pictogram of a flying dove) and in the name of the Sumerian mother goddess, Nintu. For cuneiform passages associating doves (TU.MUŠEN) with weeping and moaning (*damāmu*) see, e.g., STT 52:52 (a prayer to Ištar: "he moans like a dove"), Thompson *Gilg.* pl. 59 K 3200:10 ("the maidens moan like doves") and *JNES* 33 199:16 ("if the bird (called) 'female mourner' like a dove utters mournful cries"); cf. *Gilg.* XI 117-125: "Ištar cried out like a woman in labor, the sweet-voiced Belet-ili moaned: '... How could I say evil things in the assembly of the gods, commanding war to destroy my people! It is I who give birth to my people! And (now) they fill the sea like the spawn of fish!' The Anunnaki gods wept with her..." Note that dove bones as well as clay doves, enclosed in offering boxes with pictures of doves, were found in the excavations of the temple of Ninmah (= Belet-ili) in Babylon (see R. Koldewey, *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa*, WDOG 15 [Berlin 1911], pp. 7 and 19, and E. D. Van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* [YOR 16, New Haven 1930], nos. 919-20 with literature). For lead figurines representing doves found at the temple of Ištar in Assur see W. Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ischtar-Tempel in Assur* (WDOG 58, Leipzig 1935), p. 103, Tf. 44 g-k. Several further examples of dove figurines found in Mesopotamian temples of mother goddesses are found in Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia* (AnOr 18, Rome 1939), p. 88f, and K. Karvonen-Kannas, *The Seleucid and Parthian Terracotta Figurines from Babylon* (Monografie di Mesopotamia 4, Firenze 1995), pp. 111 and 199f. Cf. n. 83 above. Note also the white dove hovering over the palm tree in the famous wall painting of the Ištar temple of Mari (Weinfeld, *Festschrift Tadmor*, p. 101). According to Diodorus, *Bibliothèque* II 19.2, "the Assyrians worship the dove as a god."

⁸⁹ HAL p. 402. Cf. Isa. 59:11, "like doves we moan incessantly, waiting for justice, but there is none"; Ezek. 7:16, "like moaning doves"; Nahum 2:8, "their slave girls are carried off, moaning like doves and beating their breasts."

⁹⁰ R. Harris, "Inanna-Ishtar as Paradox and a Coincidence of Opposites," *HR* 30 (1991) 261-278, esp. p. 263. Cf. below, n. 130f.

⁹¹ E.g., *ellet ištarati* "the holiest/purest of the goddesses" (Ištar of Nineveh/Mullissu), ABRT I 7:2; *elletu Ištar šaqītu ili Igiḡi* "holy/pure Ištar, the highest of the Igiḡi gods," Farber *Ištar* p. 140:31. The epithet *elletu Ištar* "holy/pure Ištar" (Perry *Sin* pl. 6 K 3447:7, KAR 92 r.9, and passim, see Tallqvist *Götterepitheta* p. 20) continues Sumerian *kū-innīn* "holy Inanna" (e.g., BE 31 55:14), attested since the third millennium. See also n. 111 below. Note that the epithet "holy" is attached even to Ereškigal, the sinful aspect of Ištar (nn. 119 and 130), see Inanna's Descent, passim, and cf. *Gilg.* XII 29 and 48.

⁹² See Tallqvist *Götterepitheta* p. 32 and CAD A/2 p. 243 under *ardatu* (e.g., *ardatu Ištar* "virgin Ištar" // *ki.sikil-innīn* "virgin Inanna," AL³ 134:15f, SBH p. 98 r.17f, TCL 6 51:13). The rendering of *ardatu* as "virgin" is established by its logographic spelling *KI.SIKIL*, literally, "clean place," and corresponds to Greek *parthenos* "virgin" attested as the epithet of Astarte, Cybele, Rhea, etc., and to the standing epithet of Ugaritic Anat, *bilt* (see Kapelrud *Anat*, p. 29ff, and cf. Hebrew *betūlah* "virgin," HAL p. 167a). It should be noted that *batultu*, whose basic meaning in Akkadian

simply is "young woman, girl," as shown by its logographic spelling GURUŠ.TUR, is not attested as an epithet of Ištar in Akkadian texts. As noted by Harris, HR 30 (1991) 265, the sexual innocence of Inanna is emphasized by the Goddess herself in Or. 54 (1985) 127, lines 139f: "I (Inanna) am one who knows not that which is womanly – copulating. I am one who knows not that which is womanly – kissing."

⁹³ See n. 111 below.

⁹⁴ Lambert Love Lyrics, p. 123:20ff.

⁹⁵ For the eight-pointed star as a symbol of Ištar see U. Seidl, RIA 3 s.v. Göttersymbole, and idem, *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs: Symbole mesopotamischer Gottheiten* (OBO 87, Freiburg und Göttingen 1989), p. 100f, with previous literature. See also n. 48 above.

⁹⁶ I. J. Winter, "Radiance as an Aesthetic Value in the Art of Mesopotamia (with some Indian Parallels)," B. N. Saraswati et al. (eds.), *Art – The Integral Vision. A Volume of Essay in Felicitation of Kapila Vatsyayan* (New Delhi 1994), p. 123f.

⁹⁷ On the androgyny of Ištar see B. Groneberg, "Die sumerisch-akkadische Inanna/Ištar: Hermaphroditos?," WO 17 (1986) 25-46 and Harris, HR 30 (1991) 268-70. Note especially the beard of Ištar of Nineveh (Mullissu) and Ištar of Babylon (Zarpanitu) referred to in SAA 3 7:4ff ("O praised Emašmaš, in which dwells Ištar, the queen of Nineveh! Like Aššur, she wears a beard and is clothed with brilliance. The crown on her head gleams like the stars") and in Reiner, JNES 33 (1974) 224ff, strophe I ("In Babylon I am bearded (var. a man), but (still) I am Nanaya"), and cf. the Cypriote Venus Barбата, whose cult involved eunuch priests dressed as women (see n. 139 below). Cf. Rudolph Gnosis, p. 80: "For the Gnostics bisexuality is an expression of perfection; it is only the earthly creation which leads to a separation of the original divine unity, which holds for the whole Pleroma." For androgyny as an ideal in early Christianity cf. Mt. 18:1-11 // 19:10-14 // Mk. 10:13-16 // Gal. 3:26-28, and Athenagoras' Plea, ch. 33: "You would, indeed, find many among us, both men and women, who have grown to old age unmarried, [for] to remain virgins and eunuchs brings us closer to God" (C. C. Richardson [ed.], *Early Christian Fathers* [New York 1970], p. 337). See also n. 140 below, and note that many Church Fathers (e.g., Origen) and Byzantine patriarchs were castrates (see n. 139).

⁹⁸ See p. XXXVI. In biblical and talmudic-midrashic usage, Shekhinah refers to the Divine Presence in the world and in man, which is conditioned by the religious perfection of the people of Israel. In Jewish mysticism, the term has a much more specific meaning: it denotes the maternal or feminine aspect of God hypostatized as a female entity greatly resembling Ištar, especially in her aspect as the queen of heaven, Mullissu (see G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism* [New York 1969], pp. 104-8, 114ff and 138-142, and Idel *Kabbalah*, pp. 83ff, 229ff and 315 for many striking examples, e.g. p. 83: "I saw a vision of light, splendor and great brightness, in the image of a young woman adorned with twenty-four ornaments"; for the full context and discussion see *ibid.*, and cf. n. 150 below and JNES 52 (1993) 181 and 198 with nn. 84 and 145). This view of the Shekhinah surfaces only in the Bahir (12th cent.), but passages in earlier mystical literature indicate that its roots are in much earlier times. Note especially 3 Enoch (6th/7th cent.), ch. 5, cited in Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, p. 50: "From the day when the Holiness expelled the first Adam from the Garden of Eden, Shekhinah was dwelling upon a *Keruv* under the Tree of Life... And the first man (was) sitting outside the gate of the Garden to behold the radiant appearance of the Shekhinah"; another passage cited *ibid.*, p. 186 (Maasch Merkavah), refers to "gazing at the glory of the Shekhinah."

On the association of the Shekhinah with the tree of life see also below, nn. 133f and 199ff. In Rom. 8:11, the Shekhinah coalesces with the Holy Spirit: "If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells within you, then the God who raised Jesus from the dead will also give new life to your mortal bodies through his indwelling Spirit." On *kavod* and the related Mesopotamian concept *melammu* see M. Weinfeld, ThWAT IV (1984) 26-39 s.v. *kbwd*.

⁹⁹ In Jewish mysticism, the Song of Songs is understood as an allegory of the mystical union between God and the soul, its erotic imagery serving to describe the sublime spiritual bliss experienced in this encounter; see Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 227f. Note that the "bride" of the Song of Songs, variously identified with the Torah (= the word of God), the Shekhinah, the Wisdom of God (cf. Prov. 8-9) and the ecclesia of Israel, corresponds in the "Assyrian Song of Songs" (SAA 3 14) to the goddess Tašmetu, the bride of Nabû; this text will be analyzed in detail in M. Nissinen, "Love Lyrics of Nabû and Tašmetu: An Assyrian Song of Songs?" (forthcoming). See further nn. 114 and 120 below.

¹⁰⁰ Harris, HR 30 (1991) 273ff, stresses the anomalousness and liminality of the cult of Ištar: "The goddesses' festivals are ... occasions when social rules are in abeyance and deviance from norms is articulated." See also nn. 138f below. I find it impossible to subscribe to Bottéro's view of Ištar as a goddess of "l'amour libre" (J. Bottéro, *Mésopotamie: L'écriture, la raison et les dieux* [Gallimard 1987], p. 354).

¹⁰¹ For Yahweh see, e.g., Isa. 14:22, 25, 19:2, 43:14; Jer. 25:12, 46:8, 49:35ff, 50:18, 51:44, 51:58; Hos. 8:14, Am. 1:4-8, 2:2f; Ob. 1:8; Mic. 5:10f; Zeph. 1:4, 2:5; Zech. 12:9; and note especially Zech. 9:14, "The LORD shall appear above them, and his arrow shall flash like lightning," to be compared with the winged disk of Aššur shown above Assyrian armies in Assyrian reliefs, with the god Marduk shooting his lightning arrow depicted inside the disk; see the illustration in SAA 3 Fig. 2 and cf. *ibid.*, p. 93:11ff! For the madonna, see Warner *Virgin Mary* p. 304ff with many examples quoted from sixth through seventeenth century sources.

¹⁰² See M. Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg" in Israel und Assyrien," ZAW 84 (1972) 460-493, and B. Oded, *War, Peace and Empire. Justifications for War in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* (Wiesbaden 1992), pp. 13-18 and *passim*.

¹⁰³ Cf., e.g., Streck Asp p. 48 v 95-104, "In the course of my campaign I reached Dur-Undasi, his (Ummanaldasi's) royal city. When the troops saw the river Idide (in its) violent flood, they were scared to cross it. But the Goddess (Ištar) who dwells in Arbela let my troops have a dream in the night and spoke to them as follows: 'I will go before Assurbanipal, the king whom my hands created!' My troops relied upon this dream and crossed safely the river Idide"; SAA 3 3 r.4ff, "Not with my own strength, not with the strength of my bow, but with the power [... and] strength of my goddesses, I (Assurbanipal) made the lands disobedient to me submit to the yoke of Aššur."

¹⁰⁴ For recent translations of the Descent with bibliographies see E. Reiner, *Your Thwarts in Pieces, Your Mooring Rope Cut: Poetry from Babylonia and Assyria* (Michigan 1985), pp. 29-49; Dalley *Myths* (1989), pp. 154-164; Gerfried Müller, TUAT III/4 (1994), pp. 760-766; and B. R. Foster, *Before Muses* (Bethesda 1996), pp. 402-409. The Sumerian version of the myth (W. R. Sladek, *Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld* [PhD diss. Baltimore, University Microfilms 1974]) does not differ from the Akkadian one in its religious content and is taken into consideration in the following whenever it contributes to the understanding of the myth. For attempts to explain the *Descent* in terms of "seasonal growing and decay" see J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (London 1905); T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness*

(New Haven 1976), p. 62; Dalley *Myths* (1989), p. 154; cf. also A. Falkenstein, "Der sumerische und akkadische Mythos von Inannas Gang zur Unterwelt," in E. Graf (ed.), *Festschrift Werner Caskel* (Leiden 1968), pp. 97-110, and A. D. Kilmer, "How was Queen Ereshkigal Tricked? A New Interpretation of the Descent of Ištar," UF 3 (1971) 299-309. According to E. Reiner, "Die akkadische Literatur," in W. Röllig (ed.), *Altorientalische Literaturen* (Wiesbaden 1978), p. 160, "keine Zusammenfassung kann dem Mythos ... gerecht werden, vor allem weil die Interpretation der vollständigeren sumerischen Fassung noch umstritten ist."

¹⁰⁵ See Johnston *Hekate* (1990), passim, esp. Chapter IV, pp. 49-70 ("Hekate and the Chaldean Cosmic Soul") and Appendix pp. 152-163 ("Evidence for Hekate's equation with Soul"). Johnston, as a classicist, believes that the figure of Hekate in the Oracles, which substantially differs from the earlier nature of the goddess (ibid. pp. 21-28), is related to the Middle Platonic development of the Platonic theory of the Soul and thus is a creation of Hellenistic (Greco-Roman) philosophy (ibid. pp. 71-75). However, it is abundantly clear from Johnston's analysis that Hekate of the Oracles (an awe-inspiringly beautiful lunar goddess carrying weapons and dressed in armor, a "two-faced" unifier of opposites, center of all powers, mother of the gods, "womb," creatrix, mistress of life, controller of "cosmic sympathy" [= love], Physis, Eris, and an oracular goddess manifesting herself as a light phenomenon and as a voice) directly translates Mesopotamian Ištar.

¹⁰⁶ Note SAA 3 13:21, where the soul (ZIMES, lit. "souls") of Assurbanipal is said to be "entrusted in the lap of Mullissu." In the preceding verse the life of the king is said to be "written before Nabû." The parallelism of the two verses implies that the association of Mullissu with the soul (*napištu*, the semantic equivalent of Hebr. *nefesh*, see CAD N s.v. *napištu*), was as current at the time as the association of Nabû with judgment over life and death (see nn. 7 and 10 above). The plural "souls" implies the three-graded concept of soul (oversoul, soul, animal soul) of the Chaldean Oracles, Neoplatonism and Jewish mysticism, see n. 133 below. Note that according to Hippolytus, *Refutatio* V 7.9, "The Assyrians are the first who have held that the soul is divided in three, also one," and cf. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* (ed. W. H. S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library, 1918), Messenia, XXXII 4, "I know that the Chaldaeans and Indian sages were the first to say that the soul of man is immortal, and have been followed by some Greeks, particularly by Plato the son of Ariston."

¹⁰⁷ The myth thus works on two levels: 1. the literal level addressed to the broad masses, and 2. the allegorical one addressed to the initiates of the cult of Ištar only. On the surface, the netherworld of the myth is a cosmic locality, the abode of the dead, but on the allegorical level it is the physical world of the humans conceived as a prison or grave of the soul. Note the wings (*kappi*) of the netherworld's inhabitants, corresponding to the wings of the Platonic soul, as well as the dust gathering on the netherworld's "bolted doors" (Descent, line 11), and compare the Sumerian composition "Nungal in the Ekur" (Sjöberg, AfO 24 19ff), where the cosmic mountain (kur) ruled by Enlil is described as "a prison full of weeping, lament and wailing"; cf. further Malul, NABU 1993/100, and Heimpel, NABU 1996/28, and see my remarks on the Etana epic, JNES 52 (1993) 198. Both levels are intrinsically interconnected and equally important to the understanding of the myth.

The two-level orientation of the myth (cosmic soul = human soul) corresponds to that of the tree of life, which simultaneously symbolized both the cosmos and the perfect man; see JNES 52 (1993) 166 and 172f, and AOAT 240 (1995) 384ff. The Tree's association with Ištar (see n. 133 below) leaves no doubt that it played an important role as an object of meditation in her cult, like the "asherah tree" in the Canaanite cult of Asherah, the "yoga tree" in Shakta Tantrism and the "sefirotic tree" in ecstatic Kabbalah (see nn. 133 and 200f below).

¹⁰⁸ NHC II 6 = Robinson NHL p. 192ff; the title "Expository Treatise on the Soul" is inserted both at the beginning and the end of the text. The affinities between the Fall of Sophia and the Descent of Ištar have been noted long ago, and several scholars have suggested that the former might be a reflection of the Akkadian myth; see W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen 1907), p. 263 n. 3; R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* (München 1910), pp. 102 and 193f; K. Tallqvist, *Madonnas förhistoria* (Helsingfors 1920), p. 59; W. L. Knox, "The Divine Wisdom," JTS 38 (1938) 230-237; T. F. Glasson, "The Descent of Ishtar," *Congregational Quarterly* 32 (1954) 313-321; R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and early Christianity* (New York 1966), pp. 84 and 212; J. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (New York/London 1960), p. 218; and especially G. Quispel, "Jewish Gnosis and Mandaean Gnosticism," in J.-E. Ménard (ed.), *Les textes de Nag Hammadi* (Leiden 1975), pp. 89ff. This suggestion is (despite E. Yamauchi, *Tyndale Bulletin* 29 [1978] 148-150) forcefully supported not only by the structural and functional parallelism of the myths but even more so by the striking affinities between the figures of Sophia and Ištar (see p. XXVIII above, and cf. n. 130f below). Surprisingly, the remarkable affinities between the Descent and Exeg. Soul have, to my knowledge, never been pointed out, let alone discussed before.

¹⁰⁹ According to K. Rudolph (*Gnosis*, p. 110), "in its oldest form it (i.e. Exeg. Soul) evidently belongs to a relatively early stage of gnostic literary work" and may have originated in the Samaritan school of Simon Magus (cf. ibid., pp. 255 and 297). The Samaritan background of the text would explain its affinities with the Descent of Ištar, keeping in mind that the city had been part of Syria/Assyria for more than 600 years (between 720 and 104 BC) and that a large part of its population consisted of deportees from Babylonia (see J. D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* [Cambridge, MA, 1968], pp. 89 and 92ff, and note esp. p. 94: "They are said to have become Yahwists while continuing to serve the gods of their homelands..."). See also nn. 125 and 130 below.

¹¹⁰ For ancient myths as "riddles at once unveiling and veiling the ineffable truth" and for an excellent analysis of Hellenistic and early Christian esotericism and the rationale behind it see G. G. Stroumsa, *Hidden Wisdom: Esoteric Traditions and the Roots of Christian Mysticism* (Leiden 1996). While Stroumsa's discussion is limited to classical antiquity, it fully applies to first-millennium Mesopotamia as well, for a concrete example see my article "The Esoteric Meaning of the Name of Gilgamesh" in J. Prosecky (ed.), *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East* (CRRAI 43, Prague, forthcoming). The present analysis of the Descent omits, for obvious reasons, the discussion of several "riddles" in the myth not relevant to its overall interpretation. I plan to give a full analysis elsewhere in the near future.

¹¹¹ The appellative "daughter of Sin (= the moon)" underlines the sublime wisdom and purity of the heavenly Ištar (the Holy Spirit) and provides a concrete link to the gnostic Sophia (= "Wisdom"). For Sin (Moon) as the god of contemplative wisdom, understanding and prudence (corresponding to *Binah* of Jewish mysticism) see the evidence put together and discussed in JNES 52 (1993) 177 n. 70. Note that in Tablet X of the Gilgamesh Epic, which in the structural framework of the epic corresponds to Sin/Binah (see ibid. pp. 193 and 196). Understanding takes the form of a divine barmaid, Siduri, explained as "Ištar of Wisdom" (*Ištar nemeqi*) in Šurpu II 173. The veiling of Siduri (Gilg. X 4; cf. nn. 85, 110, 117 and 123) emphasizes her chastity; her philosophical discourses with Gilgamesh reflect her

prudence; and the sea by which she lives is the sea of knowledge (Apsû), the abode of Ea (see SAA 10 p. XIX). Cf. Job 38:36, "Who put wisdom in depths of darkness and veiled understanding in secrecy?" The association of the "daughter of the moon" with Wisdom is already attested in the great Inanna hymn of Iddin-Dagan (Römer SKIZ, pp. 128-208 = Jacobsen *Harps* p. 133ff, early 2nd mill.), where the Goddess is not only hailed as the "oldest child of Suen" but also presented as the daughter of Enki, the Sumerian god of wisdom (lines 9 and 23; on this text see also n. 189 below). Note that Ištar appears as the daughter of Ea in the Descent as well (line 28). The notion of chastity implicit in the appellation "daughter of the moon" is underlined by the fact that in several texts (e.g., SAA 3 4 ii 1ff and r. ii 17; Reiner, JNES 33 (1974) 224ff, strophe I; SAA 3 8:20) it is applied to Nanaya/Tašmetu, the bride/spouse of Nabû corresponding to the bride of the Song of Songs (see n. 99 above). Note that in the Song of Songs 6:10, the bride is praised to be "beautiful as the full moon" (*lebanah*), a comparison transferred in medieval church poetry to Virgin Mary, the heavenly bride, "pulchra ut luna."

The concept of purity attached to the moon is illustrated by the inscriptions of Nabunaid, which refer to Sin as "the pure god" (⁴EN.ZU DINGIR *el-lu*, YOS 1 45 ii 34), and by Sin's mystical epithet *ellammê*, "water-pure" (referring to the waters of Apsû conceived as a sea of light), on which see the commentary passages cited in CAD s.v. *ella-mê*. The full moon with its immaculate, shining disk symbolized Ištar, as indicated by her mystic number, 15, coinciding with the full moon day; the darkening of the disk was interpreted in terms of pollution and sin (see Laessøe, *Bit rimki*, p. 95ff, LAS II pp. XXIV, 164f and 176ff, and my remarks in Galter *Astronomie* [1993], p. 54; see also M. Stol in D. J. W. Meijer [ed.], *Natural Phenomena* [Amsterdam 1992] p. 257f on Moon "weeping," full of sorrow, at eclipse, and cf. p. XXXIV and n. 141). Accordingly, the progressive loss of "purity" of the waning moon symbolized the gradual defilement, or "descent," of the Goddess; its total disappearance, total corruption, or spiritual "death"; and the gradual increase of "purity," after the conjunction, ascent and return to the original state of perfection. Cf. the esoteric text I.NAM GIŠ.HUR AN.KI.A (A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford 1986), p. 22ff), which, using gematric techniques, associates different lunar phases with different divine powers, and see JNES 52 (1993) 176 n. 66. Cf. Gikatilla's *Gates of Light*, p. 300: "In the language of the Sages this Sphere [Binah] is called Teshuvah ["return, repentance"], the reason being that the souls emanate from this place, for the spirits come from Tiferet [see nn. 47 and 133] and the lower souls from the Sphere Malkhut. They connect with each other until they merit an attachment with the Sphere Binah." On p. 303, *ibid.*, Binah is explained as the Upper Shekhinah (*Shekhinah Aila*), "for she is the essence of our receiving the overflow from the upper world."

The lunar nature of Binah is evident from several passages in *Gates of Light*, e.g., p. 163: "Because this stone is called Binah and dwells above and beyond and yet encircles all the rest [seven spheres], it is called the satellite (SOCHARET)... more clear than pearls and it encircles the seven spheres... it is called the satellite for the rounds it makes." This statement (taking the moon as this highest of the planetary spheres) corresponds to the Mesopotamian order of the seven classical planets, which always began with the moon. Otherwise, too, Gikatilla's exposition of Binah has striking points of contact with Mesopotamian notions of Sin and especially with Tablet X of the Gilgamesh Epic. See, e.g., *ibid.*, p. 164: "The stone called SOCHARET [i.e., Binah] is also known as the higher justice (*zedek elyon*)," and cf. the judicial role of Sin discussed in JNES 52 (1993) 178 n. 70 and AOAT 240 (1995) 391. On p. 334, Binah is called Depth, "meaning the depth of thought" (cf. just above); on p. 216, she is called "waters of death" (*mayim metim*), compare the "waters of death" (*mê mûti*) in Gilg. X 87ff. Note finally p. 305: "The Sphere Binah appeared to enlighten the Sphere Malkhut [Kingdom], purifying it from a number of impurities. This is the essence of the scapegoat that is used on this day (Yom Kippur)," and see n. 124 below.

¹¹² At Gate I, she loses her crown; at Gate II, her earrings; at Gate III, her necklace; at Gate IV, her pectorals (cf. SAA 3 7:8); at Gate V, her girdle; at Gate VI, her bangles; and at Gate VII, her loincloth. Note the progression from top to bottom and the alternation of single and paired pieces of clothing. This agrees with the structure of the Assyrian Tree, the crown corresponding to its palmette crown, the necklace, girdle and loincloth to the three nodes of its trunk, and the earrings, pectorals and bangles to the circles or fruits surrounding the trunk (cf. fig. 12 and JNES 52 [1993] 162ff). Accordingly, the various garments and ornaments can be identified with the divine powers constituting the Tree (see nn. 8, 23 and 44); note that they are explicitly called "powers" (*me*) in the Sumerian version of the myth (lines 14f). The progressive degradation and defilement of Ištar corresponds in Neoplatonic doctrine to the progressive weakening of the Cosmic Soul as it gets more distant from its transcendent origin, the One. On the "gates" of the netherworld see n. 114 below.

¹¹³ NHC II 6, 127, 22-128, 1 (Robinson NHL p. 192).

¹¹⁴ Cf. Zohar II 39a, analyzed by Idel, *Kabbalah* p. 227f. In this enigmatic passage the Torah is portrayed as a rainbow shrouded in clouds, which removes its outer garments and gives them to Moses, who, dressed in them, is able to ascend the mountain and see the things he saw. The association of the rainbow with the garments removed and with the ascent to the mountain establishes an important link to the Descent of Ištar and Assyrian mysticism in general.

According to Idel, the rainbow, well known from Gen. 9:13 as the bow (*qšr*) of God, is also known in Jewish mysticism as "the bow of Tiferet" and functions there as the symbol of the male sexual member associated with the sefirah of Yesod. This yields the following string of associations: rainbow = bow of God = bow of Tiferet = penis. The same string of associations is attested in Assyrian sources. Bow was a prominent attribute of Ištar, cf. simply the passages cited in CAD s.v. *qaštu* "bow." In *Enūma eliš*, Marduk fashions a bow, designates it as his weapon (IV 35), and defeats Tiamat with it (IV 101); later Anu lifts it up, kisses it, calls it "my daughter," and fixes it as a constellation in the sky (VI 82-92). The constellation in question, "Bow Star" (MUL.BAN), our Canis Maior, rose in Ab (August), a hot month with death and netherworld connotations (see Abusch, JNES 33 [1974] 260f), and its equation with Ištar in her destructive aspect is well attested (e.g., "Ab, the month of the Bow Star, the heroic daughter of Sin," Streck *Asb* pp. 72 ix 9f and 198 iii 1; "Bow Star = Ištar Elammatu, the daughter of Anu," Mul Apin I ii 7 and KAV 218 B i 17). Consequently, the weapon by which Marduk defeats Tiamat actually is Ištar, and the fact that in the mystical text SAA 3 37:18 Marduk defeats Tiamat with his "penis" (*ušāru*) proves the existence of the bow = penis association in contemporary mysticism. In En. el. IV 49 and 75, Marduk's weapon is called "the deluge," reflecting Ištar's role in bringing about the deluge (see pp. XXIV and LII above). This "deluge bow," which already occurs in the Sumerian myth *Angimdimma* as Ninurta's weapon (giš.ban a.ma.uru.mu, "my deluge bow," *Angim* III 35), is of course nothing but the rainbow. The equation rainbow = Ištar is attested in CT 25 31:8 (see CAD s.v. *manzâr*), and both "Bow Star" and "Rainbow Star" are given as names of Venus in LBA 1564:3 and 1576 ii 7, and equated with Virgo in the Great Star List CT 26 40//, Weidner HBA p. 7, lines 16-18. Broken into its components, the logogram for "rainbow," ⁴TIR.AN.NA, signifies "bow of heaven" or "bow of Anu," cf. *te-er* TIR = *qiš-tum, qa-aš-tum*, A VII/4:83f (MSL 14 467).

The kabbalistic string of associations thus has a perfect parallel in Mesopotamia: rainbow = bow of heaven (Anu) = deluge bow = weapon of Marduk = penis = bow = bow of Ištar = Virgo = Venus = Bow Star = Rainbow Star.

On the other hand, Ištar is addressed as "the ziggurat" (staged temple-tower) in Assurbanipal's hymn to Ištar of Nineveh (Mullissu), SAA 3 7:9. Remains of colouring on the ziggurat of Dur-Šarukin (see V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie* [Paris, 1867-70], II, 79) show that each of its stages was painted in a different colour, the sequence of colours corresponding to the colouring of the seven concentric walls of Ecbatana in Herodotus I 98 (white, black, purple, blue, orange, gold, silver) and probably symbolizing the seven planetary spheres (Venus, Saturn, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Sun, and Moon). Through its seven-staged colouring, the ziggurat is associated both with the rainbow and the descent and ascent of Ištar. Its seven colours correspond to the seven garments of the Goddess, so that descent from its silver-coloured top (the Moon!) See nn. 111 and 116) would symbolize undressing, while ascending it would symbolize putting on these "coloured garments." Thus the man following in the footsteps of the Goddess would reach the top of the cosmic mountain vested in her "garments," that is, the divine powers (see above, n. 112), just as Moses did in the Zohar passage just quoted. The image of a multicolored seven-staged ziggurat associated with the planetary spheres clearly lies behind the Mithraic ascent of the soul described in Origen's *Contra Celsum* (Meyer *Mysteries*, p. 209): the initiate climbs "a ladder with seven gates," the first (of lead) associated with Saturn, the second (of tin) with Venus, the third (of bronze) with Jupiter, the fourth (of iron) with Mercury, the fifth (of electrum) with Mars, the sixth (of silver) with Moon, and the seventh (of gold) with Sun.

Idel has shown (*Kabbalah*, p. 103ff) that meditation on colours (conceived as "garments" of the sefirot, the divine powers) was widely practiced in Kabbalah, and that visualization of the letters of the Tetragrammaton (symbolizing the sefirot) in colours was a technique for achieving the prophetic state. In pronouncing the daily Shema' Israel prayer (see above, p. XXV), whose objective was the unification of the divine powers, one was supposed to visualize the first Tetragrammaton in colours and circles, "like the colour of the rainbow" (ibid. p. 108). There can be no doubt that the rainbow here symbolized the unification of the divine powers in the sefirah of Keter (the equivalent of Anu, the god of Heaven). cf. *Gates of Light*, p. 227: "Just as Tiferet (Beauty) ascends to the infinite AIN SOF and dresses in the garments of Keter and adorns itself with them, so does Israel, who is attached to Tiferet, ascend with Him." Tiferet is the sefirotic equivalent of Ištar (see n. 47), and the "garments of Keter" correspond to the rainbow, the "bow of Anu." There can be little doubt that the rainbow served as a symbol of the divine unity in Assyrian mysticism, too; note the rainbow arch replacing the palmette crown (the symbol of Anu) in some representations of the Assyrian Tree (e.g., JNES 52 [1993] 200, third row from bottom).

¹¹⁵ See G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism* (New York 1969), p. 67. Cf. A. Safran, *Sagèsse de la Kabbale. Textes choisis de la littérature mystique juive* (Paris 1987), pp. 38f, 72ff, 76f, 134f and 224, citing Maggid Devarav le-Ya'akov, Nefesh ha-Hayyim, and Likkutey 'Amarim. See also n. 98 above.

¹¹⁶ R. Joseph Gikatilla's guide to meditation on the divine names, *Gates of Light* (13th cent.), presents the sefirot (the divine attributes, "spheres") as a sequence of superimposed gates leading to the Divine light, a sort of celestial ladder; at the same time, they are also presented as limbs, ministers, attributes, and (as in the Descent of Ištar) garments of God, with the explicit caveat that all these images are to be taken allegorically only (pp. 6ff). "A person praying is like someone travelling through perilous terrain; his prayer has to pass among gangs who dwell between heaven and earth and then ascends to the heavens; if he is worthy, the robbers will not harm his prayers" (p. 12). As in the *Descent*, the soul in Gikatilla's scheme originates from and returns to the moon: "If, after she has sinned, she returns and betters her ways, then she ... becomes worthy of ascending to the Sphere Binah (= the moon, see n. 111) which is known as the world to come; thus she returns to the place from which she was lost" (p. 300f).

In earlier Jewish mysticism, the ascending soul was imagined to pass through the gates of seven heavenly palaces guarded by archangels; the God (referred to as the "Divine Glory" or "the King in His Beauty") resided in the topmost heaven corresponding to the sefirah of Binah, which also figures as the location of the Paradise and the seat of Shekhinah and the tree of life; see Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, pp. 48-62, 152ff and 229f. The 10-11th cent. gaonic sources discussed by Idel *Kabbalah* p. 90f emphasize the psychological nature of the ascent (note especially the responsum of R. Hai Gaon quoted ibid.).

¹¹⁷ See Rudolph *Gnosis* (1987), 171ff. The gnostic imagery closely resembles the Jewish one: the soul passes to the "kingdom of light" through the seven planetary spheres guarded by demonic doorkeepers, whose favour has to be acquired by prayers of entreaty; as in the *Descent of Ištar*, "the way of ascent is the way of descent" (NHC VII 5, 127, 20 [*The Three Steles of Seth*] = Robinson NHL p. 401, referring to the fall of Sophia). Note that in the gnostic (Naassene) interpretation of the myth of Isis and Osiris, the Goddess, like Ištar, is veiled in "seven robes," which are explained as an allegory for the planetary spheres, the "seven ethereal robes" of nature (Hippolytus, Ref. V 7.23). On the soul's passage through the seven planetary spheres in the mysteries of Mithras, see n. 114 above.

¹¹⁸ NHC II 6, 128, 34-129, 4 (Robinson NHL p. 192f). Cf. Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, p. 109: "This shrine (i.e., the sefirah of Yesod associated with the material world) ... has a place which is called the Gates of Tears, and God himself opens these gates three times a day. For the penitent, these are the gates where they take consolation and repent their evil deeds. For when the penitent prays, cries and lets tears fall on his prayers, his prayer and his cries enter the Gates of Tears... One should therefore pray with great fervor and weep, if he wants his prayers to be accepted."

¹¹⁹ Note that the main function of the *assinnu* both in the *Descent of Ištar* and its Sumerian predecessor is to comfort the suffering Ereškigal (the fallen soul), who at this moment is moaning like "a woman about to give birth" (Inanna's *Descent*, lines 227-33 = 251-7), and compare Exeg. Soul, II 132, 2ff: "Then she will begin to rage at herself like a woman in labor, who writhes and rages in the hour of her delivery." In Inanna's *Descent*, the *kurgarra* and *galatur* are explicitly said to bring with them "food of life and water of life."

Note also that the word *zikru* used to refer to the *assinnu* in the myth ("Ea, in the wisdom of his heart, created a *zikru*, created the *assinnu*, Ašuš-namir," lines 92f) explicitly identifies him as a personification of the "Word" (Logos). *Zikru* is a double entendre which can mean both "word" and "man/male," and, by a play with the consonants, also be associated with the word *kezru* "coiffured man" (a devotee of Ištar). The meaning "man" would at the first sight seem to fit the context better (cf., e.g., Dalley's recent [1989] translation of the passage). Upon closer reflection it is excluded, however, because the *assinnu* in fact was not a man but a sexless, probably self-castrated, being (see below, n. 138).

The same double entendre also occurs in the Epic of Gilgamesh ("zikru of Anu," Tablet I 83), where it refers to Enkidu as a "helper" sent by the gods for the salvation of Gilgamesh; note Enkidu's epithet *mušēzib ibri* "helper/savior of friend" later in the text. In Gilgamesh's dreams, Enkidu appears as a meteorite (*kisru*) falling from heaven, or as

an axe (*haššinnu*) loved by Gilgamesh "like a wife," two obvious puns on *kezru* and *assinnu* respectively. The very name Enkidu can be logographically understood as "created by Ea," which makes his origin the same as the *assinnu*'s. Moreover, later in the epic, Enkidu is repeatedly referred to as "the mule," implying that the slaying of the Bull of Heaven culminated in his emasculation (see below, n. 140, and note this passage also involve a pun, *imittu* = "right hand" = "shoulder"). The figure of Enkidu thus coincides with that of the *assinnu* not only functionally but also factually. On his intercourse with the harlot, which parallels the encounter between Ereškigal and the *assinnu* in the Descent of Ištar, see n. 140 below.

It can thus be postulated that the emasculated *assinnus* played an important role in the cult of Ištar as "helpers" of the novices to the cult, heartening them with words of comfort and promise for salvation, and probably also introducing them to the doctrine of the ascent of the soul. In Exeg. Soul, this figure coalesces with that of the bridegroom, "the firstborn of the Father" (see nn. 120 and 123) with whom the reborn soul unites in a "bridal chamber" before her final ascent to heaven (see NHC II 6, 132, 7-26; 133, 31-35; 134, 25-27). This suggests that the *assinnus* were responsible for administering the initiands the "sacrament of the bridal chamber," not to be misunderstood as a physical sexual act but as spiritual preparation for the final wedding in heaven (see n. 121).

¹²⁰ See Rudolph *Gnosis*, p. 245ff, and note especially the Gospel of Philip (Robinson NHL p. 124ff; Meyer *Mysteries*, p. 235ff) where the "bridal chamber" is presented as the highest sacrament, the "Holy of the Holies" (NHC II 3, 69, 24-28), where "one receives the light" (ibid. 86, 4-5; cf. 70, 7-8). The immediate contexts make it quite clear that "the light" here refers to esoteric knowledge relating to the ascent ("he who will receive that light will not be seen, nor can he be detained [sc. during the ascent]," 86, 8-9; cf. ibid. 70, 5ff, "the powers do not see those who are clothed in the perfect light, and consequently are not able to detain them," and see above, n. 116f). It is accordingly probable that "bridal chamber" is a covering term for the whole gnostic initiation, as suggested by W. Eisenberg in Robinson NHL p. 140 (cf. above, n. 119); at the same time, it may also well have functioned as a sacrament for the dying, to prepare them for their final ascent to the Pleroma (see H. G. Gaffron, *Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium* [diss. Bonn 1969], p. 185ff).

¹²¹ NHC II 6, 132, 8ff. The appellative "first-born" used of the bridegroom identifies him as the gnostic saviour, also called "image of the Father," "son," or "self-originate," and equated with Christ (see Rudolph *Gnosis*, p. 148ff). The role distribution found in the text (bride = soul, bridegroom = saviour/God) corresponds to that in the two wedding-feast parables of Mt. 25:1-13 (the prudent and foolish virgins) and 22:1-14 (the king's feast for his son), and is a commonplace in Jewish mysticism, see Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 209. The apparent "reversal of roles" noted by Idel (the righteous human being playing the part of the bridegroom) is explicable through the *homoousia* of the righteous (= the perfect man) with the saviour (= the king), and hence with God. See nn. 9, 122f, 192 and 196. Note also the passage in Gikatilla's *Gates of Light* quoted above, n. 114, where Tiferet is portrayed as a bride dressing "in the garments of Keter and adorning itself with them" in anticipation of her union with the infinite God.

¹²² NHC II 6, 134, 13f and 25f.

¹²³ Tammuz was Ištar's "husband" (Desc., line 127; see also Tallqvist *Götterepitheta* p. 97) but, as the son Ea (ibid. p. 120), also her "brother" (Desc., lines 133ff; on Ištar as the daughter of Ea see n. 111 above). He is thus identical with the saviour figure in Exeg. Soul, who is there called "her (i.e., the soul's) man, who in her brother" (NHC II 6, 132, 8f and 133, 5f). His specification as "husband of her [Ištar's] youth" (*hāmīr šuhritiša*, also in Gilg. VI 46) refers to the celestial origin of the fallen Ištar, which is also underlined in Exeg. Soul: "They were originally joined to one another when they were with the father" (133, 4). The patronym "son of Ea," which otherwise exclusively refers to Marduk and Ninurta (see Tallqvist, ibid. 120 s.v. *mār Ea* and 67 s.v. *bukur Nudimmud*), unquestionably identifies Tammuz with the Mesopotamian celestial saviour manifested in the person of the king; see discussion above, pp. XV and XLff.

In accordance with their mythological roles, Ninurta, Marduk and Tammuz represent different aspects of kingship: Ninurta (like Egyptian Horus) is the victorious, triumphant crown prince; Marduk is the ruling king; while Tammuz (like Egyptian Osiris) is the dying/dead king, referred to allegorically as a felled tree (e.g., SAA 3 16 r.19; on the king as the tree of life see n. 193 below), a shepherd killed amid his sheep, a gardener killed in his orchard (ibid. 17f), and similar metaphors. The identities of the god and the king totally merge at the latter's funeral, which culminated in a funeral display (*taklimtu*) identical with that of the god's image during his festival; see LAS 4-6 = SAA 10 9 and 18f, and the commentaries in LAS II p. 7ff; M. Stol, "Greek *deiktérion*: the Lying-in-State of Adonis," in J. H. Kamstra et al. (eds.), *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen 1988) 127f; J. A. Scurlock, "K 164 (BA 2, p. 635): New Light on the Mourning Rites for Dumuzi?," RA 86 (1992) 53-67.

¹²⁴ The figure of Tammuz must be understood as an etiology for the death of the king, an explanation of the paradox that the king, the son of God (see p. XXXVIff), had to die. The ascent of Ištar had outlined the way for salvation, but that was not enough. In order to be guided to the right path, the world needed a permanent substitute for the Goddess. This could only be provided through the sacrifice of Tammuz, which is an allegory for the institution of the divine kingship. In materializing the idea of "perfect man" in the human king, God gave mankind an example to follow and a shepherd to guide it to the right path. At the same time, however, he subjected part of his own substance (his own "son") to bodily death.

In this light, it becomes clear that Tammuz had to be sacrificed not for the redemption of the Goddess (as a superficial reading of the myth might suggest), but for the redemption of all the fallen souls who would follow her trail. In other words, Tammuz died not for Ištar but for man, and his death can be regarded as a token of God's love for all mankind in the same sense as Christ's redemptory death. Note Aššur's epithet *ra'im tenēšēti* "lover of mankind" in K 1349:10 = Saggs, Iraq 37 (1975) 15, and Ištar's epithet *rā'imat kullat nišē* "lover of all mankind" in PSBA 31 62:4, and cf. 1 John 4:9, "For God is love; and his love was disclosed to us in this, that he sent his only Son into the world to bring us life." It is true that Ištar was "responsible for his (Tammuz's) seizure" (Harris, HR 30 [1991] 265 n. 20), but so is God in Rom. 8:32 ("He did not spare his own Son, but gave him up for us all")!

The doctrinal similarity of the redemptory death of Tammuz to that of Christ emerges with full clarity from the Mesopotamian substitute king ritual, in which the innocent sufferer-king (= the substitute) takes upon himself the sins of the penitent sinner (= the true king) and silently dies for him (see LAS II pp. XXIV and XXX, and my remarks in Galter *Astronomie*, p. 54f). The role of the substitute in this ritual corresponds to that of the "virgin kid" in the medical ritual "Giving a man's substitute to Ereškigal" (see LAS II pp. 127 and 305), which makes the ritual's points of contact with Jesus' trial and suffering ("as a lamb") all the more conspicuous.

¹²⁵ Apart from the doctrinal similarities between the deaths of Tammuz and Christ, the mythology of Tammuz has striking points of contact with the Passion story, which can hardly be passed over as merely accidental. Just compare the troops of galla demons sent to seize Tammuz (Inanna's Descent, lines 279ff; Dumuzi's Dream, lines 110ff, and the parallels reviewed by Alster, *ibid.* p. 104ff) with the "great crowd armed with swords and cudgels" sent to arrest Jesus; the betrayal of Tammuz by his friend (Dumuzi's Dream, lines 92-109 and 141-151) with the betrayal of Jesus by Jude; the vain attempts of Utu (the divine judge) to help Tammuz to flee (Inanna's Descent, lines 352-68; Dumuzi's Dream, lines 164-182 and the parallels reviewed by Alster, *ibid.* p. 114ff) with the attempts of Pilate to let Jesus free; and the weeping of Tammuz's wife, mother and sister (Inanna, Sirtur and Geštinanna) at his death (Jacobsen *Harps.*, pp. 57-84) with the role of the three Marys during and after the crucifixion. The cult of Tammuz was widespread in Israel and Judah long after Assyrian times; it was practiced in Jerusalem during the exile (see Ezek. 8:14), and it must have survived until Roman times in Samaria (whose population was half-Babylonian since Assyrian times) and in Galilee, which was annexed to Assyria in 732 BC and reattached to Judea only in 104 BC. According to Jerome (Ep. 58.3), a sacred grove of Tammuz (Adonis) existed in Bethlehem until the reign of Constantine; on the persistence of the cult of Tammuz (Ta'uz) till the 9th century in Harran see T. M. Green, *The City of the Moon God: Religious Traditions of Harran* (Leiden 1992), p. 152. See also S. N. Kramer, *The Sacred Marriage Rite* (Bloomington 1969), p. 133, and n. 126 below.

¹²⁶ Firmicus Maternus (c. AD 350), *De errore profanarum religionum* 22.1, describes a mourning scene in a mystery cult, which ends in a similar promise to the devotees: "Be confident, *mystai*, since the god has been saved; you too will be saved from your toils!" (see M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult* (London 1977), p. 116; Meyer *Mysteries*, p. 159; Burkert *Mystery Cults*, p. 75). The mourned god, lying on a litter, is not identified in the text, and scholarly opinion as to his identity is divided between Attis and Osiris. Whichever is the case, the affinities between the passage and the concluding words of the Descent of Ištar are certainly not accidental.

Osiris was the Egyptian equivalent of Tammuz (the deceased king), see n. 123 above. Attis was his Phrygian equivalent; as the name of his consort Cybele (= Kubaba of Carchemish, see M. Popko, *Religions of Asia Minor* [Warsaw 1996], pp. 100f, 166f and 181ff) shows, his cult was an import from Syria and had many points in common with that of Tammuz. Like the latter, he was portrayed as a shepherd playing a reed pipe, and in the annual festival commemorating his death, a cut-down pine tree served as his symbolic representation (cf. nn. 123 and 127). His cult was markedly ecstatic and ascetic in character and like that of Tammuz and Ištar, involved self-castration of male devotees (see p. XXXIV with nn. 138ff).

The pine tree representing Attis symbolized immortality, and the castration of his devotees aimed at future bliss. The resurrection of Attis is explicitly confirmed in Firmicus Maternus, *De err.*, 3.1ff). It should be noted that according to Hippolytus (Ref. V 7ff), the gnostic sect of the Naassenes attended the cult of Attis and absorbed its doctrines, whose Mesopotamian origin was commonly known and acknowledged (see especially V 7.6f on the Assyrian/Chaldean origin of the doctrine of the perfect man, 7.9 on that of the three-fold division of the soul, and 7.11f on the higher and lower soul). One wonders whether the apostle Paul, whose home town (Tarsus) must have brought him into contact with the cult of Attis, and whose writings betray clear gnostic influence (see Rudolph *Gnosis*, p. 301ff), originally — before his studies in Jerusalem — belonged to this sect. Cf. above, n. 125.

¹²⁷ Incense (*qutrinnu*), which ascended to heaven, was an offering expressly destined to celestial gods, as opposed to food and drink offerings presented to their earthly images. Cf. Gilg. XI 160-168, where the gods gather "like flies" to smell the *qutrinnu* of Utanapishtim after the Flood; the offering there marks Utanapishtim's salvation from the Flood and anticipates the eternal life granted to him. The wording of the passage thus implies the resurrection of the deceased devotees of Ištar "together with" Tammuz (that is, at the end of his annual festival, celebrated in the fourth month bearing his name).

¹²⁸ Pace Yamauchi, *Tyndale Bulletin* 29 (1978) 150, Tammuz did not stay permanently in the netherworld. He appears, together with Ningišzida, as the gatekeeper of the highest heaven in the Adapa myth, and an explicit reference to his resurrection is found in a recently published Mari letter (A 1146:42-44, see P. Marelli, "Vie nomade," in J.-M. Durand (ed.), *Florilegium marianum*, Mémoires de NABU 1 [1992], p. 119). While the Sumerian myth of Inanna's descent seems to assign to Tammuz a half-year stay in the netherworld (see S. N. Kramer, "Dumuzi's annual resurrection," *BASOR* 183 [1966] 31, and *The Sacred Marriage Rite* [Bloomington 1969], p. 154ff), the Assyrian evidence suggests that he (like Attis and Adonis) was resurrected soon after his death and burial. See SAA 3 38 r.2ff ([25th day]: "striking"; [26th day]: "wailing"; [28th?]: "Tammuz rises"), and cf. the festival schedules discussed in LAS II p. 9f and Scurlock, RA 86 [1992] 58f (26th day, "wailing"; 27th, "release"; 28th, "Tammuz"), as well as the mourning schedule of Attis: 22nd March, felling of the pine; 24th day, wailing and burial; 25th, resurrection of the buried god.

The commemoration of the resurrection of Tammuz within the Assyrian cultic year does not make him a "periodically rising vegetation god" (cf. n. 104 above). Note that Christ, too, rises from the dead every year within the Christian cultic year, and is not considered a "vegetation god"! The Mesopotamian belief in the resurrection of the king is confirmed by an economic text dated to the 11th month of the last regnal year of Šulgi, which contains the remark "when the divine Šulgi ascended to heaven"; see C. Wilcke, "König Šulgis Himmelfahrt," *Münchener Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 1 (1988) 245-55 and by a similar text referring to the resurrection of a later king (Išbi-Erra or Šu-ilišu), see M. Yoshikawa, *ASJ* 11 (1989) 353 and P. Steinkeller, *NABU* 1992/4.

¹²⁹ Note also SAA 3 3:16, "the Lady of Arbela ordered everlasting life for me to live," and OECT 6 p. 72:14, "Mullissu, who gives well-being and life to those who frequent her abode" (prayer of Asb.).

¹²⁹ Cf. Rom. 8:11-17, "If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells within you, then the God who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will also give new life to your mortal bodies through his indwelling Spirit... For all who are moved by the Spirit are sons of God... We are God's heirs and Christ's fellow-heirs, if we share his sufferings now in order to share his splendour hereafter."

¹³⁰ The Thunder (NHC VI 2 = Robinson NHL p. 295ff) has since its discovery been a document "difficult to classify"; however, there is now a growing consensus among scholars that the speaker of this remarkable monologue is "a combination of the higher and lower Sophia." The text's affinities with Isis aretalogies and the self-presentation of Wisdom in Prov. 8 have long been noted, and G. Quispel, in J.-E. Ménard (ed.), *Les textes de Nag Hammadi* (Leiden 1975), p. 105, has adduced a striking parallel from Mandaean literature definitely establishing the speaker as the Holy Spirit ("I am death, I am life; I am darkness, I am light; I am error, I am truth; I am destruction, I am consternation; I am the blow, I am the healing," Right Ginza, 207; the speaker is the Mandaean "Holy Spirit," Ewat). Quispel dates

the Thunder to the third to first century BC and proposes to identify the speaker as the goddess Anat, the "unorthodox" spouse of Yahweh (ibid., p. 95).

Despite the objections of Yamauchi, Tyndale Bulletin 29 (1978) 148, the analysis of the Descent of Ištar confirms Quispel's suggestions. The speaker of the text is Ištar (or Isis, Anat, etc.) as the coincidence of opposites, the power of love joining the opposites and governing them all. In its first-person monologue format the text parallels the Assyrian prophecies and Chaldean Oracles, and its title recalls the epiphanies of Hekate in the Oracles, preceded by thunder; see Johnston *Hekate*, p. 111ff. See also the important discussion in G. G. Stroumsa, *Hidden Wisdom* (1996), p. 46ff, who interprets "thunder" as an esoteric terminus technicus for "heavenly oral revelation of divine secrets" (p. 51) and draws attention to the designation of two apostles of Jesus as "sons of thunder" in Mk. 3:17. This suggests that the Thunder, like the Exeg. Soul, may have originated in Samaria or in Galilee, which would explain its Mesopotamian affinities (see nn. 108 and 125 above). The text itself has a close parallel in the Sumerian myth of Inanna and Enki (G. Farber-Flügge, *Studia Pohl*, s.m. 10 [Rome 1973]), which contains a similar long first-person antithetical monologue. Note also the hymn to Inanna edited by Sjöberg, ZA 65 (1976) 161-253, and the Assyrian hymn to Nanaya edited by Reiner, JNES 33 (1974) 224ff, which presents Ištar as a universal goddess worshiped under many names and many (often antithetical) forms.

¹³¹ NHC VI 2, 13, 15-20; 14, 12-13 and 29-32; 19, 11-16; 21, 13, and 20-30. Compare the final lines with those of Prov. 8 (lines 32-36): "Now, my sons, listen to me, ... He who finds me, finds life, ... while he who finds me not, hurts himself, and all who hate me are in love with death."

¹³² Note KAR 139 (Menzel Tempel T1f), r.2ff: "The priest blesses him (the initiate), saying: 'May the heavenly Ištar speak nicely of you [to ...]! As [this] torch is bright, may Ištar decree brightness and prosperity to you. Guard the word and secrets of Ištar! Should you leak out the word of Ištar, you shall not live, and should you not guard her secrets, you shall not prosper. May Ištar guard your mouth and tongue!' Note also the name of the temple of Zarpanitu (Ištar of Babylon) in Assur, É.HAL.AN.KI = *bet pirišti šamē u eršeti*, "House of the secrets of heaven and earth," Menzel Tempel T163 line 182.

For passages underlining the secrecy of Hellenistic mystery cults see Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* XI 21 and 23 (mysteries of Isis); Augustine, *City of God*, VI 7 (mysteries of Cybele); Diodorus, *Bibliothèque*, V 48.4 and 49.5 (mysteries of the Kabeiroi and Cybele); C. Kerényi, *Eleusis* (Princeton 1967), p. 47 (mysteries of Demeter); Livy, *Hist.* XXXIX, 10 and 12f (Bacchic cults); Meyer *Mysteries* p. 50 (mysteries of Demeter). On the secrecy of Chaldean theurgy see Johnston *Hekate*, p. 81, commenting on the oracle fragment 132 ("Keep silent, *myste*"); on Mesopotamian esotericism in general, see my remarks in JNES 52 (1993) 168ff.

¹³³ See Assurbanipal's hymn to Ištar of Nineveh (SAA 3 7), which begins by addressing the Goddess as "date palm, lady (*bēlat*) of Nineveh," and Lambert Love Lyrics, p. 123:18ff, where Ištar of Babylon is addressed as "palm of carnelian." These two passages establish beyond question that Ištar was associated with the palm tree, which in Assyrian iconography constitutes the trunk of the stylized sacred tree (see JNES 52 [1993] 201, App. A, and pp. 173, 187 and 195). Note that the same association is also attested for Canaanite Aširtu/Asherah (see n. 199ff below) and the kabbalistic equivalents of Mullissu/Ištar, Shekhinah (see n. 98) and Tiferet (see n. 47, and note in addition Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, pp. 304 and 219: "Because it is the source of life, the Sphere Tiferet is called the Tree of Life; meaning that the tree draws life from the highest source. For the Tree of Life was inside the garden — the Middle Line which empties life into the Sphere Yesod. The Sphere that is called Malkhut [Kingdom] receives the everflow of life from the source of life through the Tree of Life ... Through this "Tree," the sphere Binah [see nn. 111 and 116] unites with the sphere Malkhut").

Ištar's association with the Tree is explained by the fact that the three-layered Tree, besides being the image of God and the perfect man (see p. XXIII and n. 193 below), was also an image of the soul. In Kabbalah, its three layers correspond to three grades of the soul: *nefesh*, the animal soul, *ruah*, the moral soul, and *neshamah*, the divine "over-soul" (see Zohar I 205b-206a, and cf. my remarks in JNES 52 [1993] 187 n. 98). The description of Ištar's descent and ascent in terms of the anthropomorphic tree and the seven-staged ziggurat, discussed in nn. 112 and 114, implies that meditation on the tree and its constituents, the divine powers (associated with the different stages of the ascent, see nn. 114 and 116), played an important role in her cult, as later in Kabbalah (see, e.g., A. Kaplan, *Meditation and Kabbalah* [York Beach, 1982], p. 125ff). The same is implied by the two-level (macrocosm/microcosm) orientation of the myth (see n. 107) and by the central role played by meditation on the "yoga tree" and the cosmic mountain in Shakta Tantrism, the ecstatic cult of the Hindu mother goddess, which offers an important living parallel to the cult of Ištar (see in detail T. Goudriaan et al., *Hindu Tantrism* [HdO II/4/2, 1979] 47ff and P. Rawson, *Tantra: The Indian Cult of Ecstasy* [London 1973] p. 25ff.)

¹³⁴ On the relevant mystic numbers see JNES 52 (1993) 182ff; on the association of the top and base of the Tree with heaven and netherworld and the highest and lowest grades of the soul, see ibid. 187. For Ištar as a power joining the opposites see nn. 48, 89 and 130 above, and cf. Johnston *Hekate*, p. 60: "In Chaldean context, the goddess is given two faces because she is expected to view two specific realms, the Intelligible and Sensible Worlds [i.e., heaven and earth], between which she stands as Cosmic Soul... By facing in both directions and reacting to both the Sensible and Intelligible spheres, Hekate/Soul bridges the gap between them."

This function of Ištar/Hekate corresponds to Augustine's definition of the Holy Spirit as "the mutual love of Father and Son, the consubstantial bond that unites them" (*De Trinitate* 15, 27); see Kelly *Doctrines*, p. 275, and ibid. p. 276ff on Augustine's use of analogies drawn from the structure of the human soul to explain the Trinity. According to Origen, "The mediator between the only true God, i.e. the ineffable Father, and man is not, in the last analysis, the God-man Jesus Christ, but the Word [i.e., the Holy Spirit] who bridges the gulf between the unoriginate Godhead and creatures" (ibid. p. 157). Note also *Gates of Light*, p. 300 (cited above, n. 111), where Tiferet appears as an intermediary attaching "lower souls" as spirits to their original home, Binah.

¹³⁵ See nn. 99, 114 and 120, and cf. Johnston *Hekate*, p. 89: "The primary goal of the theurgist was *anagōgē*, the temporary raising of his soul to the "intellectual fire" of the noetic realm while the body was still alive; repeated practice of anagoge purified the soul for its eventual release from Fate when the theurgist's body died." Note also The Gospel of Philip, NHC II 3, 56, 15ff (Robinson NHL p. 144): "Those who say that the lord died first and (then) rose up are in error, for he rose up first and (then) died. If one does not first attain the resurrection he will [[not]] die," and ibid. 73, 1ff (NHL p. 153): "Those who say they will die first and then rise are in error. If they do not first receive the resurrection while they live, when they die they will receive nothing." This corresponds to the situation

in Jewish mysticism, where the ascent of the soul was an established technique for seeking the *unio mystica* in one's lifetime, before absorption into the ocean of divine light after death, see Idel *Kabbalah*, pp. 67-73.

¹³⁶ Cf. Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 42, citing R. Ezra of Gerona (12th cent.): "The righteous causes his unblemished and pure soul to ascend [until she reaches] the supernal holy soul, [and] she unites with her and knows future things. And this is the manner [in which] the prophet acted, as the evil inclination did not have any dominion over him, to separate him from the supernal soul. Thus, the soul of the prophet is united with the supernal soul in a complete union."

In Jewish mysticism, achieving *unio mystica* after the ascent of the soul is tantamount to being admitted to God's court in the highest heaven; see Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, passim. Cf. Isaiah 6, where the prophet becomes a participant in the divine council, so that when the Lord (as in Micaiah's vision, above, p. XXI) calls for a volunteer, he actually responds to the call; cf. Jer. 23:18-24 and 2 Cor. 12:1-4. For the same idea in Mesopotamian prophecy, note the Old Babylonian oracle published by M. deJong Ellis, MARI 5 (1987) 235ff, and see n. 27 above.

¹³⁷ Cf. Burkert *Mystery Cults*, p. 77f: "The worshippers of Isis imitate their goddess, beating their breasts and wailing for Osiris, but bursting into joy when the god has been found again. The castrated *galloi* clearly impersonate Attis... Plutarch says that the suffering of Isis, as enacted in the *teletai*, should be a lesson in piety and consolation."

¹³⁸ See SAA 3 4 i 2-11; Erra IV 54ff (English transl. in L. Cagni, "The Poem of Erra," SANE 1/3 [Malibu 1977], p. 52); Römer SKIZ, p. 138:53ff (Inanna Hymn of Iddin-Dagan, English transl. in Jacobsen *Harpis* [1987], p. 115f), and see the discussion in LAS II (1983) p. 315f. The reference to "fear" in the Erra passage, as well the general context (swords and flint blades) compared with later parallels makes it quite clear that the phrase "turned from men into women" there implies emasculation and not just transvestism (thus CAD s.v. *assinnu* and *kurgarrû*; Harris, HR 30 [1991] 276f).

Undoubtedly, the *kurgarrûs* and *assinnus* dressed and behaved like women (see, e.g., UM 29-16-229 ii 4ff = Sjöberg, ZA 65 224, "May she (Inanna) change the right side (male) into the left side (female), dress him/her in the dress of a woman, place the speech of a woman in his/her mouth and give him/her a spindle and a hair clasp"; see also n. 231 below). However, their femininity, like that of the Galli of Cybele and Atargatis, was not transient but permanent, and derived from their emasculation. Note that in OB Lu (below, n. 232), words denoting mutilated persons are associated with ecstasies and frenzied people, implying a correlation between self-mutilation and frenzy, and see n. 220 on emasculated *assinnus* falling into trance in Mari texts. The androgyny of the *assinnu* is implied by his role in the cult of Ištar, see above, n. 119. The Sumerian equivalent of *assinnu* in the Descent of Inanna, *gala-tur*, means "junior chanter (of lamentations)" and doubtless refers to castrated choirboys; note that Sumerian cultic lamentations, performed by the *gala* chanters, are consistently written in *emesal*, the Sumerian "women's language" otherwise only used by women and female deities, and cf. I. J. Gelb, StOr 46 (1975) 73.

Several vivid descriptions of acts of self-laceration and emasculation performed by the devotees of the Syrian goddesses Cybele and Atargatis are extant in classical sources, see e.g. Apuleius, *Metamorph.* VIII 26-28; Catullus, *Poem 63*; Lucian of Samosata, *De dea Syria*, 45 and 51; Arnobius of Sicca, *Adversus nationes*, V 7; Augustine, *City of God*, II 7 and VII 26. These passages beautifully parallel and complement the cuneiform sources cited above and strikingly illustrate the continuity of the cult of the Mesopotamian mother goddess well into late Antiquity. For a passage indicating that self-laceration (either by sword or whip) was commonly practiced also by biblical prophets see Zech. 13:6, where "scars on chest" are presented as a distinctive feature of a prophet beside "robe of coarse hair." Compare the behaviour of the prophets of Baal and Asherah described in I Kgs. 18:26-29 (below, n. 200).

¹³⁹ Self-castration was an integral part of the cult of Cybele and Attis, which penetrated Rome in 204 BC and thereafter spread to the entire Greco-Roman world (see Meyer *Mysteries*, p. 138f). Though castration of Romans was forbidden by law, in Augustine's times the empire was full of "temples where Galli are mutilated, eunuchs are consecrated, madmen gash themselves ... Effeminate consecrated to the Great Mother [Phœnician Tanit] were to be seen until just the other day in the streets and squares of Carthage with their pomaded hair and powdered faces, gliding along with womanish languor... [the Great Mother] had living men ... gelded by their own hands; [she] introduced eunuchs even in the temples of Rome" (*City of God*, II 7 and VII 26; see also *ibid.* VI 7). The fact that the body of resurrected Osiris lacked the male member (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 18 = Meyer *Mysteries*, p. 165) implies that the mysteries of Isis and Osiris also encouraged self-castration. See also L. R. Farnell, *Cults of Greek Statues II* (Oxford 1891-1909), vol. II, pp. 628 and 755, for eunuch priests dressed as women in the Cypriote cult of Venus Barbata (cf. above, n. 97) and A. D. Nock, "Eunuchs in Ancient Religion," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 23 (1925) 25-33.

The gnostic idealization of androgyny and ascetic denial of the body suggests that self-castration was widespread among the Gnostics; note the urgency of the "struggle against desire" stressed by Isidore, and his positive attitude towards "eunuchs from birth" and "those who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the eternal kingdom" (Rudolph *Gnosis*, p. 258; see also *ibid.* p. 257). These attitudes persisted in the Byzantine empire, where emasculation continued to be practiced until the 11th century despite its prohibition by canon law, "because celibate life was intimately connected with holiness" (J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* [London 1987], pp. 64 and 100). Eunuchs played an important role in the Byzantine church, army, and civil administration, and several patriarchs were castrates. Theophylaktos of Ohrid wrote a defense of the status of eunuchs, demonstrating that "they had always played an important role in the palace and in the church" (ODB I [1991], s.v. eunuchs). Cf. the role of the eunuchs in the Assyrian empire, and see my remarks in AOAT 240 (1995) 391 n. 36.

¹⁴⁰ See n. 97 above and cf. further Hippolytus, *Ref. V* 7.14f (Meyer *Mysteries*, p. 149): "For Man, they say, is bisexual. So in accordance with this thought of theirs, the intercourse with woman is in their teaching shown to be most wicked and prohibited. For, he says, Attis was castrated, that is, (cut off) from the earthly parts of the creation (here) below, and has gone over to the eternal substance above where, he says, there is neither female nor male, but a new creature, 'a new man,' who is bisexual." According to Augustine, *City of God*, VII 26, the castration of the Galli aimed at "a life of blessedness after death." Note that Byzantine "hagiographic texts often represented [angels] as eunuchlike guardians, clad in white, who accompanied the Virgin" (ODB I [1991], p. 97 s.v. angel). Note also the positive attitude to eunuchs in Isa. 56:3ff: "The eunuchs must not say, 'I am nothing but a barren tree.' For these are the words of the LORD: The eunuchs who keep my sabbaths, who choose to do my will and hold fast to my covenant, shall receive from me something better than sons and daughters ... a name imperishable for all time."

The rationale behind self-castration is illustrated by Mt. 5:29, "If your right hand is your undoing, cut it off and fling it away; it is better for you to lose one part of your body (var., to enter into life maimed, Mt. 18:8) than for the whole of it to go to hell." Compare this with Enkidu's cutting off the "right hand" (*imittu*, a pun on *imittu* "shoulder")

of the Bull of Heaven and flinging it at the face of Ištar in Tablet VI of the Gilgamesh Epic, and the myth of Zeus tearing off the testicles of a ram and flinging them into the lap of Deo, as an etiology for the emasculation rites of the cult of Attis (Meyer *Mysteries*, p. 245). In both Mt. 5:29 and Gilg. VI 157, the "right hand" clearly is a metaphor for "penis"; cf. Mt. 19:12 and R. J. Hoffmann, *Porphyry's Against the Christians* (Amherst, NY, 1994), p. 65 n. 45. The ritual "bullfight" (*Taurobolium*), which took place on the "day of blood" on which the Galli castrated themselves (M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult* [New York and London 1977], p. 70ff), almost certainly derived from the Bull episode in Gilgamesh VI. Note that it was carried out above a pit into which the officiant had descended and that it concluded with the offering of the "powers" (= genitals) of the bull to the Goddess, and compare the falling of Enkidu into a pit before the bullfight in Gilgamesh VI. In Tablet X of the epic, Enkidu is several times referred to as "rejected mule" (*kūdanu tarḍu*), implying his emasculation, which could only have occurred in connection with the Bull episode of Tablet VI. For the identification of the Bull with the "id," see JNES 52 [1993] 195 n. 133. See also above, n. 119.

The sexual aspect of Ištar's cult is commonly mistaken for its essence, while it in fact only provided a starting point in the way towards salvation. Doubtless the temples of Ištar provided free sexual services for whoever wanted them, in the same fashion as the temples of Aphrodite Pandemos in the Greco-Roman world; however, as a recently discovered text shows (see V. Hurowitz, "An Old Babylonian Bawdy Ballad," in Z. Zevit et al. [eds.], *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* [Winona Lake 1995], pp. 543-58), those who took this road would sooner or later discover that fleshly pleasures did not lead to lasting happiness but only to disillusionment, exhaustion, and misery. Their road was viewed as a progressive descent towards hell, from where there was only one escape, that paved by the Goddess herself. Both in the Descent of Ištar and the Epic of Gilgamesh, the decisive turning point is constituted by the encounter with the prostitute and the *assinnu*, which enacted a spiritual rebirth (see n. 119 above). This encounter contained the seeds of a more sublimated conception of love, the true essence of the cult. See G. Held, "Parallels between *The Gilgamesh Epic* and Plato's *Symposium*," JNES 42 (1983) 133-141.

The two aspects of Ištar's cult (physical and spiritual) thus correspond to the two kinds of love distinguished in Plato's *Symposium* (209E) and associated there respectively with "the Lesser Mysteries" of Persephone and "the greater and more hidden ones" of Heavenly Aphrodite, of which the former were regarded as merely preparatory for the latter (Kerényi, *Eleusis*, p. 45f). Cf. the assessment of the Eleusinian cult in Hippolytus, Ref. VIII 43f (Meyer *Mysteries*, p. 152):

"For the lesser mysteries are those of Persephone here below; and of the mysteries and the road that leads there, which is 'broad and wide' and leads those who are perishing to Persephone, the poet also says: 'But beneath it is an awesome pathway, cavernous and clayey; but this is the best that leads to the pleasant grove of glorious Aphrodite.' This means, he says, the lesser mysteries of birth in the flesh; and when men have been initiated into these they must wait a little before they are initiated into the great, heavenly ones. For those who are allotted these dooms, he says, receive greater destinies. For this, he says, is 'the gate of heaven,' and this is 'the house of God,' where the good God dwells alone, where no unclean person, he says, shall enter, no psychic (unspiritual), no carnal man, but it is reserved for the spiritual alone; and when men come there they must lay down their clothing and all become bridegrooms, being rendered wholly male through the virgin spirit."

¹⁴¹ For devotees of Ištar singing and praying within the cult of the Goddess note, e.g., BM 41005 iii 12f (Lambert Love Lyrics p. 105), "The *kurgarrū* kneels down and recites prayers and utter sighs (*inha innah*)," and Farber Ištar p. 64:19, "You have the *assinnu* sit down and utter his sighs" (on behalf of a patient emulating the ascent of the Goddess). Cf. the inscription of Assurbanipal cited above, p. XLVIf, where the king's desperate weeping, sighing and praying lead to epiphanies of the Goddess and promises of divine support, and Erra IV 54ff, where female devotees of Ištar (*kezretu*, *šamhatu* and *harimtu* prostitutes) are referred to as "shouters of lamentations" (*tarurāti*). For further examples see CAD s.v. *nabū* B "to wail, lament" (note that the biblical word for "prophet" may as well derive from this verb rather than from *nabū* A "to call," with which it is traditionally connected; cf. Arab. *naba'a* "to cry, bark," Eg. *nb'* "to rage, to be aroused"; for the association of "ecstatic prophets" with "wailers" see below, n. 232). In Jewish mysticism and in early Christian and Sufi asceticism, weeping functioned as a technique for attaining visions and disclosure of heavenly secrets; see A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient II* (Louvain 1960), pp. 282ff and 309ff, and Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 75ff and 88 n. 85 with reference to Margaret Smith, *The Way of the Mystics* (New York 1978), pp. 155-157, especially p. 157: "O brethren, will ye not weep in desire for God? Shall he who weeps in longing for his Lord be denied the Vision of Him?"

¹⁴² See nn. 49, 88 and 270.

¹⁴³ See, e.g., S. Krippner, "Altered States of Consciousness," in J. White (ed.), *The Highest State of Consciousness* (Garden City, NY, 1972), 1-5, under "States of Rapture" and "Trance States."

¹⁴⁴ Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 80ff. Note especially R. Isaac Yehudah Safran's report on his vision of the Shekhinah (p. 84), introduced by the following words: "The revelation of the Shekhinah [happens] by means of and following the suffering that one is caused to suffer, by means of which he feels the suffering of the Shekhinah, and the fact that this revelation has a form and an image is on account of his being corporeal." The weeping technique is powerfully expounded by R. Abraham ha-Levi Berukhim, who writes: "When that pious man heard the words of Isaac Luria, he isolated himself for three days and nights in a fast, and [clothed himself] in a sack, and nightly wept. Afterward he went before the Wailing Wall and prayed there and wept a mighty weeping. Suddenly, he raised his eyes and saw on the Wall the image of a woman, from behind, in clothes which it is better not to describe, that we have mercy on the divine glory. When he had seen her, he immediately fell on his face and cried and wept and said: "Zion, Zion, woe to me that I have seen you in such a plight." And he was bitterly complaining and weeping and beating his face and plucking his beard and the hair of his head, until he fainted and lay down and fell asleep on his face. Then he saw in a dream the image of a woman who came and put her hands on his face and wiped the tears of his eyes ... and when Isaac Luria saw him, he said: I see that you have deserved to see the face of the Shekhinah" (ibid. p. 80).

¹⁴⁵ On the ecstatic nature of the eve of *Shavu'ot* when the revelation of Shekhinah was received, see ibid., p. 135 n. 64.

¹⁴⁶ Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 169. Cf. ibid. 39: "According to R. Eleazar, "Whoever cleaves to the divine presence, the divine spirit will surely dwell upon him." This text presupposes the possibility of cleaving to the Shekhinah; from the context, it is not clear whether this entity is identical with God or is to be understood as a manifestation of him [cf. the discussion above, pp. XXff and XXVI!]. Even if the latter alternative is the more congenial interpretation,

assuming a certain independence of the Shekhinah from God, it is nevertheless considered to be a divine entity, cleaving to which was negated in other classical rabbinic texts."

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. 169f. Note also the passage in the *Collectanea* of Yohanan Alemanno cited *ibid.*, where the influx of the spirit of God is described in terms of a dove: "After ... an inner change and purification from all taint, one becomes as clear and pure as the heavens. Once one has divested oneself of all material thoughts, let him read only the Torah and the divine names written therein... then such a great influx will come to him that he will cause the spirit of God to descend upon him and hover upon him and flutter about him all the day." Cf. oracle no. 2 ii 6 and the discussion above, p. XXVIII! On *bat qol* see D. Sperling, "Akkadian *egirru* and Hebrew *bt qwl*," *JANES* 4 (1972) 63-74, A. Malamet, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (Oxford 1989), p. 91, and R. Kesher, *bt qwl* (in Hebrew), *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 59 (1993) [refs. courtesy A. Malamet]. In Malamet's opinion (letter of August 7, 1997), *bat qol* ("trace of a voice," usually translated "echo") means "'little' voice (diminutive), i.e. 'lesser' than true prophecy."

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. 170.

¹⁴⁹ On the "virgin of light" as a denotation for the Shekhinah, see Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 315 n. 58, and *idem*, "The attitude to Christianity in *Sefer ha-Meshiv*" (in Hebrew), *Zion* 46 (1981) 89-90. Note that in Jewish mysticism, "Of the ministering angels, those serving God Himself are called youths (*bahurim*), and those serving the Shekhinah are called virgins (*betulor*); J. Israel, *Yalkut Hadash* [1648], nos. 63, 93" (*Enc. Jud.* 2, 974).

¹⁵⁰ See, e.g., Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 83, citing a vision of R. Isaac Yehudah Yehiel Safrin: "I wept many times before the Lord of the world, out of the depth of the heart, for the suffering of the Shekhinah. And through my suffering and weeping, I fainted and I fell asleep for a while, and I saw a vision of light, splendor and great brightness, in the image of a young woman adorned with twenty-four ornaments... And she said: 'Be strong, my son.'" As noted by Idel (*ibid.*), this feminine apparition, like Ištar of the Assyrian prophecies (see p. XXXViff), possesses maternal features — she calls R. Isaac "my son." Cf. n. 152 below and R. Hayyim Vital's "vision of a beautiful woman whom he thought to be his mother" cited below, n. 234.

¹⁵¹ See Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism* (1969), p. 106ff, and Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 43f, quoting R. Menahem Recanati (c. 1300), according to whom the human soul by "cleaving to the supernal soul ... will cleave to the Shekhinah," and cf. n. 136 above (the prophet's soul uniting with "the supernal holy soul"). The term "supernal (holy) soul" (*nefesh elyonah*) corresponds to the Neoplatonic "universal soul" (see *ibid.*, pp. 43 and 290 n. 23) and the Chaldean Soul/Hekate (see n. 134).

¹⁵² See above, n. 98.

¹⁵³ See above, nn. 99 and 114. Note the role of the *neshamah* (the highest grade of the soul often identified with the Shekhinah) as the "speaking spirit" in *Zohar* III 46b-47a, and cf. Rom. 8:26: "We do not even know how we ought to pray, but through our inarticulate groans the Spirit himself is pleading for us, and God who searches our inmost being knows what the Spirit means, because he pleads for God's people in God's own way." This role of the spirit corresponds to the interceding role of Mullissu and other goddesses in Assyrian texts, e.g., "May Mullissu, the great mother whose utterance carries weight in Ekur, not intercede for him before Enlil at the site of judgment and decision," SAA 2 1 r.5f; "May Mullissu, his (Aššur's) beloved wife ... not intercede for you," SAA 2 6:417f; "(Nikkal) the gracious wild cow (see n. 189 below) ... who intercedes with the luminary of gods, her beloved Sin, who gives good advice and speaks a good word to Šamaš her son, who improves the words of supplication and pleads for the king, who reveres her; the merciful queen, who accepts prayers," ABRT 21:7-10; "May Tašmetu, the spouse of Nabû (see nn. 99 and 111 above), speak unfavourably of him in the presence of her husband Nabû," SAA 11 97:11-r. 1.

¹⁵⁴ See Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 57 and 299 n. 151, citing R. David ben Zimra (mid-16th cent.).

¹⁵⁵ See, e.g., *Zohar* I 22a. Note that the Shekhinah is in this context presented as the creatrix of man.

¹⁵⁶ See, e.g., Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, p. 303, where the Upper Shekhinah (*Shekhinah Aila*) is equated with the sefirah of Binah (cf. nn. 111 and 116 above) and the Lower Shekhinah with the sefirah of Malkhut (cf. n. 157). On the identification of the Shekhinah with the soul (*neshamah*) in Jewish mysticism, first attested in the Bahir, see G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (New York 1969), p. 106f, and cf. nn. 133 and 153 above.

¹⁵⁷ On the interconnection of Malkhut and the Shekhinah see *Gates of Light*, p. 36ff. Note that according to this text, Malkhut/Kingship "is the essence of *ruah ha-godeš*, the Holy Spirit, from which all the Prophets enter the world of prophecy" (p. 39), as well as the "Tree of Knowledge," which receives the everflow of life from and opens the way to the "Tree of Life," located in the sefirot of Tiferet and/or Binah (*ibid.*, pp. 44 and 219; see nn. 116 and 133 above, and cf. n. 193 below).

¹⁵⁸ For the identification of Malkhut/Kingship with Assyrian divine kingship, see *JNES* 52 (1993) 181. Note further Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, pp. 15, 31f and 50:

"From YHVH [the emanations] flow through the channel until they reach the name Adonay (= Malkhut) which is where all the strategies of the king are found. For He sustains all through the power of YHVH within him. All governing and ruling are in the hands of Adonay... Know that this attribute, because it [draws] from higher powers, has various qualities: to give life or bring death, to bring up or bring down, to smite or to cure... Since this attribute (Malkhut) is filled with the everflow from those attributes which reside above it, sometimes it is called by the name of one of those attributes from which it is filled at that particular time... At times [Malkhut] is called ELOHIM, for it is filled and draws from the attributes of power and fear, thus bringing judgment into the world... There are times when this attribute draws from the attributes of loving-kindness and mercy."

Compare this with the power of the Assyrian king to "to give life or bring death" (*ballutu duāku*, e.g., AKA 281:81, ABL 620:4f), and "to bring up or bring down" (*šušqū u šušpulu*, e.g. SAA 10 112 r.29-33) as the image of the Šamaš (the divine judge) and Marduk (the divine king).

¹⁵⁹ See oracles 1.4, 1.8, 2.1, etc. Note that the name of the human mother of Esarhaddon, Naqia/Zakutu (lit. "clean, innocent") marks her as the Assyrian equivalent of Mary! See n. 206 below. Note also that in Assyrian imperial art, queens are depicted wearing the mural crown and other attributes (mirror) of Kubaba/Mullissu, obviously in order to portray them as images of the Goddess; this convention was later taken over by the Roman empire, where several empresses but especially Julia Domna, the Syrian wife of Septimius Severus, are depicted on coins with the mural crown of Cybele. See J. Reade, *CRRAI* 33 (1987) 139f and fig. 1, for a glazed tile fragment from the temple of Ištar of Nineveh representing a queen with the mural crown, and M. Hörig, *Dea Syria* (AOAT 208, Neukirchen 1979), pp. 129ff and 189ff.

¹⁶⁰ See oracles 1.6 iv 6 and 20, 7 r.6, and 9 r.2.

¹⁶¹ Oracle 2.5:26. Cf. Nissinen, AOAT 231 (1991) 289, and n. 97 above.

¹⁶² See oracles 1.9:29; 2.6:20; 7:11 ("my/her calf"); 1.3:12; 1.6 iii 13.30; 1.7:9; 1.8:21; 2.4:33; 2.5:22.23.32 ("my king"). See also n. 150 above, on the mother-son relationship between the Shekhinah and the righteous in Kabbalah; in addition to the examples cited there, note also the vision of R. Levi Isaac of Berdichev reported in his *Netiv Mizvotekha*: "And it happened to the holy R. Levi Isaac, that on the evening of *Shavu'ot* he achieved the vision of the Shekhinah in the image of [a young woman] and she said to him: 'My son, Levi Isaac, be strong, for many troubles will befall you, but be strong, my son, for I shall be with you'" (Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 83f).

¹⁶³ E.g., oracle 1.1:6-19, 1.2:31f, and often.

¹⁶⁴ O. Keel, "Das Böcklein in der Milch seiner Mutter und Verwandtes," OBO 33 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1980); Nissinen, AOAT 231 (1991) 268-98, and 232 (1993) 242-247. The examples cited cover the entire Ancient Near Eastern world from Egypt to Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia. See also n. 165 below. On Ištar as warlord and mother of the king in Mesopotamian mythology see also Harris, HR 30 (1991) 269f.

¹⁶⁵ In Hosea 11, Israel is a boy whom God loves, calls "my son," teaches to walk, takes in his arms, lifts to his cheek like a little child and bends down to feed; in Isa. 66:7-13, Israel is a son of God, who "sucks and is fed from the breasts that give comfort, delighting in her plentiful milk" (cf. SAA 3 13 r.6-8), and is comforted by YHWH "as a mother comforts her son." Note also Isa. 49:15, "Can a woman forget the infant [i.e. Zion] at her breast, or a loving mother the child of her womb?" On the iconographic evidence of the cow-and-calf motif and its variants, ewe-and-lamb and mother-and-child, see Keel, OBO 33 (1980), and note the Ugaritic passage KTU 1.6 = CTA 6 ii 28-30 (Baal and Mot): "As the heart of a cow towards her calf, as the heart of a ewe towards her lamb, so is the heart of Anat towards Baal" (Keel, p. 137), to be compared with the scene of Anat suckling the crown prince on two ivory panels from a royal couch in the palace of Ras Shamra (Gray, *Mythology* p. 93, both panels flanked by the sacred tree!). See nn. 198ff below. The ewe-and-lamb motif survives in Christianity as the "Lamb of God" of John 1:37, etc.

The importance of the cow-and-calf and mother-and-child motifs to the royal ideology is put beyond doubt by the prominent role they play in the royal ivories of Nimrud and Samaria (see E. Beach, "The Samaria Ivories, Marzeah, and Biblical Text," *BiAr* 56 [1993] 94-104). Note that the motif of the calf-suckling cow is already attested in Gudea, Cyl. A XIX 24ff: "Like a cow keeping an eye on its calf he frequented the temple in constant worry, like a man feeding his child he did not tire of frequenting it" (*āb amar-bi-šē igi-gāl-la-gim / é-šē te-te-ma im-ši-du / lú ninda dumu ka-a gub-ba-gim / du-du-e nu-ši-kūš-ū*). In Egypt, the calf-suckling cow represents Hathor, the mother of Horus and wet nurse of the pharaoh, the Egyptian equivalent of Assyrian Mullissu (see p. XLII and nn. 187 and 189 below).

¹⁶⁶ Note especially 2 Sam. 7:7 ("the judges whom I appointed shepherds of my people Israel"), where the ideological basis of the Israelite monarchy is defined in terms identical with the Mesopotamian royal ideology. See Collins *Scepter and Star*, p. 60ff, and cf., e.g., CH xlii 16, "Let him [the future king] shepherd his people righteously," and see B. Oded, *War, Peace and Empire: Justifications for War in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* (Wiesbaden 1992), p. 181ff, M.-J. Seux, *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes* (Paris 1967), p. 244ff, and B. Cifola, *Analysis of Variants in the Assyrian Royal Titulary from the Origins to Tiglath-Pileser III* (Naples 1995), p. 189ff; the overwhelmingly spiritual nature of Mesopotamian kingship is underlined by passages such as VAB 4 100 i 9, "(Nebuchadnezzar) who placed fear of the great gods in the mouth of his people." See also n. 124 above. The designation of Jesus as the "Good Shepherd" and as "God's Chosen One, Son of God, and king of Israel" (John 1:34 and 50) unquestionably mark him as a pretender to the Davidic throne. For a suggestion that 2 Sam. 7:12-16 is a "late, tendentious addition" designed to make Nathan's oracle a divine charter for the Israelite monarchy, see Malamut, "A Mari Prophecy and Nathan's Dynastic Oracle," in J. A. Emerton (ed.), *Prophecy: Essays presented to Georg Fohrer on his sixty-fifth birthday* (Berlin and New York 1980), p. 82 n. 82, with reference to an article in Hebrew by I. L. Seeligman, *Praqim* 2 (1969-74) 302ff.

¹⁶⁷ See AOAT 232 (1993) 246, and cf. *ibid.*, p. 234.

¹⁶⁸ Nissinen, AOAT 231 (1991) 287f: "Die Rede von dem König als Sohn oder (häufiger) als Pflegekind einer Göttin findet sich in mehreren Sprüchen, und zwar wiederholt in Kontexten, wo ausdrücklich von der Legitimität der Herrschaft des betreffenden Königs die Rede ist... Die Darstellung des Königs als Kind oder Pflegekind einer Gottheit, die ihm eine besondere Liebe erweist, war die beste Garantie für seine Sonderstellung 'vor den grossen Göttern' und vor seinen Rivalen." Note, however, that the king is *not* referred to as the "adoptive child" of the goddess in the prophecies nor in any other Assyrian source; he is always the "son" or "creation" of the god.

¹⁶⁹ AOAT 231 (1991) 283; cf. AOAT 232 (1993) 230: "Die beiden Könige haben sozusagen schwarz auf weiß göttliche Garantie für ihr Königtum verlangt, um ihre Machtbefugnis legitimieren zu können. Daraus erklärt sich, daß die Propheten nicht müde werden, ein ums andere Mal zu wiederholen, daß Asarhaddon bzw. Assurbanipal und keiner sonst der von den Göttern erwählte König sei." The issue of legitimation in the Assyrian prophecies is also discussed by Ellis, *JCS* 41 (1989) 161ff, 173f and 176.

¹⁷⁰ An indirect reference to oracle 7 (or 9?) is possibly found in SAA 3 3:1-12: "Exalt and glorify the Lady of Nineveh, magnify and praise the Lady of Arbela! ... I am Assurbanipal, their favourite, ... whose kingship they made great even in the house of succession. In their pure mouths is voiced the endurance of my throne."

¹⁷¹ See, e.g., ABL 1216 = SAA 10 109:7-16, and cf. pp. XLIIIff and LXVIIIff.

¹⁷² The brothers of Esarhaddon who usurped the power by assassinating their father did not receive the support of the prophets of Ištar, a circumstance that clearly precipitated their defeat, as noted both in the oracles and Esarhaddon's inscriptions. See p. LXXIII below, and oracles 1.7, 1.8 and 3.5, with relevant commentary.

¹⁷³ In the Bible, the term explicitly refers to Saul (1 Sam. 12:3.5, 24:7.11, 26:9.11.16.23; 2 Sam. 1:14.16), David (1 Sam. 16:6; 2 Sam. 19:22, 22:51, 23:1; Ps. 18:51, 89:52, 132:10.17), Solomon (2 Chron. 6:42), Cyrus (Isa. 45:1), and, by implication, to Zerubbabel (Dan. 9:25; for Zerubbabel as the chosen one of God, note Hag. 2:21, "Tell Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, I will shake heaven and earth; I will overthrow the thrones of kings, break the power of heathen realms, overturn chariots and their riders... On that day, says YHWH of Hosts, I will take you, Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel, my servant, and will wear you as a signet-ring; for you it is that I have chosen"). The prophecy in Dan. 9:26 can be taken to refer to the coming of a Messiah in Roman times.

¹⁷⁴ See the discussion of the term *piqittu* "charge" in LAS II (1983), p. 109f, and cf. Streck *Asb* p. 86 x 61, referring to four goddesses (Ištar of Nineveh, the Lady of Kidmuri [= Ištar of Calah], Ištar of Arbela, and the "Lady of Divine Powers") tending the king as a child. According to the Assyrian *Götteradressbuch* (Menzel Tempel T64), the "Lady of Divine Powers" (*Belat/Šarrat pari*) was worshiped in the Bit Eqi temple of Assur, which is connected with the mysteries of Ištar by KAR 139 (above, n. 132).

175 "His father Ea created him, his mother Damkina delivered him; he suckled the breasts of goddesses; a nurse (*tāritu*) guided him, filling him with awesomeness," En. el. I 83-86. Compare this with SAA 3 38:28-31, an esoteric commentary on the infancy of Nabû, the divine crown prince: "The stones which they hide amid the women are the great son of Be[!], Nabû, (whom) his father and mother took and hid amid the breasts of the goddesses."

176 SAA 3 39:19-22. The deities are called in the text "Ištar of Durna" and "Ištar of Liburna"; for Durna and Liburna as esoteric names of Nineveh and Arbela see the "Götteraddressbuch" of Assur, lines 189f (Menzel Tempel T165 with discussion). Ištar of Nineveh is attested as Bel's wet nurse also in the Nineveh version of the Marduk Ordeal, SAA 3 35:39: "The milk which they milk before Ištar of Nineveh: because she brought him (Bel) up, he (= Aššur) had mercy on him."

177 See no. 7 r.6 (Ištar of Arbela as king's nurse) and SAA 3 13 r.6-8 (Ištar of Nineveh as king's wet nurse). Note the four teats of Ištar of Nineveh in the latter text and cf. the four eyes and ears of the Goddess in SAA 3 39.

178 See nn. 180, 183 and 186 below.

179 See nn. 25 and 107 above, and cf. p. XLIII with n. 205 below. Note further the Babylonian Diviner's Manual (Oppenheim, JNES 33 [1974] 197-220), lines 39f: "Heaven and earth both produce portents; though appearing separately, they are not separate (because) heaven and earth are interconnected (*ithuzû*)," and cf. Zohar I 156a-b.

180 SAA 3 3:13. Cf. also OECT 6 p. 72:14ff, "O Mullissu, you who give well-being and life to those who seek your abode! I, Assurbanipal, your servant, whom your hands created, whom you, Exalted Lady, raised without father and mother, whom you concealed in your life-giving bosom, protecting my life..."; and ABRT II 21 r.2f, "[I], (Assurbanipal), the representative (of God) beseeching you, whom you, exalted Ištar, created, [whom] you raised in your bosom [like] a real mother, whom you taught to fly [like] a winged [bird]..."

181 SAA 3 3:8.

182 Cf. SAA 3 13 r.6f, "You were a child, Assurbanipal, when I left you with the Lady of Nineveh; you were a baby, Assurbanipal, when you sat in the lap of the Lady of Nineveh."

183 "I, Assurbanipal, ... whom your (Mullissu's) hands created," OECT 6 p. 72:15; "Assurbanipal, ... creation of her (Mullissu's) hands," Streck Asb p. 274; "[I], (Assurbanipal), ... whom you, exalted Ištar, created," ABRT II 21 r.2; "I am Assurbanipal, a creation of Aššur and Mullissu, ... whom Aššur and Sin since times immemorial called by name to kingship and created inside his mother for the shepherdship of Assyria," Streck Asb p. 2 i 1-5; "[Aššur], the father of gods, destined me for kingship inside my mother, [Mullissu], the great mother, called me by name to rule the land and the people, [Šer]ua and Belet-ili gave [my stature] lordly features," Streck Asb p. 252ff i 5-7; "The Lady of Nineveh (= Mullissu), the mother who gave birth to me," SAA 3 3 r.14.

184 See the passages quoted in n. 186 and, for Sumerian precedents, J. Klein, "The Birth of a Crownprince: A Neo-Sumerian Literary Topos," CRRAI 33 (1987) 97-106.

185 Gilg. I 42-48.

186 Cf., e.g., RIMA 1 pp. 233, 249 and 254 (Tukulti-Ninurta I: "chosen one of Aššur, whose name Aššur and the great gods duly called" [1], "beloved of the great gods" [8], "beloved of Ištar" [11]); *ibid.* p. 300 (Aššur-nadin-apli [1206-03 BC]: "king indicated by Anu, desired by Enlil, chosen of Aššur and Šamaš"); *ibid.* p. 310 (Aššur-reš-iši I [1132-1115]: "desired by the great gods inside his mother and called for guiding Assyria"); RIMA 2 p. 13 (Tiglath-Pileser I [1114-1076]: "beloved prince, your [the great gods'] select one, pious shepherd, whom you chose in your righteous hearts"); *ibid.*, p. 147 (Adad-nerari II [911-891]: "The great gods properly created me, altered my stature to lordly stature, rightly perfected my features and filled my lordly body with wisdom"); *ibid.* p. 165 (Tukulti-Ninurta II [890-884]: "The great [gods ... looked] kindly [at me] in my mother's womb and changed my stature to lordly stature, ... [perfecting] my features ... [The king whose] honored name Aššur has pronounced eternally [for the control of the four quarters]"); *ibid.* p. 193ff (Assurnasirpal II [883-859]: "chosen one of Enlil and Ninurta, beloved of Anu and Dagan"); Luckenbill Senn. p. 117 ([705-681]: "Belet-ili, the goddess of creation, looked kindly upon me and created my features in my mother's womb"); Borger Esarh. §§ 27, 82 and 101 ([680-669]: "creation of Aššur and Mullissu, whom the great gods called to kingship to restore [the statues of] the great gods and perfect [their] sanctuaries," "[created in] the womb of my mother who gave birth to me," "Ištar [looked kindly upon me and created my features] in the womb of my mother"); RIMB 2 p. 250 (Šamaš-šumu-ukin [667-648]: "The queen of the gods, Erua, kindly called my name for the priesthood of the people in the womb [lit., 'place of creation'] of the mother who bore me; the great gods looked with pleasure upon me to gather the scattered people of Babylonia and joyfully called me to restore the forgotten cultic practices"); VAB 4 122:23ff (Nebuchadnezzar [605-562]: "After the lordly Erua had created me and Marduk formed my features within my mother, when I had been born and created, I frequented the sanctuaries of God...").

187 ^dNIN.LİL *rimtu Illilitu* "Mullissu cow," Streck Asb p. 78 ix 75; note also *Ištar rimtu muttakkipat kibrāti* "Ištar, the wild cow who gores the (four) regions," ABRT I 15 i 7 // KAR 57 i 8, and *Ištar rimtu šaqātu ša ina mahri illaku* "Ištar, the wild cow who goes in the front," SBH 167:14ff. The visualization of Mullissu/Ištar as a wild cow derives from the unpredictable violence of a wild cow defending her calf (see p. XXXVI), and is to be judged in the light of the discussion above, p. XXXI.

188 *M.rimat* ^dNIN.SÜN, Gilg. I 34, and *passim*. The name Ninsun literally means "Lady Wild Cow."

189 See above, p. XXXII with n. 111. Note that Mullissu shares the epithet *rimtu* with the moon goddess Nikkal (^dNIN.GAL *rimtu damiqtu ša bunni namr[ūti]* "Nikkal, the gracious wild cow of bright countenance," ABRT II 1:3 = Streck Asb p. 287), and that in Streck Asb p. 1 i 3, Sin (the moon) takes the place of Mullissu as the creator of the king. Also note that in CT 53 17:8 // CT 53 938:8 // ABL 1217:4 and 8, Nikkal alternates with Mullissu as the oracle goddess. Such alternation is clear evidence that the Assyrian gods were not conceived of as separate divine entities but as *names* describing different qualities, aspects and powers of God. See above, pp. XVIII and XXI with nn. 8, 20 and 23.

"Wild cow" as an appellation of the Goddess already occurs in the great hymn of Iddin-Dagan to Inanna (Römer SKIZ p. 137 = Jacobsen *Harps* p. 113f, line 20, cf. line 8, early 2nd mill.) and is there too associated with the moon ("oldest child of the moon," line 9) and wisdom ("her father Enki," line 24). Note that Isis (see nn. 117, 130, 137, 139), who according to Herodotus (Hist. II 41.2) "is a woman with cowhorns," was also prominently associated with the moon: "In the center [of her pitch-black cloak] a mid-month moon breathed forth her floating beams" (Apuleius, *Metamorph.* XI 4 [transl. J. Lindsay, Bloomington 1962]). Note also the mighty horns and lunar disc of Anat on the Ugarit ivory panels (above, n. 165), and the horns of the prophet of Yahweh in 1 Kgs. 22:10f.

¹⁹⁰ The name Mullissu (Mulliltu) probably originally meant "Female Enlil," see S. Parpola, "The Murderer of Sennacherib," *CRAI* 26 (1980) 177. However, in Neo-Assyrian times it was almost certainly reinterpreted as "She Who Purifies/Sanctifies" (D-stem fem. participle of *elēlu* "to be pure, holy"), cf. the Neo-Assyrian reinterpretation of Zarpanitu (wife of Marduk) as *Zār-bānitu*, "Creatress of the Seed." The corresponding masculine word (*mullilu*, "purifier") is well known from Assyrian ritual texts, where it denotes the cone-shaped object by which the winged sages purify the sacred tree in royal reliefs, see F. A. M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits* (Groningen 1992), p. 67.

¹⁹¹ Note that in the Byzantine empire, "the emperor, crowned by the Holy Spirit, rules through the Holy Spirit's inspiration" (ODB I [1991], p. 1000, s.v. inspiration).

¹⁹² John 1:13. Referring to the birth of Christ, the text continues: "So the Word (logos) became flesh," which links up with *ibid.* 1:1f, "When all things began, the Word already was. The Word dwelt with God, and what God was, the Word was... and through him all things came to be." This is a reference to the Holy Spirit as the Word of God through which the world was created (*ibid.* 1:3), and corresponds to the multiple role of Ištar/Mullissu/Hathor/Hekate/Sophia etc. as the divine word, holy spirit, female companion of God, and creatress of the world (see nn. 86, 98, 130 and 165 above). On the affinity of John 1 to the gnostic treatise Trimorphic Protenoia (where the Logos is a feminine entity) see J. D. Turner in Robinson NHL (1990) p. 511ff and K.-W. Tröger (ed.), *Gnosis und Neues Testament* (Berlin 1973), p. 226f. According to Athanasius, "The Son is the selfsame Godhead as the Father, but that Godhead manifested rather than immanent... The Son is the Father's image... Hence anyone who sees Christ sees the Father, 'because of the Son's belonging to the Father's substance and because of His complete likeness to the Father'" (Kelly *Doctrines*, pp. 245 and 247). Cf. n. 158 above and SAA 10 207 = ABL 652 r.12, "The king is the perfect likeness of God."

¹⁹³ See nn. 166 and 183 above. For the king as the personification of the Tree see JNES 52 (1993) 167f with nn. 32f and AOAT 240 (1995) 384ff and 397 n. 63. See also the Sumerian passages collected and discussed in G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life* (Uppsala 1951), p. 43ff, and my article "The Esoteric Meaning of the Name of Gilgamesh" (*CRAI* 43, forthcoming) on Gilgamesh as the perfect king "who equaled the Tree of Balance," and note Erra I 150ff referring to the Cosmic Tree (*mes*) as the "insignia (*sintu*) of kingship." For Ištar/Mullissu as the "trunk" of the Tree see above, nn. 47 and 133f.

As is well known, the "perfect man" of Jewish mysticism, Adam Qadmon, was likewise conceived of as a personification of the Tree of Life. The appellation "Son of Man" by which Jesus refers to himself in the gospels occurs as a designation of Davidic kings in Ps. 80:17 ("Let thy hand rest upon the man at thy right side, the Son of Man [*bn 'dm*] whom thou hast made strong for thy service"); comparison of Mt. 24:64 // Mk. 14:62 // Lk. 22:69 // Dan. 7:13-27 leaves no doubt that this designation referred to the Messiah/King specifically as "the perfect man," and hence as a personification of the Tree. See also Collins *Scepter and Star*, p. 142f, and note Rom. 5:12-14, where Christ is portrayed as the "second Adam," and cf. Mt. 5:48. For Malkhut/Kingship as the Tree of Knowledge and the gateway to the Tree of Life in Kabbalah see nn. 116 and 133 above. In Sabbatian Messianism, "the soul of the King Messiah cleaves to the tree of life" (Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 57).

On the Byzantine emperor as "God's representative on earth" (a status actively fostered by the church) see ODB I (1991), p. 989. See also my remarks in AOAT 240 (1995) 397 on Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs as "shepherds of God" and "perfect men," perpetuating earlier Byzantine and Sassanid traditions.

¹⁹⁴ See Cifola, *Royal Titulary* (above, n. 166), p. 162ff.

¹⁹⁵ See En. el. I 79-104, II [94f, 123f], III 58f, 116f, 138, IV 13, and cf. above, n. 175.

¹⁹⁶ See JNES 52 (1993) 204f. Ninurta/Nabû corresponds to the archangel Michael, who in early Christianity (Hermas) was equated with the Son of God, and in Jewish apocalyptic and mystical tradition is known as "the great prince" (*Sar ha-Gadol*) and coalesces with the heavenly scribe, Enoch-Metatron, the "perfect man" (Adam Qadmon); see Kelly *Doctrines*, p. 94f, Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, pp. 140f and 166 n. 60, and M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990) 220-40, esp. p. 224 n. 15. In Jewish magical texts, Michael, like Ninurta/Nabû, figures as "the healer" and is associated with the planet Mercury. I shall deal with the matter in more detail in an article under preparation. On Marduk = Enlil, Nabû = Ninurta see JNES 52 178f nn. 74 and 76. While the names Ninurta and Nabû were largely interchangeable in the Sargonid period, Ninurta primarily connoted the saviour engaged in the battle against sin and death, whereas Nabû ("the brilliant one") primarily connoted the transformed victor judging men on the day of "accounting."

¹⁹⁷ Ninurta/Nabû's triumphal return to his father formed an important element of state religion and was re-enacted on several cultic occasions, in particular the New Year's festival celebrated in Nisan; the triumphal processions in victory celebrations (see p. 10 below, note on oracle 1.9 v 27f, and E. Weissert, "Royal Hunt and Royal Triumph in a Prism Fragment of Ashurbanipal," in S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting [eds.], *Assyria 1995* [Helsinki 1997], p. 339ff) and the ceremonial entry of the crown prince into the Succession Palace (see LAS II pp. 116 and 119f) were also variants of the same mythological pattern. In the latter case, the "return to the Father" symbolized the perfection of the crown prince's education and his transition to full royal status; from now on, he was the "perfect man," consubstantial, and thus "one" with his father (see JNES 52 [1993] 205 and AOAT 240 [1995] 398). In Assyrian mysticism, the same mythological pattern was applied to the purified soul's triumph in heaven, union with God. Note that in Assyrian iconography, the mythical sages purifying the king are furnished with wings and other attributes of divinity, and are occasionally entirely identical with Ninurta in appearance, except for the buckets of holy water and purifier cones that they carry; see the discussion in SAA 10 p. XIXff, and cf. Fig. 4 *ibid.* with SAA 3, Fig. 29.

¹⁹⁸ See F. Daumas, "Hathor," in W. Helck et al. (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II* (Wiesbaden 1977), 1024-33. See also nn. 165, 187 and 189 above.

¹⁹⁹ See N. Wyatt, "The Stela of the Seated God from Ugarit," *UF* 15 (1983) 271-7; note the sacred tree flanking the panels. On the identification of the seated goddess on the ivory pyxis lid from Minet el Beida as Asherah see I. Cornelius, "Anat and Qudshu as the Mistress of Animals," *SEL* 10 (1993) 33. See also J. Gray, *Near Eastern Mythology* (New York 1985), p. 73 for the representation of Asherah as sacred tree (flanked by caprids) on an unguent box from Ras Shamra.

²⁰⁰ See 1 Kgs. 18:19ff, referring to "400 prophets of the goddess Asherah," and note R. Isaac of Acre's comment on this passage in his *ʿOzar Hayyim*, quoted in Idel, *Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah* (Albany 1988), p. 153 n. 67: "And the matter of 'and they prophesied,' was that they did like those who practice *hitbodedut* [concentration], to negate their physical senses and to remove from the thoughts of their soul all objects of sensation... And the prophets of Baal and those who served the Asherah certainly communed in their thoughts with the queen of heaven, ... for the crown

[i.e., *Shekhinah*] is the queen of heaven, upon whom is placed the rulership of this lower world. But the thought of Elijah's pure soul communed with Yah the Lord God of Israel alone." Thus "making do with concentration on the 'intelligibles' or the Shekhinah would seem to have been thought improper by R. Isaac, who saw it a religious obligation to transfer contemplation and communion to God alone" (Idel, *ibid.*; cf. pp. XXVI and XXXIV above).

²⁰¹ See O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1992), pp. 255-282, and J. Taylor, "The Asherah, the Menorah and the Sacred Tree," JSOT 66 (1995) 29-54. Note that the temple of Solomon, as well as the restored temple of Ezekiel 40f, was "inside and out, from the ground up to the top," decorated with carvings of "cherubim and palm-trees, a palm between every pair of cherubim" (Ezek. 41:17-20; cf. 1 Kgs. 6:29-35 and Gen. 3:24). Note also that the two bronze pillars of the temple, Jachin and Boaz, whose pomegranate-studded ornamentation (1 Kgs. 7:17-22, Jer. 52:17-23) corresponds to the pomegranate-fringed surrounding network the Assyrian sacred tree (see JNES 52 [1993] 163f), in Jewish mystical tradition represent the left and right sides of the sefirotic tree: "The columns ... are [the sefirot of] Netzah and Hod and the two capitals on top of the columns are Gedulah and Gevurah; the two pieces of network to cover the two globes are Hokhmah and Binah" (Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, p. 144). On the association of the Shekhinah with cherubs and the Tree of Life see n. 98 above.

²⁰² See M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Jahwe und seine Aschera:" *Anthropomorphes Kultbild in Mesopotamien, Ugarit und Israel — Das Biblische Bilderverbot* (UBL 9, Münster 1992); J. Hadley, "Yahweh and 'His Asherah': Archaeological and Textual Evidence for the Cult of the Goddess," in W. Dietrich and A. Klopfenstein (eds.), *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte* (OBO 139, Freiburg [Schweiz] 1994), pp. 235-268; P. Merlo, "L'Asherah di Yhwh a Kuntillet Ajrud," SEL 11 (1994) 21-54; M. Weinfeld, "Feminine Features in the Imagery of God in Israel: The Sacred Marriage and the Sacred Tree," VT 46 (1996) 515-529, esp. 526f.

²⁰³ Note that in Zohar I 102a-b, Abraham is presented as the personification of the tree of life.

²⁰⁴ See p. LXXIX and the note on oracle 2.3 ii 27 (p. 16). Cf. Borger Esarh., Bab. A-G i 34ff, translated above, p. LXXIV.

²⁰⁵ See oracles 2.5 ("I will put Assyria in order, I will put the kingdom of heaven in order") and 2.4 iii 19f ("I will put Assyria in order and reconcile the angry gods with Assyria"), and Borger Esarh., Bab. A ii 24ff (above, p. LXXV). Cf. R. Yehudah ben Ya'akov Hunain (late 16th cent. cited in Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 178): "As the war was below, so it was above, because of the sin of Israel; for just as the righteous add force and power in the higher assembly, when they act in the opposite [way], it is as if they weaken the supernal force ... for the lower [entities] are like the root and modus of the supernal [entities]." Note also Gikatilla's *Gates of Light*, p. 121 and 122: "This verse implies that the war was above and below and the war was strong in the heavens ... "He [= Yahweh] waged war with the celestial Egypt and defeated them."

²⁰⁶ Note oracles 1.4 ("When you were small, I took you to me") and 2.5 ("I raised you between my wings"), and see above, p. XXXIX. Unlike his elder brothers, who were apparently born before Sargon had usurped power (see SAA 6 p. XXXIff) and thus *could not* be entrusted to the care of the Goddess as royal babies, Esarhaddon was born when his father was already crown prince (see Streck *Asb* p. 5 i 27, and LAS II, p. 231 n. 390) and thus qualified for royal education from the very beginning. The Aramaic or Hebrew name of Esarhaddon's mother, Naqia, means "clean, pure, innocent" (cf. Aram. *naqyā* "rein, klar, hell," *nqy* "reinen," Dalman Aram. Wb. p. 277; Hebr. *naqī* "blameless, innocent", *nqh* "to be without blame," HAL p. 720).

²⁰⁷ See S. Parpola, "The Murderer of Sennacherib," CRRAI 26 (1980) 171-82, esp. 179f.

²⁰⁸ See SAA 10 109 = ABL 1216:7-16 and note on oracle 3.5 iii 20.

²⁰⁹ See oracle 3.2 ii 7 and p. XLI with nn. 196ff, above; cf. Mt. 13:43, "Then the righteous will shine as brightly as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." For Esarhaddon as the "avenger of his father" see Borger Esarh. p. 40:53ff, above, p. LXXIII.

²¹⁰ For comparable encouragement oracles in the biblical corpus see e.g. Zech. 8:6-13, pertaining to the building of the second Temple, especially verses 9 and 13: "Take courage from the prophets who were present when the foundations were laid for the house of the LORD of Hosts, their promise that the temple is to be rebuilt... Courage! Do not be afraid!"

²¹¹ The numerous points which the descriptions of Jesus' career in the gospels have in common with Assyrian royal ideology are too obvious and consistent to be dismissed as accidental. See n. 166 above, and note, e.g., Jesus' royal lineage (cf. n. 193), purity of mother (nn. 159 and 206), immaculate conception (n. 186), omen of kingship (n. 207), birth in the manger (nn. 165 and 187ff), prophetic acknowledgment (n. 172), call for the salvation of Israel (n. 194), and his roles as the good shepherd (nn. 166 and 193), the "perfect man" (nn. 121, 193 and 196) and the Lamb of God (n. 165), his appellative "Lord" (see below), miraculous powers to cure (nn. 41 and 196), subjugation of the stormy sea (cf. oracle 2.2), face shining like sun (n. 209), triumphal entry into Jerusalem (n. 197), innocent suffering (nn. 123ff), wailing by the three Marys (n. 125), resurrection (n. 127), victory over sin and death (n. 196), and eventual exaltation and ascension to the right side of the Father (n. 197) to judge the living and the dead (n. 7). See also n. 9 above, on the doctrine of Trinity. These doctrines and tenets were transmitted to Roman Palestine through various mystery cults (see nn. 109, 125f, 165, etc.), whose doctrine of salvation essentially hinged on the concept of the "perfect man," materialized in the person of the king.

For scriptural evidence suggesting that Jesus himself understood the figure of the Messiah in terms of Mesopotamian royal ideology and his own mission in terms of Michael/Ninurta's fight against sin (nn. 41 and 196), see the well-known and heavily debated passage Mt. 22:41-46 // Mk. 12:35-37 // Lk. 20:41-44 // Ps. 110:1 (see Collins *Scepter and Star*, p. 142), where the appellative "Lord" by which the Messiah is referred to is the standard appellative of the Mesopotamian saviour (see JNES 52 [1993] 205 and AOAT 240 [1995] 398).

²¹² The nominal pattern *parris* is a variant of the G-stem participle *pāris* (GAG § 55m) with a frequentative nuance approximating that of the pattern *parrās*, used for forming words of profession (GAG § 55o); cf. CAD and AHw. s.vv. *akkilu* "glutton," *šattū* "drunkard," *parrīšu* "criminal" ("one who transgresses habitually"), *giššīšu* "foe" ("one who gnashes his teeth habitually"), *pallišu* "borer," and *šattiru* "scribe"; note also *šarritu* "(habitual) farter" (SAA 3 29 r.4 and 30:2). For *ragāmu* "to shout, proclaim" see below, n. 217.

²¹³ The description of John the Baptist in the gospels ("coat of camel's hair, with a leather belt round his waist") marks him as an emulator of Elijah (see 2 Kgs. 1:8), and hence as the eschatological prophet (*nabī*) expected by the Qumran community before the coming of the "anointed ones of Aaron and Israel" (*mšyhy 'hrwn wysr'l*), i.e. of a priestly and royal Messiah (1 QS 9,11; see H.-P. Müller, ThWAT V [1986], p. 163, s.v. *nby*). Elijah's "robe of coarse

hair" also occurs as a distinctive feature of prophets in Zech. 13:4. On the "posture of Elijah" (1 Kgs. 18:42) as a technique for achieving visions in later Jewish mysticism see Idel *Kabbalah*, pp. 78ff and 91, and note the occurrence of this posture in the Epic of Gilgamesh (Tablet IV 86; see JNES 52 [1993] 192 n. 120).

214 ABL 149 = LAS 317:7-r.8: "The prophetess Mullissu-abu-usri who took the king's clothes to Akkad, has prophesied [in the temple]: "[The] throne from the te[m]ple [... (Break) ... "Le]t the throne go, I shall catch my king's enemies with it." CT 53 969 reads (obv. 10ff): "The king's sacrifices have been performed... [NN?], the woman [... who] ... during the sacrific[ices], has prophesied (*tarrugum*): 'Why has the orchard and grove of ... been given to the Egyptians? Speak in the king's presence; let them give it back to me, and I will gi[ve] total abundance [to] his [...].' Cf. Amos prophesying in the temple of Bethel (Amos 7:10ff), Jeremiah in the temple of Jerusalem (Jer. 7:2). See also n. 220 on *assinnus* falling into trance and prophesying in the temple of the goddess Anunitum in Mari.

215 See notes on oracle 3.5 iii 20f and iv 13ff.

216 "If you hear any evil, improper, ugly word which is not seemly or good to Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate ... from the mouth of a prophet (*raggimu*), an ecstatic (*mahhû*), an inquirer of oracles (*šā'ilu amat ili*), or from the mouth of any human being at all, you shall not conceal it but report it to Assurbanipal..." (lines 108-122).

217 The meanings of *ragāmu* attested in Neo-Assyrian include: 1. "to cry out, shout, shriek" (ZA 45 42:40); 2. "to cry out, shout, raise a cry" (KAV 197:58, ABL 1372:24); 3. "to call, shout to" (AFO 17 287:105); and 4. (in the ventive) "to call up (for questioning)" (ABL 1073:14, KAV 115:23).

218 See oracles 3 iv 31, 6 r.11 and 7:1; SAA 10 352 = ABL 437, LAS 317 = ABL 149, SAA 10 109 = ABL 1216, SAA 10 294 = ABL 1285, SAA 2 6 '185' 10, and SAA 7 9; cf. Nissinen, *AOAT* 232 (1993) 227 and idem, "References to Prophetic Activity in Neo-Assyrian Sources" (forthcoming).

219 The word *mahhû* (Ass., Mari; Bab. *muhhû*) is the D-stem verbal adjective of *mahû* "to become frenzied, to go into a trance" (CAD M/1 115f); hence, literally, "one brought into a trance." Note the Sumerian lexical equivalents of *mahû*, è "to go out (of one's mind)" and e₁₁ "to ascend/descend" (cf. nn. 114, 116f and 133 above) in Diri I 158 and 208, as well as the commentary item [È : šegû :] È : mahû "to ascend/descend" (= è) means 'to rage, to be frenzied'" in CT 41 28 r.6 (Alu comm.).

220 LÚ.mu-uh-hu-um ša d[*d*]a-gan, ARM 3 40 = ARM 26 221:9 and ARM 2 90 = ARM 26 220:16; also ARM 3 78 = ARM 26 221bis:12 (PN LÚ.mu-uh-hu-um), ARM 6 45 = ARM 26 201:9 (MÍ.mu-uh-hu-tim), and 10 50:22 (MÍ.mu-uh-hu-tum); šumma ina reš war[hi]m mu-uh-hu-um ištāqa[l] a[n]a ma-he-e-e[m] ul i[reddu], RA 35 2 ii 22f (Ištar ritual, see ARM 26 p. 386). Note also ARM 10 7 = ARM 26 213, where an *assinnu* named Selebum (cf. ARM 10 80 = ARM 26 197 and the end of the letter) falls into trance (*im-ma-hu*) in the temple of Anunitum and delivers an oracle of the goddess (in the 1st person) to the king (addressed by name and in the 2nd person, as in the present corpus). For another oracle to the king by an *assinnu* of Anunitum (Ili-haznaya) see ARM 10 6 = ARM 26 212; see also ARM 26 200, where an ecstatic prophetess (*mu-uh-hu-tum*) prophesies in the temple of Anunitum, and ARM 10 8 = ARM 26 214, where a woman falls into trance in the temple of Anunitum and delivers an oracle.

221 E.g., *ana LÚ.mah-im ša DN* "to the prophet of DN," TCS 1 369:5 (Ur III); MÍ.LÚ.GUB.BA ša DN "prophetess of DN," TCL 10 39:11; PN *mu-hu-um* "prophet," MDP 18 171:14; LÚ.GUB.BA DINGIR.RA "prophet of the god," MDP 10 no. 7:6:9 (all OB); LÚ.GUB.BA, OECT 1 pl.21:38; PN a MÍ.LÚ.GUB.BA, YOS 6 18:1.7.8.10, YOS 7 135:6 (all NB).

222 E.g., "If there appear many ecstatic prophets/prophetesses (LÚ.GUB.BA.MEŠ/MÍ.GUB.BA.MEŠ) in a city," CT 38 4 81f, followed (in similar context) by "many cripples" (*akû*), "frenzied people" (*zabbu*), and "male and female seers" (*šabrû* and *šabrātum*); also "If a man (while walking in the street) sees an ecstatic" (NÍ.ZU.UB, followed by LÚ.GUB.BA IGI "sees an ecstatic prophet"), Sm 332 r.5 (both Alu); "If he sees a prophet (*ma-ah-ha-a*)," TDP 4:30 (Sagig); LÚ.GUB.BA ŠUB-ut "a prophet will fall down," Boissier DA 211 r.12. For the lexical texts, see below, n. 232.

223 See VS 19 1 i 37f (below, n. 244).

224 See n. 216 above.

225 "The ecstatic (*mahhû*) who goes before the Lady of Babylon is a bringer of news (*mupassiru*); he goes toward her, weeping: 'They are taking him to the river ordeal.' She sends him away, saying: 'My brother, my brother!'" SAA 3 34:28 // 35:31.

226 Except in an Assyrian lexical text (n. 231) and in the Neo-Babylonian letter SAA 10 109 = ABL 1216, written in Nineveh by an Assyrianized court scholar. The alleged attestation of the word in a MA tablet from Tell Rimah (Saggs, Iraq 30 [1968] 162f on TR 2031:6, cf. H. Huffmon, "The Origins of Prophecy," in F. M. Cross et al. (eds.), *Magnalia Dei, Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* [Garden City, NY, 1976], p. 175) must be deleted, since instead of *ra-kin-tu* "oracle priestess" the text actually reads *ra-qi i-na*.

227 Cf. the use of the word *rakkābu* "express messenger" for normal *kallāp šipirte* in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, etc. Note the occurrence of *mahhû* and *mahhūtu* among the cult personnel of the Ištar temple in the Tammuz ritual Farber Ištar p. 140:31.

228 lú.gub.ba = *mu-uh-hu-um*, MÍ.lú.gub.ba = *mu-(uh)-hu-tum*, MSL 12 158:23 (OB Lu); lú.gub.ba = *mah-hu-u* "ecstatic," ibid. 101f:213 (Lu I); lú.ní.su.ub = *mah-hu-u*, lú.gub.ba = MIN, ibid. 132:117f (Lu IV).

229 In NA royal inscriptions, the verb *mahû* "to be(come) ecstatic" occurs in the pejorative meaning "to be(come) crazy," see Borger Esarh. p. 42 i 41: "my brothers became crazy (*im-ma-hu-ma*)," and ibid. 44 i 73: "seeing my onslaught, they became crazy" (*ēmû mahhūtiš*); similarly Streck Asb p. 8 i 84 and 158:19. However, these passages are obvious literary allusions to En. el. IV 8, "Tiamat went crazy/out of her mind" (*mahhūtiš iteme*), and can hardly be taken to indicate that the word *mahhû* itself had acquired a pejorative connotation which would have led to its replacement by *raggimu* in NA times. Cf. the "crazy" behaviour of Israelite prophets: Isaiah goes about naked and barefoot for three years "as a sign and warning" (Isa. 20:2f); Jeremiah wears cords and bars of a yoke on his neck (Jer. 27:2); Saul lies naked all day in prophetic rapture (1 Sam. 19:20-24); Zedekiah makes himself horns of iron (1 Kgs. 22:10f). Note also Jer. 29:26f: "It is your duty, as officer in charge of the LORD's house, to put every madman who sets up as a prophet into the stocks and the pillory. Why, then, have you not reprimanded Jeremiah of Anathoth, who poses as a prophet before you?"

The respected position of prophets in Neo-Assyrian times is made clear by SAA 3 3:6-12: "A word from their lips is blazing fire! Their utterances are valid for ever! ... In their pure mouths is voiced the endurance of my throne."

230 See LAS II p. 58f and cf. n. 141 above. On fasting as a method for obtaining visions see in Jewish mysticism see Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 80ff and Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, p. 99f (with reference to Dan. 10, etc.).

231 lú.šabra (PA.AL) = šu-u (= *šabrû*) = *rag-gi-[mu]*, MSL 12 226 (Hg B to Hh XV; 4 mss., all from Nineveh). The preceding entries include [lú].zilulu (PA.GIŠGAL) = *sah-[hi-ru]* "prowling" (line 132; see n. 67 above) and [lú].UR.SAL

= [a]s-sin-nu = sin-niš-a-[nu] "womanish, effeminate" (line 133; see n. 138 above). Cf. also the omens referred to in n. 222, where prophets are associated with "frenzied people" (*zabbu*) and "male and female seers" (*šabrū* and *šabrātum*).

²³² See MSL 12 102 (LÜ = *amēlu*, Tablet I), where the entry *lú.gub.ba* = *mah-hu-ú* "ecstatic prophet" (line 213) occurs between *kalū* "lamentation singer," *munambū* "lamentor," *lallaru* "wailer" (lines 209-212) and *zabbu* "frenzied," *kurgarrū* "self-castrate," *assinnu* "man-woman" and *nāš pilaqqi* "spindle carrier" (see n. 138 above). In Tablet IV of the same series, *mahhū* "ecstatic" and *zabbu* "frenzied" constitute a single semantic section (MSL 12 132:116-23) separated by rulings from other sections; both words are given the same Sumerian equivalents (*lú.nf.su.ub*, *lú.gub.ba*, *lú.al.è.dè*) and grouped together with the word *lú.zag.gir.lá* denoting a devotee of Istar equipped with a sword and participating in self-castration scenes. In the OB version of the same series (MSL 12 158:23ff), both words are in addition associated with the word *naqmu/naqimtu* describing a bodily defect. Note also the Istar ritual referring to the distribution of loaves to a "frenzied man" and "frenzied (woman)" (*zabbu zabbatu*) beside a "prophet and prophetess" (*mahhū u mahhūtu*), Farber *Istar*, p. 140:31. For the omen texts, see above, n. 222. See also A. Malamet, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (1989), p. 85 n. 58.

²³³ See CT 53 17 (+) 107:8-10 // CT 53 938:8-10; SAA 10 294 = ABL 1285:31-33; Borger *Esarh.* p. 2:12ff and p. 45 ii 6f; Thompson *Esarh.* pl. 14 ii 9ff; Streck *Asb* p. 120 v 93ff.

²³⁴ For a previous analysis of this passage see Oppenheim *Dreams* p. 200f. Compare the following autobiographical confession of R. Hayyim Vital cited in Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 81:

"In 1566, on the Sabbath eve, on the 8th of Tevet, I said Kiddush and sat down to eat; and my eyes were shedding tears, and I was sighing and grieving ... and I likewise wept for [my] neglect of the study of Torah... and because of my worry I did not eat at all, and I lay on my bed on my face, weeping, and I fell asleep out of much weeping, and I dreamt a wondrous dream."

Vital then had a highly elaborate revelation reported as a vision rather than as a dream. He saw a beautiful woman whom he thought to be his mother, and who asked him: "Why are you weeping, Hayyim, my son? I have heard your tears and I have come to help you." ... and I called to the woman: 'Mother, Mother, help me, so that I may see the Lord sitting upon a throne, the Ancient of Days, his beard white as snow, infinitely splendid.'" See also nn. 150 and 162 above.

²³⁵ Note especially the letter ABL 1249, where a priest of Istar of Arbela (Aššur-hamatua) conveys to the king a message from Bel. As in the Assurbanipal passage just quoted, this message was not delivered orally but received in a dream or vision, and is hence (despite its affinities with oral prophecies) not included in the present corpus. Cf. Jer. 23:25ff: "I [YHWH] have heard what the prophets say, the prophets who speak lies in my name and cry, 'I have had a dream, a dream!' How long will it be till they change their tune, these prophets who prophesy lies and give voice to their own inventions? By these dreams which they tell one another these men think they will make my people forget my name, as their fathers forgot my name for the name/by their worship of Baal. If a prophet has a dream, let him tell his dream; if he has my word, let him speak my word in truth."

²³⁶ See e.g. n. 243 below. For biblical prophecy see just above and cf. e.g. the vision of Ezekiel by the river Kebar (Ezek. 1). The distinction between "prophets" and "seers" (*hōzē*) also applies to ancient Israel, see Am. 7:10-17 and Weippert, *AOAT* 220 (1988) 309.

²³⁷ See Weippert, *ARINH* (1981), p. 74f, *OBO* 64 (1985), p. 55, *AOAT* 220 (1988) 303, and most recently and most explicitly Nissinen, *AOAT* 232 (1991) 228.

²³⁸ The extant authorship notes show that the majority of the oracles are by prophets of Istar of Arbela; oracles 1.5 and 2.1 were delivered by prophets from Assur, and 2.4 is by a prophet from Calah. Though none of the extant oracles can be attributed to a prophet from Nineveh, the importance of the cult of Istar of Nineveh (Mullissu) implies that this is purely coincidental. Cf. n. 174 above, and the note on oracle 3.5 iii 20, below, p. 26.

²³⁹ See oracle 1.7 and the discussion below, p. L.

²⁴⁰ See oracles 1.8, 1.9, 1.10, 2.3, 3.5 and 5, and note also CT 53 969 (above, n. 214) and Thompson *Esarh.* pl. 14 ii 9-16 (Asb): "The Lady of Kidmuri, who in her anger had abandoned her cella and taken up residence in a place unworthy of her, became relented during my good reign which Aššur had presented and, through dreams and prophetic oracles (*ina māš.mi šipir mahhē*), constantly sent me (orders) to provide for her august godhead and glorify her precious rites."

²⁴¹ See nn. 222f, 232 and 244.

²⁴² See SAA 3 34:28 // 35:31 (n. 225 above), referring to the New Year's ritual of Babylon. Note also the role played by male and female prophets (*mahhū* and *mahhūtu*) in the Tammuz ritual Farber *Istar* p. 140:31.

²⁴³ SAA 10 294 = ABL 1285:31f, "[I turned to] a prophet (*raggimu*) but did not find [any hope, he was adverse and did not see much (*diglu untatti*, lit. 'lacked/reduced vision')]; see my article "The Forlorn Scholar" in *Festschrift Reiner* (1987), pp. 257-78. This passage shows that Assyrian prophecy was not limited to royal prophecy only but that prophets could also be consulted, both on matters of state and on private matters, to prognosticate the future, as in ancient Greece and Israel. The same is implied by lexical passages such as MSL 12 238 (Kuyunjik Professions List), where the word *mahhū* "ecstatic prophet" (LÜ.GUB.BA, Col. ii 7) is associated with *bārū* "diviner/haruspex," *āšipu* "exorcist," and *šā'īlu* "dream interpreter" (ibid. ii 8-12). The reference to a prophet (*raggimu*) lodging with military personnel in SAA 7 9 = ADD 860 r. i 23 further suggests that prophets, like haruspices (see SAA 4 p. XXXf), may have accompanied the army on military campaigns, to predict the outcome of impending battles. Note the passage Streck *Asb* p. 48 v 95-104: "When the troops saw the river Idide in its violent flood, they were scared to cross it. But the Goddess who dwells in Arbela let my troops have a dream in the night and spoke to them as follows: 'I will go before Assurbanipal, the king whom my hands created!' My troops relied upon this dream and crossed safely the river Idide."

Cf. H.H. Rowley, *Prophecy and Religion in Ancient China and Israel* (1956), p. 9: "There is ... a good deal of evidence that Old Testament prophets were consulted, both on matters of state and on private matters, in the effort to discover the future, or to give wise guidance for the present. Saul went to Ramah to consult Samuel about his father's lost asses [1 Sam. 9:6] ... Hezekiah sent for Isaiah in a time of crisis to know what he should do [2 Kgs. 19:2]." Note further 1 Kgs. 22:6 (Ahab sends for a host of prophets to forecast the issue of the projected war with Damascus); 1 Kgs. 14:1ff (Jeroboam sends his wife to the prophet Ahijah, "the man who said I was to be king over this people," to find out what will happen to his son Abijah who had fallen ill); 2 Kgs. 22:12ff (Hilkiah etc. sent to Huldah the prophetess to consult her on the book of law, "to seek guidance of the LORD"); and Jer. 21:1ff (Zedekiah sends Passhur

etc. to Jeremiah with this request: "Nebuchadnezzar ... is making war on us; inquire of the LORD on our behalf. Perhaps the LORD will perform a miracle as he has done in the past times, so that Nebuchadnezzar will raise the siege").

²⁴⁴ "10 homers 4 seahs 5 litres (of barley received by) Aššur-aha-iddina on the 2nd day for the food rations of the prophets, prophetesses and *assinuus* of the Ištar temple" (*a-na ŠUG-at mah-hu-e mah-hu-a-te ù LÚ.SAL.MEŠ ša É DU.DAR*), VS 19 1 i 37f, see H. Freydank, "Zwei Verpflegungstexte aus Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta," Aof I (1974) 55-89. See also p. L on Ilussa-amur (the deliverer of oracle 1.5) as recipient of food rations from a temple in Assur.

²⁴⁵ Cf. n. 220 above.

²⁴⁶ See notes on oracles 1.1:6f, 2.3 ii 19, and 9:8-15. For no. 1.1:6f cf. S. A. Picchioni, *Il poemetto di Adapa* (Assyriologia 6, Budapest 1981), p. 118:43, *Adapa ša šuti kappāša išbir* "Adapa broke the wing of the south wind" (also *ibid.* 60 and r.5, 7 and 11); W. G. Lambert, "Inscribed Pazuzu heads from Babylon," FUB 12 (1970) 47:2f, *IM.ME lemnu ša zi-šū nanduru* "the evil wind, whose attack is fearsome..." and *ibid.* 42:4 // STT 149 r.6f, *ediššija a-ra-a-šu-nu/i-zi-ri-šū-nu ušabbir* "By myself I have broken their (the evil winds') wings." Note that a similar allusion to the Adapa myth is also found in Mari prophecy, see ARM 26 no. 200:7ff, and cf. Durand, *ibid.* p. 406. For "south wind" as a metonym for the cosmic witch (i.e., the powers of darkness in general) see T. Abusch, "Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual," in J. J. Collins and M. Fishbane (eds.), *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (SUNY 1995), p. 36 n. 10.

²⁴⁷ See notes on oracles 1.10:5, 2.2 i 16f, 2.3 ii 17f, 3.1 i 4ff, 18, 23, 28, iii 2f, and 9:3, 5.

²⁴⁸ See nn. 132 and 175f above. Oracle 1.6 iii 23-27 has a close parallel in the esoteric commentary SAA 3 39:31f: "The middle heaven of *saggilmu* stone is of the Igigi gods. Bel sits there in a high temple on a dais of lapis lazuli and has made a lamp of amber shine there" (*ina parakki uqni ūšib GIŠ.bu-ši-(in) NA₄.elmešu ina libbi unammir*). Note that while the deity enthroned in the middle heaven is here identified as Bel, in the oracle it is Ištar of Arbela, see nn. 8, 10 and 47 above. The three-layered scheme of heavens and the location of the throne of god (Ištar/Bel) in the middle heaven corresponds to the three-layered structure of the Assyrian tree of life and the position of Ištar in its centre (see fig. 14), as well as to the three-graded structure of the soul (n. 133 above); it is also attested in early Jewish mysticism, see Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, pp. 34f, 43f, 48 and 91 n. 54 (1 Enoch xiv and lxxi; 2 Cor. 12:2; Testament of Levi iii). The seven-layered scheme of heavens, which is predominant in later Jewish mysticism (cf. Gruenwald, *ibid.* p. 48), does not represent a later development but is an alternative scheme already attested in second- and first-millennium BC Mesopotamian texts; see Chap. IX in Horowitz *Cosmic Geography*, and nn. 116f above.

²⁴⁹ See just above on oracle 1.6:23ff, and note that the material of the middle heaven (blue *saggilmu* stone) corresponds to that of the firmament underneath God's throne ("sapphire") in Ex. 24:10 and Ezek. 1:26 and 10:1; see Horowitz *Cosmic Geography*, Chap. I, and Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, p. 35 n. 21.

"The lamp of *elmešu*" of oracle 1.6:23 corresponds to the "lamp of God" of Job 29:2, to the "likeness of *hašmal*" of Ezek. 1:4 and 27, and to the fire burning before God in Jewish apocalyptic visions (cf. Gruenwald *Apocalyptic*, pp. 31ff). Note the prominent association of *hašmal* with lightning striking from heaven in the Babylonian Talmud (*Hagigah* 13a), to be compared with cuneiform passages such as TCL 15 24 vi 8, "I (Enlil) flash over the country like *elmešu*." The enigmatic *elmešu/hašmal* (Septuagint: *elektron*) has now been established as a loanword from Baltic **helmes* "amber," see M. Heltzer, "On the Origin of the Near Eastern Archaeological Amber (Akkadian *elmešu*; Hebrew *hašmal*)," Michmanim 11 (Haifa 1997) 29-38.

The notion of God watching (*harādu*) the king from heaven in oracles 1.4 and 1.6 can be compared with the vision of "a Watcher, a Holy One coming down from heaven" to fell the cosmic tree symbolizing the haughty king in Dan. 4:13 and 23 (cf. 4:17). Note that the Aram. verb 'wr "to wake, watch" (Payne Smith, p. 407), from which the word "Watcher" ('yr) of Dan. 4 is derived, is an exact semantic equivalent of NA *harādu* "to wake, watch," and that in kabbalistic tradition, the sefirah of Tiferet (= Ištar, see nn. 47, 114, 121 and 134 above) is called "the Watcher" and associated with the Watchman of Dan. 4 (see Z. Halevi, *The Way of Kabbalah* [Bath 1991], p. 53, and *idem*, *The Tree of Life* [2nd ed., Bath 1991], p. 40; cf. Idel *Kabbalah*, p. 177, citing R. Meir ibn Gabbay: "When the supernal luminary watches men and sees their good and proper deeds, [then] in accordance with what they stir below, they stir above"). For Ištar as the "Holy One" see above, n. 91, and cf. n. 69.

²⁵⁰ See above, nn. 110, 119, 132, 140 and 244, and note the esoteric dimension of OT prophecy discussed above, n. 55f.

²⁵¹ See SAA 10 284 = ABL 58 r.1-9; LAS 317 = ABL 149; SAA 10 352 = ABL 437:23-r.3; SAA 10 109 = ABL 1216:9; ABL 1217 r.2-5; ABL 1249; CT 53 969 r.4-17 (n. 214 above); Streck Asb p. 24 iii 4-10 (below, n. 259), 48 v 95-104 and 120 v 93-96 (n. 243); Thompson Esarh. pl. 14 ii 9-16 (n. 240). On the central role of the king in pre-exilic Israelite prophecy see Weippert, ARINH (1981), p. 104ff and Nissinen, AOAT 232 (1993) 230ff. Note also 2 Sam. 24:11ff, "Meanwhile the command of the LORD had come to the prophet Gad, David's seer, to go and speak to David: 'This is the word of the LORD: I have three things in store for you; choose one and I will bring it upon you.' So Gad came to David and repeated this to him."

²⁵² See Nissinen, "Falsche Prophetie in neuassyrischer und deuteronomistischer Darstellung," T. Veijola (ed.), *Das Deuteronomium und seine Querbeziehungen* (Schriften der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschaft 62, Helsinki/Göttingen 1996), 172-195, esp. 178ff.

²⁵³ Cf. oracles 1.4:38 and 9:8-25, and see nn. 7, 10, 119, 140 and 257.

²⁵⁴ Note that the Mari oracles "are often critical of the king for failing in his duties to various gods and temples. Once the king is even reminded of his duties to promote justice" (H. Huffmon, "The Origins of Prophecy" [n. 226 above], p. 173f, with reference to A. 1121 + A. 2731 [now B. Lafont, "Le roi de Mari et les prophètes du dieu Adad," RA 78 (1984) 7-18] r.49ff: "Am I not Adad, the lord of Aleppo, who raised you in my armpit and returned you to the throne of your father's house? I have never asked you for anything. When a woman or a man who has suffered injustice appeals to you, answer their plea and do them justice"). Note also ARMT 13 113 (enemy invasion seen in a vision attributed to religious indifference of Kibri-Dagan, governor of Terqa), and cf. A. Malamet, "Prophetic Revelations in New Documents from Mari and the Bible," SVT 15 (1966) 207-227.

²⁵⁵ See oracle 1.4:27f.

²⁵⁶ See oracle 2.3:17-19 and the discussion of the prophet name La-dagil-ili, p. Lf. Cf. Isa. 8:5ff: "Once again the LORD said to me: Because this nation has rejected the waters of Shiloah, (...) therefore the Lord will bring up against it the king of Assyria; ... and he warned me not to follow the ways of this people." Cf. also Jer. 5:21 "Listen, you foolish and senseless people, who have eyes and see nothing, ears and hear nothing," and see above, nn. 49, 107, 135 and 139.

²⁵⁷ Compare the missionary activity and outspokenly "prophetic" appearance (long hair, shabby clothes, etc.) of the gnostic "itinerant apostles" (Rudolph *Gnosis*, p. 217), and see n. 213 above. Note in addition the Chaldean Oracles (nn. 130 and 134f above) and the gnostic document Thunder (above, p. XXXIIIff with n. 130), both of which proclaim, in the voice of the Goddess, salvation from the bonds of the material world.

²⁵⁸ See Durand, ARM 26 (1988) 386 and 396; Rudolph *Gnosis*, p. 212ff; Ex. 15:20f, 2 Kgs. 22:14, Neh. 6:14, Isa. 8:3, etc.

²⁵⁹ See ABL 149 = LAS 317:7ff, a letter to Esarhaddon reporting on a prophetess (*ra-gi-in-tu*) named Mullissu-abi-ušri ("Mullissu, protect my father!"; see n. 214 above), and SAA 7 9 = ADD 860 r. i 23, an administrative text listing a prophet (LÜ *rag-gi-mu*) named Quḫi in military company (cf. n. 243 above).

²⁶⁰ See p. On this letter and its dating see Parpola, LAS II p. 50 and CRRAI 26 (1980) 179.

²⁶¹ Note also *dunnaša lullī/luštašni* "let me extol her (Ištar's) power," VS 10 214 i 4 and 8 (see B. Gronberg, RA 75 [1981] 107-134).

²⁶² See Iraq 15 56 ND 2316:1-6 and Iraq 16 pl.7 ND 2309:3-9 for two votaresses of Mullissu, acquired and dedicated to the Goddess by officials of the royal harem, and IM 76882 = TIM 11 14:25 for a married and divorced votaress of Ištar of Arbela; see also LAS 158 = SAA 10 194 r.8ff and the discussion in LAS II p. 138.

²⁶³ ADD 63 r.10, 105 r.2, 111 r.5 and CTN 3 9:2; note also the name *Lā-teggi-ana-Nanāya*, "Do not neglect Nanaya!," ADD 173:2.

²⁶⁴ Note that the prophet/diviner Bileam is referred to in the Deir Alla inscription as "man who sees the gods" (*š h[zh] 'lhn*) and see above on the interrelationship of prophecy and visionary experiences (*diglu*).

²⁶⁵ The name La-dagil-ili was also borne by individuals who were not prophets: an oil-presser with this name is known from ADD 775:5, and one La-dagil-ili with no indication of profession occurs as a witness in several legal documents from Calah spanning the period 666-662 BC (see ND 2334:9, ND 3420 r.5, ND 3422 r.22, ND 3423 r. 24, ND 3430 r.14, ND 3435 r.18, ND 3444 r.12, ND 3449 r.14, ND 3451 r.9, ND 3461 r.10, ND 3462 r.10, ND 3463 r.31, and ND 3464 r.18). Since both of these individuals appear to have lived a generation after the prophet, it is not excluded that they were named after him.

²⁶⁶ See p. LXIIIff and the commentary p. 27; note further the cultic demands in 3.5 (otherwise paralleled only by 1.10 and 2.3), the phrase *atta ana aiāšī* in 3 iii 25 (which recurs only in 2.3:21), and the rhetorical question in 3 iii 20-24, which has a close (albeit differently phrased) parallel in 1.10:3-9.

²⁶⁷ For other attestations of the Nabû-hussanni, see ADD 238 r.5, 239:17, ADD 491 r.9 (all texts from Nineveh). The name Aššur-hussanni is attested only in texts from Assur.

²⁶⁸ See p. XVIII with nn. 7 and 196f and the commentary on 1.4 below, p. 6). Incidentally, not only the words of the criminal but the last words of Christ as well have striking parallels in Assyrian sources, again in contexts involving Nabû, the equivalent of the archangel Michael. For Mt. 27:46 and Mk. 15:34, "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" cf. SAA 3 12 r.10f. "I have reached the gate of death; Nabû, why have you forsaken me? Do not abandon me, my lord"; for Lk. 23:46, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit" cf. SAA 3 13:20f, "Please, Nabû, do not abandon me; my life is written before you, my soul is deposited in the lap of Mullissu." Regarding the latter passage see also nn. 10 and 106 above.

²⁶⁹ Cf. ^dEREŠ.KI.GAL = *dal-la-tum*, CT 25 4:24 and 8:8; *dal-la-tum* ^dU.GUR / PAB *ina é dal-la-tum* Menzel Tempel 2 T 149:49f).

²⁷⁰ See p. XXIV and nn. 49, 88 and 114 above; note also Lambert-Millard Atra-hasis, pp. 94 iii 32ff ("the Goddess saw it as she wept..."), 96 iv 4ff ("Nintu was wailing [*unabba*]"), and 100 vi 2-4 ("Let [these] flies be the lapis around my neck / that I may remember it [every] day [and for ever]"), and see A. Draffkorn Kilmer, "The Symbolism of Flies in the Mesopotamian Flood Myth and Some Further Implications," *Festschrift Reiner* (1987), pp. 175-180. The agony of the Goddess (because of the fate of her sinful creatures) is to be compared with the suffering of the Shekhinah for the sins of mankind in Kabbalah, cf. n. 144 above. For the lapis lazuli flies as a means of self-laceration and mortification (in sympathy for the Goddess), see my remarks in LAS II (1983) p. 315f.

²⁷¹ E.g., ADD 76:4; 110:3, r.2, 4; 742:6 and 18; 743 r.5; AO 2221:5, 9, 13; PSBA 30 111:14, 112:13.

²⁷² The only exception is the name Sinqi-Aššur (AO 2221 r.14) where Aššur replaces Ištar. See above, pp. XX and XXVI, on the *homoousia* of Aššur and Ištar, and n. 13 on the interchange of Aššur, Ištar and Ilu "God" in personal names.

²⁷³ Cf. oracle 1.2:31f (slaughtering the king's enemies) with 2.5:21f; 1.2:35 (rearing the king) with 2.5:27; and 1.2:6f (defeating the king's enemies) with 2.5:32.

²⁷⁴ In SAA 3 14, Tašmetu, the bride of Nabû, plays a role similar to that of the bride (= God in His beauty) of the Song of Songs. Her yearning for Nabû (= the mystic struggling to conquer sin) reminds one of the Jewish parable of the daughter of the King (= God), who, locked high up in the palace, gazes out of a window, yearning to unite with her lover (= the mystic) down on the street. That this parable was current already in Assyrian times is suggested by the "Lady in the Window" motif of the Ancient Near Eastern art (for illustration see, e.g., SAA 3 fig. 11), whose distribution was identical with that of the "calf-suckling cow" (see p. XXXVIII above).

²⁷⁵ E.g., "Urkittu is my god," ADD 232:7; "Urkittu is my wall," ADD 779:2; "Urkittu is able," ADD 619:9; "My heart is with Urkittu," ND 5550:5.

²⁷⁶ See LAS II (1983) p. 65 no. 60:7; L. Kataja, SAAB 1 (1987) 65; and K. Radner, "The Relation Between Format and Content of Neo-Assyrian Texts," in R. Mattila (ed.), *Nineveh 612 BC. The Glory and Fall of the Assyrian Empire* (Helsinki 1995), pp. 70 and 72ff.

²⁷⁷ For treaties, census lists, balanced accounts, and inventories of treasury see the diagrams in SAA 2, p. XLIVf, ZA 64 (1975) 102f, SAAB 6 (1990) 19ff, JNES 42 (1983) 3 (books), as well as the photographs in SAA 7, pls. IIIf. For collections of royal decrees and ordinances, see SAA 12 77 and PKTA 39-40; for collections of recipes, see Oppenheim Glass p. 23 and figs. 1-10, etc.

²⁷⁸ Cf. Veenhof, CRRAI 30 (1986) 7, and Van De Mierop, *ibid.* p. 94.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Jer. 36:2ff: "In the fourth year of Jehoiakim ... this word came to Jeremiah from the LORD: 'Take a scroll and write on it every word that I have spoken to you about Jerusalem and Judah and on the nations, from the day that I first spoke to you in the reign of Josiah down to the present day. Perhaps the house of Judah will be warned of the calamity that I am planning to bring to them...' So Jeremiah called Baruch son of Neriah, and he wrote on the scroll at Jeremiah's dictation all the words which the LORD had spoken to him. He gave Baruch this instruction: 'I am prevented from going to the LORD's house. You must go there in my place on a fast-day and read the words of the

LORD in the hearing of the people from the scroll you have written at my dictation.” On this passage and a similar one from Mari see A. Malamat, “New Light from Mari (ARM XXVI) on Biblical Prophecy III: A Prophet’s Need of a Scribe,” in D. Garrone and F. Israel (eds.), *Storia e tradizioni di Israele: scritti in onore di J. Alberto Soggin* (Brescia 1991), pp. 185-8.

²⁸⁰ In no. 1, the determinative pronoun is written 29 times with the sign *ša*, 7 times with the sign *šá*. In nos. 2 and 3, *ša* is used 9 times each vs. 5 times each for *šá*; no data are available from no. 4. In sum, the scribe used both signs for writing the pronoun but preferred the sign *ša*, which appears in all authorship notes of these tablets except 2.3. No. 9 likewise uses *ša* in the authorship note and both *ša* and *šá* in the oracle itself. By contrast, the scribes of tablets 5, 6 and 8 used *ša* only for writing the pronoun, those of nos. 7 and 11 *šá* only. In no. 10, both *ša* and *šá* are used, but the latter is more frequent (2 attestations against one of *ša*).

In nos. 1-4, the sign *te* occurs 17 times in final position (including forms with pronominal and enclitic suffixes like *am-ma-te-ia*), vs. 40 spellings with *-ti*. Note that virtually all the spellings with *-te* occur on the obverse of no. 1 (= oracles 1.1-6:14 examples), which indicates that the scribe initially followed the orthography of the reports he was copying but later lapsed to his own conventions (i.e., the almost exclusive use of the sign *ti* in final position; cf. n. 281). In no. 7, there are 3 cases of final *-te* vs. 8 cases of *-ti*; in no. 8, one example of *-te* and *-ti* each; and in no. 9, 3 spellings with *-te* with no examples of *-ti*.

²⁸¹ Note, e.g., the syllabic spelling *ra-bi-tu* in oracle 1.6 as against *GAL-tu/tú* in 1.1 and 1.3. The sign forms in nos. 1-4 are on the whole uniform, indicating a single scribal hand. However, oracle 1.6 surprisingly contains some sign variants deviating from the norm (see Table 1, p. LVII). This seems to indicate that the scribe, arriving at the middle of the tablet, had for a moment slipped to mechanically reproducing the sign forms of the original. See also n. 280 above.

²⁸² Cf. no. 5:1 with Mal. 1:1 and no. 8:1f with Ob. 1:1.

²⁸³ The last line of no. 5 is unclear, but it is unlikely to be a scribal addition.

²⁸⁴ Cf., e.g., CA pl. 3:1-4, “[The n]ew [rites] which [Ass]urbanipal, king of Assyria, [perfor]med from the 16th [of Shebat] through the 10th of Adar, eponymy of Bel-Harran-šadū’a”; SAA 7 48 = ADD 1075:1-2, “Silver [...] of the queen [mother ...]”; SAA 7 57 = ADD 928:1, “[...] of silver”; SAA 7 60 = ADD 930:1-4, “[These are] the objects [of the god]s of Akkad, [which we]nt [to] Elam”; SAA 7 71 = ADD 687:1, “Silver, collection”; SAA 7 167 = ADD 968:1, “Consignment of [...]”; SAA 11 36 = ADD 1036:1, “[Distribution of t]ribute”; SAA 11 90 = ADD 754:1-2, “Distribution of levy of oxen and sheep.”

²⁸⁵ All the headings listed in n. 284 except SAA 11 90 = ADD 754 are followed by rulings. The introductory lines of the reports (nos. 5-8, see just above) are not followed by rulings and thus should not be understood as headings.

²⁸⁶ Thus W. G. Lambert, AfO 17 (1954-56) 320:8 and JCS 16 (1962) 72ff. Note that the authorship indication *ša pi* in the “Catalogue of Texts and Authors” (JCS 16 59-77) basically refers to divinely inspired compositions received in visionary experiences, see SAA 10 p. XVIIff with nn. 18f and 34. For *ša pi* as a term for (authoritative) oral lore see Y. Elman, JANES 7 (1975) 21ff. The proper expression for “according to” was *ana pi* or *ki(ma) pi*, see Hunger Kolophone p. 6, though it should be noted that *ana pi* also had the literal meaning “according to dictation” (Elman, loc. cit., p. 22).

²⁸⁷ Cf., e.g., the last column of 82-5-22,533 = SAA 7 51 (photograph JNES 42 [1983] 20), which contains only a two-line date in the middle of the column; similarly SAA 7, nos. 1, 3 and 5 (note also nos. 159-161, photographs *ibid.* pl. IX).

²⁸⁸ See also the analysis and discussion in Weippert, “Assyrische Prophetien,” ARINH (1981), p. 76ff and tables 3-4.

²⁸⁹ An exception is oracle 2.4, where the phrase follows an introductory rhetorical question and occurs in the middle of the prophecy as well.

²⁹⁰ Jer. 1:2,4,11, 2:1, Hos. 1:1, Joel 1:1, Jon. 1:1, 3:1, Mic. 1:1, Zeph. 1:1, Zech. 1:1,7, 4:6, 6:9, 7:1,8, 8:1, 9:1, 12:1, Mal. 1:1; cf. Isa. 2:1 (*db̄r* alone). Note that *db̄r yhw̄h* likewise mostly introduces the oracle and is combined with an address e.g. in Zech. 4:6, “This is the word of the LORD concerning Zerubbabel” (*zh db̄r-yhw̄h 'l-zrbbl*), and Mal. 1:1, “An oracle. The word of the LORD to Israel through Malachi” (*ms' / db̄r-yhw̄h 'l-yšr'l byd PN*).

²⁹¹ For further examples see Nissinen, AOAT 232 (1993) 247f.

²⁹² Such a reference is missing only in oracle 3.2, addressed to the Assyrians collectively, which instead begins with a reference to the victories of the king.

²⁹³ The only possible exception is *lurr[ik]* “I will length[en ...]” in no. 10 r.7 (context fragmentary).

²⁹⁴ See n. 214 above.

²⁹⁵ See W. von Soden, “Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. Ein Vorbericht. I-III,” Or. 35 (1966) 1-20; 37 (1968) 261-71; 46 (1968) 183-197, and note that Aramaic loanwords constitute an integral part of standard Neo-Assyrian vocabulary and are evenly distributed in all types of Neo-Assyrian texts, from treaties to literary and ritual texts.

²⁹⁶ See M. Weippert, “Die Bildsprache der neuassyrischen Prophetie,” in H. Weippert et al., *Beiträge zur prophetischen Bildsprache in Israel und Assyrien* (OBO 64, Göttingen 1985), pp. 55-91. Note, however, that contra Weippert (p. 87), the figurative language of the prophecies does not derive from “privatem Lebensbereich zu Hause” or from “Alltag von Menschen, denen ihr gesellschaftlicher Status die Musse zu kontemplativer Naturbetrachtung lässt” but from the traditional imagery of Mesopotamian (and ancient Near Eastern) religion and royal ideology. See pp. XXII, XLVIIff and n. 165 above, and notes on oracles 1.1 i 6.7.9.25ff, 2.2 i 16f, 2.3 ii 6f.9, etc. For the Ship of State metaphor of 2.2 i 16f see also JNES 33 (1974) 278:91 (“like a ship I do not know at which quay I put in”); Cicero, In Pisonem, 9:20 (*navem gubernare et salvam in portu collocare*); Horace, Odes 1.14; and Plato’s Republic, where the Ship of State is a leading metaphor (the philosophers being the “true pilots” who lead the ship of state). Note the resurfacing of the metaphor in eighth-century Syria, now applied to the church: “I see the Church which God founded ... tossed on an angry Sea, beaten by rushing waves” (St. John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images* [transl. D. Anderson, Crestwood, NY, 1980], p. 13).

²⁹⁷ For examples see no. 1.6 iv 22-25, 1.7:8f, 2.3:12, 3.5 iii 28f (alliteration); 1.3:11f, 1.4:22/25, 1.6:15f, 1.7:8f, 1.8:22f, 1.10:22-26, 2.4:30, 2.5:33f, 3.1:9-12, 3.2:28-30 and 31-33, 5 3rf, 6:2f, 7:3-6 and r.9f (anaphora); 1.1:22f, 25f and 27, 1.2:3-5, 1.4:24, 27f and 37, 1.6 iii 31f, iv 1-2 and 29-32, 2.2:17f and 21, 2.3:12 and 17f, 2.4:35f, 2.5:26, 3.2:31f, 7:4f and r.5 (antithesis); 1.1:11f, 1.6 iv 22-25, 3.2:31ff, 3.5:27 (chiasm); 1.4:24-26, 1.6 iv 29-35, 2.2:18-20, 3.2 ii 1-3, 3.3:20ff (climax); 1.4:28f, 1.6 iii 15-18 and iv 29-33, 2.2:18f, 2.4:30, 2.5:21f, 3.2:28-30, 3.3:22f, 3.5 iii

28f and 30f, 7 r.6 (parallelismus membrorum); 1.6 iii 9-11 and 19-22, iv 15f, 1.7:3f, 1.8:22f, 1.10:27, 2.3:4, 2.4:31f, 2.5:33f (parataxis); 1.6 iv 22f and 30, 2.2:19, 5:2, 7 r.1 (paronymasy).

²⁹⁸ E.g. *šarratu Mullissu* 2.4, *kippat erbetti* 3.2, *šēru rapādu* 1.8. See also no. 9 (passim).

²⁹⁹ See p. LV.

³⁰⁰ Oracle 3.2 is addressed to Assyrians collectively without mentioning the king by name. However, this oracle unquestionably belongs together with the other oracles of the collection, and the king is certainly identifiable as Esarhaddon from the contents of the oracle.

³⁰¹ On Sennacherib's murder and the date of Esarhaddon's exile see S. Parpola, "The Murderer of Sennacherib," *CRRAI* 26 (1980) 171-82, and *SAA* 6 (1991), p. XXXIV.

³⁰² See *SAA* 10 109 = *ABL* 1216:9 and Appendix, p. LXXIII f.

³⁰³ Cf. already M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens II* (Giessen 1912), p. 158: "Die Orakel [stammen] zwar aus den ersten Jahren der Asarhaddonischen Regierung, aber die Sammlung [wurde] wohl erst gegen Schluss seiner Herrschaft oder gar nach seinem Tode veranstaltet."

³⁰⁴ See H. Tadmor, "Autobiographical Apology in the Royal Assyrian Literature," in H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld (eds.), *History, Historiography and Interpretation* (Jerusalem 1984), pp. 36-57, esp. p. 45.

³⁰⁵ For the Julian date see *LAS* II, Appendix A.

³⁰⁶ See J. A. Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747-626 B.C.* (Philadelphia 1984), p. 96f, and G. Frame, *Babylonia 689-627 B.C. A Political History* (Leiden 1992), p. 146.

Bibliography of Previous Studies

Pre-WW I period (1875-1916)

- 1875 G. Smith, "Addresses of Encouragement to Esarhaddon," in H. C. Rawlinson (ed.), *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia IV* (London), no. 68 [copy of no. 1; see *ibid.* p. 4].
- 1878 T. G. Pinches in A. H. Sayce (ed.), *Records of the Past XI* (London), 59 [translat. of no. 1].
- 1882 J. Halévy, *Documents religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie I* (Paris), pp. 197-200 [translit. of no. 1 into Hebrew characters].
- 1888 A. Delattre, "The Oracles Given in Favour of Esarhaddon," *The Babylonian and Oriental Record III* (London), 25ff [edition of no. 1; uses the word "prophet"].
- 1891 T. G. Pinches, "The Oracle of Istar of Arbela, addressed to Esarhaddon," in H. C. Rawlinson (ed.), *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia IV* (2nd ed., London), no. 61 [revised copy of no. 1; see *ibid.* p. x].
- 1891 T. G. Pinches in A.H. Sayce (ed.), *Records of the Past, New Series V* (London), pp. 129-40 [edition of no. 1].
- 1893 S. A. Strong, "On Some Oracles to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal," BA 2, pp. 627-45 [copy and edition of no. 3, cols. ii and iii, and no. 7].
- 1895 J. A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, Vol. I (Leipzig), pp. 22-7, with corrections in Vol. II, pp. ix-x [copy of nos. 3 and 7].
- 1897 V. Scheil, "Choix de textes religieux assyriens," RHR 36 206f [translat. of nos. 3 and 7].
- 1898 E. J. Banks, "Eight Oracular Responses to Esarhaddon," AJSL 14 267-77 [translit., translat., and commentary of no. 1].
- 1902 F. Martin, *Textes religieux assyriens et babyloniens* (BÉHÉ 130, Paris), pp. 88-97 and 100-5 [edition of nos. 3 and 7].
- 1904 C. D. Gray in R. F. Harper (ed.), *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* (New York), pp. 414-9 [translat. of no. 1].
- 1907 O. Weber, *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer* (Leipzig), p. 181ff ["Orakel an Assarhaddon und Assurbanipal"].
- 1910 H. Zimmern, "Gilgameš-Omina und Gilgameš-Orakel," ZA 24 166-71 [translit., translat. and study of no. 9].
- 1912 M. Jastrow jr., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens II* (Giessen), pp. 158-74 ["Das Orakelwesen"; translat. of nos. 1, 3 and 7 with bibliography and commentary].

- 1912 L. Waterman, "Some Kouyunjik Letters and Related Texts," *AJSL* 29 12 [copy, translit. and transl. of no. 8].
- 1913 R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters XII* (Chicago and London), no. 1280 [copy of no. 8].
- 1914 E. Klauber, *AJSL* 30 253 [translit. and English transl. of no. 8].
- 1914 S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar* (Oxford), pls. 2-4 [copy of nos. 2 and 5] and pp. 128-45 [translation of nos. 1-3, 5 and 7].
- 1915 M. Streck, *Assurbanipal I* (Leipzig), pp. CLXX-CLXXV [paraphrase and discussion of nos. 7 and 9].
- 1916 F. Schmidtke, *Asarhaddons Statthalterschaft in Babylonien und seine Thronbesteigung in Assyrien 681 v. Chr.* (AOTU 1/2, Leiden), p. 115ff [translit., transl. and discussion of no. 1, "Die an Asarhaddon anlässlich der Thronstreitigkeiten erlangenen Orakel"].

The Years 1917-1968

- 1926 E. Ebeling in H. Gressmann (ed.), *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament* (2nd ed., Berlin and Leipzig), pp. 281-3 [translat. of no. 1].
- 1927 D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia II* (Chicago), pp. 238-41 (§§ 617-38) [translat. of no. 1].
- 1930 L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire II-III* (Ann Arbor), no. 1280 [translit., transl. and commentary of no. 8].
- 1955 R. H. Pfeiffer, "Oracles Concerning Esarhaddon," in J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (2nd edition, Princeton), pp. 449-51 [translat. of nos. 1 and 7].
- 1956 J. Nougayrol, "Asarhaddon et Naqi'a sur un bronze du Louvre," *Syria* 33 158f [translation and discussion of no. 2 i 1-14, ii 24-8, iii 1-12].
- 1968 J. Nougayrol in A. Caquot and M. Leibovici (eds.), *La divination I* (Paris), pp. 67-9 [translat. and discussion of no. 1 ii 16-39].

Years 1969-present

- 1969 R. D. Biggs, "Akkadian Oracles and Prophecies," in J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (3rd edition, Princeton), p. 605 [translat. of no. 1].
- 1970 F. Ellermeier, *Sibyllen, Musikanten, Haremsfrauen* (Herzberg), p. 8f.
- 1970 R. Labat in R. Labat, A. Caquot, M. Szyner and M. Vieyra (eds.), *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique: Textes babyloniens, ougaritiques, hittites* (Paris), p. 257f [translation of no. 1 i 4-29, iii 7-iv 6].
- 1972 K. Deller and S. Parpola, "Neuassyrische Prophetensprüche" (Heidelberg, private circulation) [translit., transl. and commentary of nos. 1-3].
- 1972 M. Weippert, "'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien," *ZAW* 84 473f and 481f [translit., transl. and discussion of nos. 1 i 5-25 and 3 ii 10-25].
- 1973 M. Dietrich, "Prophetie in den Keilschrifttexten," *JARG* 1 15-44.

- 1974 H. B. Huffmon, "Prophetic Oracles in the Ancient Near East: Reflections on their Use in Form-Critical Study of the Hebrew Bible" (SBL paper, private circulation) [translat. of nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7].
- 1976 H. B. Huffmon, "Prophecy in the Ancient Near East," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume* (Nashville) [nos. 2 ii 29-33 and 3 ii 10—iii 15].
- 1977 T. Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel: A Study on the Formation and Development of Royal-Dynastic Ideology* (Berlin and New York), pp. 90-2 and 114-6 [discussion and translat. of selected passages from nos. 1, 2 and 3].
- 1977 G. R. Castellino, "Testi sumerici i accadici," in O. Botta (ed.), *Collana "Classici delle religioni," 1: Le religioni orientali* (Torino), pp. 449-54 and 458f [translat. of nos. 1, 3 and 7].
- 1980 R. R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia), pp. 111-9.
- 1980 M. Dijkstra, *Gods voorstelling: Predikatieve expressie van zelfopenbaring in oudoosterse teksten en Deutero-Jesaja* (Dissertationes Neerlandicae, Series Theologica 2, Kampen), pp. 147-70.
- 1981 D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament* (Analecta Biblica 21A, Rome), p. 419f [no. 3].
- 1981 M. Weippert, "Assyrische Prophetien der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbani-pals," in F. M. Fales (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons* (Rome), pp. 75-115 [no. 1 i 5-30, iii 7-iv 35, v 21-3, no. 3 ii 10-32, iii 15-36].
- 1982 H. Tadmor, "The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact," in H. Nissen and J. Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* (CRRAI 25, Berlin), p. 458 [no. 1.4].
- 1982 H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 129, Göttingen), pp. 295-303.
- 1983 M. Weippert in K. R. Veenhof (ed.), *Schrijvend Verleden. Documenten uit het oude Nabije Oosten vertaald en toegelicht* (Leiden), pp. 285f [translat. of nos. 1-3, 5 and 7].
- 1985 H. B. Huffmon, "Prophetic Treaty/Covenant Mediation in Assyria and Israel" (AOS paper, private circulation) [no. 3 ii 10—iii 33].
- 1985 M. Weippert, "Die Bildsprache der neuassyrischen Prophetie," in H. and M. Weippert (eds.), *Beiträge zur prophetischen Bildsprache in Israel und Assyrien* (OBO 64, Göttingen), pp. 55-91 [no. 1 iii 7—iv 35, etc.].
- 1985 A. Millard, "La prophétie et l'écriture: Israël, Aram, Assyrie," *RHR* 202 125-44.
- 1986 K. Hecker, "Assyrische Propheten," in O. Kaiser (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* II/1, pp. 55-63 [translat. of nos. 1, 3 and 7].
- 1987 K. van der Toorn, "L'oracle de victoire comme expression prophétique au Proche-Orient ancien," *RB* 94 63-97.
- 1988 M. Weippert, "Aspekte israelitischer Prophetie im Lichte verwandter Erscheinungen des Alten Orients," *AOAT* 220, Neukirchen), pp. 287-319.
- 1989 M. deJong Ellis, "Observations on Mesopotamian Oracles and Prophetic Texts: Literary and Historiographic Considerations," *JCS* 41 127-86.

- 1989 A. Malamat, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (The Schweich Lectures 1984, Oxford, repr. 1992), pp. 70-121: "Prophets, Ancestors and Kings" [see p. 79ff, nn. 43 and 47].
- 1991 M. Nissinen, *Prophetie, Redaktion und Fortschreibung im Hoseabuch* (AOAT 231, Neukirchen), pp. 77-88, 120 [no. 1 i 6f], 136f [nos. 2.4 and 3.2-5], 146f [no. 3.3], 181f [no. 3.4], 280-304 [nos. 1.4, 1.6, 1.8-10, 2.5, 7, 9].
- 1992 H. B. Huffmon, "Prophecy: Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 5, pp. 477-82.
- 1993 M. Nissinen, "Die Relevanz der neuassyrischen Prophetie für das Studium des Alten Testaments," AOAT 232 (Neukirchen), pp. 217-58.
- 1993 M.-C. Perroudon, "An Angry Goddess," SAAB 6 41-4 [no. 3 iii 31-34].
- 1993 A. Ivantchik, "Corrigenda aux textes akkadiens mentionnant les Cimmériens. 2. Oracle de la déesse Mullissu à Assourbanipal," N.A.B.U. 1993/2 40f [translit. and transl. of no. 7].
- 1996 M. Nissinen, "Falsche Prophetie in neuassyrischer und deuteronomistischer Darstellung," in T. Veijola (ed.), *Das Deuteronomium und seine Querbeziehungen* (Schriften der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschaft 62, Helsinki/Göttingen), 172-95.
- 1996 A. Laato, *History and Ideology in the Old Testament Prophetic Literature* (Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series 41, Stockholm), pp. 173-88 and 271-9.
- 1997 F. M. Fales and G. B. Lanfranchi, "The Impact of Oracular Material on the Political Utterances and Political Action of the Sargonid Dynasty," in J.-G. Heintz (ed.), *Oracles et propheties dans l'antiquité* (Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grece Antiques 15, Paris), pp. 99-114.

Abbreviations and Symbols

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- A tablets in the collections of Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzereli
 ABL R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (London and Chicago 1892-1914)
 ABRT J. A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* (Leipzig 1895)
 Ab. Zar. Abodah Zarah
 ADD C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Cambridge 1898-1923)
 AfO Archiv für Orientforschung
 AHw. W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
 AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
 AKA L. W. King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria I* (London 1902)
 AL F. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke* (3rd ed. Leipzig 1885)
 Alu omen series *Šumma ālu*
 Am. Amos
 Angim J. S. Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur* (AnOr 52, Rome 1978)
 ANET J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (3rd edition, Princeton 1969)
 AnOr Analecta Orientalia
 AnSt Anatolian Studies
 AO tablets in the collections of the Musée du Louvre
 AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament
 AoF Altorientalische Forschungen
 Ap Apocalypse of John
 APN K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (Helsinki 1914)
 ARI A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* (Wiesbaden 1972-76)
 ARINH F. M. Fales (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological and Historical Analysis* (Orientis Antiqui Collectio XVIII, Rome 1981)
 ARM Archives royales de Mari
 ARMT Archives royales de Mari (transliterations and translations)
 ASJ Acta Sumerologica (Japan, Hiroshima)
 AuOr Aula Orientalis
 BA Beiträge zur Assyriologie
 BaM Baghdader Mitteilungen

- BBR H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* I, II (Assyriologische Bibliothek 12, Leipzig 1896, 1901)
- BBSt. L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones* (London 1912)
- BE Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
- BHLT A. K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts* (Toronto 1975)
- BiAr Biblical Archaeologist
- BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis
- BM tablets in the collections of the British Museum
- Borger Esarh. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO Beiheft 9, Graz 1956)
- Brockelmann C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Göttingen 1928; reprint Olms Lex. Syr. 1995)
- BT field numbers of tablets excavated at Balawat
- Burkert W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Harvard 1987)
- Mystery Cults*
- BWL W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford 1960)
- CA G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur* (Assen 1969)
- CAD The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
- CAH The Cambridge Ancient History
- CBS tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
- Chron. Chronicles
- Col. Colossians
- Collins *Scepter and Star* J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star. The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York 1995)
- Cor. Corinthians
- CRRAI Rencontre assyriologique internationale, comptes rendus
- CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
- CTA A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939* (Paris 1963)
- CTN Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
- DA C. Boissier, *Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages* (Paris 1894-99)
- Dalley *Myths* S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford 1989)
- Dalman G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (Göttingen 1938)
- Aram. Wb.
- Dan. Daniel
- Desc. Descent of Ištar (CT 15 45ff)
- Deut. Deuteronomy
- Diri lexical series diri DIR *siāku* = (w)atru
- DT tablets in the collections of the British Museum
- Dumuzi's Dream B. Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream* (Mesopotamia 1, Copenhagen 1972)
- EA J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (VAB 2, Leipzig 1915)
- En. Enoch
- En. el. *Enūma eliš*
- Enc. Jud. Encyclopaedia Judaica (Jerusalem)

- Erra L. Cagni, *L'epopea di Erra* (Studi Semitici 34, Rome 1969)
- Ex. Exodus
- Exeg. Soul The Exegesis on the Soul (NHC II 127, 18ff)
- Ezek. Ezekiel
- Farber Ištar W. Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi* (Wiesbaden 1977)
- Frankena R. Frankena, *Tākultu. De sacrale maaltijd in het assyrische ritueel* (Leiden 1956)
- Takultu
- Festschrift F. Rochberg-Halton (ed.), *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner* (American Oriental Series 67, New Haven 1987)
- Reiner
- Festschrift M. Cogan and I. Eph'al, *Ah, Assyria... Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor* (Jerusalem)
- Tadmor
- FUB Forschungen und Berichte
- Fuchs Sar. A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen 1994)
- Gal. Galatians
- Galter H. Galter (ed.), *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens* (Graz 1993)
- Astronomie
- Gates of Light A. Weinstein (trans.), Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla, *Gates of Light (Sha'are orah)* (San Francisco 1994)
- Gen. Genesis
- Gilg. S. Parpola, *The Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh* (SAACT 1, Helsinki 1997)
- Gottfarstein J. Gottfarstein (trans.), *Le Bahir* (Verdier: Lagrasse 1983)
- Bahir
- GPA J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive* (CTN 2, London 1973)
- Gray J. Gray, *Near Eastern Mythology* (New York 1988)
- Mythology
- Gruenwald I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden 1980)
- Apocalyptic
- Hab. Habakkuk
- Hag. Haggai
- HAL L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (rev. ed., Leiden and New York 1994-96)
- HBA E. Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie I* (Assyriologische Bibliothek 23, Leipzig 1914)
- HdO Handbuch der Orientalistik
- Hg lexical series HAR.gud = imrû = ballu (MSL 5-11)
- Hh lexical series HAR.ra = hubullu (MSL 5-11)
- Horowitz W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 8, Winona Lake 1997)
- Cosmic
- Geography
- Hos. Hosea
- HR History of Religions
- Hruška Anzu B. Hruška, *Der Mythenadler Anzu in Literatur und Vorstellung des alten Mesopotamien* (Assyriologia 2, Budapest 1975)
- Hunger H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (AOAT 2, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968)
- Kolophone

- Idel *Kabbalah* M. Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven and London 1988)
 IEJ Israel Exploration Journal
 IM tablets in the collection of the Iraq Museum
 Inanna's W. R. Sladek, *Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld* (PhD diss. Baltimore, University Microfilms 1974)
 Descent
 Isa. Isaiah
 Jacobsen T. Jacobsen, *The Harps that once... Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven and London 1987)
Harps
 JANES Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University
 JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
 JARG Jahrbuch für Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte
 Jastrow Dict. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York 1943)

 JBL Journal of Biblical Literature
 JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies
 Jer. Jeremiah
 JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies
 Johnston Sarah I. Johnston, *Hekate Soteira. A Study of Hekate's Roles in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature* (American Classical Studies 21, Atlanta 1990)
Hekate

 Jon. Jonah
 Josh. Joshua
 JSOT Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
 JTS Journal of Theological Studies
 Jub. Jubilees
 K tablets in the collections of the British Museum
 KAJ E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juridischen Inhalts* (Leipzig 1927)
 Kapelrud Anat A. S. Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess: Anat in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Oslo 1969)
 KAR E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (Leipzig 1919)
 KAV O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig 1920)
 KB Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek
 Kelly J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (5th ed., London 1977)
Doctrines
 Kgs. Kings
 KSt 5 M. Witzel, *Perlen sumerischer Poesie in Transcription und Uebersetzung* (Keilinschriftliche Studien 5, Fulda 1925)
 KTU M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Teil 1: Transkription* (AOAT 24, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976)
 Lambert Love W. G. Lambert, "The Problem of the Love Lyrics," H. Goedicke and J. Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity* (Baltimore 1975) 98-135
 Lyrics
 Lambert-Millard W. G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, *Atra-hasis, the Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford 1969)
 Atra-hasis

LAS	S. Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal</i> I, II (AOAT 5/1-2, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970, 1983)
LBAT	T. G. Pinches, A. J. Sachs and J. N. Strassmeier, <i>Late Babylonian Astronomical Texts</i> (Providence 1955)
Lk.	Luke
LSS	Leipziger Semitische Studien
LTBA	L. Matouš and W. von Soden, <i>Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer in den Berliner Museen</i> I-II (Berlin 1933)
Lu	lexical series <i>lú = ša</i> (MSL 12)
Luckenbill Senn.	D. D. Luckenbill, <i>The Annals of Sennacherib</i> (Oriental Institute Publications 2, Chicago 1924)
Macc.	Maccabees
Mal.	Malachi
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
Menzel Tempel	B. Menzel, <i>Assyrische Tempel</i> (Studia Pohl, Series Maior 10, Rome 1981)
Meyer Mysteries	M. W. Meyer (ed.), <i>The Ancient Mysteries. Sacred Texts of the Mystery Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean World</i> (San Francisco 1987)
Mic.	Micah
Mk.	Mark
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
Mt.	Matthew
Mul Apin	H. Hunger and D. Pingree, <i>MUL.APIN. An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform</i> (AfO Beiheft 24, Horn 1989)
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
NBN	K. Tallqvist, <i>Neubabylonisches Namenbuch</i> (Helsinki 1905)
ND	field numbers of tablets excavated at Nimrud
Neh.	Nehemiah
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex or Codices
NL	H. W. F. Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters," <i>Iraq</i> 17 (1955) 21ff., etc.
Num.	Numeri
Ob.	Obadiah
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Oppenheim Dreams	A. L. Oppenheim, <i>The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East</i> (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 46/3, Philadelphia 1956)
Oppenheim Glass	A. L. Oppenheim, <i>Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia</i> (Corning, New York 1970)
Or.	Orientalia (Nova Series)
OTL	Old Testament Library
Payne Smith	J. Payne Smith, <i>A Compendious Syriac Dictionary</i> (Oxford 1903)
Perry Sin	G. Perry, <i>Hymnen und Gebete an Sin</i> (LSS 2/4, Leipzig 1907)

- PKTA E. Ebeling, *Parfümrezepte und kultische Texte aus Assur* (Rome 1952)
- Prov. Proverbs
- Ps. Psalms
- PSBA Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
- R H. C. Rawlinson (ed.), *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (London 1861-84)
- RA Revue d'assyriologie
- RB Revue biblique
- Rev. Revelation of John
- RHR Revue de l'histoire des religions
- RIMA Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
- RIMB Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods
- RIA Reallexikon der Assyriologie
- RMA R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon* (London 1900)
- Robinson NHL J. M. Robinson (ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (rev. ed., Leiden 1988)
- Rom. Romans
- Rudolph *Gnosis* K. Rudolph, *Gnosis. The Nature and History of Gnosticism* (San Francisco 1987)
- SAA State Archives of Assyria
- SAAB State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
- SAACT State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
- Sam. Samuel
- SANE Sources from the Ancient Near East
- Sanh. Sanhedrin
- SBH G. A. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit* (Berlin 1896)
- Scholem *Origins* G. Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (Princeton 1987)
- SEL Studi epigrafici e linguistici
- SKIZ W. H. Ph. Römer, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit* (Leiden 1965)
- Sg 8 F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* (TCL 3, Paris 1912)
- Sm tablets in the collections of the British Museum
- SMS Syro-Mesopotamian Studies
- S. of S. Song of Songs
- SpTU Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk
- STC L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation* (London 1902)
- StOr Studia Orientalia
- Streck Asb M. Streck, *Assurbanipal I-III* (VAB 7, Leipzig 1916)
- STT The Sultantepe Tablets
- SVT Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
- Tallqvist *Götterepitheta* K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (StOr 7, Helsinki 1938)
- TB Talmud Bavli

TCAE	J. N. Postgate, <i>Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire</i> (Studia Pohl, Series Maior 3, Rome 1974)
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TDP	R. Labat, <i>Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux</i> (Leiden 1951)
TH	J. Fiedrich et al., <i>Die Inschriften von Tell Halaf</i> (AfO Beiheft 6, Berlin 1940)
Thompson Esarh.	R. C. Thompson, <i>The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh, 1927-8</i> (London 1931)
ThWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament
TI	S. Langdon, <i>Tammuz and Ishtar</i> (Oxford 1914)
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum
TR	field numbers of tablets excavated at Tell Rimah
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
UBL	Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
UM	tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
UVB	Vorläufiger Bericht über die ... Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka .
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin
VT	Vetus Testamentum
W	field numbers of tablets excavated at Warka
WA	Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum, London
Warner <i>Virgin Mary</i>	M. Warner, <i>Alone of All Her Sex. The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary</i> (London 1976, 1990)
Weidner Tn.	E. Weidner, <i>Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger</i> (AfO Beiheft 12, Graz 1959)
Weinfeld <i>Deuteronomy</i>	M. Weinfeld, <i>Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School</i> (Oxford 1972)
WO	Die Welt des Orients
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
YOR	Yale Oriental Series, Researches
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
Zech.	Zechariah
Zeph.	Zephaniah
Zohar	R. Margalioth (ed.), <i>Zohar</i> (Jerusalem 1978)

Other Abbreviations and Symbols

ANE	Ancient Near East
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic, Aramean
Asb.	Assurbanipal
Asn.	Assurnasirpal
Ass.	Assyrian, Assur
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylon
Bibl.	biblical
coll.	collated, collation
DN	divine name
e.	edge
Eg.	Egyptian
Esarh.	Esarhaddon
f.	female, feminine
GN(N)	geographical name(s)
Hebr.	Hebrew
imp.	imperative
Iran.	Iranian
LB	Late Babylonian
lw.	loanword
m.	masculine
MA	Middle Assyrian
mng.	meaning
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NB	Neo-Babylonian
Nin.	Nineveh
obv.	obverse
OB	Old Babylonian
OT	Old Testament
PN(N)	personal name(s)
PNf	female personal name
pres.	present
pret.	preterit
pf.	perfect
pl.	plural
r., rev.	reverse
rabb.	rabbinical Hebrew or Aramaic
RN	royal name
rs.	right side
s.	(left) side
Sar.	Sargon
SB	Standard Babylonian
Senn.	Sennacherib
sg.	singular
stat.	stative
subj.	subjunctive

Sum.	Sumerian
Syr.	Syrian, Syriac
unpub.	unpublished
var.	variant
WSem.	West Semitic
!	collation
!!	emendation
?	uncertain reading
: : : :	cuneiform division marks
*	graphic variants (see LAS I p. XX)
0	uninscribed space or nonexistent sign
x	broken or undeciphered sign
()	supplied word or sign
(())	sign erroneously added by scribe
[[]]	erasure
[...]	minor break (one or two missing words)
[.....]	major break
...	untranslatable word
.....	untranslatable passage
→	see also
+	joined to
//	paralleled by or including parallels