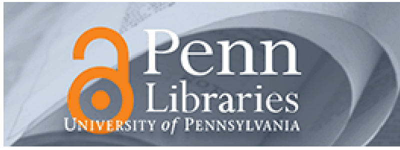

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The Splintered Divine: A Study of Ištar, Baal, and Yahweh Divine Names and Divine Multiplicity in the Ancient Near East

Abstract

This dissertation examines ancient conceptions of Near Eastern deities whose names consistently included geographic epithets, which functioned like last names. In Neo-Assyrian (ca. 900-630 B.C.E.) texts, Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela are often included as divine witnesses or enforcers of curses along with several other deities whose names lack any geographic epithets. Similarly, in second-millennium Ugaritic texts, Baal-of-Ugarit and Baal-of-Aleppo received separate offerings in cultic rituals along with several other deities whose names lack geographic epithets, and in firstmillennium Aramaic, Phoenician, and Punic texts, Baal-of-Ṣapān, Baal-of-Šamêm, and several other Baal-named deities are contrasted with each other in the same way that they are contrasted with other deities. The exploration of these Ištar and Baal divine names as first names suggests that the scribes of the ancient Near East considered each Ištar and Baal who was explicitly associated with a unique geographic last name to be a unique deity. In fact, the geographic epithets that follow the divine names should be viewed as an essential part of these deities' names. Neo-Assyrian scribes thought of Ištar-of-Nineveh as distinct from Ištar-of-Arbela just as they thought of her as distinct from any other deity whose name was not Ištar. Likewise Ugaritic, Aramaic, Phoenician, and Punic scribes thought of Baal-of-Ṣapān as distinct from Baal-of-Aleppo and any other Baal-named deity just as they thought of him as distinct from any other deity whose name was not Baal. These analyses are pertinent to biblical studies because inscriptions from the eastern Sinai (ca. 800 B.C.E.) invoke a Yahweh-of-Samaria and a Yahweh-of-Teman in blessings. Unlike, the Ištar and Baal divine names that are contrasted with each other in the same texts, however, these two Yahweh divine names do not appear together in the same texts and were not necessarily contrasted with each other. For this reason, it could not be determined whether or not Israelites who encountered the Yahweh-named deities recognized them as distinct and independent deities. They might have known the names Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman, but there is nothing in the inscriptional or biblical evidence to suggest that they necessarily thought of these as different Yahwehs.

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THE SPLINTERED DIVINE:

A STUDY OF IŠTAR, BAAL, AND YAHWEH DIVINE NAMES

AND DIVINE MULTIPLICITY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Spencer L. Allen

A DISSERTATION

in

Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

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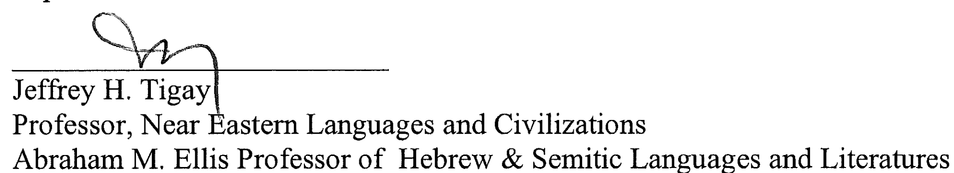
Supervisor of Dissertation



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The Splintered Divine: A Study of Ištar, Baal, and Yahweh

Divine Names and Divine Multiplicity in the Ancient Near East

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Spencer Loren Allen

For Laura

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working order. Jamie Novotny in the tablet room granted me access to the forthcoming Esarhaddon, Sennacherib, and Tiglath-pileser III volumes of the Royal Inscriptions of Neo-Assyrian Period and all the lists of gods contained in those inscriptions. Joshua Jeffers was always ready to lend a hand whenever I needed help recognizing cuneiform or figuring out where a reference was located. I would also like to thank Erle Leitchy, Ilona Zsonlay, and Phil Jones for their assistance in the tablet room and all my other colleagues and classmates at Penn who have already graduated. I am also grateful to Valerie Ross, Patrick Wehner, and the rest of the Critical Writing program for accepting me as a critical writing fellow and letting me teach "The Bible in Popular Music," which proved to be an exciting opportunity that greatly improved my own writing. I would like to thank David Stern and Richard Zettler, who served as chairs of the NELC graduate group and steered the occasional research grant in my direction as they were able. I am also grateful for the material support provided by the University of Pennsylvania while I was a William Penn fellow and by the Ellis Fellowship Fund this past year.

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long before she had published it in book form, allowing me to get a jumpstart on my own work. The comparative discussions in chapter 3 could not have been accomplished without the generous feedback about Hinduism, Catholicism, and classical Greek traditions from Benjamin Zeller, of Brevard College, Robert St. Hilaire, of Niagara University, and Daniel Levine, of the University of Arkansas. Each of them directed me to great resources and helped me clarify difficult issues in these foreign disciplines. I would also like to thank Shalom Holtz and Shawn Aster, of Yeshiva University, Jeffrey Stackert, of the Divinity School at the University of Chicago, and Mark S. Smith, of New York University, for reading through my proposal and warning me about potential pitfalls. Hopefully, most of them were avoided. And thanks to Thomas Paradise, of the University of Arkansas, for inviting me to teach for three semesters back home in Arkansas at the King Fahd Center for Middle East and Islamic Studies.

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This dissertation is now complete, but it might still not have been ready without my fiancée Laura Smith's endless encouragement, assistance, and understanding. In addition to actively listening while I discussed divine multiplicity more frequently than I discussed Bruce Springsteen, leaving little time for any other topics, she picked up and returned dozens of books for me at her school's main library and read through this entire dissertation over spring break to lay the groundwork for the indices. Moreover, she has put up with my long absences from Arkansas each year when I return to Penn for further research and writing and my shorter absences when I disappear into my apartment for a couple of days at a time to focus on particularly difficult topics. I am grateful that she understands that once I finish my life as a graduate student writing about Ištars, Baals, and Yahwehs, the two of us can start our new life together soon.

Spencer L. Allen
Philadelphia
April 2011

ABSTRACT

THE SPLINTERED DIVINE: A STUDY OF IŠTAR, BAAL, AND YAHWEH

DIVINE NAMES AND DIVINE MULTIPLICITY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Spencer L. Allen

Jeffrey H. Tigay

This dissertation examines ancient conceptions of Near Eastern deities whose names consistently included geographic epithets, which functioned like last names. In Neo-Assyrian (ca. 900-630 B.C.E.) texts, Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela are often included as divine witnesses or enforcers of curses along with several other deities whose names lack any geographic epithets. Similarly, in second-millennium Ugaritic texts, Baal-of-Ugarit and Baal-of-Aleppo received separate offerings in cultic rituals along with several other deities whose names lack geographic epithets, and in first-millennium Aramaic, Phoenician, and Punic texts, Baal-of-Ṣapān, Baal-of-Šamêm, and several other Baal-named deities are contrasted with each other in the same way that they are contrasted with other deities. The exploration of these Ištar and Baal divine names as first names suggests that the scribes of the ancient Near East considered each Ištar and Baal who was explicitly associated with a unique geographic last name to be a unique deity. In fact, the geographic epithets that follow the divine names should be viewed as an essential part of these deities' names. Neo-Assyrian scribes thought of Ištar-of-Nineveh as distinct from Ištar-of-Arbela just as they thought of her as distinct from any other deity whose name was not Ištar. Likewise Ugaritic, Aramaic,

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Abbreviations – Alphabetized by Abbreviation

A	tablets in the collections of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by D. N. Freedman, 6 vols. New York, 1992.
ABL	*Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the K*(*ouyunjik*) *Collection*(*s*) *of the British Museum*. R. F. Harper. 14 vols. Chicago, 1892-1914.
ADD	*Assyrian Deeds and Documents*. C. H. W. Johns. 4 vols. Cambridge, 1898-1923.
AfK	*Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AfOB	Archiv für Orientforschung: Beiheft
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AIR	*Ancient Israelite Religion*: *Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*. Edited by P. D. Miller, et al. Minneapolis, 1987.
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AMT	*Assyrian Medical Texts from the originals in the British Museum*.
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
APSP	*American Philosophical Society Proceedings*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
ARET	*Archivi Reali di Ebla*
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ARMT	Archives royales de Mari, transcrite et traduite.
Arnaud, *Emar 6/3*	*Recherches au pays d'Aštata*: *Emar*. *6/3*: *Textes sumériens et accadiens*: *texte*. D. Arnaud. Paris, 1986.
ArOr	Archiv orientální
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASJ	*Acta Sumerologica* (*Japan*)
Assyria 1995	*Assyria 1995*: *Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project*, *Helsinki*, *September 7-11*, *1995*. Edited by S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting. Helsinki, 1997.
BAM	*Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen*. F. Köcher. 7 vols. Berlin, 1963-.
BAR	*Biblical Archaeological Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondence hellénique*
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford, 1907. Reprint, Oxford, 1962.
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1983.
BiAr	*Biblical Archaeologist*

BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BIWA	Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: *Die Prismenklassen A*, *B*, *C = K*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, *H*, *J und T sowie andere Inschriften*. R. Borger. Wiesbaden, 1996.
BLei	Khirbet Beit Lei inscriptions in Dobbs-Allsopp, et al.
BM	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
BMS	*Babylonian Magic and Sorcery – being "The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand."* L. W. King. London, 1896.
BWL	*Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. W. G. Lambert. Oxford, 1960.
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Edited by I. J. Gelb, et al. 21 volumes. Chicago, 1956-.
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CdB	*Cahiers de Byrsa*
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*. A. Boeckh. 4 vols. Berlin, 1828-1877.
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*. 17 vols. Berolini, 1862-.
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*. 5 vols. Parisiis, 1881-.
COS	*The Context of Scripture*. Vol. 1, *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*. Edited by W. W. Hallo. Leiden, 1997.
CSMS Bulletin	*Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Bulletin*
CNI	Carsten Niebuhr Institute
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTH	*Catalogue des texts Hittites*. E. Laroche. Paris: Klincksiech, 1971.
DDD	*Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by K. Van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst. Leiden, 1999.
DNWSI	*Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. Edited by J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling. 2 vols. Leiden, 1995.
Dobbs-Allsop, et al.	Dobbs-Allsopp, F. W., J. J. M. Roberts, C. L. Seow, and R. E. Whitaker. *Hebrew Inscriptions*: *Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance*. New Haven, 2005.
DPS	Diagnostic and Prognostic Series.
EA	El-Amarna tablets. According to the edition of J. A. Knudtzon. *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*. Leipzig, 1908-1915. Reprint, Aalen, 1964.
GAB	The *Götteradressbuch* of Aššur
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JA	*Journal asiatique*
JANER	*Journal of Near Eastern Religions*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
K	tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum
KAI	*Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*. H. Donner and W. Röllig. 3 vols. Wisebaden, 1962-.
KAjr	Kuntillet ˁAjrûd inscriptions in Dobbs-Allsopp, et al.
KAR	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. E. Ebeling. Leipzig, 1919-1923.
KAV	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*. O. Schroeder. Leipzig, 1920.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. Leipzig, 1916-1980.
KJV	King James Version
KTU[2]	*The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit* (*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*), *Ras Ibn Hani and other Places*. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. Münster, 1995.
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*. Berlin, 1921-.
LAS	*Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*. S. Parpola. vol. 1 (=AOAT 5/1, 1970). Kevelaer, 1970.
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LH	The Laws of Ḫammurapi
LKA	*Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*. E. Ebeling. Berlin, 1953.
Lozachmeur	*La Collection Clermont-Genneau*: *Ostraca*, *épigraphs sur jarred*, *étiquettes de bois*. H. Lozachmeur. 2 vols. Paris, 2006.
LXX	Septuagint (the Greek Old Testament) = *The Septuagint version of the Old Testament*. L. C. L. Brenton. Grand Rapids: 1971.
MARI	*Mari*: *Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires*
MARV	Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte. Berlin, 1976-1982.
MM	tablets in the collection of the Monserrat Museum
MT	Masoretic Text = *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. K. Ellinger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1983.
MTSR	*Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*
MVAG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*. Vols. 1-44. 1896-1939.
*Nav**	Naveh inscriptions in Dobbs-Allsopp, et al.
NBC	tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale University
Nbn.	*Inschriften von Nabonidus*, *König von Babylon*. J. N. Strassmaier. Leipzig, 1889.
NCBT	tablets in the Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets, Yale University
ND	field numbers of the tablets excavated at Nimrud (Kalḫu/Calaḫ)

NJPS	*Tanakh*: *The Holy Scriptures*: *The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text*
NPNF^2	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 2.
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
One God or Many?	*One God or Many? Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World*. Edited by B. N. Porter. 2000.
Or NS	*Orientalia* (Nova Series)
OTL	Old Testament Library
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. 16 vols. Philadelphia, 1911-1930.
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PNA	*The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. 3 vols. Edited by K. Radner and H. D. Baker. Helsinki, 1998-2002.
PRU	*Le palais royal d'Ugarit*
PTS	tablets in the collections of the Princeton Theological Seminary
5 R	Rawlinson, H. C., and T. G. Pinches. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Vol. 5. London, 1884.
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods.
RIMB	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods.
RIME	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods.
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period.
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*.
RS	Ras Shamra
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
SAALT	State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
Samr	Samaria inscriptions in Dobbs-Allsopp, et al.
SBLABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
SLT	*Sumerian Lexical Texts from the School of Nippur*. E. Chiera. Chicago, 1929.
STT	*The Sultantepe Tablets*. O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein. 2 vols. London, 1957-1964.
Studi Orientalistici	*Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*. 2 vols. Rome, 1956.
SWU	*Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus Uruk*. H. Freydank. Berlin, 1971.

TAD	*Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. B. Porten and A. Yardeni. 4 vols. Jerusalem, 1986-1999.
TBER	*Textes babyloniens d'époque récente*. J.-M. Durand. Paris, 1981.
TCL	Textes cuneiforms. Musée du Louvre
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. J. Botterweck, et al. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, 2003-.
TH	tablets in the collection of the British Museum
TM	find siglum Tell Mardikh
TSSI	*Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*. J. Gibson. 3 vols. Oxford, 1971-1982.
TuL	*Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*.
UBL	Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
UVB	*Vorläufige Bericht über die…Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka*
What is a God?	*What is a God?*: *Anthropomorphic and Non-Anthropomorphic Aspects of Deity in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Edited by B. N. Porter. Winona Lake, 2009.
VAT	Vorderasiatische Abteilung Tontafel. Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Berlin, 1907-.
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTE	Vassal Treaty of Esarhaddon (SAA 2 6, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty")
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WWS	*Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*. N. Avigad. Jerusalem, 1997.
YBC	tablets in the Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterntumskunde*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Additional Abbreviations:

§(§)	paragraph(s)
B.C.E.	Before the Common Era
b. e.	bottom edge (of a tablet)
ca.	circa
C.E.	Common Era
cf.	*confer*, compare
col(s).	column(s)
comp.	compiled by
DN	divine name
ed.	edited by
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
et al.	et al, and others

EGL	embedded god-list
esp.	especially
GN	geographic name
i.e.	*id est*, that is
l(l).	line(s)
l. e.	left edge (of a tablet)
n(n).	note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
obv.	obverse (front) of a tablet
p(p).	page(s)
PN	personal name
r.	reverse
r. e.	right edge (of a tablet)
repr.	reprint
RN	royal name
suppl.	supplement
TN	temple name
trans.	translated by
v(v).	verse(s)
var.	variant reading
vol(s).	volume(s)

Keys to Signs Used in transliteration and translation:

( )	special remark or supplied words in translation
[x]	restored passage of damaged sign(s)
˹x˺	partially damaged sign(s)
<x>	missing sign(s)
xx . xx	word divider in alphabetic script inscriptions
x.x	sign divider for Sumerian logograms in Akkadian inscriptions

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INTRODUCTION

A. Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela

In a 2004 article, B. N. Porter examines "Assurbanipal's Hymn to the Ištars of Nineveh and Arbela" and claims that the hymn's narrative and grammar make it clear that "the text itself is quite clearly a two-goddess hymn."[1] Though the hymn's colophon is dedicated to one particular goddess, the Lady-of-Nineveh (^{d}*be-let* ^{uru}*ni-na-a*, SAA 3 3 r. 19), the hymn itself begins by invoking and exalting two deities who are identified as the patron goddesses ("lady," *bēlet*-) of Nineveh and Arbela:

> [1]*šu-uš-qa-a šu-uš-ri-ḫa* ^{d}*be-let* ^{uru}*ni-na-a* [2]*šur-ba-a na-'i-i-da* ^{d}*be-let* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$
> [3]*ša*$_2$ *ina* DINGIR^{meš} GAL^{meš} *ša*$_2$*-ni-na la i-ša*$_2$*-a*
>
> Raise up (and) glorify the Lady-of-Nineveh, exalt (and) praise the Lady-of-Arbela, who have no equal among the great gods (SAA 3 3:1-3, Livingston's translation, modified slightly).[2]

These opening lines also contain grammatical constructions indicating that the goddesses are separate entities. The plurality of these goddesses is indicated by the plural verb "have," which is a translation of the feminine-plural verb *īšâ* (*i-ša*$_2$*-a*) rather than the common-singular form of the verb *īšu*. Elsewhere in the hymn, feminine-plural suffixes appear on nouns in three successive lines – "their names" (*zi-kir-ši-na*, l. 4), "their cult centers" (*ma-ḫa-za-ši-na*, l. 5), and "their lips" (*šap-te-ši-na*, l. 6) – and three more appear shortly thereafter.[3] Ashurbanipal even literally refers to the Lady-of-Nineveh and

[1] B. N. Porter, "Ishtar of Nineveh and Her Collaborator, Ishtar of Arbela, in the Reign of Assurbanipal," *Iraq* 66 (2004): 41.
[2] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.
[3] Three feminine-plural suffixes appear in ll.7-12, along with one feminine-plural verb in l. 11 ([*u*$_2$*-šar*]*-ba-a*, "they made great"). Otherwise, most of the hymn's plural verbs masculine because the subjects are the great gods rather than just the two goddesses. The final two verbs of the hymn (excluding the colophon in r. 19-20) are again feminine-plural: *i-ši-ma* ("they decreed," r. 17) and *u*$_2$*-šak-ni-ša*$_2$ ("they made bow down," r. 18; theoretically, each of these verbs could be third person singular with a ventive ending).

the Lady-of-Arbela as “my Ištars” (^{d}*iš*$_{8}$-*tar*$_{2}$^{meš}-*ia*, r. 5),[4] after crediting them for his military success and the spread of his fame (ll. 18-22).

Porter notes that the distinctness of these two goddesses is highlighted by their separate roles in the creation of the king.[5] The Lady-of-Nineveh is referred to as his birth mother (*um-mu a-li-ti-ia*, “the mother who bore me,” r. 14), while the Lady-of-Arbela is his creator (*ba*-[*ni*]-*ti-ia taq-ba-a* TI.LA *da-ra-a-te*, “my creator who decreed eternal life for me,” r. 14-16). According to Porter, the former Ištar is his birth mother in the hymn, while the latter is responsible for shaping him in a more abstract way.[6] Other hymns and texts suggest that Ištar-of-Nineveh is the goddess who suckled the young Ashurbanipal (SAA 3 13 r. 6-8), whereas Ištar-of-Arbela is his dry nurse or nanny (SAA 9 7 r. 6b).[7]

In her brief survey, Porter notes that multiple Ištars are namedd in royal inscriptions and treaties by other kings, including Esarhaddon and Cyrus of Persia, which indicates that this phenomenon of distinct Ištar-associated goddesses extends beyond the one hymn of praise attributed to Ashurbanipal near the end of the Assyrian hegemony. Other contemporary Ištars include the already mentioned goddesses of Nineveh and Arbela, the Lady-of-the-Kidmuri-Temple, the Assyrian Ištar, and Aššur’s consort Mullissu, as well as an unspecified Ištar.[8] Some Ištars are namedd according to specific

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[4] Admittedly, “my Ištars” may be translated as a common noun, meaning “my goddesses” rather than a plural proper noun (*CAD* I/J, *ištaru*), which is reflected in Livingstone’s translation: “my goddesses” (A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* [SAA 3; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1989], 11).

[5] Porter 2004, 41.

[6] Akkadian *bānû*/*bānītu* may be used to describe the forming/creating of an individual (or deity) by either a male or female deity or even by a human father (*CAD* B, *bānû* A). Porter suggests that this type of creating may refer to the shaping of an individual in the womb, as opposed to incubating a child as a birth mother does (Porter 2004, 42).

[7] Porter 2004, 42. Another distinction between the goddesses found in this hymn is the invocation in SAA 3 3:10 of both the temple Emašmaš and the temple Egašankalamma, belonging to the patron goddesses of Nineveh and Arbela, respectively.

[8] Additionally, the *tākultu* ritual lists Ištars with additional geographic epithets, non-geographical epithets, and names fusing Ištar with Aššur (Porter 2004, 43-44).

circumstances (e.g., as a goddess of battle or of oaths), and others are named according to specific locations. Sometimes these Ištars act together, and sometimes they act independently of each other. Because of this variability in the seventh-century B.C.E. evidence, Porter calls upon Assyriologists to be aware of these epithets' significance because other ancient scribes could have recognized and revered distinct and co-existent Ištars just as Ashurbanipal recognized and revered two Ištars who were each "an independent force acting in Assurbanipal's life alongside" other Ištars.[9]

B. Divine names and Divine Multiplicity

Gods or goddesses who share a common first name are typically understood by scholars as locally venerated manifestations of one singular deity known by that name, and the geographic epithets are often interpreted as secondary data about local manifestations of that one deity rather than as specific and essential information that defines the manifestation as its own divine entity.[10] This understanding has recently been challenged in a few publications, like Porter's, which have posited that each of these

[9] Porter 2004, 44.

[10] The American Heritage Dictionary provides four definitions of "manifestation," two of which are relevant to the gods of the ancient Near East: "2. An indication of the existence, reality, or presence of something. 3a. One of the forms in which someone or something, as a god or an idea, is revealed. b. The materialized form of a spirit" (*American Heritage College Dictionary*, 4th Edition [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002] 841). In discussions about classical and ancient Near Eastern deities, "manifestations" is often used to describe the materialized form that a deity takes, such as a cult statue, celestial body, or another visual/physical appearance (definition 3). It is also used to denote the indication of existence of a particular god or goddess who is thought to be interacting with the human world (definition 2), which is to say that the deity's actions are manifest in the physical world even though the deity's physical form is not revealed. Since we ultimately conclude that deities who have a common first name but different geographical epithets are *not* manifestations of one singular deity but are separate deities, in this dissertation we use the word "manifestation only when discussing previous scholarship and earlier treatments of divine names with geographic epithets. Otherwise, we refer to the deities in question as "Ištar-associated goddess/es," "Baal-named deity/ies," "Yahweh-named deity/ies," and similar terms to denote distinct and independent deities. ("Ištar-associated goddess/es" is used instead of "Ištar-named deities" because there are several goddesses whom scholars identify with the singular Ištar who have non-Ištar names, including Mullissu, Anunītu, Dīrītu, and the planet Venus, which is often referred to specifically as "Dilbat" in Akkadian texts.)

manifestations was envisioned as a deity in its own right, independent of any other god sharing the same divine name.[11] The scope of these publications has, however, been extremely narrow, and no comprehensive study has yet proposed a methodology by which the distinctiveness of these manifestations can be demonstrated, the extent to which this multiplicity phenomenon was common to ancient Near Eastern religious systems, or the manner in which multiple manifestations of specific gods were understood in ancient societies. This dissertation aims to fill this gap in scholarship as it examines whether ancient Near Eastern deities sharing a common divine name (or "first name") but with different appended epithets (or "last name") were manifestations of a single god or whether they were independent gods in their own right.[12]

It should be noted that not all geographic last names represent city names as in the case with Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela, whose last names were cities of strategic importance in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Most of the geographic last names encountered in Neo-Assyrian and Northwest Semitic inscriptions do correspond to cities, but some refer to geographic regions or mountains, such as Baal-of-Ṣapān, whose last name represents the deity's mythical home on Mount Ṣapān rather than a place were people

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[11] See, for example, W. Meinhold, *Ištar in Aššur*: *Untersuchung eines Lokalkultes von ca*. *2500 bis 614 v*. *Chr*. (AOAT 367; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2009; esp. chapter 4, "Die Rolle Ištars im Pantheon der Stadt Aššur," pp. 185-223) for a series of discussions on the various Ištar-associated goddesses at Assur. For treatments of Baal-named deities, see P. Xella, *Baal Hammon*: *Recherches sur l'identité et l'histoire d'un dieu phénico-punique* (Contributi alla storia della religione fenicio-punica 1; Rome: Consiglio Nazionale Delle Ricerche, 1991) and H. Niehr, *Baʿalšamem*: *Studien zu Herkunft*, *Geschitchte und Rezeptionsgeschichte eines phönizischen Gottes* (OLA 123; Leuven: Peeters, 2003).

[12] Admittedly, the phraseology behind "first name" and "last name" is inexactly applied to ancient Near Eastern deities, just as any metaphor or analogy is inexact. The phrases are used here because they efficiently relate the distinctions between an individual's given name, which is typically the so-called "first name" in European naming traditions, and the individual's family name, which is typically the so-called "last name." Thus, Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela share the common first name "Ištar," whereas Baal-of-Ṣidon and Astarte-of-Ṣidon share a common last name "(of-)Ṣidon." A seeming exception to this first and last name rule is the goddess known as the Assyrian Ištar. In its English translation, her first name is still "Ištar" and her last name is "Assyrian"; however, in Akkadian, this example is not problematic since "Assyrian" appears after "Ištar" in Akkadian word order: *Ištar Aššurītu*. In all these cases and in most of the cases throughout this dissertation, the "last name" identifies the location of the deity's primary cult.

live. As we shall see in chapter 10, some scholars identify the geographic last names of Yahweh-of-Teman and Yahweh-of-Samaria as representing regions rather than cities. In Hittite inscriptions, various non-city locations can be used as geographic last names, as in IŠKUR-of-the-Market, IŠKUR-of-the-Ruin-Mound, and Ištar-of-the-Countryside. Likewise, the name of a deity's temple can also serve as the geographic element in that god's last name. Among those deities whose temple name serves as their last names are Lady-of-Eanna, who is an Ištar-associated goddess at Uruk, and Lady-of-Kidmuri, who is an Ištar-associated goddess at Nineveh. Finally, Heaven is included among this group of geographic last names, though "cosmic geography" might be a more precise phrase.[13] Heaven appears as a last name for deities in Akkadian, Hittite, Aramaic, Phoenician, Punic, and Hebrew inscriptions. There is, for example, an Ištar-of-Heaven in Akkadian sources, an IŠKUR-of-Heaven in Hittite sources, a Baal-of-Heaven (= Baal-Šamêm) in Akkadian, Aramaic, Phoenician and Punic sources, and finally, a God-of-Heaven, which serves as an epithet for Yahweh in Psalm 136:26 and Ezra 7:12, 21, and 34. In the case of city, temple, and some regional-geographic names, the deity in question has an active cult presence at that place, which is usually run by members of the priestly class, and the deity is thought to reside there. In the case of cosmic geographic names, such as mythical mountain homes on earth or an abode in Heaven (or in the heavens), the deity is also thought to reside where his or her last name indicates, but other divine beings were thought to play the role that the human priestly class played on earth.

In addition to Ishtar-of-Nineveh, Ištar-of-Arbela, Ištar-of-Heaven, and the various other Ištar-associated goddesses, there are several Hittite diplomatic treaties that mention

[13] For a full discussion on the geography of Heaven, see chapter 10 of W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 8; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 243-267.

deities with the first name Ištar (whose Hurrion equivalent was Šaušga), each having different last names. For example, the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti and Ḫuqqana of Ḫayasa lists, "Ištar, Ištar-of-the-Countryside, Ištar-of-Nineveh, and Ištar-of-[Ḫattarina]" (Beckman 1999, no. 3, §8, A i 48-59).[14] Hittite treaties also list up to 32 different storm-gods (IŠKURs) as divine witnesses, as is the case in the same Šuppiluliuma treaty with Ḫuqqana: "IŠKUR-of-Heaven, IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti, IŠKUR-of-Aleppo, IŠKUR-of-Arinna, IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda…IŠKUR-of-the-Army, IŠKUR-of-the-Market, etc." (§7, A i 41-47).[15] At Ugarit, Baal-of-Ṣapān received offerings in the same texts as Baal-of-Aleppo (e.g., *KTU*[2] 1.148:26-27). Other Northwest Semitic inscriptions are notable for referring to major deities in association with very specific geographical epithets: these include Baal-Ṣidon (*KAI* 14:18), Astarte in-Ṣidon (*KAI* 14:16), Astarte-of-Kition (*KAI* 37:5), and Tannit in-Lebanon (*KAI* 81:1). Somewhat unexpectedly given the prevalence of monotheism that was found later in Israel, a handful of late ninth- or early eighth-century B.C.E. Hebrew inscriptions from the eastern Sinai even refer to a Yahweh-of-Samaria and a Yahweh-of-Teman, the region to the south or southeast of Judah:[16]

[1]ברכת אתכמ [2]ליהוה.שמרנ.ולאשרתה

I bless you by Yahweh-of-Samaria and by his ašerah/Ašerah (*KAjr* 18:1-2).

[5]ברכתכ ל̊[י][6]הוה תמ̊נ̊ [7]ולאשרתה

I bless you by [Ya]hweh-of-Teman and by his ašerah/Ašerah (*KAjr* 19A:5-7).

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[14] G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (SBLWAW 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 29.

[15] Beckman 1999, 28.

[16] Approximately forty miles south of Kadesh-Barnea, the shrine at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd appears to have been a stop for travelers. The relevant texts are *KAjr* 14, 18, 19A, and 20. While the Kuntillet ˁAjrûd material has not been published in an *editio princeps*, a relatively well-organized compilation of the texts appears in F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions*: *Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005) 277-298.

The Kuntillet ˁAjrûd inscriptions represent an exciting non-official aspect of ancient Israelite religion – or religious ideas that might have been common among the general population that do not correspond with the religious ideas officially promoted by the state and its cults – but they belong to a very small corpus of texts from which to derive conclusions about ancient conceptions of local Yahwehs. However, P. K. McCarter has identified two biblical epithets that may reveal additional local Yahweh-named deities – a Yahweh-in-Hebron (2 Samuel 15:7) and a Yahweh-in-Zion (Psalm 99:2).[17] According to McCarter, each of these Yahwehs existed as a "semi-independent" deity in much the same way as Ištar-of-Nineveh co-existed with Ištar-of-Arbela in Assyria. Even with these additional potential Yahwehs, the data are still limited in scope and meaning compared to the data available for the various Ištar-associated goddesses. McCarter is not as committed to recognizing the distinction between the "semi-independent" manifestations of Yahweh as Porter is committed to the independence of the two Ištars in Ashurbanipal's hymn, but this may be due to the fact that the additional Yahwehs that he proposes are never presented in contrast with one another in biblical or extra-biblical texts like Ištars are in the hymn and Neo-Assyrian treaties, state and cultic documents, and letters.

Although the Eastern Sinai is geographically quite remote from the heartland of the Assyrian Empire, the inscriptions that list multiple Ištar-assocated goddesses with different last names and the inscriptions that invoke different Yahweh-named deities with different last names are products of the same Neo-Assyrian imperial period. For this and many other reasons, the insights obtained from a thorough examination of the full names of Ištar-associated goddess can aid our understanding of the Yahwistic full names

[17] P. K. McCarter, "Aspects of the Religion of the Israelite Monarchy: Biblical and Epigraphic Data," in *AIR* (1987), 140-142.

uncovered at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd and elsewhere. Israelite and Judahite religion and culture are distinct from contemporary Assyrian religion and culture – indeed, Israelite religion and culture may have been distinct from contemporary Judahite religion and culture – so all conclusions drawn about Neo-Assyrian conceptions of Ištar and Ištar-associated goddesses cannot be applied *a priori* to monarchic period conceptions of Yahweh or local Yahweh-named deities. However, the methodology that has been created to examine Neo-Assyrian conceptions of multiple Ištar-associated goddesses must be refined before it can be applied to Yahweh-named deities in Israelite and Judahite inscriptions because the Neo-Assyrian pantheon is substantially larger than the contemporary Israelite and Judahite pantheons. This refining process is demonstrated on other Near Eastern gods and cultures: storm-gods, tutelary gods, and Ištar-associated goddesses from second-millennium Hittite texts; Baal-named deities from second-millennium Ugaritic texts and from Phoenician, Punic, and Aramaic first-millennium texts; and from Northwest Semitic goddesses from Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic, and Ammonite first-millennium texts. Examining texts from the many different periods, geographical areas, and languages that these texts represent with the same methodology not only provides consistent results, but it also helps us refine a methodology first developed in order to examine hundreds of Akkadian texts that list dozens of Assyrian deities with unique first names. Thus, it is reliable enough to draw conclusions from the rather limited biblical and extra-biblical texts that invoke only one unique first name, Yahweh.

C. Outline and Method

This dissertation investigates the issue of the singularity versus the multiplicity of ancient Near Eastern deities who are known by a common first name but differentiated by their last names or geographic epithets. It focuses primarily on the Ištar-associated goddesses of Mesopotamia and Yahweh of Israel, and is structured around four key questions: How did the ancients define what it meant to be a god – or more pragmatically, what kind of treatment did a personality or object need to receive to be considered a god by the ancients? Upon what bases and according to which texts do modern scholars determine when a personality or object is a god in an ancient culture? In what ways are deities with both first and last names treated the same and differently from deities with only first names? Under what circumstances are deities with common first names and different last names recognizable as distinct independent deities, and under what circumstances are they merely local manifestations of an overarching deity? The conclusions drawn about the singularity of local manifestations versus the multiplicity of independent deities are specific to each individual first name examined in accordance with the data and texts available for each divine first name.

The dissertation consists of ten chapters, excluding this introduction and the conclusion, and each chapter answers one or more of the key questions listed above. For the most part, chapters 1-5 focus on the first two questions and are rooted in modern theory and discussions about ancient conceptions about the divine, debates about official and non-official religion, and the privileging of ancient scholarly texts over state documents. Chapters 6-10, on the other hand, focus on the latter two questions and are

rooted in the empirical analyses of ancient texts from ancient Assyria, Anatolia, Syro-Palestine, and the Mediterranean world.

Chapter 1, *The Nature of Divinity and the Gods*, seeks to define what a “god” is by contrasting modern notions of divinity with ancient ones. Not only did Mesopotamian gods not need to be anthropomorphic to be considered divine entities, but they also did not even need to be animate to be gods. Offering-lists indicate that statues, crowns, drums, and other cultic objects were treated in much the same way in the cult as were the divine personalities that we more easily recognize as gods, like Anu or Inana/Ištar. Additionally, some omen texts indicate that the moon-god Sîn could be considered distinct from the celestial lunar-disc and Ištar could be considered distinct from the planet Venus, while cultic texts suggest that both a god and a statue of that god could simultaneously receive separate offerings. If Mesopotamian priests and astronomers could distinguish between a deity’s personality and a physical representation of that same deity and, in some case, treat both like a deity, then it is not unreasonable that they also considered manifestations sharing a first name but having distinct last names as distinct deities.

As its title indicates, chapter 2, *Elitism and Official Religion*, focuses on two separate but related issues. First, a discussion about the hierarchy of Mesopotamian scribes reminds us that most scribes were employed by private individuals and that only a small minority was employed as part of the palace and temple bureaucracy. These scribes lacked the education that the even smaller minority of scholar-scribes had, learning only what was necessary to write private contracts, keep economic records, and maintain the state’s administrative documents. They also lacked access to – or perhaps simply did not

have the opportunity to read – the esoteric texts and the theological speculations that were produced by the scholar-scribes and priestly elite, texts that have been very influential for our modern reconstruction of Mesopotamian religion. Second, a discussion of "official religion" versus "popular religion" and "non-official religion" helps determine the precise role of the scholarly esoteric texts and theological speculations and of the more pragmatic state documents in Mesopotamian religious tradition. Theological speculations have their place in sustaining Mesopotamian religious traditions, but the state documents likely more closely represent the religious conceptions of the typical individual.

Chapter 3, *Comparative Insights*, differs from all other chapters in that it focuses on religious traditions that are, apart from the discussion of ancient Egyptian religion and syncretism, outside of the ancient Near East: Hinduism and the nature of *avatarā*s, classical Greek and Zeus manifestations, and Roman Catholicism and the occasional madonnine multiplicity. Chapter 3 looks forward to chapters 6-10 with surveys of potential of Zeus and madonnine multiplicity and suggests methodological criteria for chapter 6, but it also deals with the nature of the divine on a theoretical level and responds to previous scholarship that drew parallels between ancient Near Eastern religious traditions and those visited here. Some proposed parallels are rejected. In Egyptian religion, syncretism has its own unique meaning; rather than indicating the identification of two previously distinct deities, Egyptian syncretism refers to the indwelling of one deity in another while both simultaneously exist. In official Hinduism, *avatarā*s are, indeed, individual manifestations of an individual divine entity, typically of Viṣṇu, but they are not coexistent; each manifestation belongs to its own epoch. In classical Greek tradition, there were many coexistent *zeuses*, but the lower-case-z nature

of those *zeuses* must be emphasized as they are actually generic terms for "god." Also, there are differing traditions that are suggestive of multiple Zeuses, capital-Z, but these Zeuses are likely the result of (incomplete) syncretisms of Zeus with other gods, and these Zeuses never appear in contrast with each other. Finally, though not a deity and definitely not multiple in official Roman Catholic thought, Catholic laity has a long tradition of recognizing multiple Madonnas, including the recognition of coexistent "sister" Madonnas.

Chapter 4, *Polytheism*, *Multiplicity*, *and Assyriology*, and chapter 5, *Understanding the Lexical God-Lists*, primarily return to the issue in chapter 2 about which ancient texts modern scholars give priority to when reconstructing Mesopotamian religion. In particular, chapter 4 examines how modern scholars have privileged ancient texts produced by scholars over those produced by non-scholars, as well as the influence of the Western, monotheistic tradition wherein the Christian deity is simultaneously both three distinct entities and one God. Chapter 5 examines this latter bias more closely as it surveys the lexical god-list tradition in Mesopotamia and explains why these god-lists and other theologically speculative hymns should not be the "primary documents"[18] for understanding Mesopotamian religion that scholars have interpreted them to be, in part, because they do not provide a reliable ranking of the gods within the pantheon and because they promote the identification of deities that were likely never known to the Mesopotamian laity.

With chapter 6, *Methodology and Embedded God-Lists* (*EGLs*), the focus turns to the empirical analysis of Akkadian texts, building and demonstrating the methodology used to determine when deities sharing a first name but have different last names should

[18] W. G. Lambert, "Götterlisten," *RlA* 3/6 (1969) 478.

actually be considered distinct deities rather than local manifestations of one singular deity. The methodology presented in chapter 6 makes use of embedded god-lists (EGLs) that are found in various texts and genres from the Neo-Assyrian period that served pragmatic purposes: royal inscriptions, divine witness-lists, blessing and curse-lists found in treaties and letters, and cultic offering and ritual texts. EGLs range in length from three to three dozen divine names, and the divine names in these EGLs are typically found in a consistent order that reflects a regular hierarchy of the gods. The examination of several EGLs that comprises this chapter indicate that deities who have both first and last names are treated in the same manner as deities with only first names, except that they need their last name to distinguish them from each other. For example, Aššur and Šamaš both commonly appear in EGLs, and Aššur appears before Šamaš, indicating his superior rank in the Assyrian pantheon. Likewise, Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela often appear together in EGLs, and they typically appear near the end of the EGLs, indicating their relatively low status in the pantheon – a low status that is maintained when only one of these Ištar-associated goddesses appears in an EGL. However, throughout these EGLs, Ištar-of-Nineveh is treated as distinct from Ištar-of-Arbela as is Aššur from Šamaš or as is Aššur from his consort Mullissu. Together, the observation that deities with last names have a relatively low rank in the pantheon and that higher-ranking deities only appear once in an EGL argue against the possibility that these multiple Ištar-associated goddesses are really just local manifestations of one overarching Ištar who has a relatively high rank in the pantheon. Were the singular Ištar such a high-ranking goddess, her rank would be reflected in higher positions in these EGLs rather than the multiplication of several low-ranking positions.

Chapter 7, *Three Hittite Case Studies on Multiplicity*, and chapter 8, *An Investigation of Geographic Epithets in the West*, follow the methodology set forth in chapter 6 and apply it to the different pantheons found in EGLs from Anatolian and Syro-Palestinian texts from the second millennium B.C.E. into the early first millennium C.E. Chapter 7's three case studies include the distinctiveness of the Hittite storm-gods (IŠKURs), tutelary-gods (LAMMAs), and Ištar-associated goddesses, while chapter 8 first explores Baal-named gods with last names in EGLs from Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic, and Aramaic texts and then explores the meaning of, and grammatically possibilities behind, goddesses with last names in these same languages. The issue of distinguishing a common first name from a title or from a divine categorical label is discussed in both chapters. On the one hand, "IŠKUR," "LAMMA," and "Ištar/Šaušga" often indicate labels that categorize a deity into a functional group rather than indicating a first name for those deities, and the last names serve to distinguish each deity in that category from another. Baal, on the other hand, seems to function as both a normal first name – often a "nickname" for deities historically known as Hadad[19] – and, occasionally, as a title (i.e., a lower-case-b *baal*) indicating that the deity is the "lord" or "master" of the geographic region or cult represented by the last name.

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[19] The divine first name Hadad is attested in third millennium B.C.E. texts as ᵈʔ*a*₃-*da* at Ebla, in second millennium texts as *hd* at Ugarit, and in a fourth-century C.E. Greek text as Ἀδάδῳ at Cyprus. Despite the slightly different pronunciations that are indicated by these and various other spellings, each is rendered "Hadad" in English in order to highlight the fact that all represent the same divine name. In Akkadian and Hittite texts, the divine name is represented by the logogram ᵈIŠKUR, which scholars translate as "Adad" for Sumerian and Akkadian texts but leave as IŠKUR for Hittite texts because they do not know which divine names/names is/are represented by the logogram in Hittite. To avoid confusion the logogram ᵈ10, which also indicates storm-gods in Hittite texts has been "translated" as IŠKUR.

Similarly, the divine first name or nickname Baal is attested with several different spellings and pronunciations from third-millennium B.C.E. Ebla to third-century C.E. Carthage and fourth-century C.E. Cyprus, but "Baal" has been retained as the English translation, whereas "Bēl" is used to denote the divine nickname of the Mesopotamian deity Marduk in cuneiform sources.

Chapter 9, *The Ištars of the Neo-Assyrian Pantheon*, revisits the Ištar multiplicity issue that Porter brought to the foreground in her 2004 article and more closely analyses the attestations of Ištar-associated goddesses appearing in the EGLs already discussed in chapter 6. Although the first name "Ištar" can function as a common noun for goddess, *ištaru*, this does not appear to be the case in the EGLs examined. When the name Ištar appears, it is a first name, not a nickname or title, and often the first name Ištar is replaced by a nickname, "Lady" (*bēltu*/*bēlet*-) or "Queen" (*šarratu/šarrat*-) that is followed by a mandatory geographic last name. This is one reason that the phrase "Ištar-associated goddesses" is used throughout this dissertation. In addition to arguing for the coexistence of multiple Ištar-associated goddesses in the Neo-Assyrian period, chapter 9 briefly surveys several goddesses who have historical ties to the first name Ištar but who eventually receive a non-Ištar first name. These goddesses represent the second reason behind the use of the phrase "Ištar-associated goddesses."

Chapter 10, *How Many Names for Yahweh?*, surveys the Yahwistic full names discovered at Kuntillet ʿAjrûd and several other full names that have been proposed by scholars. Because there are no definitive EGLs in the biblical and extra-biblical Hebrew texts, analogy and syntax serve as the primary forms of investigation of potential Yahwistic multiplicity. The forms of the Neo-Assyrian and West Semitic deities' full names are compared with those proposed for potential local Yahweh-named deities. Unlike the positive conclusions that are drawn about the multiplicity of Hittite IŠKURs, LAMMAs, the Northwest Semitic Baal-named gods, and the several Neo-Assyrian Ištar-associated goddesses, no data point conclusively to the perceived coexistence of multiple, independent, local Yahweh deities. This need not mean that the scribes responsible for

the inscriptions and graffiti that invoke a Yahweh with a specific last name only believed in the existence of one singular Yahweh. Indeed, the fact that they used phraseology so similar to that used in Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic, Neo-Punic, Aramaic, and Ammonite texts suggests that the Yahweh invoked by each scribe was definitely tied to specific locale or cult and was specified with a last name in order to distinguish him from other potential Yahwehs. Simply, unlike their Neo-Assyrian and other counterparts, these scribes only appealed to one Yahweh at a time.

This dissertation concludes by summarizing the findings and exploring the implications of the preceding ten chapters. In particular, the conclusion compares the findings suggestive of multiple, independent Ištar-associated goddesses with the lack of evidence for multiple, independent Yahweh-named deities.

CHAPTER 1: THE NATURE OF DIVINITY AND THE GODS

Before determining whether Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela were two distinct goddesses in the Neo-Assyrian mind or whether Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman were two distinct gods in the Israelite mind, we must first understand the nature of divinity in the ancient Near East. As Westerners, our own cultural and religious heritage teaches us to conceptualize the divine world as One regardless of an individual's personal upbringing, so we must be exceedingly aware of our own assumptions about the divine when examining religious traditions and conceptions of divinity from foreign cultures.[1] This is especially true for Westerns who examine the conceptions of divinity in biblical Israel since, as Westerners, we claim to be the religious heirs of biblical Israel and may be biased when interpreting biblical texts and, thus, favor a conception of the divine for biblical Israel that matches our own. In order to avoid this danger as we determine whether gods with the same first name but with different last names were understood as the same or different gods, we must first understand how the ancients defined "god" in their cultures. Defining "god," "deity," or "divine" for any culture is more than taking our own conception of a monotheistic entity and multiplying that by the number of entities the other culture claims in its pantheon. It involves, among other things, understanding how they treat a god, what they explicitly call a god, and what qualities are common to those called "god."

[1] B. Saler, *Conceptualizing Religion*: *Immanent Anthropologists*, *Transcendent Natives*, *and Unbounded Categories* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 8.

A. Defining "God"

The definition or nature of "god" itself complicates our interpretation of the meaning of having multiple deities share the same divine name, or first names as they are called throughout the rest of this dissertation. The English term "god" typically connotes a divine person, an anthropomorphic superhuman entity who is often immortal. In the Mesopotamian world, Sumerian dingir and Akkadian *ilu* serve as the equivalent of English "god," but the connotations of these words encompass far more than our "god." The Mesopotamian terms can designate anthropomorphic superhuman beings, but the dingir/*ilu* continuum also includes non-anthropomorphized forces of nature, abstract ideas, animals, inanimate objects like precious stones, emblems, cult-statues, and celestial bodies.[2]

For Western English speakers, the connotations of the common noun "god" usually yield to those of the proper noun "God." This transcendent supreme deity of Abrahamic religions is a singular god, which further hinders modern people's ability to comprehend the multiplicity of divine entities from the ancient world or what constitutes a divine entity.[3] Moreover, ancient gods are not necessarily immortal, unlike the Western God. Once born, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Greek gods can and do die in ancient literature.[4] The so-called Mesopotamian creation story, *Enūma eliš*, mentions the

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[2] B. N. Porter, "The Anxiety of Multiplicity: Concepts of Divinity as One and Many in Ancient Assyria," in *One God or Many*? (2000), 243.

[3] D. B. Redford, review of E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*: *The One and the Many*, *AHR* 88 (1983): 1250.

[4] Botteró notes that the few divine deaths described in Mesopotamian mythology are violent and intentional, but he also mentions a type of retirement process through which older and inactive gods who lack human devotion slip into a noticeable oblivion (J. Bottéro, *Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia* [trans. T. L. Fagan; Chicago: University of Chicago, 2001], 61).

permanent death of at least two gods, Mummu and Kingu.[5] In Greek tradition, dying gods are rare, but they do occur. According to Plutarch, travelers are told that the "great Pan is dead" (*Obsolescence of Oracles* 419b-d), and another tradition claims that Adonis dies.[6] In the *Iliad*, Ares nearly dies by a wound inflicted by Diomedes.[7]

B. Non-anthropomorphic Deities

In addition to the differences in number and mortality between conceptions of the Western deity and ancient deities, B. Porter notes that Mesopotamian deities comprise more types than just the anthropomorphic body form and personality.[8] Her recent survey of modern treatments of Mesopotamian divinity concludes that Mesopotamian deities have been treated too anthropomorphically in scholarship, primarily because of portrayals in myths, hymns, and prayers.[9] Cultic statues, cultic emblems, forces of nature,[10] and

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[5] "[A]nd then would Ares, insatiate of war, have perished, had not the stepmother of the sons of Aloeus, the beauteous Eëriboea, reported to Hermes; and he stole Ares away, who was now in great distress, for his harsh bonds were overpowering him (Homer, *Iliad* 5.388-91 [A. T. Murray, LCL]).

Ea slays Mummu in tablet I 70-73 and slays Kingu in VI 31-32. The second death is an echo of the slain god in the Old Babylonian Atraḫasis Epic (OBV Tablet I, S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*: *Creation*, *The Flood*, *Gilgamesh*, *and Others* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998], 15). By "permanent death," I mean a god's death that is not eventually followed by the eventual resurrection or reanimation of the god's body or the god's release from the underworld. Thus, Inana/Ištar, Dumuzi, and Geštinanna in Mesopotamian mythology or Baal in Ugaritic mythology are not evidence of this phenomenon.

[6] K. Dowden, *Zeus* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), 35. Burkert discounts the idea that Greek gods could die; by definition they are immortal (W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* [trans. J. Raffan; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985], 201). They are born, and they do age, but they never become geriatric or die. For this reason, Burkert dismisses the death of Adonis as simply a foreign deity whose story "always felt…foreign."

[7] Likewise, M. Fox notes that the Egyptian gods are not eternal. They are born, grow old (as do Mesopotamian and Greek deities), and die (M. V. Fox, review of E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egyptt*: *The One and the Many*," *BiAr* 47 [1984]: 187). The only thing that is eternal in ancient Egyptian theology is primordial chaos.

[8] Porter 2000, 246. Indeed, Porter suggests that god did not require a personality to be a deity. Rather, the idea that a divine being needs more than a form is a modern importation onto an ancient issue (B. N. Porter, "Blessings from a Crown, Offerings to a Drum: Were There Non-Anthropomorphic Deities in Ancient Mesopotamia?" in *What is a God*? (2009b), 158-159).

[9] B. N. Porter, "Introduction," in *What is a God*? (2009a), 1. Bottéro explicitly states that to determine what a god can do, scholars should turn to hymns and prayers (Bottéro 2001, 59).

[10] M. S. Smith warns against possible pitfalls of identifying ancient deities with natural forces. If not stated properly, these identifications (e.g., "Baal is the thunderstorm") can be "reductionist and potentially

celestial bodies may be linked to divine personalities without affecting the deity's person or behavior. For example, the Assyrian ritual text K 252 provides offerings for several manifestations of deities, ranging in form from anthropomorphic statues, to crowns, stars, lions, temple doors, locks and city gates. Most of these items are preceded by the divine determinative dingir, indicating that these items were considered divine.[11] Unfortunately, our understanding of the meaning behind this text and other, similar texts is limited, but possible interpretations are still available for these items as they relate to the deity named. For instance, what does it mean when a deity is named along with his statue in a list that typically does not repeat divine names? This appears to be the case for Šamaš and his cult-image in K 252 ii 26[12]:

26	^{d}30 ^{d}UTU ALAM ^{d}UTU	Sîn, Šamaš-the-cult-statue, Šamaš
27	^{d}NIN.GAL ^{d}*a-a*	Ningal, Aya
28	^{d}BU.NE.NE ^{d}EN.TI	Bunene, Ebiḫ
29	^{d}*kit-tu*$_{4}$ ^{d}*u*$_{2}$*-mu*	Kittu, Umu
30	^{d}*ta-am-ba-a-a*	Tambâya
31	DINGIR^{meš} *ša*$_{2}$ E$_{2}$ ^{d}30 ^{d}UTU	Gods of the temple of Sîn (and) Šamaš
32	*ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}ŠA$_{3}$.URU	of the Inner City.[13]

misleading" (M. S. Smith, *The Memoirs of God*: *History*, *Memory*, *and the Experience of the Divine in Ancient Israel* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004], 103). Because natural forces are rarely invoked in proper names, prayers, or incantations, he suggests instead that we refer to natural forces as earthly or natural manifestations of a particular god (e.g., the thunderstorm is a natural manifestation of Baal's power).

[11] Porter 2009a, 5-6; see B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel* (Studia Pohl. Series Maior 20; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1981), 2:T113-125, no. 54.

[12] Another example from *STT* 88 i includes an Aššur-(of-the-Laḫmū$^{?}$) (l. 19′), Aššur-Crown (l. 17′), and Aššur-Dayyānū (l. 20′): $^{17′}$ ^{d}*a-šur* ^{d}*a-gu-u* $^{18′}$ ^{d}*šu-šam* $^{19′}$*aš-šur* ^{d}*laḫ-mu*^{meš} $^{20′}$*aš-šur* ^{d}DI.KU$_{5}$^{meš} (Menzel 1981, 2:T113, no. 53).

[13] The interpretation of l. 26 as invoking three divine names is primarily based on ll. 18 and 20 earlier in this text. In each of these lines, the goddesses' names (i.e., Nipḫu and Nūru) are followed by ALAM, giving the appearance that ALAM is an element in the goddesses' full names. The same impression is given in column i, where the divine name Kippat-māti appears twice, once without the ALAM element and once with it (^{11} ^{d}*kip-pat*-KUR ^{12} ^{d}*kip-pat*-KUR ALAM, K 252 i). This is precisely how *CAD* interprets these divine names (*CAD* Ṣ, *ṣalmu* mng. a1′d′) when they appear in Frankena's *Tākultu* edition. Elsewhere in this text, the scribe regularly added a divine determinative to ALAM when the word appears to be independent of other divine names (e.g., i 15, 25 [partially reconstructed], 32 [plural], ii 2 [⸢^{d}⸣*ṣal-mu*], v 31, and 32).

In a variant text, however, ALAM typically receives a divine determinative regardless of whether ALAM appears independently or as an element in a full name.For example, instead of K 252 ii 20's ^{d}nu-ru ALAM, *STT* 88 ii 45 lists ^{d}*nu-*⸢*ru*⸣ ^{d}[ALAM] (Nipḫu $^{(d)}$ALAM in l. 43 is only a proposed reconstruction), which suggests two distinct divine names. Likewise, in its parallel account of our primary line of interest,

It could mean that the god is present in (i.e., embodied in) two separate forms that are receiving offerings; it could mean that these two forms of the god have been equated; it could mean that these two names are both representatives of the same god; it could mean that the god and his cultic image are being invoked; or it could mean something else entirely. In previous scholarship, the anthropomorphic statues received most of the attention and were considered the primary forms of the gods, while non-anthropomorphic forms received little interest and were virtually excluded from reconstructed Mesopotamian pantheons.[14]

For example, Porter criticizes Bottéro's description of the early Sumerian deities as primarily anthropomorphic because he downplays any aspect of the divine that is non-human.[15] In Bottéro's mind, natural phenomena like bodies of water, mountains, cities, and demons are inferior to the gods, even if their names are preceded by a divine determinative, and the same can be said of celestial bodies since they are "identified with the divinities who represented and ruled over them."[16] Likewise, J. Black and A. Green "reflect a widely shared scholarly consensus when they comment in their brief illustrated

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STT 88 ii 50-51 appears to list four divine names instead of three: Sîn, Šamaš, Ṣalmu, and Šamaš once again (^{50} ^{d}30 ^{d}UTU ^{51} ^{d}A[LAM] ⸢^{d}⸣UTU). In addition to having its own determinative, ALAM has also been severed from the preceding UTU with its placement at the start of a new line. Graphically, the impetus behind this change is easily explained: two determinatives and two other signs are placed on each line for balance. Theologically, however, the implications of this arrangement are much more difficult to discern. If, indeed, four divine names are listed, why is Šamaš's name repeated? If ^{d}ALAM should be interpreted as an element for the first ^{d}UTU's full name, why has it been separated? If ^{d}ALAM should be understood as an element for the second ^{d}UTU, why is this instance the only one in which ALAM precedes the other element in the divine name?

[14] Porter 2009a, 4.

[15] Porter 2009a, 2.

[16] Bottéro 2001, 62-63. Botteró does observe that entities labeled "demons" by scholars are never found in lexical god-lists even if they receive divine determinatives in other writings (p. 63). Likewise, he downgrades stars and constellations from fully participating in godship since they are also missing in lexical lists and their names are more often preceded by the star determinative mul rather than the divine determinative an.

dictionary of the gods" that "'the gods of the ancient Mesopotamians, in historical times, were almost without exception anthropomorphic, male or female.'"[17]

In contrast with those scholars critiqued by Porter, G. Selz readily recognizes the non-anthropomorphic nature of several Sumerian deities, noting that there is no distinctive feature that separates cult-statues from other cultic objects like tiaras or crowns and even statues of the ruling elite.[18] Just like a cultic statue of a major deity, other cultic objects often reside in the temple, display a god's name on them, partake in rituals, and even receive offerings.[19] Indeed, sacred objects are the recipients of votive gifts – a type of offering that Selz claims should have been restricted to major deities whose cultic representations are anthropomorphic if we expected Sumerian conceptions of the divine to fit our own.[20] Crowns may be furnished for a stela, and a drum may receive a crown and a necklace.[21] Other ritual acts that may distinguish an object as divine in the Ur III cult that Selz investigated are name-giving, mouth-open and washing, induction into the cults, and receiving clothing.[22] While a modern scholar may readily accept that an anthropomorphic cult-statue could have its mouth opened through rituals, that non-anthropomorphic objects without discernable mouths could also have their mouths opened is more problematic; however, the Sumerians performed mouth openings

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[17] Porter 2009a, 4; "gods and goddesses," in J. Black and A. Green, *Gods*, *Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia*: *An Illustrated Dictionary* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 93.
[18] G. Selz, "The Holy Drum, the Spear, and the Harp. Towards an Understanding of the Problems of Deification in the Third Millennium Mesopotamia," in *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations*, edited by I. L. Finkel (Gröningen: Styx Publications, 1997) 167.
[19] Selz 1997, 184. Selz notes that the Ur III tablets under discussion include both offerings and votive texts. The former genre generally contains a greater list of gods than the latter, but the treatment of major gods and cultic objects is similar in both genres (p. 173). Selz concludes that cultic objects were considered as divine as the great gods.
[20] Selz 1997, 175.
[21] Selz 1997, 176.
[22] Selz 1997, 179.

on both.[23] There is no doubt that these other objects are divine, but does the fact that they receive smaller offerings and lesser gifts suggest that the Sumerians recognized these non-statue objects as lesser deities?[24]

In her attempts to remove this anthropomorphic bias about the gods in scholarship, in addition to the peculiarities of *Tākultu*, Porter points to hymns that present undeniably non-anthropomorphic aspects of deities. In one hymn, Nanna the Sumerian moon-god is praised as the "light shining in the clear skies," and a second hymn praises him for "ever renewing himself, illuminating darkness."[25] In these examples, the moon-god is presented as the moon itself, as opposed to his anthropomorphic body. Another deity whose non-anthropomorphic aspect is praised is Nidaba, the goddess of reeds, grasses, and grain who is described as an able housekeeper as well as food and drink: "The able housekeeper of An, lady….milady, you are the food of ([Enlil's] temple) Ekur, you are the drink of (the temple) Eanna."[26] For Porter, these hymns suggest that people, including elite scribes, envisioned the gods in multiple forms rather than primarily as people. Since a statue can represent a god's form, and the moon can represent the moon-god Sîn's form, then a grain pile can represent Nidaba's form, which is to say, a pile of grain may have been considered an *ilu* in its own right. Since tiaras, harps, chariots, and

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[23] Selz 1997, 177. If we accept Walker and Dick's analysis of the mouth-washing ritual – or rather if we accept that the priests performing the mouth-washing ritual would have agreed with Walker and Dick's analysis – the important aspect of the ceremony was cleansing the cult object from human contamination (C. Walker and M. Dick, *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia*: *The Mesopotamian Mīs Pî Ritual*: *Transliteration*, *Translation*, *and Commentary* [SAALT 1; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001], 14). Like Selz, they agree that this ritual allowed the object to function as a deity, but their treatment lessens our desire to search for an actual mouth on the object.

Selz also stresses the importance of naming harps as independent entities: "The importance that names had for the peoples of the ancient Near East cannot be overestimated" (Selz 1997, 178).

[24] Selz 1997, 184.

[25] Porter 2009a, 4-5. Porter quotes T. Jacobsen for the translation of these hymns (T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness*: *A History of Mesopotamian Religion* [New Haven: Yale University Press 1976], 122).

[26] Jacobsen 1976, 10.

thrones are divinized in ritual and other cultic texts with divine determinatives and offered food offerings, gods must have taken the forms of tiaras, harps, chariots, and thrones, among other objects or substances in addition to anthropomorphic forms. Likewise, since epilepsy (*bennu*) appears in ancient texts with a divine determinative, perhaps it belongs among the Mesopotamian gods.[27] Objects and diseases may have been inferior to the anthropomorphic deities, but "they were not seen as entities of a truly different type" because the scribes continued to provide them with divine determinatives.[28] Moreover, often times, these non-anthropomorphic deities may be identified as gods because the word *ilu* itself is used to describe them; because they are addressed like gods in blessings and prayers; or because they reside in temples and receive food offerings.[29] Since they were treated like gods by the ancients, these objects should be granted divine status by modern scholars.

a. Celestial Deities

Moving from the hymnic and cultic realms into the cosmic realm and examining the issue from another perspective, F. Rochberg notes that those gods who are associated with celestial bodies (e.g., the moon-god Sîn with the moon, or Ištar with the planet Venus) can be differentiated from those same heavenly bodies.[30] For Rochberg, celestial

[27] Porter 2009b, 158.
[28] Porter 2009b, 159.
[29] Porter 2009b, 161. The Tigris also appears with a divine determinative in personal names, thus acting as the theophoric element in the names. In both ^{d}IDIGNA-*rēmmi* ("Tigris have mercy on me") and ^{f}*Tašme*-^{d}IDIGNA ("the Tigris hears"), the river is invoked just as major deities are invoked, e.g., Rēmmani-Issar/Marduk/Nabû or Issar/Marduk/Nabû-rēmanni ("Ištar/Marduk/Nabû have mercy on me").
[30] F. Rochberg, *The Heavenlyef Writing*: *Divination*: *Divination*, *Horoscopy*, *and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 171-180, esp. 176; see also F. Rochberg, "'The Stars Their Likeness': Perspectives on the Relation Between Celestial Bodies and Gods in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *What Is a God*? (2009), 89.

divination best exemplifies the relationship between Mesopotamian conceptions of the divine personalities and their visual attributes or manifestations.[31] At the same time, celestial divination brings together religious, scientific, and political contexts into a single perspective; a perspective that has survived in the letters from Neo-Assyrian scholars to the Sargonid kings who rely upon these omens and observations to determine their courses of action. Celestial divination reveals the meaning of natural phenomena as observed by scholars, and in these letters – as well as in the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* – scholars make distinctions between the celestial bodies and the divine personalities.

This distinction is principally expressed in an omen's metaphoric language. An omen protasis may mention that the visible lunar disk (i.e., the moon in the sky) wears a crown, but this statement need not mean that the moon-god Sîn also has a crown on his anthropomorphic head.[32] In this situation, Rochberg argues, "This claim may be explained in terms of the attribution of agency only to the gods, who were therefore not viewed as constituting the signs, but as producing the signs."[33] The moon as a lunar disk is actually the moon-god Sîn's signal to the omen reader in this situation, not the god himself. Allowing for this distinction between the deity and the celestial body also plays an important role in our examination of Ištar in the Neo-Assyrian period. For example, one possible reading of the celestial omen protasis suggests that Venus was envisioned as

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Likewise, J. Assmann notes that the Egyptian "Solar Phases Hymn" refers to the sun as the celestial object rather than the sun-god (J. Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom*: *Re*, *Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism* [trans. A. Alock; London: Kegan Paul International, 1995], 42).

[31] F. Rochberg, "Personifications and Metaphors in Babylonian Celestial Omina," *JAOS* 116 (1996): 476.

[32] Rochberg 1996, 480 (Rochberg 2004, 180). For example, [5]1 30 *ina* IGI.LAL-*šu*$_2$ AGA *a-pir* [6]LUGAL *a-ša*$_2$*-ri-*<*du*>*-tu*$_2$ DU-*ak* ("If the moon at its appearance wears a crown: the king will reach the highest rank, SAA 8 10:5). See also SAA 8 113:5 for another reference to the moon and its crown.

[33] Rochberg 1996, 482 and Rochberg 2004, 176.

having a beard: SU_6 (*ziqnu*) *zaq-na-at* (ACh Suppl. Ištar 33:41).[34] If the planet Venus is necessarily Ištar, then the goddess Ištar as an anthropomorphic entity is here described as bearded. On the other hand, if we allow for the distinction between the goddess and the planet just as we allow for the distinction between the moon-god and the moon, then this protasis may be interpreted as a visual metaphor and a sign provided by a goddess who does not need a shave.

This perceived distinction between the gods and the celestial bodies also explains the fact that different names are usually used to differentiate the deity from the planetary body. For example, the moon is more often designated as ᵈ30, which includes a reference to the heavenly body's approximately 30-day cycle, instead of the name Sîn, or the planet Jupiter is called ᵈSAG.ME.GAR in omens rather than as Marduk.[35] For Rochberg, these distinct designations underscore the differentiation between the celestial object and the deity in the mind of the diviners. Sometimes the distinction between the two is clear, but when the deity and the heavenly body are called by the same name, context and placement within the omen are needed to distinguish the two.[36]

This distinction between deity and celestial manifestation, of course, is not always necessary. Prayers are addressed to the moon in the night sky (e.g., *Šuilla* prayers to

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[34] Rochberg notes that the logogram SU_6 may also be read as *nabāṭu* ("to become radiant"), which is a reading that would circumvent any complicated interpretation or explanation of Ištar as an androgynic deity with a beard (Rochberg 1996, 480). Although "beard" is the primary meaning of *ziqnu*, *CAD* Z suggests that the word can also be used metaphorically for light. Lambert translates *mu-šaḫ-miṭ ziq-nat ur-ri* literally as "(Šamaš) [w]ho sets aglow the *beard* of light" (*BWL* 126, l. 18), but *CAD* prefers the translation "(Šamaš) who makes glow the rays of light (lit. the beard of light)" (*CAD* Z, *ziqnu* mng. c).

[35] Rochberg 1996, 480. A third example is the use of Dilbat to refer to the planet Venus rather than the name Ištar. This is not to deny that the ᵈ30, ᵈSAG.ME.GAR, or ᵈDIL.BAD serve as alternative names for Sîn, Marduk, or Ištar outside of the omen corpus.

[36] Rochberg 1996, 479 and Rochberg 2004, 168. Typically, in a celestial omen context, we expect that the protasis refers to the physical moon rather than the god.

Sîn),[37] and hymns do praise Sîn by describing the visual attributes of the lunar disk (e.g., Enḫeduanna's hymns to Sîn), but these need mean only that the lunar disk acts as a representative of the god.[38] For Rochberg, the true inner workings of the ancient Babylonian scholar's mind may be inaccessible, but this should not mean we deny them metaphoric thought;[39] after all, scholars accept the language used to describe extispicy as merely metaphoric thought.[40]

This observation, that the moon-god Sîn could be understood as distinct from the lunar disk in certain situations yet still be identified with the moon, follows Porter's suggestion that scholars should reevaluate the nature of divinity in Mesopotamia. Rather than identifying any and all proclaimed manifestations of a deity as that deity, Porter suggests looking at these manifestations as separate valences, or parts/aspects, of a deity or objects that are associated with that deity that function independently of but still relate to the primary deity.[41] The nuanced difference between these two approaches is subtle,

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[37] B. Foster interprets the third line of "Prayer to Gods of the Night" as a reference to Šamaš, Sîn, and Ištar as celestial bodies having set when night falls: "Gods of the land, goddesses of the land / Shamash, Sîn, Adad, and Ishtar are gone off to the lap of heaven" (B. Foster, "Prayer To Gods Of The Night," in *COS* 1.115 [1997], 417 n. 1, Foster's translation). This interpretation may plausible and commonly accepted by scholars, but it seems unlikely given the inclusion of Adad along with these three celestial gods as well as the fact that the lunar disk and the planet Venus are often readily visible in the night sky. Instead, this should be taken as an instance where the divine personalities are each distinguished from one of their physical manifestations.

[38] Rochberg 2009, 90.

[39] This metaphoric conclusion is where Rochberg departs from early and mid-twentieth-century C.E. Assyriological interpretations of the divine world in Mesopotamian thought. In his 1946 book, *Before Philosophy*, H. Frankfort argues that ancient Mesopotamians were unable or unwilling to think metaphorically (H. and H. A. Frankfort, "Myth and Reality," in *Before Philosophy*: *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*: *An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East* (eds. H. and H. A. Frankfort; Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1949], 19). Like other ancient peoples, the Mesopotamians could not distinguish any "essential difference between an act and a ritual or symbolical performance" (p. 22), whereas modern people can. Equipped with this attitude, Frankfort has convinced himself that the ancients could not separate the personality or essence of a deity from the physical manifestation.

[40] Rochberg 1996, 480. When protases mention the liver's "finger" or "palace," it is clearly not suggesting livers literally contain these items.

[41] Porter presents her perception of these valences in Porter 2000, 242-248; however, Rochberg's summary of these pages provides a clearer discussion: "Accordingly, Ištar can be understood as a divine lady, as (the

the latter accepting that single manifestations can act independently of the deity while still being recognized as that deity. Just as Rochberg has demonstrated that Sîn and the moon could function separately in omen texts, Porter argues that the goddess Ištar and the planet Venus (Dilbat) were envisioned as acting independently of each other, even though the planet Venus is typically understood to be a celestial manifestation of the goddess Ištar.[42] In one text, an omen report sent to Esarhaddon, Venus's disappearance is a sign of the king's victory, but in another, Ištar is as an active participant in battle. In the omen report, written to reassure Esarhaddon of his victory, the observer notes:

> $^{11'\ mul}$DIL.BAD *na-baṭ* MUL^{meš} $^{12'}$*ina* IM.MAR.TU $^{ii\ 1}$[*ina* KASKAL *šu*]-*ut* ^{d}*e*$_2$-*a* ^{2}*in-na-mir ša*$_2$ *kun-nu* ^{3}*ma-a-te* [*ša*$_2$] *su-lum* ^{4}DINGIR^{meš}-*ša*$_2$ *ni-ṣir-tu*$_2$ ^{5}*ik-šu-ud-ma*
>
> Venus, brightest of stars, in the west, [in the 'wa]y of Ea', shone brightly and (as an omen) of making the land firm and reconciling its gods, reached the hypsoma and disappeared (RINAP 4, Esar. 57 i 11´-ii 5).[43]

This particular disappearance of Venus – whom Porter identifies with Ištar – was interpreted as a signal that the king would prevail, which is why the report was preserved in a royal inscription. However, in another royal inscription of the war, Esarhaddon proclaims that "Ištar, the lady of combat and battle," was an active participant in the battle and stood by the king's side (RINAP 4, Esar. 1 i 74-76).[44] According to Porter,

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essence of) love or of war, or, indeed, as the planet Venus or the Bow Star. The plurality of divine aspects, in Porter's view, functioned independently, while relating to a single deity" (Rochberg 2009, 86).

[42] Porter 2000, 247.

[43] Porter 2000, 247, Porter's translation. In astronomic terms, Porter defines *hypsoma* as "a planet's highest point above the celestial horizon" (p. 247), whereas H. Hunger and D. Pingree define it in horoscopic/astrological terms as "the place in the ecliptic where a planet exerts it strongest influence" (H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* [Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Nahe und der Mittlere Osten 44; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 28).

[44] $^{74\ d}$*iš-tar be-let* MURUB$_4$ *u* ME$_3$ *ra-a*$^{?}$*-i-mat ša*$_2$*-an-gu-ti-ia* ^{75}*i-da-a-a ta-zi-iz-ma* ^{giš}PAN-*su-nu taš-bir* ^{76}*ta-ḫa-za-šu*$_2$*-nu ra-ak-su tap-ṭu-ur-ma*

"Ištar, lady of combat and battle, who loves my priesthood, stood by my side and broke their bows and untied their battle line" (RINAP 4, Esar. 1 i 74-76).

Moreover, 15 lines earlier in this inscription, Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela – along with Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû, and Nergal – were among the gods who chose Esarhaddon as king (l. 59).

reading RINAP 4, Esar. 1 and Esar. 57 together suggests that "[o]nly the movements of the *ilu* Ištar as a planet are involved in her disappearance (in the omen report); other aspects of the *ilu* Ištar continue to function energetically and without interruption."[45] The planet was described as distantly absent, while the goddess was present in the battlefield. Ideally, this distinction between Ištar as the celestial Venus and as a battle goddesses standing alongside the king would be found within one text, but both manifestations of Ištar are reported in texts sponsored by the king, who probably would not have found it problematic that two Ištar-manifestations could act independently of each other.

b. The Lord Crown

Returning to the issue raised by K 252 ritual texts, if a deity's celestial manifestation can act either independently of that deity or as a sign of the deity's work rather than the deity itself, then perhaps the items receiving offerings in K 252 are not simply manifestations of a deity despite their being labeled with that deity's name. Perhaps they are entirely separate forms that function independently but relate to a single deity. For example, Aššur's Crown appears in multiple texts, including royal rituals. Sometimes Aššur's Crown is called Crown (e.g., ^{d}AGA, AGA, MEN$_{2}$, ^{d}*a-gu-u*, and *a-gu-u*), and sometimes Lord Crown (e.g., ^{d}EN AGA, EN AGA),[46] but the name is often preceded by a divine determinative; it receives its own offering and operates separately from Aššur.[47] On 16 Šabāṭu, the king lights a censer to Aššur and then sets up an offering table before Lord Crown. Afterwards, he presents "water for the hands" for Aššur and for Lord Crown separately (^{19}A^{meš} [ŠU^{II}] ^{20}[*a-na*] EN AG[A] ⸢*uq-ṭar-rib*⸣, "(the king) has

[45] Porter 2000, 247.
[46] Menzel 1981, 2:57* n. 698.
[47] Porter 2009b, 186 n. 119.

brought water [for the hands for] Lord Crow[n], A 125 i 19-20),[48] and later this text portrays Lord Crown (ii 22′) as being presented as an offering to Aššur and Mullissu.[49] Yet another text lists Lord Crown among fifteen other deities who make offerings before Aššur (A 485+3109).[50] For Porter, this Lord Crown is closely associated with the imperial god Aššur and may even represent his sovereignty or command abstractly (not unlike the divine abstract concepts *mišarum*, "Justice," and *kittum*, "Truth"),[51] but it is not identical with Aššur.[52] Instead, Lord Crown is a lesser deity operating independently of but in coordination with a major deity; he is still divine, but this divinity seems to depend upon another, a transfer process which Porter considers "contagion."[53] In this way, the conception of divinity in Mesopotamian religions that Porter proposes would resemble holiness in biblical thought. For example, in the Priestly tradition, common objects become holy through contact with the most sacred objects. According to Exodus 29:37, "the altar is most holy, and everything that touches the altar becomes holy" (והיה המזבח קדש קדשים כל־הנגע במזבח יקדש). In the Priestly tradition, this extension of holiness only applies to objects that touch the altar, but it does not apply to the people who touch

[48] Menzel 1981, 2:T32-33, no. 24 i 17-23 and ii 19′-25′. Menzel's edition of A 125 i 19-20 differs significantly from van Driel's: [19]A^{meš} ˹KI˺.MIN [20][(*x*) 1-]*en* SANGA [(*x*)] ˹*uq*˺-taṯr-*rib* ("water the same, [ ] one(?) *šangû* (……?) has brought," van Driel's translation [G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur* (Assen: van Gorcum, 1969) 125]).

[49] Porter notes that the king begins this ritual wearing Lord Crown on his head (Porter 2009b, 186).

Jacobsen long ago observed and concluded that the cult image is not the god (T. Jacobsen, "The Graven Image," in *AIR* [1987a], 22). According to an inscription from the reign of Nabû-apal-iddina in the ninth century, the cult image of Šamaš was identified as distinct from the god Šamaš during the mouth washing ritual, when the text states that its mouth was washed "before Šamaš" (*ma-ḫar* ^{d}*Šamaš*, iv. 24). Moreover, the previous cult image that was annihilated long ago by Suteans (Assyrians) and that did not harm the sun-god himself. Even if Šamaš refused to allow his new statue be created until the arrival of a pious king, none would have argued that Šamaš ceased to exist because of his absence of his statue.

[50] Menzel 1981, 2:T44, no. 28 r. 19-24.

[51] See also Psalms 85:14a and 89:15b, in which צדק ("righteousness") and חסד ואמת ("mercy and truth") may also be divine abstract concepts acting independently of but coordinating with Yahweh.

[52] Porter 2009b, 188.

[53] Porter 2009b, 191. She likens this possible ancient contagion to modern objects, including objects owned by world leaders (e.g., Queen Elizabeth I's bed) and church relics (e.g., St. Veronica's Veil or St. Martin's cloak).

it; however, Ezekiel 46:20 maintains the ancient tradition that even people are made holy by touching most sacred objects.[54] If holiness may be contagious in Israel, then the idea that divinity and holiness are contagious in Mesopotamia may be a reasonable deduction in light of the divinized materials associated with a chief deity like Aššur.

This potentially contagious nature is what distinguishes Porter's and Rochberg's conceptualization of *ilu* from those of earlier scholars. Indeed, Porter's definition of *ilu* diverges from previous scholarship because she accepts that some *ilu*s have no interest in humans: "Although they were alive, not all gods appear to have been able (or disposed?) to affect human lives or influence the workings of the cosmos."[55] That a god, or *ilu*, could be alive but lack both an affect and an effect on the world may be a difficult concept for Western scholars whose traditions are rooted in Christianity and its one imminent deity, but this is likely not an issue of concern for the Mesopotamians themselves.

C. Mark. S. Smith's Take on "What is an *ilu*?"

Like Porter, M. S. Smith attempts to uncover a primary definition of *ilu* by examining the occurrences and treatments of the word in ancient sources rather than letting Western notions interfere. His lexical analysis of Akkadian *ilu* – along with the Ugaritic *ˀilu*, biblical Hebrew *ˀēl*, and the divine determinative AN/DINGIR in cuneiform

[54] J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 455. Milgrom suggests that the Priestly tradition's stance responses to the ancient tradition that sacred objects could, in fact, sanctify people. This change has been affected to prevent criminals from running to the altar and proclaiming "sanctuary" with ambitions of avoiding retaliation or punishment for their misdeeds (p. 456). For this reason, only the priests, who have already been sanctified, are permitted to touch these sanctified objects and furniture in the Tabernacle or Temple (p. 977). Actually, the Priestly injunction against commoners' touching these most holy objects betrays the fact that all people can and do, indeed, become holy this way; any common person who touches the altar or another most sacred object is contaminated by the object's holiness, and this person must die as a result of this contamination – either by being stoned or pierced (Exodus 19:13) or by divine act (Leviticus 10:1-5).

[55] Porter 2009b, 189.

– uncovers that, in addition to the commonly recognized major deities, *ilu* designates natural phenomena (stars, mountains, bodies of water), cosmic monsters, demons, kings (both living and dead), deceased ancestors (including non-royal persons), images and emblems of deities, standing stones, and other cult objects and places.[56] Thus, his survey that includes the West Semitic divine world is fairly similar to Porter's survey of Sumerian and Akkadian materials. For Smith, the category *ilu* possesses a greater status than does the category (typical) human being.[57] He explains that divinity is probably extended to the cult site and cult objects because of their association with the divine for the benefit of the human religious experience. Moreover, they may have been thought of as intermediaries between humans and the divine since, for example, harps and hymns are used in worship for intercession. Smith further notes that intercession is almost always performed by gods, rather than, say, instruments.[58] Also, when a deity's sanctuary is considered holy, this really reflects the holiness of the resident. As such, the place may be considered holy and divine because it reflects the holiness of the divinity there.[59] While these statements are in complete agreement with Porter's, including the idea that divinity is transferred from the greater god to the lesser object, Smith seems content to regard these holy-by-association objects as consisting of a lesser essence. Objects that merely reflect divinity may be holy, but they are not so wholly distinct from the natural world as to be considered divine.

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[56] M. S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism*: *Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 6.
[57] Smith notes that in Mesopotamian myth, Erra is accused of acting like a human ("You changed your divine nature and made yourself like a mortal" Erra IV 3, translation B. Foster, B. Foster, "The Eighth Campaign," in *Before the Muses*: *An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* [3d ed.; Bethesda: CDL Press, 2005], 808), and in Hosea 11:9 Yahweh reminds Israel, "I am God and not a man" (Smith 2001, 6).
[58] Smith 2001, 77.
[59] Smith 2001, 94.

In order to stress the anthropomorphic nature of major deities in the ancient Near East, Smith appeals to Mesopotamian hymns of praise that describe the bodies of certain gods in terms of other gods (see Table 5.11). Ninurta's eyes are Enlil and Mullissu in the so-called "Syncretic Hymn to Ninurta."[60] Smith states that this hymn and others like it (e.g., the so-called "Syncretic Hymn to Marduk"; see Table 5.10) "heighten the anthropomorphism to make the deity transcend the basic analogy between human and deities which (is) the traditional anthropomorphism,"[61] For example, Enlil may be one of Ninurta's eyes, but the circumference of heaven and earth is the roof of Ninurta's mouth, which suggests his enormous superhuman size. Moreover, in addition to listing these deities from face to foot like one would list a human's features, [Nisaba] is Ninurta's locks and the sun's cornea are his eyebrows, bodyparts that are not unique to humankind but are more readily suggestive of anthropomorphic rather than theriomorphic attributes.[62] These major Mesopotamian gods are wholly human in appearance, and the listening audience for these hymns would envision Ninurta (and Marduk) anthropomorphic in much the same way as the Baal Myth's audience envisions Môt with a face,[63] a throat,[64] and hands that can manipulate a bowl and a cup (*b klʾat ydy*, "by double handful," *KTU*^{2} 1.5:19-20; *b ṣʿ*, "in a bowl," and *ks*, "cup," l. 21). These beings may be more than human, but they are nonetheless humanoid in appearance. Ugaritic material of this genre of praise is generally lacking, but Smith does liken *KTU*^{2} 1.101 to

[60] Foster 2005, 713-714.
[61] Smith 2001, 88.
[62] J, Sadr, I. Jarudi, and P. Sinha note that "humans have relatively little facial hair as compared to other primates (J. Sadr, I. Jarudi, and P. Sinha, "The Role of Eyebrows in Face Recognition," *Perceptions* 32 [2003]: 285). Indeed, eyebrows probably play a greater role in our expression of emotions than do our eyes, and their emotive functions are "perhaps more relevant" (p. 285) to us than are their protective functions because they seem to play such an important role in sexual dimorphism (p. 286).
[63] The "face of Môt" (*pʿn mt*, *KTU*^{2} 1.4 viii 26) could here be understood as the preposition "before" rather than a literal face. Note that D. Pardee translates this as "at the feet of Môtu" (*COS* 1.86:264).
[64] Admittedly, the god's throat is likened to a lion's (*npš lbʾim*, *KTU*^{2} 1.5 i 14).

these Mesopotamian hymns because it too describes Baal's anthropomorphic body in cosmic rather than human terms:

> 7 *rˀišh . b glṯ . b š*m[m]
> 8 [y]šˀi*l . ṯr . ˀiṯ . ph . kṯ*[[t]] . *ġb*t . [xxx]
> 9 [xxxx]m *k yn . ddm*
>
> His head is in the *snow* in heav[en, // at? (his) *fee*]*t* there is the moisture.
> His mouth like two clouds [ ] like wine love (*KTU*^{2} 1.101:7-9).[65]

Baal's head may be in heaven, and his feet are far below in the sea, which together suggest that Baal is imagined here on basically the same superhuman scale as Ninurta's mouth above. They are giants, but they are anthropomorphic.

D. The Mouth-Washing Ritual and Mesopotamian Statues

Without getting into an ontological discussion about deities and their physical manifestations, Smith stresses that statues – cultic or otherwise – denote a deity's presence in front of the worshiper and remind the worshiper of his god.[66] While the function of a deity's statue or physical manifestation is easily defined, understanding its divine essence is not as simple. Smith does not provide his own or any final answer; instead, he begins this discussion about a statue's divine aspect by quoting Jacobsen: "the (Mesopotamian) god *is* and at the same time *is not* the cult-statue."[67] For Jacobsen, and still for Smith, the relationship between the god and the statue is one of "mystic unity."[68]

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[65] Pope and Tigay's translation. See M. Pope and J. H. Tigay, "A Description of Baal," *UF* 3 (1971): 118.
[66] Smith 2001, 182. Similarly, a particular person's image that has been placed within a cult setting for votive purposes serves to remind the deity of that person, acting as a substitute for the person (p. 183).
[67] Jacobsen 1987a, 18 (emphasis in original); see also Smith 2001, 183.
[68] Jacobsen 1987a, 22; Smith 2001, 184. Instead of interpreting the relationship between the deity and the cultic statue, B. Sommer simply notes that "the *ṣalmu* was a body of the god, but it did not exhaust that god's being; it was itself a god, assimilated into the heavenly god yet physically a distinct thing" (B. Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009], 23). According to Sommer, unlike human beings, the deity can be present in several places at the same moment (p. 24).

The statue does not become filled with the god or act as the god incarnated; it simply represents the god mystically, leaving the transcendent god independent of the physical statue. This mystical union is best represented by the *mīs pî* rituals from first-millennium Mesopotamia.[69] According to these ritual texts, the anthropomorphically described statue is divine and is born in heaven. It is definitely not the product of human hands,[70] and while it is now recognized as the god it is, neither Jacobsen nor Smith attempt to define its relationship with the transcendent god it represents.

By thoroughly examining the *mīs pî* ritual texts, C. Walker and M. Dick have attempted to define the relationship between the cult image and the god. Accepting that the relationship between the statue and deity likely differed according to time and place in ancient Mesopotamia, they compare the relationship to the "Eucharistic Presence":

> To Orthodox and Roman Catholics the bread and wine during the Eucharistic ritual become the real presence of the Divine Jesus, while still subsisting under the appearance of bread and wine. Obviously the Eucharistic species are not coterminous with Jesus, so that the Eucharistic Presence can be found simultaneously in Churches throughout the world. Nor would the destruction of the consecrated bread and wine entail the destruction of Jesus.[71]

First, the deity could theoretically be present in more than one statue in a given moment, depending on the number of temples devoted to that deity; and second, the destruction of a statue does not mean the destruction of the deity it represents. However, this second point can become complicated. In the Erra Epic, when the god Marduk is dirtied as a result of his cult image becoming dirtied and covered (I 180),[72] he leaves the image, but he must also abdicate his rule. Erra promises to act as the interim ruler. Also, according

[69] These *mīs pî* ritual texts come from places as diverse as Assur, Nineveh, Calaḫ, Babylon, Sippar, Nippur, Uruk, Sultantepte, and Hama (Smith 2001, 184).
[70] According to the Nineveh Ritual Tablet, on the second day the priest recites the incantation entitled "Born in heaven by his own power" and reassures the deity of its origin, claiming that it was created by divine, not human, hands (Walker and Dick 2001, 63:133 and 66:183-184.
[71] Walker and Dick 2001, 7.
[72] Dalley 1998, 290.

to “Marduk’s Ordeal,” which dates to Sennacherib’s reign, the exiled Marduk statue corresponds to the real exile of the deity Marduk from Babylon, who is then relocated to Assur after losing his lawsuit (SAA 3 34 and 35).[73] A third text, from Ashurbanipal’s reign, suggests that cult images in damaged sanctuaries render a god or goddess powerless: ^{62}*eš-re-e-ti* KUR ELAM-*ma*^{ki} ^{63}*a-di la ba-še-e* u_2-*šal-pit* ^{64} DINGIR^{meš}-*šu* ^{d}15^{meš}-*š*u_2 *am-na-a a-na za-*qi_2-qi_2 (“I desecrated the sanctuaries of the land of Elam until it was nothing and counted their gods and goddesses as ghosts,” *BIWA* 55 A vi 62-64). Just as the cult image represents the deity, the destruction of the sanctuary that houses the images represents the defeat of the deity, who is powerless to stop Ashurbanipal. There is a relationship between the two, but it may be better described as one of kind than as one of degree. According to Dick, “The cult image is the effective manifestation of the god,”[74] but the cult image is not coterminous with the deity it represents.

E. Implications for the Present Study

The difference between the effective manifestation and the non-coterminous image presented by Walker and Dick, along with the “is, yet is not” relationship espoused by Jacobsen, resembles Porter’s theory of multi-valence. The divinity ascribed to the cult image does appear to depend upon the reflection of (or contagion from) the deity’s own divinity as Smith and Porter contend. The divinity reflected in Aššur’s cult-statue comes from the deity Aššur, and the divinity reflected in Lord Crown comes from its association with both the deity and the cult-statue. When the crown is presented as an offering to the

[73] According to A. Livingstone, the exile Marduk takes to Assyria is voluntary, lest the idea be forwarded by the author that Marduk’s will is being controlled by an outside force (A. Livingston, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1986], 232).
[74] M. Dick, review of A. Berlejung, *Die Theologie der Bilder*: *Herstellung und Einweihung von Kultbildern in Mesopotamien und die alttestamentliche Bilderpolemik*, *JAOS* 120 (2000): 258.

statue, its divine status seems compromised, especially compared the divinity of the statue receiving the crown. Twice removed from the concept of Aššur the god, Lord Crown operates within the divine valence but functions in a weaker orbit.

Perhaps, too, the crown's demoted status results from its tangibility. Whereas Aššur is presumably intangible to a degree and unseen, his cult image can be touched and is seen by the select few priests, and the crown is very much present in the physical world, as the crown is worn by the king himself.[75] Similarly, in the celestial realm, the moon may not be tangible but is definitely visual, bringing it closer to the human world and simultaneously further from the moon-god Sîn's divine valence. For this reason, the moon becomes a tool manipulated by Sîn to communicate with mankind rather than merely Sîn himself. Likewise, the planet Venus/Dilbat is a visual manifestation of Ištar that relays fates to astronomers, whereas Ištar herself may be a reassuring presence in battle but is nonetheless invisible to the warrior. However, as divine objects within the valence of the deity, cult-statues not only act as reflections of the deity they represent, they also serve as living metaphors of the gods' wills and actions. Functioning as the conduit for Sîn's message, the moon acts metaphorically to get his message across. Likewise, the dirt that besmears Marduk's statue is a metaphor for the god's abandoning Babylon, which was also manifest in the tribulations affecting the city.[76]

Whatever the relationship between these various manifestations of a given deity actually is, Porter posits that different manifestations of a deity can act independently of each other. Furthermore, she suggests that receiving offerings, residing in temples, conferring blessings and receiving prayers, as well as receiving a divine determinative

[75] Porter 2009b, 186.
[76] Dalley 1998, 283.

before its name in written texts, are among the characteristics that define divinity in the ancients' minds. On the other hand, being interested in the well-being of humanity or even being animate are not characteristics that define an *ilu*. If Porter's suggestions accurately epitomize requirements for Mesopotamian divinity, then she has indeed expanded the number of potential candidates for deification in the ancient Near East. Porter is not the first scholar to call for this expansion of a Mesopotamian pantheon,[77] but combining this acceptance of inanimate divinity with somewhat interdependent manifestations of individual deities points scholarship in a new direction to reexamine the nature of and relationship between different manifestations of an individual deity.

Specifically, this new direction involves a reexamination of local manifestations of deities that share the same divine name. Even scholars who are willing to accept the independent divinity of inanimate objects may be reluctant to identify local manifestations of a specific deity as distinct individual deities. After all, the name Lord Crown is a distinctly different name from Aššur. Likewise, scholars appear to be more willing to accept that the individual identity of a deity that has spun-off from another deity, or *Götterspaltung* ("the splintering of a god [into many gods]"), when different names are involved. For example, Roberts, G. Leick, F. Joannès, and Kutscher all accept that the warrior goddess Anunītu split from INANA/Ištar after the Old Akkadian period,

[77] Porter regularly cites Selz (G. Selz, "'The Holy Drum, the Spear, and the Harp': Towards an Understanding of the Problems of Deification in Third Millennium Mesopotamia," in *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations* [ed. I. L. Finkel; Gröningen: Styx Publications, 1997], 167-213) throughout her chapter "Blessings from a Crown."

G. Selz's argument for an expanded concept of divinity already appears as part of his discussion of syncretism in third millennium Lagaš: "to me it seems evident that these statues were understood as a separate entity and therefore could receive offerings and later on even be deified with the DINGIR" (G. Selz, "Studies in Early Syncretism: The Development of the Pantheon in Lagaš: Examples for Inner-Sumerian Syncretism," in *ASJ* 12 [1990]: 115). Selz does not pretend to be the first scholar to suggest the Sumerians deified the statues or other inanimate objects; he attributes that honor to one of the Early Dynastic period authors of the Fara lexical god-lists, whose list included deities named Wax, Reed, Kettle, and Pot. While these *nomina concreta* may not be fully divine, they are designated with divine determinatives and received offerings.

even though ^{d}INANA-*an-nu-ni-tum* appears as a compound name in the Sargonic period (23rd century).[78] Scholars are less willing to concede that *Götterspaltung* has taken place in the case of deities whose divine name remains the same after the split. As is discussed in chapter 9, there has traditionally been resistance to accepting the independence of Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela as distinct deities rather than simply local manifestations and valences of one divine Ištar.

In light of all this, the question re-presents itself, "what is an *ilu*?" Scholars are increasingly willing to accept that entities who receive their own offerings and who are labeled as deities despite the lack of a personality are in fact divine (albeit inanimate) beings. Should they not also accept anthropomorphic local manifestations who have personalities and interest in humanity as separate deities in their own right? Indeed, some of these similarly named manifestations of a deity but with different geographic epithets have the following characteristics: they receive their own offerings; they have cult-statues in the temple designed according to their epithets; they are recipients of praise, prayer, and intercession according to these epithets; and they act independently of each other when included among other deities. This dissertation attempts to highlight the nature and attributes of these deities in order to demonstrate that they can and do act as independently as other major deities in the ancient Near East.

[78] J. J. M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon*: *A study of the Semitic Deities Attested in Mesopotamia before Ur III* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), 147; F. Joannès, "Les temples de Sippar et leurs trésors a l'Époque néo-Babylonienne," *RA* 86 (1992): 168; R. Kutscher, *The Brockmon Tablets at the University of Haifa*: *Royal Inscriptions* (Shay series of the Zinman Institute of Archaeology; Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1989), 47.

CHAPTER 2: ELITISM AND OFFICIAL RELIGION

In order to know how people define, treat, and interact with the divine in their culture, we must also understand the nature and context of the texts that relate to us how those people define, treat, and interact with the divine. Today, we have multiple genres of texts representing multiple worldviews, and if we ignore a text's genre and intended audience, we can draw wrong conclusions about the world that text represents. For instance, reading a children's book or a book of satire as though it were a newspaper article would provide a very different worldview than if it were read as intended. The same is true of the ancient world, and though we often cannot identify a particular author, we typically can identify the correct genre and offer educated interpretations of that author's intent by recognizing for whom he was writing and what agenda he may have been promoting. An inscription produced on behalf of the king promoted the royal agenda, an inscription produce on behalf of a cult praised the deity venerated at that cult, and an inscription produced on behalf of a private individual reflected that individual's concerns. If we do not attempt to identify an inscription's genre, the authors responsible for it, or the intended audience, we cannot determine how to treat information that differs between texts. However, when we distinguish genres, authors, and audiences, we can construct an understanding of a culture that takes into account its numerous and complex conceptions of the divine, ranging from those held by the general population to those held by the kings and the priests, as well those held by the scholarly elite.

A. The Three Types of Scribes

J. Bottéro suggests that most of the population from the Old Babylonian period knew the 30 gods mentioned in the so-called Code of Hammurapi (LH; ca. 1750); however, he doubts that this population was familiar with most of the other gods known to us.[1] These other gods are the gods whose names appear in lexical god-lists, and they are the concern only of the theologians and clerics. With the lexical god-lists in hand, these theologians and clerics had the opportunity to reflect on their universe in a way that the rest of their contemporaries could not, examining the world as one of abstraction rather than the concrete and mundane.[2] According to Bottéro, the lexical list tradition in Mesopotamia imposed a linear thought process upon the ancient scribes.[3] Aided by this linear thought, the scribes established a hierarchy of principals, which included not only lists of deities, but of laws, plants, or any other imaginable category. For Bottéro, it was precisely this production of and access to lexical lists that allowed the Mesopotamian scholar-scribe to establish a hierarchy within the scribal class itself and thus maintain its position at the top.

Scribal training in ancient Mesopotamia provided students with access to highly skilled instructors who were specialists in their fields.[4] Training is a long process, and the

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[1] Bottéro 2001, 54. Bottéro's assumption that all 30 gods would have been familiar to the general population of Hammurapi's Babylon may itself be an overreaching assumption, especially given that Dagan's primary residence was upriver in Tuttul, near Mari. (See Tables 2.1-2.3 for lists of gods who appear in the Laws of Ḫammurapi and contemporary royal inscriptions.)
[2] J. Bottéro, *Mesopotamia*: *Writing*, *Reasoning*, *and the Gods* (trans. Z. Bahrani and M. van der Mieroop; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 172.
[3] Bottéro 1992, 173.
[4] M. Van der Mieroop challenges the traditional "standard opinion" that scribal instruction began in schools with professional teachers and moved into the home with fathers teaching their sons sometime in the second millennium. Instead, he argues that scribal education may have retained the same school-based form throughout Mesopotamian history, even though there is no archaeological evidence supporting the school house theory (M. van der Mieroop, *The Ancient Mesopotamian City* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999], 220). That Sumerian texts describing school life remained in the literary canon into the first millennium suggests the school based form continued (p. 221). A. R. George also argues against the standard view of large-scale

students were expected to learn more than simply reading and writing. Standard subjects taught also include literature, grammar, calculus, geometry, and music. As students progressed, their subjects became more esoteric, and their forms of writing became more complicated.[5] However, according to A. Lenzi, most students completed their education when they were prepared for administrative work and did not advance to the esoteric texts[6]; specialization only occurred when the student needed the extra training.[7] The scribal students followed a set curriculum, depending on the anticipated job of the student, as evidenced by correspondence between teacher-scribes and the king: Marduk-šumu-uṣur, Naṣīru, and Tabnî had to request permission to revise the series so that two extispicy tablets replace two tablets consisting of hard-word lists in the curriculum (SAA 10 177:15-r. 5). The student appears to have been training to be a diviner, so the king's chief haruspex Marduk-šumu-uṣur and the other scribes argued that his needs would be better served by additional practical education rather than further lexical development.

As one might expect, the level of expertise a scribe reached depended upon the length of his training. A. Leo Oppenheim distinguished three distinct scribal groups

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schooling, suggesting that most scribal training would have taken place in an outside courtyard rather than inside a building, even in the Old Babylonian period (A. R. George, "In Search of the é. dub.ba.a: The Ancient Mesopotamian School in Literature and Reality," in "*An Experienced Scribe Who Neglects Nothing*": *Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Jacob Klein* [eds. Y. Sefati, et al; Bethesda: CDL Press, 2005], 131). This is why there is an absence of archaeological evidence for the school building in the early second millennium. However, according to George, the presence of school buildings at Ur in the late third millennium may be indicative of the increased need for scribes in the highly bureaucratic system of the third dynasty of Ur III and Shulgi's desire to have a repository of religious texts for future generations of scribes (pp. 133-135).

[5] Van der Mieroop 1999, 221.

[6] Lenzi, A. *Secrecy and the Gods*: *Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and Biblical Israel* (SAAS 19; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2008), 146. Lenzi provides a good discussion on the amount of training needed for a scribe in the Old Babylonian period in n. 53.

[7] U. Koch-Westenholz notes that Adad-šum-uṣur started out as a scribe but was later trained as an exorcist when Esarhaddon needed a personal exorcist (U. Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology*: *an Introduction to Babylonian and Assyrian Celestial Divination* [CNI Publications 19; Denmark: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1995], 57).

according to their needs and their training: the bureaucrat, the poet, and the scholar.[8] The bureaucrat class was responsible for most of the documents produced in ancient Mesopotamia, which included bookkeeping for the economic needs of businesses and temples, royal and administrative texts, as well as documenting private contracts and legal disputes. According to Van der Mieroop, most scribes worked outside of the palace and temple. "A study of Babylonian texts of the first millennium found 3,060 names of scribes who wrote Akkadian on clay tablets. Of those 2,681 worked for private individuals, 11 for the palace, and 368 for the temples."[9] Thus, approximately 88% of these scribes worked for the public, writing contracts and receipts, and 12% worked in the temples, keeping records of cultic inventory and the disbursement of goods, among other tasks.

Only a tiny minority of Mesopotamian scribes belonged to the poet and scholar categories. Of the 3,060 scribes in van der Meiroop's survey, the eleven who worked at the palace would be counted among those responsible for promoting the royal ideology. According to Oppenheim, the poet-scribes employed by the palace wrote and copied hymns and royal inscriptions – annals, building inscriptions, and memorial stelae, the work through which history has been passed to us today – and preserved (and revised) the epics.[10] Their work allowed the Mesopotamians to maintain their cultural and intellectual heritage despite the arrival and/or invasion of the Amorites, the Kassites, or the Arameans.[11] Already in the third millennium and continuing into the first, the invading

[8] A. L. Oppenheim, "Position of the Intellectual in Mesopotamian Society," *Daedalus* 104 (1975): 39.
[9] Van der Mieroop 1999, 221.
[10] Oppenheim 1975, 40.
[11] J. Van Seters argues that the learned and folk traditions in ancient Mesopotamia had little in common. Because the myths, epics, and other literary traditions that have survived to us today were written by learned members of society, little information exists about the native/vernacular literary traditions of the

nonurban kings recognized the superior status of this second-tier class of scribes, including their well-to-do socio-economic rank, and retained their services, creating their own kingdoms but borrowing the scribes' culture and bureaucratic know-how.[12]

B. The Learned Scribes

The final group, the scholar-scribes, specialized in esoteric knowledge and texts. According to Oppenheim, they were not employed by the palace, but their education did provide them status in the king's court.[13] Those scholar-scribes among the king's "inner circle" had access to the court, even though they did not appear to be members of the court itself.[14] This special status derived from their expertise in divination, revealing the meaning of omens and performing necessary rituals to change the will of the gods when an omen appears undesirable.[15] An expert scribe trained as a diviner was (considered) a descendent of Enmeduranki, the ancient king of Sippar whom Šamaš and Adad "showed…how to observe oil on water, a mystery of Anu, [Enlil, and Ea], they gave [him] the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and the underworld" (K 2486 + 3646 + 4364; K 3357 + 9941; K 13307:7-8) so that he could teach mankind the mysteries

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invading peoples, e.g., the Kassites (J. Van Seters, "The Origins of the Hebrew Bible: Some New Answers to Old Questions: Part 2," *JANER* 7 [2008a]: 221).

[12] Oppenheim 1975, 40.

[13] Oppenheim 1975, 41. However, Koch-Westenholz argues that these elite scribes were paid by the king (Koch-Westenholz 1995, 62). Marduk-šum-uṣir received a 20 acre field (*LAS* 114), and Urad-Gula received two mina of silver each year, along with either a mule or an ox (*ABL* 1285).

[14] Koch-Westenholz 1995, 59.

[15] Van der Mieroop 1999, 225.

of divination.[16] This is the group by and for whom the lexical list tradition developed in Mesopotamia, to aid them in their jobs and maintain their elevated status.[17]

As A. Lenzi recently noted, literacy in Mesopotamia may have been more prevalent than Assyriologists previously estimated. This is especially true in the urban centers of the later second and first millennia.[18] These new estimates figure in current scholarly theories about the motives behind the increasingly more complicated and technical scribal practices among the elite. According to B. Pongratz-Leisten, logograms became more prevalent in medical and divinatory texts.[19] Divine, topographical, and royal names appeared as cryptograms rather than being spelled with the traditional syllabograms or the commonly used logograms. Any less-educated Akkadian scribe lacking this esoteric specialization lost access to the texts. As Lenzi notes, the prestige and power that an advanced scribe gained remained in the hands of the relative few, negating any democratization that an increased literacy was once thought to have fostered.[20] In return, the less educated scribes developed their own simplified script to serves as the vernacular for the officials and citizens of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.[21] Even among the learned scribes, various fields of expertise existed so that no individual scribe

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[16]W. G. Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters," *JCS* 21 (1967): 132. Koch-Westenholz notes that a diviner's body must be perfect (Koch-Westenholz 1995, 58), just as the Israelite priest's body must be perfect to serve in the tabernacle (see Leviticus 21:16-21).

[17] Naturally, they wished to maintain this elevated status for future generations of their family. Some families could trace their scholarly heritage back many generations, including Issār-šumu-ēreš, chief scribe for Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, who was the great-great-grandson of Gabbi-ilāni-ēreš, chief scribe for Aššurnāṣirpal II (Koch-Westenholz 1995, 61). Lenzi further suggests that there were a limited number of families with access to the esoteric scribal material (Lenzi 2008, 161).

[18] Lenzi 2008, 138.

[19] B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien*: *Former der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König im 2*. *und 1*. *Jahrtausend v*. *Chr*. (SAAS 10; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1999), 292.

[20] Lenzi 2008, 146.

[21] Lenzi 2008, 140. Van Seters notes that even this vernacular cuneiform writing would be unrecognizable to many of the literate mid-first millennium citizenry who wrote Aramaic (J. Van Seters, "The Role of the Scribe in the Making of the Hebrew Bible," *JANER* 8 [2008b]: 110).

could specialize in every discipline.[22] According to Koch-Westenholz, no one could master the two main forms of divination (i.e., provoked and unprovoked).[23] If a scribe was fully trained in one form, he was, at best, only familiar with the other.[24] The amount and scope of the information was simply too extensive.

Beyond the vast scope of provoked and unprovoked divination, there existed secret knowledge that was guarded from the lower-tier scribes, as Ašarēdu tells the king:

> ^{7}*ṭup-šar-ru-ti i-na* KI.LAM $^{r. 1}$*ul iš-šem-mi* EN LUGAL^{meš} ^{2}UD-*mu ša*$_2$ *pa-ni-šu*$_2$ *maḫ-ru* ^{3}*re-ša*$_2$*-a liš-ši-ma lu-up-ru-us-ma* ^{4}*a-na* LUGAL *be-li*$_2$*-ia lu-uq-bi*
>
> Scribal art is not heard in the market. May the lord of kings summons me on the day he wishes, and I will investigate and speak to the king, my lord (SAA 8 338:7-r. 4).[25]

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[22] Van Seters 2008b, 112.

[23] Provoked divination includes those acts in which the diviner offers the deity objects to manipulate (A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*: *Portrait of a Dead Civilization* [rev. ed., completed by E. Reiner; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977], 208). The deity's message is then interpreted by the arrangement of the objects. The most famous forms of provoked divination are the casting of lots, observing oil in water, or observing smoke rise from a newly set fire. In contrast, unprovoked divination involves observing events in nature that the diviner did not set in motion (p. 210). This includes noticing omens, like watching birds in flight or the movements of the stars, and interpreting their meaning.

[24] Koch-Westenholz 1995, 58. However, the contents of private libraries, as revealed on tablet inventories (SAA 7 49-56), in Sargonid Nineveh suggest that the tablets did not belong to the original oweners' field of specialization (p. 57). The Nippurian exorcist Arrabu gave his 125-tablet collection to the library in Nineveh, including tablets containing the *Enūma Anu Enlil* (EAE), two lamentations, and three of "The Dreambook." According to Koch-Westenholz, this illustrates a "general character of education." This so-called general character does not minimize the tiered aspect of scribal training and the restrictedness of various esoteric texts. The individuals donating to the libraries are already members of the learned scribal class; they are the kings' scholars and not ordinary trained scribes. That the training in esoteric texts like EAE is not part of the common scribal curriculum is made apparent in SAA 10 171, a letter to the king in which he says "the apprentices whom the king assigned to me have now learned the *EAE*" ($^{8\ lu2}$ŠAMAN$_2$.MAL$_2$.LA$_2$^{meš} ^{9}*ša*$_2$ LUGAL *ina pa-ni-ia*$_2$ ip-qi$_2$-du ^{10}1 UD—AN—^{d}EN.LIL$_2$ *il-ta-an-du*, SAA 10 171:8-10). It is unlikely that the king is interested in the curriculum of any scribal school or level of training, especially to the point that he would be informed about the students' progress.

[25] In support of his theory that this esoteric knowledge was guarded from lower-tiered scribes, Lenzi notes that in another letter to the king, Ašarēdu again stresses his discomfort at discussing scribal arts in public and again requests an audience with the king in order to explain the meaning of his astrological observations (Lenzi 2008, 103):

> ^{6}*in-nam-ma-ru* ^{7}[*ṭup-šar-ru-ti*] *ina* KI.LAM$^{!}$ *ul iš-šem-mi* $^{r. 1}$[*x x x x*]*-ia a-na* EN LUGAL^{meš} ^{2}[*lup-ru-us-ma lu*]*-uq-bi*
>
> When …were seen, [scribal art] is not heard in the market. Let me [investigate and s]peak…to the lord of kings (SAA 8 342:6-r. 2).

Ašaredu could tell the king these secrets since Ashurbanipal himself had been trained as a scribe and boasted of his scribal proficiency, including his mastery of esoteric knowledge.[26] In his annals, the king proclaims, "I Ashurbanipal seized within it the wisdom of Nabû; I investigated their learnings – all of the scribal craft of the totality of the scholars, all thigns that exist" (*a-na-ku* ^{m}*an-šar*$_2$-DU$_3$-A *qe*$_2$*-reb-šu*$_2$ *a-ḫu-uz ne*$_2$*-me-qi*$_2$ ^{d}AG ^{32}*kul-lat ṭup-šar-ru-u-ti ša gi-mir um-ma* ^{33}*ma-la ba-šu-u*$_2$ GAL$_2$*-u iḫ-ze-šu*$_2$*-nu a-ḫi-iṭ* , *BIWA* 16 A i 31-33), counting himself among the scholars.[27] Even if his boasting does not conform with Koch-Westenholz's assessment of scribal training since his claims suggest he learned more than she has determined was possible.

Another Neo-Assyrian text suggests that esoteric knowledge should be limited to authorized personnel only. Lenzi considers this text the "clearest proof" that scribes regarded select knowledge restricted[28]:

> ^{2}…^{m}*pa-ru-ṭu* ^{3} ^{lu2}SIMUG.KUG.GI *ša* E$_2$ MI$_2$-E$_2$.GAL ^{4}*ki-i* LUGAL DUMU-LUGAL DUMU-KA$_2$.DINGIR^{ki} ^{5}*ina* ŠA$_3$*-bi* KUG.UD *i-si-qi ina* E$_2$ *ra-mi-ni-šu*$_2$ ^{6}*u*$_2$*-se-ši-ib-šu*$_2$ IM.GID$_2$.DA ^{7}*ina* ŠA$_3$*-bi* ^{lu2}*a-ši-pu-te a-na* DUMU*-šu*$_2$ ^{8}*iq-ṭi*$_2$*-bi* UZU^{meš} *i-ba-aš-ši* ^{9}*ša* ^{lu2}*ba-ru-u-te uk-tal-li-mu-šu*$_2$ ^{10}*li-iq-te ša* 1 DU*-a-na-*^{d}EN.LIL$_2$ ^{11}*i-ba-aš*$_2$*-ši lu e-ta-mar* ^{12}*i-na pa-ni ša* LUGAL EN*-ia*$_2$ ^{13}*ina* UGU *da-ba-bi an-ni-e* ^{14}LUGAL *be-li*$_2$ *a-na* ARAD*-šu*$_2$ *liš-pu-ra*
>
> Parrūṭu, a goldsmith at the queen's palace, purchased a Babylonian – like the king or crown prince could –(and) settled him in his own house. (The Babylonian) read aloud a tablet about exorcism to his son. There are omens that have been revealed to him. He has even seen gleanings from *Enūma-Anu-Enlil*. (All this is going on)

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[26] Given his father Esarhaddon's obsessive interest in omens and the divinatory arts, it is little wonder that if he were to have his son trained as a scribe that he would make sure Ashurbanipal learned the secrets of what interested him the most.

[27] Lenzi suggests that the "teaching of all the scholars" included knowledge of the secret material (Lenzi 2008, 144). This knowledge was by no means limited to written texts but included the oral tradition as well. In his letter to the king, Issār-šumu-ēreš discusses astrological omens that he has learned from the "mouth of the scholars" (*pi-i um-ma-ni*) and from a non-canical text:

> ^{r1}*šu-mu an-ni-u la-a ša* EŠ$_2$.QAR*-ma šu-u* ^{2}*ša pi-i um-ma-ni šu-u*$_2$….^{8}*an-ni-u*$_2$ *la-a ša* EŠ$_2$.QAR-*ma šu-u a-ḫi-u šu-u*
>
> "This omen is not from the Series; it is from the oral tradition of the masters….This is not from the Series; it is non-canonical" (SAA 10 8 r. 1-2 and 8).

[28] Lenzi 2008, 156. Lenzi offers another text (SAA 10 294) to support this security concern over the esoteric tablets but admits that this depends on how one interprets the tablet.

> in front of the king, my lord. Let the king, my lord, write to his servant concerning this complaint (SAA 16 65:2-14).

Following Lenzi's interpretation of this text, having learned that Parrūṭu's son had received tutoring from a Babylonian scholar, the scribe who wrote this letter informs the king that this tutoring was unauthorized and indicates that he will wait for the king's replay before he stops (and punishes?) the offending individuals.[29] Lenzi argues that this text provides specific topics and texts that should be kept from the student: exorcism texts, divination, an astrological text, and specifically material from *Enuma Anu Enlil*, *the* collection of Babylonian omens. After a break, the letter notifies the king of others using Pazuzu-amulets, presumably without proper authorization and again asks what he should do: r. 6´ LU$_2$ *lu-sa-ni-qi lu-še-ṣi-a* ("Should I investigate the man and send (him) away?"). This informant zealously kept the restricted scribal knowledge out of the hands of those he considered unworthy.

C. "The Uninitiated May Not See"

In addition to the boasts of kings and the concerns of the zealous, several texts themselves specify that they belong only in the hands of those authorized, the initiated. The colophons in several first-millennium texts warn that the uninitiated should not read the tablet: *mūdû mūdâ likallim lā mūdû lā immar ikkib* DN, which Beaulieu translates as "The initiate may show the initiate. The uninitiated may not see. Taboo of DN."[30] Other

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[29] Lenzi 2008, 155-156. Parpola pointed out this difference between Parrūṭu having his son taught to read and write and having his son taught secret knowledge without getting permission from the king (S. Parpola, "The Man without a Scribe and the Question of Literacy in the Assyrian Empire," in Ana šadī Labānni lū allik: *Beiträge zu altorientalischen und mittelmeerischen Kulturen*: *Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig* [eds. B. Pongrantz-Leisten, H. Kühne, and P. Xella; AOAT 247; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1997b], 321 n. 18; see also Pongratz-Leisten 1999, 298-299).

[30] P.-A. Beaulieu, "New Light on Secret Knowledge in Late Babylonian Culture," *ZA* 82 (1992): 98; see also R. Borger, "Geheimwissen," *RlA* 3/3 (1964) 188-191. *TuL* 27, a ritual text, states in ll. 23-29 that a

tablets are simply marked as “restricted” (*niṣirtu*) or “secret” (*pirištu*).[31] A Neo-Babylonian legal text, dated to May 21, 541, relates how seriously such restrictions were taken by the initiates:

> ^{3}*a-na* ^{md}EN-KAD$_2$… ^{4}…*iq-bi um-ma* ^{5}*li-gi-in-ni a-na* ^{lu2}PA.KAB.DU^{meš} ^{6}*ul tu-ša*$_2$*-aq-bi ki-i* ^{lu2}PA.KAB.DU ^{7}*a-na* UGU *dak-kan-ni-šu*$_2$ *it-tal-ku* ^{8}*u*$_3$ *li-gi-in-ni ul-ta-qab-bu-u*$_2$ ^{9}*ḫi-tu ša*$_2$ LUGAL *i-šad-da-ad*
>
> He (Kurbanni-Marduk) said to Bēl-kāṣir: “You must not make temple slaves recite the excerpt tablets.” If a temple slave goes to his bedroom(?) and he (Bēl-kāṣir) makes him recite the excerpt tablets, he (Bēl-kāṣir) will bear the punishment of the king (YOS 19 110:3-9).[32]

Kurbanni-Marduk, *šatammu* of the Eanna temple at Uruk, reprimanded Bēl-kāṣir, who had been caught in the act of teaching restricted texts to temple slaves (*širku*), and warned him not do to this again.[33] That the act was a state offense is indicated by the possibility of incurring royal punishment for a repeat offense.[34] The ancient scribes were serious about who had access to which tablets, including their canonical learning compendia.

This real-world example of restricting tablet-based knowledge should compel modern scholars to reconsider their interpretation of the colophons with restrictive notes. According to Beaulieu, most of these restrictive colophons appear on expository texts,

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statue of Aššur that cannot be repaired should be mourned by a priest, the king, and others, wrapped in a linen cloth, and ceremoniously thrown into the river, which returns the statue to his father Ea (V. Hurowitz, “The Mesopotamian God Image, from Womb to Tomb,” *JAOS* 123 [2003]: 155). These instructions are followed by a restriction: *la*$_3$ ZU-*u la*$_3$ IGI-*mar* NIG$_2$.˹GIG˺ ^{d}*en-za* ^{d}*maḫ*-za ^{d}*ki-za-za* (“The uninitiated should not see (this); it is an abomination against Anu, Enlil, and Ea”, Walker and Dick 2001, 234).

[31] *Niṣirtu* labels include: *niṣirti apkallī* (“restricted knowledge of the sages”), *niṣirti bārûti* (“restricted knowledge of the diviners”), *niṣirti ummâni* (“restricted knowledge of the scholars”), *niṣirti šarri* (“restricted knowledge of the king”), *niṣirti šamê u erṣeti* (“restricted knowledge of heaven and the underworld”). *Pirištu* labels include: *pirišti ilāni rabûti* (“secret of the great gods”) and *pirištu ša šamê u erṣeti* (“secret of heaven and the underworld”; Beaulieu 1992, 98).

Lenzi notes that “secret of the scholars” is not a technical designation for expository texts but rather that those tablets so labeled are restricted solely for use by scholars (Lenzi 2008, 212).

[32] Beaulieu’s translation (Beaulieu 1992, 99).

[33] Beaulieu 1992, 106.

[34] Beaulieu 1992, 107.

including texts that explain rituals and astrological lists,[35] and Lenzi recently claimed that only tablets belonging to the scholarly compendium have these restrictions.[36] Moreover, these restricted texts also include lists providing the sacred attributes or other descriptions of deities and mythical beings. The legal text just cited (YOS 19, 110) is significant not only because it reinforces the idea that certain texts are restricted but also because it explicitly states certain texts are restricted from *širku*, servants who are bound to the temple but are not religious personnel active in the cult.[37] They live in an environment where they could encounter these tablets, but laws are in place to protect their secrecy. Certain knowledge, including "texts exposing the theological and (pre)philosophical speculations of Babylonian scholars," was limited to the initiated.[38]

Finally, Lenzi has identified two additional references that associate the scribal craft with secrecy. Both references involve epithets of Nabû, the scribes' patron god.[39] The first appears in 5 R 43 r. 32: ^{d}GI.ḪAL = ^{d}AG *ba-nu-u pi-riš-ti* and, according to Lenzi, should be translated "god Reed-Secret = Nabu who creates secrets."[40] The second appears in l. 116 of the lexical god-list *An = Anu ša amēli*: ^{d}ŠID x A = MIN (AG) = *ša*$_2$ *pi-ris-ti* ("umbisag is Nabu of the secret").[41] Though neither of these epithets mentions any specific collection of secret texts, in light of the other evidence it is more than a

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[35] Beaulieu 1992, 107.
[36] Lenzi 1998, 205.
[37] *CAD* Š/3, *širku* A, see the discussion section at end of entry.
[38] Beaulieu 1992, 108-109.
[39] Other scribal epithets of Nabû include: *bānū šiṭri ṭupšarrūti*, *bēl qan ṭuppi*, *bēl qarṭuppi*, *ṣābit qanṭuppi*(*elli*), *tāmeḫ qanṭuppi*, *ša ṭupšarrūti*, *ṭupšar gimri*, *ṭupšar ilāni*, *ṭupšar lā šanān*, *ṭupšar mimma šumšu*, *ṭupšar Esagil* (K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, *mit einem Götterverzeichnis und einer Liste der prädikativen Elemente der sumerischen Götternamen* [Studia Orientalia 9; Helsingforsiae: Societas orientalis fennica, 1938], 382).
[40] Lenzi 2008, 145.
[41] R. Litke notes that the phonetic value of ŠID x A is umbisag, which is used elsewhere as an epithet for scribes (R. Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-lists*, *AN*: ^{d}*A-NU-UM and AN*: *ANU ŠÁ AMĒLI* [Texts from the Babylonian Collection 3; New Haven: Yale Babylonian Collection, 1998], 237).

reasonable deduction that these epithets refer to expository tablets to be kept from the uninitiated.

Given that scholar-scribes diligently and with royal authority held back esoteric information, primarily in the form of learning compendia, from the common people and lower-class scribes, the illiterate public should not be expected to have known esoteric texts, other theological treatises, or even the main themes derived from these texts. While not every learning compendium includes a colophon labeling it restricted or secret, accepting these lexical lists or hymns as products of the scribal elite should mean that modern scholars recognize that even most bureaucratic-level scribes would not have been familiar with the ideas contained in them. To suggest that ideas found in a lexical god-list that equates two goddesses or that a late text like the "Self-Praise Nanaya Hymn"[42] would be recognizable to the average Mesopotamian would be to read these texts out of context. Rather, scholars must recognize and allow for multiple levels of Mesopotamian religious thought and experience throughout the population. The products of the learned scribes must be considered only in the context of the company of learned scribes, be they either hymns or lexical lists with syncretistic tendencies.

D. The Scribal Elite and the Repurposing of Myth for Cultic Use

In a discussion of early syncretisms in Lagaš, Selz admits that most of the sources revealing these identifications are probably just the "speculations of theologians."[43] He includes hymns, prayers, omen texts, and lexical god-lists among these sources and also mythological texts within this category. Even though many myths were based on ancient

[42] See E. Reiner, "A Sumero-Akkadian Hymn of Nanâ," *JNES* 33 (1974): 221-236.
[43] Selz 1990, 111.

oral traditions, these stories were restructured by temple scholars to reflect current cultic practice and are, therefore, of limited value for reconstructing the theology of the third-millennium Sumerian general population.[44] Those texts that have been recovered and studied by modern scholars inform as much us about cultic realities as much as they do about Sumerian conceptions of the divine world.[45] For this reason, Oppenheim suggests

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[44] One such example of an ancient myth that has been modified to reflect a newer cultic reality is the Sumerian myth Inana's Descent. As a folk story, Inana's Descent relates the story of Inana's trip to strip her sister Ereškigal of her rule over the netherworld, and in her travels she strips herself naked to gain access. Inana fails and is released only when Dumuzi and his sister Geštinanna are taken captive in her place, each spending half a year in the netherworld. On the story's mythical level, according to T. Jacobsen, Inana's travels to the netherworld and subsequent capture by Ereškigal, who hangs her up as a slab of meat, represents the fate of sheep: after the grass dies, they are shorn for their wool, and then they are butchered and left in cold storage (T. Jacobsen, *The Harps that Once…Sumerian Poetry in Translation* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987b], 205). Likewise, the second half of the myth explains the seasonal effects on livestock and agriculture: Dumuzi's reappearance from the netherworld each year represents the resurgence of sheep in the freshly grown grasslands in the spring, and Geštinanna's reappearance in autumn represents the culmination of the grape harvest.

The myth also works on a third level, the cultic one. At the beginning of the story as Inana prepares to descend into the netherworld, she travels throughout the land of Sumer. First she goes to Uruk and forsakes her temple Eanna. Then she goes to Bad-Tibira to forsake her temple Emuškalamma; then to Zabalam and its temple Giguna; then Adab and Ešara; then Nippur and Ebaragdurgara; then Kiši and Hursag-kalamma; and finally Akkad and Eulmaš. These seven cities and their respective temples are the major Inana cult centers, moving northward from Uruk (W. Leemans, *Ishtar of Lagaba and her Dress* [Studia ad tabulas cuneiformas collectas a F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl pertinentia 1/1; Leiden: Brill, 1953], 32; Jacobsen 1987b, 207 n. 2), and her travels may reflect the goddess's cult-statue making its ritual journey from her primary temple in Uruk to Akkad and beyond to the mountains, which represent the netherworld (S. Dalley 1998, 154; G. Buccellati, "The Descent of Inanna as a Ritual Journey to Kutha?" Syro-Mesopotamian Studies 4 [1982]: 3-7). On this third level, her removing her garments, jewelry, and makeup no longer simply represents "not taking it with you" into death or the end of the shearing season; rather, the undressing and redressing now mimics the taking off and putting on of the cult-statue's refineries for various cultic ceremonies. This cultic aspect of the myth is strengthened by V. Hurowitz's note that the juxtaposition of the goddess's death with a damaged statue found in Ninšubur's plea to Enlil to save Inana from the netherworld:

> O Father Enlil, let not your daughter be put to death in the Netherworld
> Let not your good metal be covered with dust of the Netherworld
> Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up in the stone of the stoneworker
> Let not your boxwood be cut up into the wood of the woodworker…(V. Hurowitz 2003, 155, Hurowitz's translation).

The parallel structure of these lines in Ninšubur's plea indicates that Enlil's daughter actually is the good metal that would be covered in the Netherworld. Should Enlil not act on her behalf, Inana becomes the broken lapis lazuli or the chopped boxwood. The oral tradition behind this text likely includes Ninšubur's plea to Enlil and the other high gods since repetition is a hallmark of oral story telling, but the plea itself probably lacks references to these high quality materials. As a folk tale or myth, these lines would create graphic yet awkward metaphors describing Inana, but as a cultic text, the lines really call the statue of the goddess to mind.

[45] A later myth *Enūma eliš* readily lends itself to political, theological, or ritualistic interpretations and origins rather than its being taken simply as an ancient folk tale. Politically, the tale validates Marduk's assumption to the head of the pantheon and thereby validates the imperial ambitions of his earthly capital

that despite the allure of the Sumerian myths for Assyriologists, these texts should be left for the literary critic and passed over by the historian of religion.[46]

Having dismissed mythological texts as sources for insight into the religiosity of the general population, Oppenheim examines the value of prayers and rituals for this purpose.[47] These two genres are always concomitant, often with the ritual described after the prayer, and to analyze one without the other unavoidably distorts what can be gleaned from either one. Unfortunately, these genres are also cult-centric. Oppenheim claims that these texts lack concern for the individual Mesopotamian in relation to the cult. They neglect existential issues an individual would encounter outside of a cultic context, including death, disease, misfortune, and his family. According to the prayers and rituals, the individual merely acts as onlooker of certain cultic celebrations that were designed specifically for the public.[48] As a result of scholars' reconstructing Mesopotamian religion according to the prayers and rituals, Oppenheim concludes:

> An undue amount of attention has been given to the peripheral regions of the religious life – mainly to the priestly speculations concerned with the relationship between the several gods of the pantheon in terms of power, function, achievement, and kinship.[49]

Babylon; theologically and cosmogonically, it explains how order, Marduk, overcame chaos, Tiāmat (N. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis*: *The World of the Bible in the Light of History* [New York: Schocken Books, 1966], 8). Ritually, its reading on the fourth day of the *Akītu*-festival accompanied the gathering of the gods' statues in Marduk's temple Esagil to decide the destinies for the coming year, reinforcing the cultic aspect behind the process of order overcoming chaos (M. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* [Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993], 404).

[46] Oppenheim 1977, 177.
[47] Oppenheim 1977, 175.
[48] Oppenheim 1977, 176.
[49] Oppenheim 1977, 180.

As Oppenheim rightly states, scholarly investigation should separate popular religion from royal religion and from priestly religion. Only then can we attain "an unobstructed vista" of Mesopotamian religion(s).[50]

Without being able to consider mythological, ritual, and prayer texts as representative of the views of the general Mesopotamian population, our view into Mesopotamian religious thought is significantly limited. However, as already discussed, van der Meiroop notes that the vast majority of Mesopotamian scribes did not belong to the scholarly or elite scribal classes but worked for the public. The written material that these scribes (as distinct from the scholar-scribes) left behind does not necessarily reflect a cultic or elitist viewpoint since they were not associated with the temple or trained on the esoteric scholarly tablets. Presumably, they held the same conceptions of the divine world as their illiterate peers, which is to say that this class of scribes better represents the religiosity of the typical Mesopotamian than does the scholar class.

E. Official and Non-official Religion

The dichotomy of religious conception that exists between the common Mesopotamian and the scribal elite extends into the ritual sphere. For every text describing a cultic ritual performed by the priest with the occasional royal participant, scholars should consider how this ritual relates to the general Mesopotamian population – if it relates at all. This is not always an easy task, especially given the significantly large cultural chasm between the modern, Western, academic world and the Mesopotamian world.[51] This task becomes all the more difficult when previous "old [scholarly]

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[50] Oppenheim 1977, 181.
[51] Oppenheim 1977, 172.

terminology endures because of intellectual inertia."[52] Specifically, how does one define the difference between the ritual and religion practiced within the cult and the ritual and religion practiced by the general population?

Through our intellectual inertia, the term *Volksfrömmigkeit* ("folk religion") is often used in contrast to "official religion." This is inadequate because it describes nineteenth-century C.E. European religion that has redefined orthodox Catholic tradition for lay purposes.[53] Specifically, *Volksfrömmigkeit* denotes an intentional modification of doctrine established by the church hierarchy and its "priestly monopoly over all goods of salvation."[54] As such, its use presupposes a specific relationship between cultic and non-cultic religious spheres that did not exist in the ancient Near Eastern world. However, biblical scholars still borrow these terms to distinguish an "official" religion derived from scripture from the "folk" religion.[55]

In an effort to avoid *Volksfrömmigkeit*'s very specific connotations, the phrase "popular religion" has often been used to describe practices that differ from "official religion," a religion whose rites and rituals are determined by authorized channels or have been recovered from written sources.[56] In 1979, P. Virijhof suggested "popular religion" as an alternative to "folk religion," and Z. Zevit more recently suggested this phraseology

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[52] Z. Zevit, "False Dichotomies in Descriptions of Israelite Religion: A Problem, Its Origin, and a Proposed Solution," in *Symbiosis*, *Symbolism*, *and the Power of the Past*: *Canaan*, *Ancient Israel*, *and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina*: *Proceedings of the Centennial Symposium*, *W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and American Schools of Oriental Research*, *Jerusalem*, *May 29-31*, *2000* (eds. W. Dever and S. Gitin; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 228.

[53] R. Albertz, "Household in the ancient Near East," in *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity* (eds. J. Bodel and S. Olyan; Malden: Blackwell, 2008), 91.

[54] Albertz 2008, 91.

[55] J. Berlinerblau argues against equating the dominant voice of the Hebrew Bible and its call for Yahwistic monotheism with official religion, suggesting that the Yahweh-alone party was a dissident anti-monarchic party until the Persian period (J. Berlinerblau, *Official Religion and Popular Religion in Pre-exilic Ancient Israel* [Cincinnati: Department of Judaic Studies, University of Cincinnati, 2000], 17).

[56] Zevit 2003, 227; P. H. Vrijhof, "Conclusion," in *Official and Popular Religion*: *Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies* (eds. P. H. Vrijhof and J. Waardenburg; Great Britain: Mouton Publishers, 1979), 695.

for biblical studies. Notably, both scholars maintain that "popular religion" and "official religion" need not be in conflict with each other, in either belief or practice, as "folk religion" and "official religion" are. The pantheon recognized by the state-run cults probably never honored exactly the same gods as those worshiped by individual families, but the two levels were mutually agreeable because of a general tolerance and inclusiveness that permeates polytheistic worship.

Embracing the phrase "popular religion," J. Berlinerblau redefines the phrase by focusing on a more precise methodology for determining what comprises non-official religion.[57] Because "there is really no consensus as to what 'popular religion' actually means," Berlinerblau maintains that the definition of "popular religion" must exist in relationship to an "official religion."[58] Descriptively, Berlinerblau and Zevit are suggesting similar ideas, namely, that official or state religion can coexist agreeably with family religion. Terminologically, however, Berlinerblau's "popular religion" is the antithesis of Zevit's because Berlinerblau defines popular religion as the aspects of the family religion that have been *rejected* by the official religion. Thus, for Berlinerblau, "popular religion" consists of those beliefs "wrongly" held by those without power, not simply a religious idea held or practice performed by the population in a non-official context.[59] Religious practice on the familial or local level may coincide with the officially

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[57] J. Berlinerblau, "The 'Popular Religion' Paradigm in Old Testament Research," *JSOT* 60 (1993): 18.
[58] Berlinerblau 2000, 5.
[59] Because the state-sponsored cult system is so often and easily designated the "official religion" of a given ancient Near Eastern city-state or empire, K. van der Toorn prefers to label the implicitly "non-official" religious sphere as "family religion" to replace phrases such as "folk religion" or "popular religion" (for a discussion of why "family religion" was selected over "domestic," "personal, "individual," or "private" religion and why "official religion" was selected over "city" or "royal" religion, see K. van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia*, *Syria*, *and Israel*: *Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life* [SHCANE 7; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 1-11, esp. pp. 2-3). For van der Toorn, family religion includes under its umbrella personal piety as well as women's religious practices and some forms of magic, which were often condemned by official religion. The phrase "family religion" may be a bit vague given the

sanctioned religious practice and thought, but only those aspects that deviate from the state's endorsed practices are labeled "popular religion" by Berlinerblau. As such, the official religion of a society determines what the popular religion of that society is, and popular religion is typically what the official religion finds fault with as it attempts to define and manage the rest of society, especially the marginalized members of society.[60] In this way, Berlinerblau has functionally defined "popular religion" as the opposite of the phenomenon described by the term *Volksfrömmigkeit*. It is not the lay people who have set out to derive deviations from officially held "church" doctrine, as was the case in nineteenth-century Catholic Europe; instead, "popular religion" now represents what the state considers to be deviations without suggesting that these deviations are derivative.

F. Defining "Official Religion" in the ancient Near East

Because he defines "popular religion" as precisely as he does by contrasting it with "official religion," Berlinerblau must advance a comparably precise meaning for "official religion." This is exactly what he does by proposing the five basic dimensions of "official religion."[61] The first dimension examines the religion through a materialistic or Marxist lens and expects that the leaders of the official religion either own the means of production or are closely associated with it. The second requires that the official religion be the product of a group of specialists and intellectuals who have articulated, systematized, and presented an internally consistent belief system. These intellectuals are

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various forms of religion encompassed within it, but it is more useful than *Volksfrömmigkeit* and its English equivalents that had been used in ways that suggest that non-official or popular religions are degenerated forms of official religion or that they are necessarily derivative of official religious practice.

[60] Berlinerblau 2000, 6-7.

[61] J. Berlinerblau, "Preliminary Remarks for the Sociological Study of Israelite 'Official Religion,'" in *Ki Baruch Hu*: *Ancient Near Eastern*, *Biblical*, *and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A*. *Levine* (eds. R. Chazan, W. Hallo, and L. Schiffman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 161.

poets, historians, and theologians.[62] The third dimension revolves around male domination since men occupy the authority and prestige in the official religious system. Fourth, the religious system imposes itself upon the larger population through coercion, which entails a tax collection system, legal courts, and police or armies that can execute these tasks, as well as "a 'morals' squad."[63] Finally, the official religion must convince the general population of its proposed metaphysical worldview through its use of the first four characteristics. If the people do not recognize the legitimacy of the official religion or comprehend it as a natural substitution for their own religious worldview, the official religion cannot take hold. These views must be understood by the populace not so much as orthodoxy in contrast to heterodoxy but as truth over falsity.[64] Identifying these five dimensions not only highlights the government's role in official religion, but it expands the realm of official religion beyond the typical definitions presented above since it incorporates more than merely state-sponsored cult systems and royal activities. Following Berlinerblau, "official religion" also encompasses some of the people's beliefs and highlights their participation within the system through taxation and conscription.

If the systematized official religion imposed by the state has been accepted by the population as normative, then should modern scholars expect this population to be familiar with the high-minded theology of the official intellectuals? In short, the best answer is "not necessarily," and the easiest answer is "no." Ideally, a state-sponsored religious systematization inspires the population to follow orthodox behavior, which

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[62] Berlinerblau makes a point not to belittle non-official religious beliefs as inconsistent or nonsystematic (Berlinerblau 1999, 157 n.20). Perhaps the marked difference between official and non-official systematization should focus on the state's sponsorship of intellectuals to clarify and expand the worldview of the official religious system.
[63] Berlinerblau 1999, 161.
[64] Berlinerblau 1999, 160.

reduces the need for physical coercion by the state.[65] We assume that, as an overt measure, this orthodox behavior is more important for the ruling body's continued hegemony than any overt orthodox belief and should be seen as the primary goal of the official religion. Likewise, the primary goal of the intellectual should be to disseminate a worldview that is within the grasp of the general population rather than to produce theological speculations like academic god-lists and esoteric/syncretistic hymns. A text praising the king as the gods' representative or promoting the fertility benefits of regular offerings to the temple should have produced a more desirable, or orthodox, behavior than did an esoteric hymn describing the attributes of one god in terms of another. This is why the esoteric texts were less likely to be promulgated by the intellectuals than the former. However, the intellectual who was sponsored by the state had to elaborate on the existing official religious thought and metaphysical beliefs.[66] His work required him to function as a specialist just beyond the concerns of the general population, formulating the theological speculations and esoteric treatises that promoted the daunting mystical benefits of the official cult. Written in order to inspire awe, these formulations served as the continually just-out-of-touch intellectual foundation and inspired popular consent without requiring popular comprehension.[67] In a system where coercion increased compliance, treatises and traditions that remained unintelligible to the population could still inspire religious reverence and compliance in much the same way as cult-statues and offering services that were hidden from the population inside the temple. For precisely this reason, both the unknown ritual and the unknowable concepts served as part of the

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[65] Berlinerblau 1999, 159-160.
[66] Berlinerblau 1999, 157.
[67] Berlinerblau 1999, 164.

state's attempt to promulgate its official religion by intimidating the population and instilling their acceptance of the official religious stance.

G. Implications for the Present Study

Many of the Neo-Assyrian and other Mesopotamian texts that will be examined in the chapters 5 through 9 are the products of the state and were designed to advance the state's political interests. Hence, these texts, according to Berlinerblau's definition, represent the official religion. Additionally, a sizable collection of texts are letters written by state officials to the king or one of his officials. Many of these texts present a noticeably different conception of the divine than those conceptions expressed in cultic hymns and lexical god-lists, but they are not evidence of "popular religion" since they are not in conflict with the interests of the state; after all, they are products of the state. Neo-Assyrian suzerain-vassal treaties, land grants, and personal correspondence may not reflect "popular religion" according to Berlinerblau's definition, but many texts reveal ideas that are congruent with both official religion and non-official (i.e., family) religion.[68] By accepting Berlinerblau's definitions of "popular religion" and "official religion" and applying them to the study of ancient Mesopotamia and biblical Israel, this dissertation has little interest in exploring the nature of "popular religion."

[68] Berlinerblau's definitions of official and popular religion also greatly inform the present study's analysis of pre-exilic Israelite religion. Judging a pre-exilic inscription and its religious context against the Yahweh-alone voices of the Hebrew Scriptures does nothing to determine whether that inscription reflects "popular" or "official" religion. Instead, as Berlinerblau notes, inscriptions recovered from Kuntillet ʻAjrud and Khirbet el-Qôm should be compared with the religious thoughts and practice espoused and advanced by the Judahite and Israelite monarchies (though, admittedly, the current state of scholarship is nowhere near a consensus over whether various Judean and Israelite monarchs promoted polytheistic, monolatrous, or Yahweh-alone theologies during their reigns). The ideals presented in Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic Historians, and the words of the classical prophets no doubt inform us about theological speculations from the pre-exilic Israelite world, but equating these texts and their traditions with official religion drastically changes our view of the Israelite religious world of the ninth through seventh centuries, as well as what constitutes popular or heterodox religious practice and thought. This issue will be briefly explored in chapter 10.

Official religion has been discussed and accessed through royal inscriptions, state treaties, land grants, royal correspondence, and even some ritual texts, but insight into the general population's thoughts and practices is also important to the present study. Access to these details is necessarily restricted since most of the population was illiterate, while those who were literate had tasks preventing them from recording theological speculations comparable to the speculations produced by the scholar-scribes. Even though the lesser-educated scribes did not leave texts behind explicitly outlining their beliefs, an analysis of their correspondence reveals which gods they considered important enough to invoke as they blessed the king. Moreover, their correspondence also reveals what names and titles they used to invoke these gods. These letters do not necessarily represent the theological outlook of the general population, but they are the by-products of a theology that was rooted in daily, rather than cultic and academic, life and circumstances.

Due to the nature of this study and its primary interest in the names by which deities are known, non-textual evidence plays a small role, which is why "family religion" is only mentioned briefly. Instead, the religious views and theological insights of the general population – that is, those who are not scholar-scribes or palace poets – are only occasionally explored through personal names and through the letters of palace bureaucrats and freelance scribes rather than through the lexical god-lists and esoteric hymns of the scholar-scribe tradition. As will be seen in chapters 6-9, the gods listed in these works are largely the same set of gods who appear in state treaties, other administrative documents, ritual texts, and even some offering-lists. Thus, the current study is not concerned with "popular religion," as defined by Berlinerblau and others, but

it is concerned with his definition of "official religion" that has been propagated by the state and the "non-official religion" that is reflected in other texts. Typically, these two views are not in conflict with each other in Neo-Assyrian texts, but the phrases will be used to remind the reader about a text's or a collection of texts' source. The one view with which both "official religion" and "non-official religion" are often contrasted in this study is the elitist, scholarly tradition that is exemplified by the lexical god-lists and the so-called syncretic hymns. As such, ideas common to "official religion" and "non-official religion" but contrary to the scholarly tradition can be referred to as the ideas of the "general population," a phrase that has already been used throughout this chapter.

CHAPTER 3: COMPARATIVE INSIGHTS

Before continuing with our study of Mesopotamian conceptions of the divine and divine names, a survey of similar phenomena in non-Mesopotamian cultures and religious traditions is in order. Just as the previous chapter briefly examined the disconnect between conceptions of the divine in elite circles and the general population in certain Native American and African religions, serving as living models for a similar disconnect between Mesopotamian scholar-scribes and the general population, this survey is instructive because it provides us glimpses into other cultures and how they deal(t) with the equation, identification, and syncretization of divine entities in their pantheons as they relate to a deity's possible manifestations. These foreign examples also allow us the opportunity to see how the same terminology is used differently in various fields. For example, the term "syncretism" in Egyptological circles carries with it a very different nuance than it does in classical studies or in Assyriology. Moreover, a comparative survey permits us to refine our own terminology in order to reduce confusion within and between disciplines. Secondly, and just as importantly, a comparative survey is necessary because previous Assyriological and biblical scholars have appealed to other cultures, religions, and geographies in order to provide illustrative examples for Mesopotamian conceptions of the divine, especially as they pertain to discussions of deities who share common divine (first) names but have distinct geographic epithets (or last names). For example, G. Beckman refers to the Hindu concept of "avatar" in his discussion of Ištar in Hittite texts; Porter mentions modern Catholic discussions concerning the multiplicity of the Madonna; while H. Lloyd-Jones and E. Bevan each compare treatments of the Madonna with classical Greek deities to

different ends but with the same intent of making sense of one religion in light of another.[1]

A. Syncretization at Egypt

In Egyptology, syncretization has a special usage, and for this reason Egyptological examples of religious syncretism should be considered carefully before we apply them as comparative examples for Assyrian or Israelite religions. According to the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, "syncretism" is the coexistence or cooperation of two or more gods for either political or theological reasons,[2] which includes conceptually different forms of "syncretism" than those discussed in Greco-Roman religious traditions and from those discussed in Assyriological and biblical scholarship. Originally coined by Plutarch,[3] "syncretism" (συγκρητισμός) described the cooperative effort of the Cretans when facing a common enemy:

> Then this further matter must be borne in mind and guarded against when differences arise among brothers: we must be careful especially at such times to associate familiarly with our brothers' friends, but avoid and shun all intimacy with their enemies, imitating in this point, at least, the practice of Cretans, who, though they often quarreled with and warred against each other, made up their differences and united when outside enemies attacked; and this it was which they called "syncretism" (Moralia 490:19, "On Brotherly Love," W. C. Helmbold's translation, LCL).

Thus, the term suggests a sort of reconciliation of differences, which resembles Desiderius Erasmus's usage of "syncretism" during the Renaissance and George

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[1] G. Beckman, "Ištar of Nineveh Reconsidered," *JCS* 50 (1998): 4; Porter 2004, 44 n. 16; H. Lloyd-Jones, "Ancient Greek Religion," in *APSP* 145 (2001), 462; E. Bevan, *Holy Images*: *An Inquiry into Idolatry and Image-Worship in Ancient Paganism and in Christianity* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1940), 20.
[2] U. h. Luft, "Religion," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (ed. D. Redford; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3:142.
[3] M. Pye, "Syncretism and Ambiguity" *Numen* 18 (1971): 83; R. Shaw and C. Steward, editors, "Introduction: Problematizing Syncretism" in *Syncretism/anti-syncretism*: *the Politics of Religious Synthesis* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 3.

Calixtus's usage during the Reformation.[4] Then, in the nineteenth century C.E., J. G. Droysen reintroduced the word as another term for Hellenistic culture, describing the mixing of peoples from the east and the west as a result of the policies of Alexander the Great and his successors.[5] Droysen's definition has become the standard academic definition for "syncretism" today,[6] and it works particularly well when used in scholarship on the mixing of classical religion in the Mediterranean. Though the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians had different names for deities with similar attributes, the ancients recognized that each culture was appealing to the same divine entity: Zeus and Hera were understood by the ancient Romans to be as Jupiter and Juno, while Herodotus equated Aphrodite with the Egyptian goddess Hathor, along with several other goddesses.[7] Likewise, most Assyriological discussions about syncretism deal with deities with similar attributes originating from different pantheons that are equated with each other by members of those cultures. For example, numerous scholars continue to identify

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[4] Pye 1971, 83; Shaw and Steward 1994, 4. Erasmus used the term to describe classical influence on Christianity, whereas Calixtus used it to unite the divergent Protestant denominations on doctrinal matters. In the wake of the Reformation, theologians used the term pejoratively to describe the mixing of these various Protestant religious traditions.

[5] M. H. Luther, "Of Religious Syncretism, Comparative Religion and Spiritual Quests," *MTSR* 12 (2000): 277; M. H. Luther, "Syncretism, Historicism, and Cognition: A Response to Michael Pye," *MTSR* 8 (1996): 215. According to Luther, Droysen's definition first appeared in his *Geshichte des Hellenismus*, in 1836, and is the standard academic notion behind "syncretism" today (Luther 1996, 216). Luther suggests that the modern usage of "syncretism" may alternatively derive from the Greek verb *synkerannumi*, meaning "to mix together" and that its literal translation from Greek to Latin is *confusio*.

[6] In subsequent modern biblical and theological discussions, "syncretism" is typically used to contrast Greco-Roman paganism with (proto-)orthodox Christianity. According to Pye, the term is often used pejoratively, serving as a euphemism for religious disorder, when scholars and theologians discuss non-normative Christianity (M. Pye, "Syncretism versus Synthesis," *MTSR Religion* 6 [1994]: 220). Unfortunately, this view of syncretism as religious disorder complicates our usage when applying it to discussions of official and nonofficial religious systems in ancient Mesopotamia and Israel.

[7] Herodotus equates Aphrodite with Hathor in (*Herodotus* I 2.41.5c), but in later periods Aphrodite is more often equated with Isis (S. L. Budin, "A Reconsideration of the Aphrodite-Ashtart Syncretism," *Numen* 51 [2004]: 127 n. 79). T. Harrison notes that Herodotus identified Aphrodite with the Arabian Alilat, the Assyrian Mylitta (Mullissu), the Persian Mitra (perhaps a result of Herodotus or one of his sources mistaking the graphic and phonetic similarities of the male deity Mithra/Μίτρα with Mother/Μήτρα, i.e., "mother" Merkelbach), and the Scythian Argimpasa (T. Harrison, *Divinity and History*: *The Religion of Herodotus* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000], 209 and nn. 8-9).

Aššur, the Assyrian chief deity of the second and first millennia, with Enlil, who was the chief deity of the Sumerian pantheon of the third and second millennia.[8]

Within Egyptological discussions, however, the two (or more) gods involved in syncretism are often native Egyptian gods. The syncretism of Re with Atum, forming Re-Atum, is the earliest attested example of this form of syncretism, dating to the 4th Dynasty (ca. 26-25th centuries B.C.E.).[9] This form of syncretism is considered temporary – even if "temporary" represents hundreds or thousands of years of Egyptian religious history – and each god retains his or her original characteristics.[10] J. Baines notes that these syncretisms can been see as creating new deities, but more commonly this phenomenon is used to express particular aspects of existing deities.[11] When two deities have been paired, the second-named deity typically outranks the first, but the iconography of this new deity, as well as the mode of address to the new deity, is based upon the first deity named.[12]

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[8] A. Livingstone, "New Dimensions in the Study of Assyrian Religion," in *Assyria 1995* (1997), 167; Menzel 1981, 1:65 and 2:64* n. 812; A. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts* (OLA 40; Leuven: Department Orientalistiek, 1992), 185-186; A. Annus, *The God Ninurta* i*n the Mythology and Royal Ideology of Ancient Mesopotamia* (SAAS 14; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2002), 39; and B. Landsberger, and K. Balkan, "Die Inschrift des assyrischen Königs Īrișum, gefunden in Kültepe 1948," *Belleten* 14 (1950): 251. As is discussed in chapter 4, A. Annus is quick to identify numerous Sumerian and Semitic deities with each other, especially as they pertain to the god Ninurta.

[9] E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*: *The One and the Many* (trans. J. Baines; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 92. The combined divine name Re-Atum, which J. Allen translates as "Sun Atum" (J. P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* [ed. P. Der Manuelian; SBLWAW 23; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005], 442), appears several times in "The Resurrection Ritual," a segment of the Pyramid Texts of Unis, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty (ca. 2353-2323), which was located in the burial chamber and south side passage of the pyramid: "Sun Atum will not give you to Osiris: he will not claim your mind, he will not have control of your heart. Sun Atum will not give you to Horus: he will not claim your mind, he will not have control of your heart" (p. 32 §148) and "Sun Atum, this Unis has come to you—an imperishable akh…" (p. 33 §150).

[10] J. Baines, "Egyptian Deities in Context: Multiplicity Unity and the Problem of Change," in *One God or Many*? (2000), 33.

[11] Baines 2000, 31.

[12] Baines 2000, 32. Baines notes that the sun-god Re is the most commonly syncretized Egyptian deity, so his name is typically the second name of a newly paired syncretization. He does note other syncretizations wherein these patterns do not hold; for instance, in the triple-deity syncretization Ptah-Sokar(-Osiris), Ptah is the primary deity of import.

This form of syncretism becomes more common during the Middle Kingdom, with additional examples including "Sobek-Re and Khnum-Re, and, the most familiar, Amon-Re the new state god Amon in his solar and creator aspect as Re."[13] According to E. Hornung, the clearest example of this form of syncretism comes from the Ramessid period tomb of Nofretiri. The iconography of both deities, Re and Osiris, is represented in the form of a ram-headed mummy, and the accompanying inscription says, "Re enters into Osiris and Osiris enters into Re daily, and the combination is dissolved again daily" (Theban Tomb 290).[14]

Hornung describes this syncretization of Egyptian deities as "inhabiting":

> These syncretisms may be interpreted as meaning that Egyptians recognize Re in all these very different gods as soon as they encounter them as creator gods…It is also clear that every deity whom another deity "inhibits" acquires an extended nature and sphere of action. But all these formulations are no more than initial attempts to grasp the meaning of syncretism.[15]

Hornung suggests that scholarly terms common to other fields of religious studies (e.g., "equating," "fusing," or "identifying") should be rejected since they lack the specialized nuance that "inhabiting" provides.[16] Those other terms suggest a phenomenon too permanent for Hornung's interpretation of the phenomenon given that inhabitation can cease at any moment. The term "inhabiting" is better understood in contrast to other relationships the ancient Egyptians imagined held between their deities. These include kinship and the "occasional complicated theological statements about the union of two gods"[17]; however, a third type of relationship between deities includes statements that

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[13] Hornung 1982, 92
[14] Hornung 1982, 95. A reproduction of the Re-Osiris iconography is provided on p. 94.
[15] Hornung 1982, 92.
[16] Hornung 1982, 91. Here Hornung is refining a discussion on inhabiting originally proposed by H. Bonnet in "Zum Verständnis des Synkretismus," *ZÄS* 75 (1939).
[17] Hornung 1982, 93. These occasional statements are, with one exception, about Re and Osiris, but the exact nature of their relationship is intentionally (i.e., which is the god with superior status) ambiguous with

one deity is the “image” of another deity, a phenomenon that strikingly resembles inhabiting. According to Hornung, any ancient Egyptian accepted that a deity’s true form is “hidden” and “mysterious.”[18] Any pictorial representation of a god, including the motif of representing a gods’ head with an animal head, simply expresses attributes of that god. For example, the falcon represents two attributes in Egyptian symbology: sky and kingship. Because the falcon can fly, it is associated with the sky and can represent being “above,” and because of this height and the bird’s perceived majesty, the falcon also represents the ideal of kingship.[19] Because of these associations, both Re and Horus may be depicted as falcons. Just as a god’s image ultimately reveals his characteristics or attributes rather than his actual physical form, so too do a god’s inhabitation practices highlight his or her characteristics and attributes. For this reason, both Re and Horus may be said to inhabit falcons. Likewise, Re may inhabit Atum or Amon, and by doing so his nature is revealed through the characteristics of an inhabited deity. Moreover, following Hornung’s and Baines’s interpretation, both of whom follow H. Bonnet, since inhabiting is about revealing the nature of the deity’s character and attributes and not about his existence at a particular time or place, there can be multiple inhabitations independent of each other. Entities invoked as Amon-Re, Min-Re, Khnum-Re, or Re-Atum may be thought of as coexisting alongside Re without any conflict,[20] and Re could be said to simultaneously to inhabit a falcon alongside these multi-named entities, as well.

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conflicting statements: “this is Re when he has come to rest in Osiris” and “This is Osiris when he has come to rest in Re” (“Litany of Re” I, 178 and II, 83).

[18] Hornung 1982, 117 and 124f.

[19] D. Silverman, “Divinity and Deities in Ancient Egypt,” in *Religion in Ancient Egypt*: *Gods*, *Myths*, *and Personal Practice* (ed. B. Shafer; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 25 and 68.

[20] Baines 2000, 33; H. Bonnet, “On Understanding Syncretism,” trans. J. Baines, *Or* NS 68 (1999): 189.

Because syncretism in discussions of ancient Egyptian religion represents a vastly different phenomenon than it does in Mesopotamian religion, a more thorough investigation of Egyptian syncretism is not necessary at this time. Instead, we may turn to other religious traditions that have been proposed by various scholars as comparative models for Mesopotamian and Israelite religions. These include the traditions from classical Greek religion and Hinduism, as well as from ancient and modern Catholicism. Each of these traditions has been proposed because each contains traditions wherein a supernatural entity is addressed by various names and epithets or is described as taking on various forms. The relevance and applicability of each tradition to ancient Mesopotamian divine names and epithets are evaluated below. The survey begins in the east with a brief treatment of Hinduism and its formulation of the *avatāra* and gradually moves westward. Classical Greek traditions and treatments of Zeus's numerous epithets in the ancient Mediterranean are examined, and finally, this survey concludes with an examination of treatments of Mary in modern Catholic tradition.

B. Multiplicity and Hinduism

First for consideration is Hinduism. A polytheistic religion with a history going back thousands of years, precise origins and definitions of Hinduism are impossible to determine.[21] The word "Hinduism" is simply a reflection of the religion's geographic location (across the Indus River from western society in what is modern northwestern and northern India) and provides no content about any practices or beliefs associated with the religion. For this reason, the religion called "Hinduism" today should be thought of as an

[21] K. Klostermaier suggests that the original inhabitants of India and their (religious) culture may trace back half a million years, with some practices and beliefs continued among many tribes (K. K. Klostermaier, *A Survey of Hinduism* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989], 31).

umbrella term for various regional traditions and numerous sacred sources. While modern Tamil tribes may preserve some aspects of ancient Dravidian cultural traditions, in the western mind Vedic religion and scripture – which were brought to India by the Āryan invaders (ca. 1500-1200 B.C.E.)[22] – most commonly represent Hinduism.[23]

As an umbrella term for a "wildly diverse Indian religion…which has no founder and no standard scripture or commentary" and one billion adherents from various geographic, political, and social settings,[24] any responsible treatment of "Hinduism" should qualify which specific *Hinduism* is under discussion. Moreover, in addition to the numerous traditions present today, in the course of the past few thousand years, myths, epics, and other sacred lore were all disseminated by a largely illiterate, rural population, that freely embellished the traditions in artwork or oral retellings,[25] which means that a chronological setting should be given for each form of Hinduism treated. Since the following survey is informed by modern English-language treatments that "offer correct information on Hinduism as a whole and also to make a modern westerner understand some of its meaning,"[26] this survey represents what amounts to an "orthodox Hindu theology"[27] that may not exist in any particular community in India today (or in any particular period) but is very much alive in the scholarly tomes at the Western library and

[22] Brahmanism and the *Ṛg-Veda* may antedate the Āryan invasion of India, but the two are so closely associated with each other that, for practical purposes, Vedic religion can be identified with early official Āryan worship (Klostermaier 1989, 38).
[23] However, there has been continual change in Hinduism in the past few millennia as Hinduism encountered new religions and cultures (e.g., the Islamic and modern Western cultures). Also, according to Klostermaier, a proper and an inclusive definition of Hinduism should also embrace Jainism, Buddhism, and Sikhism, among other sects, within its purview, but today most Hindus define their religion according to the specific group to which they belong, e.g., *Śaivas*, *Vaiṣṇavas*, and *Śāktas* (Klostermaier 1989, 33). Others, he states, define the religion in Indian nationalistic terms as they embrace an attachment to the land or to a common Hindu civilization and history..
[24] S. Prothero, *Religious Literacy*: *What Every American Needs to Know – and Doesn't* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2007) 186.
[25] A. L. Dallapiccola, *Dictionary of Hindu Lore and Legend* [London: Thames & Hudson, 2002], 12.
[26] Klostermaier 1989, 5.
[27] B. Zeller, personal communication, 09/09/2010.

in the minds of the general population in the West. For this reason, in light of the definition of "official religion" provided in chapter 2, this survey represents neither "official religion" nor "non-official religion" but more closely resembles the elitist religion of the scholar-scribes in Mesopotamia. This elitist or orthodox treatment is offered here because this is likely the *Hinduism* that Assyriologists and scholars in other fields of religious studies presuppose when they briefly reference Indian religious traditions for a Western audience.

This Vedic and Āryan element contains a mythological element, in which divine beings (*deva* or *devatā*) arose along with the creation of heaven and earth.[28] However, unlike Mesopotamian or classical mythology that center on narratives about divine beings, deities play a secondary role in Vedic mythology because the primary focus is the underlying "all-pervading ultimate power" that the *deva*s symbolically represent.[29] Because of this difference between Vedic mythology and classical mythology, K. Klostermaier argues that unlike Roman and Greek (and Mesopotamian) pantheons, there is no Vedic pantheon, simply transcendent power (i.e., *mana*-power and *asura*-power).[30]

While Klostmaier's assessment may be accurate and the gods are understood by many religious adherents as symbols of supernatural creative forces, the myths and hymns surrounding the *deva*s still portray these divine beings as entities that intervene in the present world, as they had in other points in history. For example, the god Śiva is provided with 1000 names in the *Mahābhārata* litany of Śaivite (Śiva-related) devotion

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[28] Klostermaier 1989, 109. Literally, derived from the root **div*, *deva* means "shiny" or "exalted," but the term may also refer to any supernatural being (Dallapiccola 2002, 57). According to the *Rgveda*, there are 33 *deva*s that preside over heaven, earth, and water. (As seen below, this is the same Indo-European root whence the Greek god Zeus derives.)
[29] Klostermaier 1989, 127.
[30] *Manus*-power refers to thinking powers of the mind or cognition (Dallapiccola 2002, 131), and *asura*-power refers to spiritual or divine power (p. 33).

and appears in numerous narratives where he engages in battles with enemies, who may take on the guise of tigers, elephants, or serpents.[31] Moreover, Śiva is described in *Śaiva Āgamas* scripture as taking on the appearance of 28 *avatāra*s. These *avatāra*s, or the bodily form of a god when he or she has descended to earth,[32] are of particular interest since they represent the forms of the deity throughout history.

In addition to the 28 local *avatāra*s of Śiva, the only other Hindu *deva* from classical Hindu mythology described as having an *avatāra* is Viṣṇu.[33] Like Śaivite devotion, Vaṣṇavism, which has sources from both Vedic religion and Dravidian traditions, has developed a rich mythology in Hinduism.[34] Primary among this mythology is Viṣṇu's role as a savior, which is reflected in the *Bhagavadgītā*, *Ṛg-Veda*, *Purāṇas*, and other epics.[35] According to the *Bhagavadgītā*, Viṣṇu comes down to the earth in the

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[31] Klostermaier 1989, 135. The *Mahābhārata* is one of two Sanskrit epics from ancient India and is likely the world's longest poem with 110,000 couplets divided into 18 sections (Dallapiccola 126).

[32] Klostermaier 1989, 512. The word *avatāra* ("descent") – from the root *tṛi* ("to cross over" or "to save") with the prefix *ava* ("down") – on a basic level may refer to any deity's appearance on earth, but it usually refers to an appearance of Viṣṇu (E. G. Parrinder, *Avatar and Incarnation*: *The Wilde Lectures in Natural and Comparative Religion in the University of Oxford* [New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970], 19). The *avatāra*-phenomenon is relatively late in the tradition first appearing in the fourth century B.C.E., so the word of interest in the Vedas and classical Upanishads is prādurbhāva, meaning "manifestation" (p. 20). The *avatāra* tradition is clearly formulated for the first time in the *Bhagavadgītā* and is elaborated upon in the *Purāṇas* (Dallapiccola 2002, 33).

Zeller notes from his own ethnographic work in the United States that avatars can include any object, like shade-providing clouds or bees near a sacred site (Zeller 2010). These conceptions are definitely in contrast with the orthodox view summarized in the present study, highlighting all the more the differences in divine conceptions between the religious elite and the general population.

[33] M. Biardeau, "Avatars," in *Mythologies*: *Dictionnaire des mythologies et des religions des socieìteìs traditionnelles et du monde antique* (comp. Y. Bonnefoy; trans. D.White; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 2:849.

[34] Klostermaier 1989, 228.

[35] *Bhagavadgītā* means, "Song of the Lord," and is found in the sixth book of the *Mahābhārata* (Dallapiccola 2002, 37). It likely dates to the fourth century B.C.E. or later, though these dates are uncertain. The *Ṛg-Veda* ("Veda of Praise") is the oldest and most important of the four Vedas, which is a collection of hymns in honor of the primary Aryan deities (p. 165). The *Ṛg-Veda* is often dated between 1500-1200 B.C.E. (p. 166). *Purāṇas* are old stories that retell the creation, destruction, and recreation of the world, along with genealogies of the gods and patriarchs (p. 157). They likely date to the early centuries C.E. (p. 158). Significantly, the Vedas are songs to the gods rather than messages from the gods to men (Parrinder 1970, 15).

form of an *avatarā* whenever *dharma* is in danger.[36] Viṣṇu is said to have ten embodiments (*daśāvatāras*) in mythology, which includes both theriomorphic and anthropomorphic forms.[37] With each *avatāra*, the deity defeats the threatening foe and saves the good. For instance, as the fish *matsya*, he defeats the (evil) *asuras* and returns the Vedas to the Brahmins; as the unicorn *ekaśriṅga*, he saves Manu (the first man and progenitor of mankind) from the flood that destroyed the rest of mankind; and as the dwarf *vāmana*, he defeats the king of the earth Bali, which allows the exiled *deva*s to return to earth.

Upon his descent into this world, Viṣṇu's chosen *avatāra* remembers its divine origins and focuses on its ultimate warrior-like goal of maintaining the proper balance of *dharma* in the world.[38] Significantly, each of these theriomorphic *avatāra*s is related to a particular cosmic period, or *yuga*,[39] which is the equivalent of one lifetime of or 100 years of the Brahma.[40] The anthropomorphic forms of Viṣṇu (Rāma and Kṛṣṇa), on the other hand, are not limited to a specific *yuga*.[41] Rāma, a locally worshiped divine king (who likely predates the Āryan tradition[42]), is only identified as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu

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[36] Klostermaier 1989, 515. *Dharma* is the sum of the righteousness that deals with law, ethics, customs and morals (Dallapiccola 2002, 59).
[37] Klostermaier 1989, 228-230. The animal forms include *matsya* (the fish), *kūrma* (the tortoise), *kūrma* (the boar), and *ekaśriṅga* (the unicorn/horse-headed), while the anthropomorphic forms include Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, as well as the dwarf *vāmana* and the man-lion *nṛsiṅha*. Other traditions also include historical persons as *avatāra*s of Viṣṇu, including the Buddha and Kapila. The mythological order of these *avatāras* is *matsya*, *kūrma*, *kūrma*, *nṛsiṅha*, *vāmana/trivikrama*, Parashurāma (Rāma with the battleax), Rāma-Chandra (the moon-god), Balarāma (Rāma the Strong), Kṛṣṇa, the historical Buddha, and *Kalki* (Dallapiccola 34). Typically, the animal avatāras are involved with creation myths or creator gods, whereas the anthropomorphic avatāras battle demons (Parrinder 1970, 24f.).
[38] Biardeau 1991, 852.
[39] Biardeau 1991, 849. Four *yuga*s comprise each cycle of creation, and a complete cycle is about 4.32 million years (Dallapiccola 2002, 210). One *avatāra*, Kalki, is the only one whose arrival takes place in the future (Klostermaier 1989, 230). His eschatological victory will be over *kali*, the embodiment of strife, and all evil influences.
[40] Biardeau 1991, 850.
[41] Klostermaier 1989, 230.
[42] Klostermaier 1989, 467 n. 13.

relatively late, but is worshiped by millions at his sacred site in Ayodhyā for his heroic deeds as Viṣṇu:

> The Lord of Jānakī, who is intelligence itself and, though immutable, being requested by the *deva*s to remove the afflictions of the world, took the illusory form of a man and was apparently born in the solar dynasty. After attaining to fame eternal, capable of destroying sins by killing the foremost of the demons, he again took up his real nature as *Brahman* (*Bālakaṇḍa* I, 1 of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*).[43]

Of particular interest here is the explicit comment that even this Rāma *avatāra* is merely temporary, even if he may re-manifest himself in multiple *yugas*. The other anthropomorphic (and most popular) form is Kṛṣṇa.[44] According to Klostermaier, many worshipers consider the Kṛṣṇa *avatāra* more than just another of the ten traditional *avatāra*s who comes to liberate the world of evil; they consider this form the primary appearance of the god himself, the *svayam bhagavān*, which is the eternal body of this Lord.[45] This beloved form is the subject of numerous myths and narratives, ranging from stories of his infancy and birth miracles to his founding of the Bhāgavata religion.[46]

Today, Vaiṣṇavism has a fully developed systematic theology, and the deity is described as the ruler and lord of all and the preserver of all life: *Īśvara*.[47] As *Īśvara*, he not only comprises the world, he animates it as well, and he is simultaneously unbound by time and space. Within this realm of complicated high theology, the *daśāvatāras* are

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[43] Klostermaier 1989, 231. Translation of this fifteenth-century C.E. text is Klostermaier's.
[44] Whether Kṛṣṇa is an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu in the Bhagavadgītā is disputed since Viṣṇu is not actually mentioned in the *avatāra* passages (Parrinder 1970, 32), but epithet placements and apposition in chapter 11 are the primary statements behind this equation.
[45] Klostermaier 1989, 231.
[46] "Vishnu himself, who is worshiped by all the worlds, was born of Devakī and Vasudeva [his human mother and father], for the sake of the three worlds. He who is without birth and death, the splendid creator of the universe, the Lord and invisible cause of all, the unchanging and all-pervading soul, the center round which everything moves….that originator of all beings 'appeared' (prādurbhūta) in the family of the Andhaka-Vrishnis for the increase of right" (Mahābhārata, Adi Parva 58 51, etc; 59 83; Parrinder's translation, Parrinder 1970, 21).
[47] Klostermaier 1989, 233.

just one (*vibhava*) of five major form-categories Viṣṇu has.[48] However, these high theological speculations are not comparable to any mainstream aspect of religion encountered in Mesopotamian religion, and for this reason, these speculations are of little interest to the present discussion. Moreover, aside from the fifth form-category, the *ārcāvatāra*, these other categories do not attempt to describe the deity's physical manifestations and are, thus, irrelevant.

For consideration, then, are the *daśāvatāras* of the *vibhava* form and the *ārcāvatāra*. If these categories may be aligned with their Mesopotamian counterparts, then the *avatāra*s and *ārcāvatāra* of Viṣṇu should be compared with local cult manifestations of the deities and their cult objects, respectively. Local manifestations in Mesopotamia (e.g., Ištar-of-Arbela and Ištar-of-Nineveh) can be included among the cult objects, especially in the form of anthropomorphic cult-statues, but this Mesopotamian category also reflects the humanoid image of the deity in contemporary existence in the divine world, interacting with gods and other divine beings. Likewise, *avatāra*s are envisioned as a very physical presence in this world, but these physical presences can serve as the visual inspiration of an *ārcāvatāra*, be it as a figurine at a family cult or at a larger temple cult. Additionally, the *ārcāvatāra* may take the physical form of a plant (i.e., the *tulasī* plant or the *śālagrāma*), just as the Mesopotamian deity may be represented by a standard or other non-anthropomorphic cultic paraphernalia. Moreover, as is explored below for Mesopotamian local manifestations of a god, the various

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[48] In addition to *vibhava*, Viṣṇu's transcendent form is *para*; his powers are *vyūha*; his *antaryāmin* resides within the hearts of humans; and his visible images, which act as the deity's physical presence on earth, are *ārcāvatāra* (Klostermaier 1989, 234).

avatāras of Viṣṇu likely existed independently of a Viṣṇu cult and only later became identified as Viṣṇu *avatārs* because of that cult's popularity.[49]

Despite these similarities between local manifestations of gods in Mesopotamian and Hindu religion, however, it must be reiterated that *avatāras* of a given deity (i.e., Viṣṇu and Śiva) only exist one at a time, or one during a given epoch in history. Each *avatāra* may be worshiped at that point in history, but worshipers recognize that specific *avatāra* are not current embodiments of the *deva* they represent. As mentioned above about Rāma: "After attaining to fame eternal…he again took up his real nature as *Brahman*" (*Bālakaṇḍa* I, 1). If Mesopotamian conceptions of local manifestations are comparable to Hindu *avatāras*, then this inability of *avatāras* to coexist is beyond our comparison. The appearance of divine names, such as Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela, side-by-side in state treaties and hymns of praise or the appearance of their statues together in cultic rituals (i.e., BM 121206 ix) indicates that these manifestations exist at the same time. Indeed, while many argue that Ištar-of-Nineveh is a manifestation of the same goddess as is Ištar-of-Arbela, surely, no one would argue that Ištar-of-Nineveh can only exist when Ištar-of-Arbela has relinquished her form, as is the case with the various *avatāras* of Viṣṇu.

C. Greek Epithets and Zeus

Moving from India back to the west, we now consider the polytheistic religion of ancient Greece. As is the case with Mesopotamian and Hindu deities, ancient Greek gods are typically worshiped at cult sites and known by cult-specific names. These names may simply indicate the locality of the cult, but descriptive epithets are also common. For

[49] Biardeau 1991, 850; Klostermaier 1989, 230.

instance, in one locality, there are devotees of "Zeus the Accomplisher" and, in the next town over, devotees revere "Zeus the Kindly."[50]

Zeus's treatment is of particular interest to the present study. His Homeric epithets include the "cloud gatherer," "the dark-clouded," "the thunderer on high," and "the hurler of thunderbolts," and his association with lightning is so pervasive that each bolt of lightning was considered a direct epiphany of the deity himself.[51] In theory, any place lightning struck became a sanctuary to Zeus *Kataibates* ("Zeus Descending"), so that the supreme deity of the Greeks could be and was worshiped throughout the world. As the supreme king of the Greek gods, who may have already attained this highest-god status in Mycenaean times, atypical treatments or features may be expected, and this does appear to be the case. Worshiped as the Greek god *par excellence*, one of his epithets recognizes him as the top Greek deity, Zeus *Hellanios*.[52] Moreover, according to Burkert, Greek city-states and communities claimed particular deities as their patron deities, but devotion to Zeus was too pervasive for him to be claimed as a particular city's patron god:

> Zeus stands above all faction. Hardly any city can claim Zeus simply as its city god; instead there is Athena of the citadel, Apollo of the market place, or Hera, or Poseidon; but Zeus is worshipped everywhere – even as Zeus of the city, *Polieus* – and the largest of temples are built in his honour.[53]

Burkert's statement may reflect the historical reality that no city claimed Zeus as its patron god – not even a city as important as Athens with its monumental Zeus temple –

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[50] Lloyd-Jones 2001, 462.
[51] Burkert 1985, 126.
[52] Burkert 1985, 130; see Pindar, *Paean* 6.125-126; *Herodotus* IV 9.7 (Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον, "Zeus of the Greeks"); Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.30.3 (Πανελληνίος Διὸς, "Panhellenic Zeus").
[53] Burkert 1985, 130. The temple for Zeus in Athens was so massive that its construction began under the aegis of Pisistratus in the sixth century B.C.E. and was only completed by the Roman Emperor Hadrian in the second century C.E.

but arguing that Zeus was too universal in the Pan-Hellenic world to be any city's patron deity may simply be a hyperbolic statement to explain this away.

a. The Cretan and Chthonic Zeus

Another way in which Zeus was unique among the gods was his relationship to his cult near Knossos, Crete. Instead of an Olympian-styled Zeus, the locals worshiped an expressly Cretan Zeus, invoked as Zeus *Kretagenes* ("Crete-born"), who, in addition to a youthful appearance, had his own distinct set of epithets and mythology.[54] This local deity was a vegetation-god, whose numerous characteristics and attributes betray a substratum that is likely pre-Olympian in nature, possibly derived from Minoan civilization. According to R. Willetts, the Cretan Zeus had more in common with Dionysus than with the Olympian Zeus because of similar mystic cult rites and dying-resurrecting god motifs.[55] The Cretan Zeus shared so much with Dionysus that outside of Crete this local Zeus festival was associated with Dionysus instead of the Olympian Zeus.[56]

Were the history of the Cretan Zeus and his cult as simple as this confusion with Dionysus, then this cult could be dismissed as an anomaly that somehow survived apart from the rest of Greek culture, an isolated cult that was never assimilated with larger Greek religion. Could this Cretan Zeus be considered a separate Zeus, worshiped by a

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[54] R. F. Willetts, *The Civilization of Ancient Crete* (2d updated ed.; Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1991), 198. The cult site at Idian Cave is about 20 miles southwest of Knossos, which was the political center of ancient Minoan civilization (p. 201).
[55] Willetts 1991, 202. The netherworld associations with this Cretan Zeus are so strong that the inscription "Pythagoras to Zeus" proclaims, "Here Zan lies dead, whom they call Zeus." Two different traditions laid claim to the tomb of Zeus, Dikte and Ida, and both of these places also claimed to be the birthplace of this deity (Dowden 2006, 34-35).
[56] Willetts 1991, 201. Willetts notes that the similarity between the two gods is so strong that initiates into the rites of Zeus *Kretagenes* can be named as Bakkos, much like their Dionysian counterparts (p. 202).

particular people or civilization and who only shares the same first name with the Olympian Zeus?[57] Unfortunately, this simple solution is not the case. Instead, Willets supposes that the divine name Zeus was intentionally applied to the Minoan god, who held different roles and functions from the Olympian Zeus, when the Indo-Europeans arrived; however, Willets is not willing to guess at the origin of this native Cretan deity.[58] Nor does he offer an explanation for the identification – or "syncretism" in the classical religious usage of the term described above – of the Minoan and Indo-European gods. B. Powell, on the other hand, suggests that the Minoan god was the consort of the local mother goddess, who was worshiped deep within the Cretan caves, and that the resulting identification between the two male deities occurred, despite the fact that the Indo-European and this ancient, Cretan male deity are "utterly unlike."[59] The reason for this syncretism, then, was likely due to the elevated status of the local Cretan god because of his associations with his theoretical consort.[60]

Eventually, Greek society beyond Crete accepted the Minoan god as Zeus,[61] and the birth narrative surrounding the Cretan Zeus became the most successful origins myth surrounding the Olympian Zeus and was recounted by Hesiod.[62] Surprisingly, though the

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[57] For instance, this possibility could have arisen because the divine name "Zeus" is derived from the Indo-European root **dyeu*, whose primary meaning is "to shine" (see the *deva/devatā* above) and from which both the words "sky" (**dyēus*) and "deity" (**deiwos*) also derive ("Zeus" and "dyeu," in *American Heritage College Dictionary* 2002, 1594 and 1612). This divine name also appears as the Indic sky-god *Dyaus piter*, the Roman *Diespiter/Juppiter*, and the Germanic deity whose name survives in our weekly *Tues*-day (Burkert 1985, 125).

[58] Willetts 1991, 116.

[59] B. Powell, *Classical Myth* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall, 1995), 97.

[60] Dowden agrees that foreign principal gods typically become identified with Zeus, no matter their original attributes and characteristics (Dowden 2006, 107).

[61] Dowden 2006, 33. Dowden notes that the larger Greek society accepted this equation even though the local cult of Zeus died out around 500 B.C.E. at Dikte, Crete.

[62] Indeed, this birth tradition beat out competing traditions that Zeus was born in Arcadia to Rhea and that he was born at Mt. Lykaion, in addition to beating out traditions where a rather generic divine child, who is later identified with Zeus, is born to a "Great Mother" (Dowden 2006, 32). Thus, in the final version told by Hesiod in his *Theogony*, Zeus's birth in a Cretan cave is modified to now be the place where Zeus is

Cretan Zeus – along with other island-based geographic epithets, like Zeus *Diktaios* ("The Dikte-ite") or Zeus *Idaios* ("The Ida-ite") – provided the dominant birth narrative for Greek mythology, this ancient syncretism between the Olympian and Cretan Zeuses is not without further complications. That Zeus could be considered a dying god on Crete was blasphemous to some, or at least blasphemous to one individual with a resonating voice[63] Callimachus, in his third-century (B.C.E.) Hymn to Zeus, rejected the idea that Zeus could die.[64] Those narratives describing his death, he wrote, were not about the Zeus that he worshiped and exalted. Instead, they were the product of lying Cretans, as Callimachus reports:

> How shall we sing of him—as lord of Dicte (in Crete) or of Lycaeum (in Arcadia)? My soul is all in doubt, since debated is his birth. O Zeus, some say that thou wert born on the hills of Ida (in Crete); others, O Zeus, say in Arcadia; did these or those, O Father, lie? "Cretans are ever liars." Yea, a tomb, O Lord, for thee the Cretans builded; but thou didst not die, for thou art for ever (Callimachus, *Hymn I. To Zeus* 4-9, A. W. Mair's translation LCL).[65]

According to J.-P. Vernant, Callimachus's statement that this Cretan Zeus is not really the Olympian Zeus is likely a minority opinion.[66] Thus, Callimachus is the counterpart to the elitist scribe in Mesopotamia, whereas the rest of the Greeks correspond to

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hidden and nurtured by bees after his father mistakenly swallows a stone, thinking it was the newborn Zeus (*Theogony* 482-487). Cretan stories about Zeus's childhood are post-Hesiodic, which relate the myth about his birth in the glow of a great fire and the rituals involved in the annual celebration (Burkert 1985, 127).

[63] Burkert posits the idea that ancient discussions about a dead or chthonic Zeus may actually reference Hades as the Zeus of the netherworld (Burkert 1985, 200). Whoever this chthonic Zeus is, he is still responsible for the growth of the next year's crops, an attribute that fits either a chthonic deity and its relationship with the fertile ground or a weather deity that provides the rains for those crops.

[64] J.-P. Vernant, "Greek Religion," in *Religions of Antiquity* (ed. R. M. Seltzer; New York: MacMillian, 1989), 171.

[65] The pastor repeats this accusation against the Cretans in Titus 1:12-13: [12]"It was one of them, their very own prophet, who said, 'Cretans are always liars, vicious brutes, lazy gluttons,' [13]That testimony is true" (NRSV).

Callimachus is not the only one troubled by the identification of Zeus with foreign heads of pantheon. In the first century C.E., Lucan made his disapproval of the identification of Zeus/Jupiter with Amon of Egypt: "Jupiter, so they say, but not brandishing thunderbolts // and not similar to ours, but with twisted horns, Hammon" (Lucan, *Civil War* 9.513f, Dowden's translation [Dowden 2006, 106]).

[66] Vernant 1989, 171.

Mesopotamia's general population. Vernant argues that these different traditions and epithets merely emphasize the multiple dimensions of this supreme deity, including those Callimachus rejected. For Vernant, the identification between the two Zeuses should not be considered problematic – though they are entirely different personalities – because the tension it creates allows Zeus to manifest dominion over more (cosmic) geography. As a result of this syncretism, the ever rising king of the gods gained a stronger hold over more aspects of life, even if some of these aspects were subsequently siphoned off to the Olympian's son Dionysus in order to reduce too much internal tension experienced by those Greeks living outside of Crete. Thus, the syncretism of the Olympian Zeus with his Cretan, chthonic counterpart is as readily accepted by modern Classicists as it appears to have been accepted by most ancient Greeks.[67]

In the world of Greek cultic ritual, Zeus's dual aspect is highlighted in the calendar of Erchia (a *deme*, or neighborhood political unit, of Attica), wherein the deity is celebrated as both a benevolent Zeus and as Zeus-*Meilichios* ("The Kindly"), the honey-god.[68] At the beginning of the two-part ritual, the chthonic nature of Zeus *Meilichios* takes priority, and the consumption of wine is forbidden; instead, hydromel is the

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[67] This ancient recognition of a Zeus with Janus-like characteristics is found in both sculptural and ritualistic realms. His bipolarity is visually manifest in second-century C.E. Corinth, where Pausanias reports that a statue of Zeus called *Chthonios* ("of-the-Earth") stood alongside a statue of Zeus called *Hypsistos* ("the Highest") and an unnamed statue: "The images of Zeus are also in the open; one had not a surmane, another they call Chthonius and the third Most High" (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.2.8, Jones LCL).

[68] G. Sissa and M. Detienne, *The Daily Life of the Greek Gods* (trans. J. Lloyd; Mestizo spaces; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 162. "Zeus the Benevolent" is the full name used by Sissa and Detienne to distinguish this divine personality, which they consider the Olympian Zeus, from Zeus *Meilichios* throughout their discussion of this two-part ritual in the Erchia calendar. In fact, no Zeus divine name appears in the second portion of the ritual to be placed in contrast with Zeus *Meilichios* (see 606 A 40-65, with commentary on p. 629 by G. Daux [G. Daux, "La grande démarchie: Un nouveau calendrier sacrificiel d'Attique (Erchia)," *BCH* 87 (1963)]).

preferred drink.[69] An accompanying animal sacrifice (*splanchna*, "roasted viscera") separates this portion of the ritual to Zeus *Meilichios* from the subsequent portion devoted to "Zeus the Benevolent"[70]; once the meat is divided up for the celebrants, wine may be imbibed in honor of the Olympian Zeus. According to G. Sissa and M. Detienne, while the ceremony shows an overall preference for the Olympian Zeus, the only marked difference between these two Zeuses is the latter's preference for wine over honey. For this reason, they argue against interpreting this ritual as invoking two distinct Zeuses. Their rejection of a two-Zeus interpretation is reasonable since the epithets invoked in this ritual are not geographic as are the distinctions between the Olympian Zeus and the Cretan Zeus. Moreover, the nature of Zeus or of the ritual itself from the first portion may differ from the second, but these differences seem to be affected by a process within the ritual rather than a change in worship from one entity to another. Indeed, the name Zeus itself does not reappear in the second portion of the ritual; however, numerous other Zeus epithets appear throughout the Erchia calendar, including Zeus *Epakrios* ("Of the Heights").[71]

b. The Nature of Zeus's Epithets

As the Erchia ritual demonstrates, many of Zeus's epithets express something about his nature rather than a geographic location. Members of the Greek polis appealed to Zeus for specific moments or activities. The evening before a wedding, offerings were

[69] Zeus *Meilichios*'*s* preference for hydromel fits perfectly with the chthonic mythology in Crete, where the bees nursed the young Zeus in a cave (Dowden 2006, 34).
[70] G. Sissa and M. Detienne 2000, 162.
[71] Parker 1996, 32 n. 13; M. H. Jameson, "Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Classical Greece," in *Economies in Classical Antiquity* (ed. C. R. Whittaker; Cambridge Philological Society suppl. vol. 14; Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1988), 103.

made to Zeus *Teleios* ("married"), and groups who share common ancestors offer to a Zeus *Phratrios* ("belonging-to-the-phratry") as had their ancestors.[72] Some epithets indicate that an offering to Zeus has been made upon a different deity's altar: Zeus *Heraios* and Zeus *Damatrios* receive offerings from the altars of Hera and Demeter, respectively.[73] Other epithets simply proclaim the nature of this deity: Zeus is loving (Zeus *Philios*), Zeus is gentle (Zeus *Meilikhios*), and Zeus is most high (Zeus *Hupatos*).[74] At Mantineia, five forms of Zeus are honored at five cults, and each form celebrates a different virtue: Zeus *Keraunos* celebrates Zeus as the "thunderbolt," a protective aspect; Zeus *Sōtēr* honors Zeus as a "savior" of the city; Zeus *Kharmon* praises a god who "rejoices" in war; Zeus *Euboulos* is a "good counselor"; and Zeus *Epidotes* recognizes the god as "bountiful."[75]

Similarly, in addition to Zeus *Meilichios* and Zeus *Epakrios*, four different epithets for Zeus appear in the sacred Erchia calendar: *Epopetes* ("the Overseer"), *Horios* ("of the Boundaries"), *Polieus* ("of the City"), and *Teleios* (an affiliation with Hera *Teleia*).[76] According to J. Mikalson, each of these Zeuses receives sacrifices at its own cult center, and each Zeus performs its own distinct function for the people of Erchia in Attica. The specific functions of Zeus *Epakrios* and Zeus *Epopetes* are unknown, but they likely relate to Zeus's weather-god role of bringing rain. Zeus *Horios* watched over

[72] L. Zaidman and P. Pantel, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City* [trans. P. Cartledge; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 68 and 86.
[73] Sissa and Detienne 2000, 162.
[74] Zaidman and Pantel 1992, 177f. Regarding Zeus's connection with thunder and lightning, Homer uses 26 epithets to mark Zeus as a storm deity (Dowden 2006, 56), including *Erigdoupos* ("very thundering") seven times in the *Iliad* and three times in the *Odyssey*. Fifth-century inscriptions also mention Zeus *Storpaos*, Zeus *Astrapaios*, Zeus *Keraunios* (all of which mean "of lightning"), Zeus *Keranunobolos* and Zeus *Kappotas* (which relate to "falling" lightning) as well as Zeus *Keraunos* and Zeus *Kataibatēs*. Also, Zeus *Ombrios* ("of rain showers), Zeus *Semaleos* ("who gives [weather] signs"), and Zeus *Hyetios* ("of rain) are non-thunder names touting his control over stormy forces (p. 60), while Zeus *Tropaios* refers to his control of victory (p. 64), which is derived from his control over the violent storm and thunder.
[75] Zaidman and Pantel 1992, 212.
[76] J. Mikalson, *Athenian Popular Religion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 69.

boundary stones, and Zeus *Polieus* watched over the city, while Zeus *Meilichios* watched over wealth and property.[77] That each Zeus received its own sacrifices at its own cult-site within this *deme* is, indeed, a significant reason to consider each Zeus a distinct divine entity, especially since this has all been recorded within this one calendar.

Mikalson also claims that the various Zeus *Phratrios* and Zeus *Boulaios* ("of the Council") manifestations were also thought of as their own distinct deities with their own independent cults.[78] While each of these Zeuses had its own political framework, which would be expected given the township nature of a *deme* in Attica, this requires us to assume that each Zeus *Phratrios* represented a distinct deity despite having the same name and epithet. However, Mikalson is not the only scholar to suggest that there are multiple low-level (and politically affiliated) Zeuses. R. Parker maintains that Zeus *Phratrios*, Zeus *Herkeios* ("Front court"), and Zeus *Ktesios* ("Possession") are specific distinct deities.[79] According to Parker, many of these so-called Zeuses may be distinct deities, but often they are not actually manifestations of the Olympian Zeus. Rather, he suggests that each Zeus *Phratrios* is the particular ancestral god of the members of each *patroos*, or patrilineal family.[80] Likewise, Zeus *Herkeios*, who guards fences, and Zeus

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[77] Xenophon reports that in 399 he became so poor that he had to sell his horse to finance the rest of this trip home. According to the soothsayer Eucleides that he visited, his poverty resulted from his neglect of Zeus *Meilichios*, to whom he had not sacrificed since beginning his journeys. To remedy his situation, he sacrificed to this Zeus, and his fortunes reversed the next day when Bion and Nausicleides arrived and repurchased the horse for Xenophon (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.8.1-6).

Zeus *Teleios* is associated with marriage, but this deity and epithet are very closely related to Zeus *Phratrios* since the marriage introduces a woman whose role is to provide a future member for the local phratry (R. Parker, *Athenian Religion*: *A History* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1996], 105). Given this intimate relationship between these two Zeuses, Zeus *Teleios* may also be understood, in part, as a guardian or protective deity (R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005], 440).

[78] Mikalson 1983, 70.

[79] Parker 2005, 17-22. Zeus *Herkeios* appears as a household god in the *Odyssey* 22.335 and *Herodotus* III 6.68.

[80] Parker 2005, 23. θεοὶ πατρῷοι occurs regularly in the plural, and other references are made elsewhere to "maternal" and "paternal" gods (Parker 2005, 23 n. 67). According to Parker, every male Athenian citizen

Ktesios, who safeguards property, are not simply Zeuses that are kept within a household and venerated within home cults; they are ancestral gods.[81] Thus, the question "have you a Zeus *Herkeios*?" refers to an individual's membership in a household (i.e., his bond of kinship), and a Zeus *Ktesios* is a reference to household wealth.[82] Whereas Mikalson claims that each of these Zeuses is a distinct deity, Parker argues that the issue is not about the distinctiveness of each entity as a different Zeus but that each entity is a lower-tiered deity that is in no way comparable to its Olympian namesake.

The six Zeus epithets from the Erchia cultic calendar may be distinct deities as Mikalson claims, but a further review of other Zeus epithets should be considered before drawing conclusions. According to Burkert, a god's epithets derive from various sources, ranging from obtaining them from a lesser deity after their identification, to describing the deity's relationship to a sanctuary or festival, to resulting from spontaneous praise of worshipers hoping for a moment of divine intervention, and from epic poetry and mythology.[83] For instance, Homer and Hesiod highlight Zeus's father and weather-god aspects with their use of epithets, and others allude to his power.[84] Other epithets common to Zeus include the already discussed Zeus *Herkeios* (*Iliad* 22.334-336, 11.772-

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belongs to a phratry, a hereditary association necessary for potential Athenian citizenship (Parker 1996, 104-105).

[81] Zaidman and Pantel 1992, 80; Parker 2005, 20-21 and 36.

[82] Parker 2005, 15-16 and 20. According to Parker, various objects have often been interpreted as "household gods" are really "ancestral gods": "none of the gods commonly found in or near Greek houses is straightforwardly represented in human form. Hestia is the hearth, Zeus Ktesios a pot, Apollo Aguieus a pillar, Hermes a block with head and phallus; Zeus Herkeios had an altar, but was perhaps not further represented. A strange collection they would make, lined up in a row (p. 19)!" He then quotes a Greek proverb, "any log can be made into a pillar or a god" (Epicharmus, *Fragment* 129, Parker's translation), to suggest these ancestral gods should be recognized as lower-tiered deities rather than forms of the Olympian Zeus (p. 19).

[83] Burkert 1985, 184.

[84] The epithets and attributes associated with Zeus in Homer and Hesiod highlight his role as father or family/clan leader, with πατὴρ (father) appearing in approximately one third of Zeus's invocations (G. Calhoun, "Zeus the Father in Homer," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 66 [1935]: 15-16). Hesiod calls him βασιλεύς, which relates his kingship, in his *Works and Days* (l. 668), *Theogony* (ll. 71, 886, and 923), and elsewhere.

775), as well as the hospitable Zeus *Xenios* ("Hospitality," *Odyssey* 9.271; *Iliad* 13.624f) and Zeus *Hiketesios* (*Odyssey* 13.213f.), who attends to guests and punishes those who violate hospitality.[85] Likewise, those taking oaths appeal to this deity as Zeus *Horkios* (*Odyssey* 22.334f.; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.24.9).

If Homer's and Hesiod's works were as well known among the ancient Greeks as has been suggested,[86] for the Greek worshiper, Zeus is the king of the gods, wherever he and his devotees reside, regardless of whatever is requested of him, of however he chooses to act, and by whatever epithet his name is supplemented. Envisioned as the grandchild of the original divine couple Gaea and Uranus in Hesiod's *Theogony*, there appears to have been room for Zeus's multiple roles, but not for multiple and distinct manifestations of Zeus. There is only one king.[87] Overall, it seems that Zeus's different attributes and epithets – be they geographic or not[88] – do not indicate the existence of

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[85] Calhoun 1935, 16.

[86] M. Lefkowitz suggests that every Greek would have been familiar with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as long as ancient Greek was spoken and notes that over 1000 papyri of Homer's work have survived, which is more than all other ancient authors combined and ten times the number of the second most common author, Euripides (M. Lefkowitz, *Greek Gods*, *Human Lives*: *What We Can Learn From Myths* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003], 10 and 53). Sissa and Detienne also note that the poems of Homer and Hesiod were supplemented with new poems at the open-recital competitions during the Pan-Hellenic games (Sissa and Detienne 2000, 148).

Regarding the popularity of Hesiod's writings, Heraclitus states in fragment 57, "For very many people Hesiod is <their> teacher"; whether Heraclitus means the larger populous or specifically educated men here is uncertain, but he continues, "They are certain he knew a great number of things – he who continually failed to recognize <even> day and night <for what they are>! For they are one (Heraclitus of Ephesus, *Fragments*: *A Text and Translation*, translated by T. M. Robinson [Toronto; University of Toronto Press, 1987], 38-39).

[87] For an additional discussion on the one-ness of Zeus and other Greek gods, especially how it relates to cult-statues and Mesopotamian gods, see "Fluidity in Classical Greece" (in Sommer 2009, 30-36).

[88] Many geographic epithets exist for Zeus: References to Zeus *Olympios* need not be restricted in meaning to the specific mountain between Thessaly and Macedonia but may refer to any mountain (Dowden 2006, 57). Evidence of Zeus *Olympios* worship has been recovered on St. Antonios in Macedonia (p. 58). However, Olympus is not the only mountain location appended onto Zeus's divine name: Zeus *Atabyrios* is worshiped at Mt. Atabyrion; Zeus *Hypatos* is worshiped at Mt. Hypatos (p. 61); Zeus *Lykaios* of Mt. Lykaion in southern Arcadia appears on coins (p. 68); Zeus *Laphystios* ("the Devourer"), at Mt. Laphystion, a cult which is also found at Halos in Thessaly (Zeus *Laphystios* is also known as Zeus *Akraios*, "of the peak," p. 70). Other geographical epithets include the generic Zeus *Polieus* ("of the city"); the specific Zeus *Larisaios* of Larisa (p. 60), and Zeus *Amarios* ("meeting-place," referring to the grove near Aigion, p.67); Zeus *Nemeios* at Nemea, home of the biannual Nemean Games, and Zeus *Apesantios*, at

multiple Zeuses in the Greek general population. Zeus may have been benevolent or malevolent, he may have resided at his court on Mt. Olympus, and he may have died and been buried at Crete (if you believe those lying Cretans). However, since there is only room for one supreme god, as attested by Homer, Hesiod and others, any manifestation – excepting household gods discussed above – of that supreme god is Zeus alone, with whatever name or epithet he possesses. In this regard, the religion of the elites – be they dramatists, poets, or philosophers – may have been mirrored, in part, by the official and non-official religion of the general population in ancient Greece.

D. The Multiple Manifestations of the Madonna

In their search of modern analogues to explain ancient conceptions of the divine, scholars of ancient cultures are tempted to discuss treatments of Mary in Roman Catholic tradition. Trying to explain the relationship between Zeus-the-Accomplisher and Zeus-the-Kindly within a particular locality, H. Llyod-Jones "remembers how in some parts of Italy villagers have been known to stone the Madonna of their neighbours."[89] Oddly, Llyod-Jones recalls this violent confrontation between madonnine cults simply to note that ancient Greek deities were associated with specific cult-titles at various cult-sites, without explaining that madonnine cults often have their own particular titles for that particularly local Madonna. E. Bevan also mentions Marian manifestations to explain Greek religion. He mentions the goddess Hera's ability to animate more than one image at a time without being limited to any or all of those images, which reminds him of the treatment of local Madonnas by nineteenth and twentieth-century Italian peasants:

Mt. Apesas (p.71); and the netherworldly Zeus *Khthonios* (Zaidman and Pantel 1992, 48), as well as the other Crete-based epithets listed above.

[89] Lloyd-Jones 2001, 462.

> If any peasant were pressed to explain his beliefs, he would probably say that the Mother of God who lives in heaven works miracles on the earth through her images, and that his local image is a more favoured instrument for the Madonna than the Madonna of another district.[90]

Both scholars point to the Italian infighting over the Madonnas, but each draws a slightly different conclusion about the Mary they represent. Bringing this analogy into classical Greek religious tradition, Lloyd-Jones suggests that those who venerate one manifestation of Zeus may not fully accept the legitimacy of a competing local Zeus, whereas Bevan paints any potential Zeus rivalry as being not about legitimacy but about status and hierarchy. More intriguing, however, is how each scholar uses this modern example to present a different conclusion about the nature of those classic manifestations. For Lloyd-Jones, the different epithets and cults represent "not quite the same" Zeuses,[91] but for Bevan, the images are ultimately local mascots of the same heavenly being.[92]

In addition to this observed Italian infighting, the anecdote about the education of an ex-seminarian in Montegrano is occasionally enlisted by scholars to highlight the multiplicity of the Madonna in popular Italian religious thought. For example, in her discussion of Ištar-of-Arbela and Ištar-of-Nineveh, Porter quotes the ex-seminarian's encounter with an elderly woman: "When a young candidate for the priesthood instructed an elderly woman that there is only one Madonna, she replied scornfully, 'You studied with the priests for eight years and you haven't even learned the differences between the Madonnas!'"[93] Unlike Lloyd-Jones's and Bevan's conclusions, this anecdote is meant to highlight the perceived distinctiveness of the five Madonnas venerated in Montegrano:

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[90] Bevan 1940, 20.
[91] Lloyd-Jones 2001, 462.
[92] Bevan 1940, 21.
[93] Porter 2004, 44 n. 16.

> (1) the Madonna of Pompei, whose miracles are well known in Montegrano; (2) the Madonna of Carmine, whose feast is celebrated in a nearby town; (3) the Madonna of Peace, who is honored in Montegrano with a feast and with a statue erected after World War I and to whom mothers prayed for their sons at war; (4) the Madonna of Assunta, the protectress of one of the Montegrano churches; and (5) The Madonna Addolorata, most commonly identified with the mother of Christ.[94]

Thus, rather than instilling any form of competition (e.g., challenging legitimacy or status) at the popular level between the madonnine cults, this anecdote suggests that these multiple Madonnas are viewed as distinct yet complementary entities in the minds of the local worshipers. This also exemplifies the original definition of *Volksfrömmigkeit*, or folk/popular religion, discussed in chapter 2: the differences between the official doctrine of the Catholic Church as represented by the priest-trained ex-seminarian and the beliefs of the (European peasant) general lay population as represented by the elderly woman.

This relatively short list of the Montegrano Madonna offered by Banfield is quite revealing in several ways. These five Madonnas include descriptive as well as geographic epithets, including two (i.e., the Madonna-of-Pompei and Madonna-of-Carmine) who are venerated in Montegrano even though they originate from nearby towns and are not themselves native to the community.[95] The other three are descriptive epithets that refer to characteristics of the Madonna or moments in her life. The Madonna-of-Peace answers prayers on behalf of the soldiers' safety during war, while the Madonna-of-Assunta ("of the Assumption") plays a similar role protecting the local churches instead of just the

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[94] E. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958), 131.
[95] According to M. Carroll, geographic epithets are the second most common type of epithets that Italians have attributed to Mary; the primary type reveals her willingness to dispense favors (M. Carroll, *Madonnas that Maim*: *Popular Catholicism in Italy since the Fifteenth Century* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992], 62).

soldiers. Finally, Madonna-Addolorata ("laden with sorrow") represents the Virgin Mary who suffers on account of the death of her son.[96]

This willingness to view these Madonnas with different epithets, or last names, as distinct and independent Madonnas is by no means limited to the city of Montegrano in southern Italy.[97] Indeed, these five Madonnas pale in comparison to the list of Marian epithets derived from prayers, confraternities, or papal indulgences, each with its own associated prayers or rituals, and each officially approved by the Catholic Church:

> Immaculate Conception, the Name of Mary, the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament, Our Lady of Lourdes, Our Lady of Fatima, Our Lady of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Miracles, Queen of the Rosary, Mother of Sorrows, Our Lady of the Angels, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Our Lady Help of Christians, Our Lady of Mt Carmel, Our Lady of Reparation, Our Lady of Mercy, Our Lady of Compassion, Our Lady Help of the Sick, Our Lady of Hope.[98]

This list of epithets is far from complete. G. Medica's sample of 697 Marian sanctuaries in Italy alone reveals 397 unique titles.[99] The plethora of titles is not the limit of each Madonna's identity; in addition to a title, each Madonna has a sanctuary, a festival, processions, and a cult place. Moreover, many of these Madonnas have their own iconography to distinguish them from other Madonnas. For example, Madonna-del-

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[96] M. Carroll, *Veiled Threats*: *The Logic of Popular Catholicism in Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 93. Significantly, Banfield only identifies the Madonna-Addolorata as having associations with the mother of Christ; though, admittedly the Madonna-of-Assunta's epithet does reference another moment in the life of Mary, mother of the Christ.

[97] The pastor of the Diocese of Asti recorded in 1742 that the 296 families who comprised the community of Priocca, Italy, venerated four distinct Madonnas (Carroll 1992, 60).

[98] M. Carroll, *Catholic Cults & Devotions*: *A Psychological Inquiry* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 155.

[99] G. Medica, *I santuari mariani d'Italia* (Torino: Leumann, 1965); Carroll 1992, 62. Medica distinguishes between the various different primary manifestations of the Madonna in the index, identifying each one as SM (Santa Maria), MS (Maria Santissima), Md (Madonna), BV (Beata Vergine), NS (Nostra Signora), ND (Notre Dame), and Rg (Regina; Medica, 1965, 749).

Rosario always holds a rosary and appears with San Domenico, whereas the Madonna-di-Monte-Berico is a pudgy Madonna when compared to the others.[100]

Significantly, in addition to their own feasts, processions, and offerings, these various madonnine images are recognized as undeniably distinct, as revealed through interviews with respondents from the Meszzogiorno region in the 1970s who described the different Madonnas as "sisters":

> You have the idea of a group of friends, brothers, or sisters; for example, the various figures of the Madonna are connected through the idea of sisters or of friends, which is considered its own real society…[101]

Use of this kinship terminology can be traced back over to 1635 in the Cathedral at Melfi, where that Madonna's statue would visit two other churches during a procession through the city. Both of these churches contained madonnine images that were considered related to the Cathedral's Madonna on procession. This notion of kinship among images is so pervasive throughout Italy that madonnine multiplicity can be described as *imparentamento delle madonne* ("causing the madonnas to become relatives of one another").[102] Of the various religious traditions thus far examined, the sisterhoodship of these images and their co-existent-nature in ritual most closely resembles the Neo-Assyrian cultic processions and rituals that explicitly list Ištar-of-Arbela and Ištar-of-Nineveh as co-participants, including those rituals contained in BM 121206.

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[100] Carroll 1992, 63. Medica's illustration of the Madonna-di-Monte-Berico at Venice (Medica 1965, 189) is not nearly as pudgy as either Carroll (or a Google-image search for the Madonna) suggests.

[101] "Si ha l'idea del gruppo di amici o di fratelli o di sorelle, per esempio le varie figure di madonne sono collegate con l'idea delle sorelle o delle amiche per cui si determina un vero e proprio sociogramma…" (G. Provitera, "L'edicola votive e le sue funzioni," in *Questione meridionale*, *religione*, *e classi subalterne*, [ed. F. Saija; Napoli: Guida, 1978], 343; my translation).

[102] Carroll 1992, 66. Carroll cites an Italian study by Corrain and Zampini, which provides the verb "to cause to become relatives of one another" (C. Corrain and P. Zampinim, *Documenti etnografici e folkloristici nei diocesani italiani* [Bologna: Forni, 1970], 150).

a. Mary and Accusations of Idolatry

In Catholic theology, the saints and the Virgin Mary play the roles of intercessor between the devotee and God, typically obtaining benefits from God for the devotee as divine power brokers.[103] Officially the plethora of Marian epithets and madonnine titles are all linked to one particular Mary, the "prototype" of "our undefiled Lady the Holy Mother of God," as attested already in the Second Council of Nicea in 787:

> For by so much more frequently as [Christ, Mary, the angels and the saints] are seen in artistic representation, by so much more readily are men lifted up to the memory of their prototypes, and to a longing after them; and to these should be given due salutation and honorable reverence, not indeed that true worship of faith which pertains alone to the divine nature; but to these, as to the figure of the precious and life-giving Cross and to the Book of the Gospels and to the other holy objects, incense and lights may be offered according to ancient pious custom (The Decree of the Holy, Great, Ecumenical Synod, the Second of Nice, vol.7, col. 552 [NPNF^2 14:550]).

The images of Mary, according to the council, were intended to remind the worshiper of the reverence due her as one of the community of Catholic saints; only God was to be worshiped.[104] As mere reminders, however, the images are not to be construed as possessing any efficacy themselves; such conceptions were tantamount to idolatry, or fetishism.[105] This is what the reformers Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin feared about the

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[103] E. A. Johnson, "Saints and Mary," in *Systematic Theology*: *Roman Catholic Perspectives* (eds. F. Schüssler Fiorenza and J. Galvin; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 2:150; R. P. McBrien, *Catholicism* (Minneapolis: Winston, 1980), 2:873-874 and 891-892. Johnson notes that during the period of Christian persecution by the Romans, the saints and martyrs served as followers of Christ who still participated in the continued community between the living and the dead (Johnson 1991, 2:149). Rather than acting yet as mediators between the living and the Christ, these early martyrs and saints were fellow disciples who were revered as faithful examples of devoted Christians. Official church statements have restressed this primary role of the saints and Mary numerous times in the past two millennia, including chapter 8 from the Second Vatican Council's *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*, "The Role of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, in the Mystery of Christ and the Church" (McBrien 1980, 2:882-883; Johnson 1991, 2:157-158). McBrien emphasizes this role of the saints as models rather than mediators by stating that "it is not because Mary and the saints have the power of influence with God that they are objects of veneration and devotion. Rather it is because the grace of God has triumphed *in them*" (McBrien 1980, 2:891; his emphasis).

[104] Johnson 1991, 2:151.

[105] McBrien defines fetishism as the identification of the sacred object with the divine in Christianity (McBrien 1980, 1:257), and he defines idolatry as the worshiping of a physical object itself rather than the

intermediary role between the images and the laity and why they shied away from them.[106] Though the reforms accepted the Catholic tradition of Mary's purity, they objected to ascribing to Mary other qualities that should only be applied to God, "e.g., 'our life, our sweetness, and our hope.'"[107] Likewise, the Synod of Pistoia in 1786 warned against the people investing intrinsic value in any madonnine images:

> …the holy Synod wants you to fully eradicate the harmful custom of distinguishing certain images, especially (those) of the Virgin with special titles and names.[108]

Moreover, in an attempt to enforce the rulings of the Synod of Pistoia, Leopold II limited the number of images any particular church could display of the Madonna:

> No church will be lawfully permitted to keep more than one image of any saint, and of the Blessed Virgin, in particular. The different images and the different titles have raised and nourished a thousand problems and *a thousand strange ideas among the people*, *as though there were different Blessed Marys because she is invoked under different titles*.[109]

Thus, whether evidenced by the promotion of images at Nicea or the restriction of images at Pistoia or by Protestant Reformers, the impression remained that these images of the saints – and especially those of the Madonna – could effectively generate devotion from

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divine entity it is meant to represent because this equates the finite with the infinite (i.e., God; 1:xiv). In this specific case, the images in the churches are idols because they receive worship that should have been directed at God. McBrien later notes that not only can sacred physical objects become idols, but they themselves can be the cause behind idolatry: "We can make an idol even of the Church or of the institutional elements within the Church" (2:978).

[106] McBrien 1980, 2:877. This is not to say that the Reformers wholly rejected the veneration of saints, including Mary. Instead, Johnson notes, Lutherans thanked God for Mary and the saints, who served as model Christians whose piety and devotion to God should be imitated (Johnson 1991, 2:152). What the Reformers rejected was the invocation of Mary and the saints as mediators between humankind and God, which they considered Christ's role.

[107] McBrien 1980, 2:877.

[108] "…vuole il santo Sindodo, che ti tolga assatto il pernicioso costume di distinguere certe date Imagini, specialmente della Vergine con titoli e nomi particolari" (*Atti e decreti del concilio diocesano di Pistoia dell'anno 1786*, volume 1 [Florence: L. S. Olschki Editore, 1986] 202, ll. 22-25; my translation).

[109] "Non sarà parimente lecito tenere nella stessa chiesa più d'un' imagine dell'istesso santo e particolarmente della Vergine Santissima. Le diverse immagini e I diversi titoli hanno suscitato e nudrito mille inconvenienti e mille strane idee nel popolo, come se fosse una diversa persona Maria Santissima, perchè è invocata sotto diversi titoli" (S. Ricci, *Memorie di Scipinoe de'Ricci*: *Vescovo di Prato e Pistoia* [Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1865], 2:337-338; my translation and emphasis; see also, 2:322-323).

among the general population, and, as Leopold claimed, they could even inspire the laity to revere each image as a distinct Madonna with its own distinct supernatural identity. Likely this transition from a prototypical pictorial representation of Madonna (with a title to inspire the faithful) to idolatry (when the faithful worshiped her) was not limited to the eighth, sixteenth, and eighteenth centuries C.E. but existed in some fashion throughout the previous millennium.

b. Official Support for Local Madonnas

In what could perhaps be considered contrary to the findings and suggestions of the Synod of Pistoia and Leopold II, the Catholic Church as an institution encourages local madonnine cults and their images,[110] and in this regard, the church does tacitly sanction a splintering of Madonnas despite its official position that there is only one Mary.[111] This is because the promotion of local madonnine cults is beneficial to both the local population and the larger church body. As with the promotion of saints' relics, where the accumulation of private collections of relics may have encouraged the faithful but simultaneously promoted the locale as a locus of political power,[112] the local church benefits from the promotion of a local Marian shrine. Pilgrims may travel to shrines and leave behind donations, but the true advantage of local Marian shrines is the religious

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[110] According to Carroll, no madonnine cult can survive without the official support of the church (Carroll 1986, 222). As one example of this need for official church encouragement, Carroll notes that in post-reformation times, the popular madonnine cult "Our Lady of Walsingham" in Britain was quickly razed and the associated feminine entity morphed into "the Witch of Walsingham." With Protestant zeal leading the church in England, the pro-Madonna, Catholic clergy were purged, and the cult died (p. 221).
[111] Carroll 1992, 164.
[112] R. Markus, "How on Earth Could Places Become Holy?" *JECS* 2 (1994): 271; J. Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage*: *the Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah: Hidden Spring, 2003), 32-34; J. C. Cruz, *Relics*: *The Shroud of Turin*, *the True Cross*, *the Blood of Januarius….History*, *Mysticism*, *and the Catholic Church* (Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor, 1984), 5.

autonomy that they provide the locale from the central Church.[113] Often these shrines are in rural communities, so the object of devotion becomes a point of pride for the locals, who no longer need to look to the regional, urban center for religious instruction; the shrine now serves as their center with its own clergy.

Another advantage of the local madonnine cult, especially in Italian communities, is the devotee's proximity to the Madonna, which is thought to increase the chances of her granting the devotee's request.[114] According to M. Carroll, this proximity issue is especially important because – in the popular Italian Catholic mind – each madonnine physical image serves as the source of its own power; it is not dependent upon Christ or anyone else.[115] That a madonnine image could effect such power is very much in contrast with orthodox Catholic belief.[116] Indeed, for McBrien, these popular beliefs highlight a potential pitfall of overstressing divine immanence in religion, namely fetishism.[117] However, Carroll notes that in popular Italian piety, as independently powerful entities these images crave veneration and are willing to exchange favors or become noticeably animate (e.g., bleed, cry, sweat, talk, or suddenly appear to devotees) in order to initiate or continue a following at their cult.[118] This self-interested desire of the madonnine images is even discussed by devotional commentators:

> Thirty-four years ago there was an image of the Madonna of Pietà that was painted on the wall of the garden of Fransesco di Sangro, Duke of Torremaggiore.

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[113] W. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 91; Carroll 1986, 133.
[114] Carroll 1996, 46.
[115] Carroll 1996, 28.
[116] Johnson 1991, 2:152; McBrien 1980, 2:1065.
[117] McBrien 1980, 1:257.
[118] Carroll 1996, 45. Comparing Carroll's observations about the post-Enlightenment Italian villagers' piety with McBrien's report of orthodox Catholic dogma perfectly exemplifies the situation for which the term *Volksfrömmigkeit* was created.

> *Not wanting to be held with so little respect*, it began to dispense a great quantity of miracles (D. Cesare D'Engenio Caracciolo, the Neapolitan, 1623).[119]

D'Engenio readily attributed the miracle to the image rather than the prototypical Madonna when he stated that the image desired more respect than it had been receiving. Though this statement does not explicitly discuss the local image in contrast to other madonnine images or statues, the treatment of and reverence given specifically to this image suggests that devotees would not mistakenly credit another Madonna with the miracles credited to the one in the Duke of Torremaggiore's garden. Indeed, to do so would have undermined the reason that this image of the Madonna of Pietà began granting miracles in the first place, namely, to garner attention and devotion at her particular cult.

This discussion of the various celebrated and venerated Madonnas, primarily in Italy, does not attempt to suggest that these examples are representative of Catholicism in general or even of a majority of faithful Catholics. Rather, it serves to demonstrate that the general population's conceptions can conflict with the orthodox, or official, religion and demonstrate how entities with common first names but differing titles, epithets, or last names can, in fact, be viewed as entities distinct from each other. In many of these instances, each entity – be it represented by a statue, image, or other physical object – shares the common first name "Madonna" and has its own last name, which can derive from its geography, its role in mediation, an attribute, or describing Mary's unique

[119] "Sono già 34.anni, che nel muro della parte del giardino di Fransesco di Sangro Duca di Torremaggiore stava dipinta l'Imagine della Madonna della Pietà, la qual no volle con si poca riuerenza esser tenuta, cominciando à risplender di grandiffimi miracoli…" (D. Cesare D'Engenio, *Napoli Sacra* [Napoli: Ottavio Beltrano, 1623], 262, my translation and emphasis).

position within history or within the saintly/heavenly community.[120] Of course, Mary, "the Virgin" and even "Our Lady" may also appear as common first names with distinct last names. In some instances, these Madonnas appear to be in conflict with each other, where some simply try to divert attention to themselves without regard to competing Madonnas or the orthodox's one Madonna.

E. Implications for the Present Study

This brief survey of proposed comparable examples of splintered divinity in Hindu, classical Greek, and Catholic traditions has found that the most appropriate comparison to the issues concerning Ištar's multiplicity Mesopotamian tradition may be the treatment of madonnine images in (particularly Italian) Catholic tradition, wherein sister madonnas visit each other during processions. The fact that distinct madonnine cults have their own festivals, offerings, rituals, and images may be suggestive of a madonnine multiplicity in the mind of the general population, but this is more difficult for the scholar to demonstrate definitively than is the overt appearance of sister Marys meeting each other in a parade route.

Likewise, some scholars note that different Zeus cults, each with its own rites, images, festivals, and offerings, may be distinct manifestations of a multiplicity of Zeuses, but complete separation – be they separate households, polities, or regions – of these multiple cults seem more indicative of human possessiveness than of the divine splintering suggested for Neo-Assyrian Ištars. The dual nature of Zeus as sky/chthonic deity appears to be an incomplete or unsuccessful equation of two distinct gods rather

[120] A late nineteenth-century C.E. example includes a Madonna whose title consists of both a devotional attribute and a geographic indicator: the Madonna-del-Rosario-di-Pompei (B. Longo, *Storia del santuario di Pompei* [Pompei: Pontificio santuario di Pompei, 1890], 1:120, 188, and 205).

than two contradictory Zeuses within the Greek pantheon. A simple explanation for the two-part ritual in the Erchia calendar may be highlighting the complexity of the deity, which should serve as a warning for scholars against streamlining or minimizing the personality of any god; just as human beings are complex and sometimes contradictory characters, their gods should be granted this complexity as well.

Finally, the presented material of Hindu *avatāras* and Egyptian syncretization suggest that these phenomena are quite incomparable to the equation or identification of Mesopotamian deities. Hinduism's *avatāras* of a particular god do exist completely separate of each other, but their existences are limited to distinct epochs of time so that they are not coexistent in the same way Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela may be. Moreover, many of the *avatāras* are originally local divine entities that were later identified with a particular deity, so any potential splintering label is better understood as an incomplete equation or identification. And, in ancient Egypt, the term syncretism refers to the temporary indwelling of one god within another rather than the equation or identification of deities as used in Mesopotamian or classical discussions. Perhaps new ethnographic studies conducted in India or in the United States would produce evidence of distinct and contemporary *avatāras* for a single divine name or entity, at which time Hinduism should be reconsidered as a model for Mesopotamian conceptions of the divine.

Despite the inexact comparisons between these non-Mesopotamian religious traditions and Mesopotamian traditions – or perhaps because of the many inexact comparisons – insights about what constitutes distinct manifestations of a divine name have been revealed. This is especially true as it relates to the avowed coexistence,

cooperation, and/or interaction of the distinct manifestations as opposed to the rites and rituals that are specific to one particular manifestation. For this reason, when examining Akkadian and other Mesopotamian, Anatolian, and Levantine texts, special focus is placed on the coexistence, cooperation, and/or interaction of distinct Ištar, Baal, and other deities with common first names. Before a discussion of these specific deities and their manifestations can occur, however, we must return to the elitist sphere of Mesopotamian knowledge, namely, the lexical god-list and speculative/esoteric hymnal traditions that Assyriologists use to argue that not only are deities with common first names the same deity but also that deities with different first names are also the same deity. Chapter 4 explores Assyriologists, their cultural and theological biases, and their interpretations concerning divine first names, while chapter 5 discusses the nature of these traditions and how they inadequately reflect the piety of the general population in ancient Mesopotamia.

CHAPTER 4: POLYTHEISM, MULTIPLICITY, AND ASSYRIOLOGY

Recognizing the difference between official religion and non-official religion not only explains how contradictory views coexist within a culture but also makes the observer mindful of the sources that those views represent. Moreover, an awareness of official and non-official religion makes the Assyriologist aware of other biases he or she may bring to the study of Mesopotamian religious traditions. Some potential biases are the privileging of official sources over non-official sources; portraying Mesopotamian religion as more philosophically or theologically sophisticated in order to appeal to a modern audience; making Mesopotamian polytheism more relatable to a Western, monotheistic audience; and presenting Mesopotamian religion as an inevitable step in a religious evolution that ultimately led to that same Western, monotheistic religion. This and the following chapter examine some biases that indirectly influence Assyriologists' interpretations of the relationship between deities sharing common first names. Occasionally, their biases reflects the scholar's Western, monotheistic background, but more often their biases privilege ancient scholarly religious treatises over evidence produced by less-well educated scribes.[1]

The second-millennium B.C.E. lexical god-list *An = Anum* provides approximately 2000 divine names in its series of seven tablets, but the mid-third-millennium Fara lists provide only about 500 names. The additional names in *An = Anum* in no way, however, suggest that membership in the Mesopotamian pantheon grew fourfold over the course of the intervening 1000 years. The opposite would be the case, in

[1] These biases are also manifest among scholars of Hittite, Ugaritic, and biblical religions, but Assyriologists have been (largely) singled out in this and the following chapter because of the relatively vast amounts of Akkadian and Sumerian texts available that name numerous deities (e.g., lexical god-lists, royal inscriptions, letters) and are used as evidence for the equation of deities. These biases and issues are addressed in chapters 7, 8, and 10 for Hittite, Ugaritic, and biblical religions, respectively.

fact, since *An = Anum* represents a syncretistic tradition in which most of the divine names are said to be alternative names for the major deities and their families and entourages. The Fara tablets with their acrographic or acrophonic arrangement, on the other hand, need not suggest any syncretistic tendencies as do many later and better understood god-lists; instead, this tradition simply recorded as many divine names as possible for posterity. Because the Fara god-lists seem to lack *An = Anum*'s syncretistic agenda, the Fara tradition appears to reflect a larger pantheon than does the *An = Anum* series. Whatever the potential size of the Mesopotamian pantheons found in these lists, Sumerian numerology would suggest that an ideal pantheon would include 3600 gods, a number representing the "countless" aspect of the gods.[2] Understood as a totality, not all 3600 deities would be named because, as a collective, they encompass more than any lists of names could represent. Being able to name them all would necessarily diminish their countless totality quantitatively. In a culture where names are fundamental and meaningful aspects of an entity's nature and being, being able to name the totality of the gods would also diminish them qualitatively: they would become a known and accessible entity. This is why, the numerous princely Anunnakkū gods are not differentiated by

[2] *CAD* Š/2, *šār* mng. 1b. In Sumerian's sexagesimal reckoning, this ideal number is obtained by squaring the base unit 60. The fact that there are 600 nameless Anunnakkū in *Enūma eliš* (VI 38-45), or ten times the sexagesimal base, reinforces the unknown and unknowable quality of a 3600 member Sumerian pantheon.

Bottéro comments that A. Deimel counted 3300 divine naes in his 1914 work *Pantheon babylonicum* and that K. Tallqvist counted about 2400 names in his 1938 work *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (Bottéro 2001, 45); however, these counts include deities venerated at any time in Mesopotamian history and sometimes count epithets as deities. According to traditions drawn from Bhagavad-Gita 10.39, all beings are unique manifestations of God, so all gods are but One. Despite this tradition, Brihadaranyaka Upanisahd III ix 1 states that there are three and three hundred gods and three and three thousand gods, though this also states there is but one god. According to another tradition, someone counted the Hindu gods and concluded there were 3.3 million, but how he arrived at this number is not described (H. Ellinger, *Hinduism* [trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM Press Ltd, 1995], 9). Variations on this 3.3 million include the astounding 330 million.

name. Neither are the 50 deities who appear in the Sumerian hymns at Girsu named, nor are the 600 appointed by Marduk to guard the sky and the earth in *Enūma eliš*.[3]

A. Western Biases about Emergent Monotheism: Bottéro, Lambert, and Parpola

This countless aspect of the 3600 gods – or even the 600 Anunnakkū – is precisely what J. Bottéro and W. G. Lambert claim lay behind the many Sumerian syncretisms. In Bottéro's reconstruction of the prehistoric Sumerians, the divine world was disordered and in need of organization and a supreme representative.[4] This disorder was partially due to the fact that the larger Sumerian pantheon became exceedingly vast because "[t]heir tradition proposed innumerable divinities to them, and their reasoning rejected none of them."[5] In Sumerian tradition, many personalities and objects can be potentially sacred, and none should be denied divinity. As discussed in chapter 1, this divine potentiality extended to physical objects (e.g., cult-statues and cult-instruments), and several physical objects already appear in the Fara god-lists with divine determinatives (see chapter 5). However, according to Bottéro, even as the Sumerians recognized the innumerable amount of deities, they could only revere one deity at a time, who acted as the representative of them all. The multitude of gods inevitably dispersed the worshiper's religious energies, so the Sumerians had to compensate by relying on syncretism and henotheism (or monolatry).[6] Syncretism made the pantheon manageable

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[3] "Auna (Anunnakkū)," in Black and Green 2000, 34. Black and Green suggest that the original ten great gods of the Old Babylonian period, the Igigū, came to be understood as another collective term for the heavenly gods in the later periods ("Igigū," in Black and Green 2000, 106).
[4] Bottéro 2001, 51.
[5] Bottéro 2001, 42.
[6] Bottéro defines "henotheism" in contrast to "monotheism" in that it "admits the plurality of the gods but is interested in and attached at least *hic et nunc*, to only one of them. It is, in a certain way, a higher form of polytheism" (Bottéro 2001, 42). The Concise Oxford Dictionary "henotheism" as "adherence to one particular god out of several" and defines "monolatry" as "the worship of one god without denial of the

for the human mind, while monolatry allowed the individual to more easily experience the divine. With the aid of this "higher form of polytheism," the individual could project himself "entirely onto one single personality, not in principle, but in fact."[7] This is why Bottéro suggests that focusing on just one of the many gods to the exclusion of all others should be considered a rather early phenomenon in Mesopotamian religious history. In his reconstruction, the totality and vastness of the pantheon necessitated focus upon a single member.

In contrast to Bottéro's short path to unavoidable monolatry, Lambert envisions an extremely long path that led to a qualified monotheism. In Lambert's account, each village depended not only upon its patron deity and his or her family and entourage, but it also depended on the multitude of other natural forces that humans encounter.[8] Each of these forces is personified and worshiped; however, unlike Bottéro's version, Lambert believes that, already in prehistoric times, the larger Sumerian pantheon was organized to avoid redundancy and reduce the number of deities. However, despite the controls exerted by theologians, "a primeval chaos" existed in the prehistoric Sumerian regional pantheon because of the plethora of minor deities acting as patrons for minor villages.[9] In order to reign in the chaos, the theologians first tried categorization, which spurred the creation of the lexical god-lists. Then they began explicitly identifying separate deities.

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extistance of other gods" (*Concise Oxford Dictionary* [ed. J. Pearsall; 10th ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999], 663 and 921). Because the nuance between henotheism and monolatry is slight, "monolatry" will be used throughout this dissertation with the hope that the prefix "mono" is more familiar to the reader than is "heno" as a signifier of "one (deity of concern)." Bottéro defines "syncretism" as do most Assyriologists by using the term in its classical sense to indicate that two deities, one of whom is of foreign origin, have been indentified with each other (Bottéro 2001, 46). He then expands his definition by describing what has been described above as "identification" or "equation" by considering the Sumerian god Ninurta identification with "Uraš, Zababa, Papsukkal, Lugalbanda, Ningirsu, etc." as syncretism.

[7] Bottéro 2001, 42 and 43.

[8] W. G. Lambert, "The Historical Development of the Mesopotamian Pantheon: A Study in Sophisticated Polytheism," in *Unity and Diversity*: *Essays in the history*, *literature*, *and religion of the ancient Near East* (eds. H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 192.

[9] Lambert 1975, 193.

Eventually, poet scribes wrote syncretistic hymns of praise, singling out individual deities as having numerous names (e.g., Nanaya, Marduk, and Ninurta).

Whereas Bottéro sees monolatry everywhere and monotheism nowhere in ancient Mesopotamia,[10] Lambert dismisses the early cultic hymns of praise that only invoke one deity as evidence for monolatry and distinguishes them from the later syncretistic hymns. Instead, Lambert interprets these early hymns as "harmless hyperbole."[11] For Lambert, the Mesopotamian procession toward monotheism does not appear in earnest until the first millennium, after centuries of new lexical lists building upon the syncretisms of previous ones, and the syncretistic hymn to Marduk is the strongest evidence of Mesopotamian monotheism.[12]

Perhaps the most spirited discussion of emergent monotheism in ancient Mesopotamia comes from S. Parpola. While admitting that one can defend the argument that ancient Assyrian religion was a polytheistic religion, Parpola suggests that Assyrian religion – especially as expressed in the Neo-Assyrian period – was neither exclusively nor primarily polytheistic, but "*essentially monotheistic*."[13] The multiple divine names of the Assyrian pantheon are simply hypostatizations or attributes of "*the only true* God," understood by Parpola to be a transcendent entity.[14] For Parpola, this monotheistic tendency is not limited to the theological speculations of an elite priestly group; instead, Aššur was recognized as an imperial and universal deity by most Assyrians, as well as by

[10] Bottéro points out that these hymns of praise, e.g., Foster's so-called "Syncretic Hymn to Marduk," should only be understood as pious assertions rather than be taken literally. Such a hymn reveals a vague monolatry, not a literal monotheism (Bottéro 2001, 57).
[11] "Hymns of praise to deities even say that there exists no other god than the one being addressed. This is not monotheism, but harmless hyperbole" (Lambert 1975, 194).
[12] Lambert 1975, 198.
[13] S. Parpola, "Monotheism in Ancient Assyria," in *One God or Many*? (2000) 165 (italics original).
[14] Parpola 2000, 166 (italics original).

Assyria's vassals and their people.[15] Parpola explicitly cites biblical conceptions of the Israelite god to support his claim that the Assyrians worshiped a monotheistic deity. First, he notes that the morphologically plural Hebrew word *elōhîm* can either mean the plural "the gods" or the singular "God,"[16] a reference to the monotheistic god Yahweh. By analogy, the Akkadian phrases "the great gods" and even "Aššur and the great gods," along with several other variations, may be understood as references to the monotheistic god Aššur.

Scholars often use comparative evidence from Mesopotamian culture or religion to illuminate Israelite culture or religion, especially when Israelite evidence is lacking. Likewise, while it is also not unknown – or necessarily uncommon – to use Israelite evidence to illuminate Mesopotamian religion or culture, rarely is such a method employed when there is already plenty of evidence native to the Mesopotamian world. However, Parpola does not limit himself to an isolated analogy regarding the singularity or multiplicity of the gods. Although he prefers to consider the Assyrian manifestations as precedents for the later Christian phenomena, in effect, what Parpola suggests is that Christian theological conceptions, including the Holy Spirit and Trinity, can be used to better understand the monotheism of ancient Assyria.[17] Accepting Parpola's connections

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[15] Parpola suggests that evidence of this can be found within the credo of the Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (VTE): "in the future and forever Aššur shall be your god, and Assurbanipal shall be your lord," which he argues is drastically similar in tone to the Islamic credo, "There is no god except Allah, and Muhammad is his envoy" (Parpola 2000, 167).

[16] Parpola 2000, 167. Parpola suggests the Phoenician and Punic cognate may also function as both singular and plural p. 167 n. 5).

[17] Mullissu/Ištar is said to be an early version, or "precursor," of the Gnostic Holy Spirit (Parpola 2000, 195); the Assyrian Father, Mother, and Son god groups are said to be Gnostic Trinities (p. 204). Parpola also likens Paul's treatment of the Christ to the Assyrians' treatment of their king (p. 190).

Parpola's earlier treatments of Assyrian monotheism and other concepts as precedents for later Jewish and Christian phenomena are no less subtle or controversial than this more recent treatment: "The Assyrian Tree of Life: Tracing the Origins of Jewish Monotheism and Greek Philosophy," *JNES* 52 (1993a): 161-208 and the introduction to *Assyrian Prophecies* (SAA 9; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1997a), XVIII-XLIV.

between Neo-Assyrian imperial religious thought and proto-Orthodox and Gnostic strains of Christianity and kabbalistic thought in Judaism requires overlooking the highly christological statements that permeate his discussions.[18] Moreover, a cumulative examination of Parpola's evidence and the flowery descriptions of the pertinent biblical material reveal that his true focus is on the Christian and other later beliefs he discusses.[19]

While Parpola's claims and methods have been challenged,[20] our present concern revolves less around the overt methodologies he employs to reach his conclusions than around demonstrating how Western and Christian cultural and religious biases can compromise a scholar's perception of a foreign religion or theology. The modern scholar's inclination to identify, equate, or syncretize multiple divine names and personalities into one god may be further intensified due to Western culture's monotheistic – and perhaps, especially, its Trinitarian Christian as in Parpola's case – heritage. Conceptualizing the divine world as One has been a tenet of Western culture for most of the common era, as B. Saler asserts; regardless of scholars' religious beliefs or upbringing, they are influenced by Western academic paradigms and definitions of categories, such as "religion" and "deity," which subtly promotes a Western ethnocentrism.[21] While scholars may be aware of their culturally inherited biases, the difficulty in distancing themselves from this culture – a culture in which most people are

[18] In his first article, Parpola likens the Christ and Father of Christian theology with Ninurta/Nabû and his father (Parpola 1993a, 205).
[19] Parpola describes some Mesopotamian hymns about the *bīt rimki* ritual as so beautiful that they can easily pass for biblical psalms (S. Parpola, "Mesopotamian Astrology and Astronomy as Domains of the Mesopotamian 'Wisdom,'" in *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens*, *Beiträge zum 3. Grazer Morgenländischen Symposion* (*23.-27. September 1991*) [ed. H. Gaiter; Graz: GrazKult, 1993c] 3:54).
[20] J. Cooper notes that Parpola is overly excited and too enthusiastic throughout his earlier essays on the subject and that he fails to notice his need to read the tenets of these later religions back into Assyrian religious thought (J. Cooper, "Assyrian Prophecies, the Assyrian Tree, and the Mesopotamian Origins of Jewish Monotheism, Greek Philosophy, Christian Theology, Gnosticism, and Much More," *JAOS* 120 [2000]: 440-442).
[21] Saler 2000, 8.

so intimately bound to Christianity that the concepts of Christianity and religion are almost synonymous – may still compromise the integrity of their scholarship.[22]

Bottéro's assumptions about the ancient practitioner's unavoidable inclinations toward monolatry and Lambert's vision of a progressive theological evolution from polytheism to monotheism reflect a drastically lesser degree of Western or Christian biases influencing their scholarship than does Parpola's imagination, but the direction is identical in all three cases. Underneath each instance exists the axiomatic supposition that monotheism reflects a more refined theology than does polytheism; indeed, Bottéro states exactly this when he unapologetically refers to monolatry as a "higher form" of polytheism. For Bottéro, the heir of a Christian civilization who has been trained in Western academic settings, his cultural experience with just one deity has colored his interpretation of mankind's pious capabilities. It is only natural that he would imagine that "all the sacred potential" would be thrust onto "the particular divine personality whom they were addressing at a given moment."[23] Even if just for that given moment and even in the imagination of a well-respected Assyriologist like Bottéro, the religious practitioner's piety capacity can only concentrate on one divine being.

Another presupposition underlies Lambert's discussion. Between the arrival of the lexical god-lists of the third millennium and the monotheistic tendencies of the first, the bigger gods "swallow up" the lesser gods, a process that first "led to theological

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[22] Saler 2000, 214. Even if the scholars could successfully distance themselves from Western academic and Christian biases and conceptual categories, the use of Western terms to describe foreign or exotic cultures suggests to the reader that these foreign phenomena or concepts are more analogous to a supposed Western counterpart than the scholars intended (Zevit 2003, 228).

[23] Bottéro 2001, 42. Could one likewise claim that a polygynist only loves the one wife he sleeping with when he sleeps with her? Or to paraphrase Bottéro, would the polygynist thrust "all the *emotional* potential into the particular *spousal* personality whom he is *copulating with* at a given moment?"

imperialism" and then developed into "something approaching monotheism."[24] For Lambert, syncretism leads to the demotion of lesser gods when the greater god is promoted and earns another divine name, while the lesser gods become mere aspects of the greater god. Ultimately, this plays out in hymns of praise like BM 47406 (see Table 5.9 for a full listing):

Uraš (is)	Marduk of	Planting
Lugalakida (is)	Marduk of	the Ground Water
Ninurta (is)	Marduk of	the Hoe
Nergal (is)	Marduk of	War
Zababa (is)	Marduk of	Battle.[25]

Lambert claims that this hymn's compiler envisioned Marduk as the only divine power in the universe and that all other potential deities were merely his aspects; this hymn is "beyond question pushing a monotheistic conception of Marduk."[26] Since Lambert accepts that the general Mesopotamian population remained polytheistic, he notes that these theological doctrines behind BM 47406 were only understood by the intellectuals as promoting this monotheism.[27] This covertness prevented possible theological controversy. However, Lambert has had to qualify this monotheism in another way since he concedes that, as Marduk's consort, Ṣarpānītu's existence would not have been denied by even the author of a text like BM 47406,[28] which suggests that Lambert recognizes that he overstated his case, betraying his supposition that monotheism in Mesopotamia was, in time, a foregone conclusion.[29]

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[24] Lambert 1997, 159.
[25] Lambert 1975, 197-198
[26] Lambert 1969, 478.
[27] Lambert 1997, 159.
[28] Lambert 1975, 198.
[29] In addition to a 1990 article by W. G. Lambert (W. G. Lambert, "Ancient Mesopotamian Gods: Superstition, Philosophy, Theology," *RHR* 207 [1990]: 115-130) studies by several other scholars have discussed monotheism as it relates to Mesopotamia; G. Buccellati, "Ebla and the Amorites," in *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Lanauage* (eds. C. Gordon and G. Rendsburg; Winona Lake:

Because of Western Christianity's own special concern over the nature of its monotheism, Assyriologists should be sensitive to the liability from their background when discussing the concepts of deity in ancient Mesopotamian culture. Since Emperor Constantine and the Council of Nicaea in 325 C.E., orthodox Western Christianity has emphatically defined itself according to its position regarding the relationship between God as the Father and God as the Son. This is to say that both the Father and the Son are same, despite their differences:

> [W]hile the mystery of the dispensation is still guarded, which distributes the Unity into a Trinity, placing in their order the three Persons—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; three, however, not in condition, but in degree; *not in substance*, *but in form*; not in power, but in aspect; *yet of one substance*, *and of one condition*, *and of one power*, *inasmuch as he is one God*, from whom these degrees and forms and aspects are reckoned, under the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. How they are susceptible of number without division, will be shown as our treatise proceeds (Tertullian, *Against Praxeas* 2, my emphasis).[30]

Coming from a background wherein divine faces or personalities are at the same time distinct entities yet the same God could make modern scholars unaware of the inherent contradiction of simultaneously equating two or more deities (e.g., Lambert's and Annus's assertions about Ninurta and Nergal, above and below, respectively) and still recognizing their individuality.

Eisenbrauns, 1992), 3:83-104; J.-M. Durand, "Le mythologème du combat entre le dieu de l'orage et la mer en Mésopotamie," *MARI* 7 (1993), 41-62, esp. 60-61; A. Finet, "Yahvé au royaume de Mari," in *Circulation des monnaies*, *des marchandises et des biens* (Res Orientales 5; Leuwen: Peeters, 1993), 15ff.; H. W. F. Saggs, *The Might that was Assyria* (London: Sidgwich & Jackson, 1984).

[30] B. Ehrman's translation (B. Ehrman, *After the New Testament*: *A Reader in Early Christianity* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1999], 226); see also D. Dungan, *Constantine's Bible*: *Politics and the Making of the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 112.

B. Western Biases and Telescopic Views of Deities: Amar Annus

The Western and, especially, Christian biases that creep into Assyriological scholarship may come in an obvious form like Parpola's desire to find imperial Assyria's influence all over the ancient world. Alternatively, they may be manifest in much more covert ways, as in the subtle assumptions Bottéro makes of the capacity of human piety or in the view Lambert takes concerning a syncretistic march toward Mesopotamian monotheism. A much more subtle manifestation of Western biases, however, is the disregard a scholar may have for a deity's individual personality because that god shares characteristics or control over particular natural phenomena with another deity. J. Polonsky observes that past scholarship has demonstrated this affinity for viewing Mesopotamian deities as interchangeable, treating this interchangeability as a natural aspect of polytheism.[31] Despite Polonsky's description of this disposition in the past tense, the same year that she completed her dissertation, A. Annus published a study of the god Ninurta, wherein he boldly stated that his:

> methodology includes philology in the largest sense; the presentation tries to be descriptive and synthetic. There are many problems in dealing with Ninurta because his identity is fluid. *I think that the author must look for the divine personality itself and not care about names*. Ninurta is actually one name of the deity sharing many attributes with other Mesopotamian gods: both Nanna/Sin and Ninurta/Ningirsu are first-born sons of Enlil endowed with kingship….Ninurta shares with the weather gods Iškur/Adad his thunderous weapons….*He is identical with* Nabu as the divine scribe and holder of the tablets of destinies, with Nergal he shares his strength, with Šamaš his position as divine judge (my emphasis).[32]

[31] J. Polonsky, "The Rise of the Sun God and the Determination of Destiny in Ancient Mesopotamia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2002), 24.

[32] A. Annus 2002, 4. Annus also notes that Ninurta's mythology connects him with Marduk, Zababa, Pabilsag, Ninazu, and Tišpak, among many other lesser known deities from both Mesopotamia and foreign lands.

Annus unapologetically telescopes numerous divine personalities from different regions, periods, and mythologies in order to create a synthesis of a divine being that believers worshiped as "the abstract object" Ninurta.[33] He treats Ninurta this way because of the deity's fluid nature; however, this fluidity is a result of Annus's biases rather than the Mesopotamian public's conceptions. By looking too closely at the similarities within a collection of deities, he loses the distinction between them, and they become nothing more than generic deities. In his search for a divine personality, he creates a numinous caricature. Because the war and farming god of the *Lugal-e* Epic is Enlil's son, he is the moon-god Nanna/Sîn, Enlil's first-born in the *Enlil and Ninlil* myth. Also, since Ninurta retrieves the Tablet of Destinies from Imdugud/Anzû on behalf of his father Enlil, he is Nabû who holds the tablet as the scribe and son of the Babylonian chief deity Marduk.

While previous scholars have identified Ninurta with Ningirsu as a matter of fact,[34] there is a significant difference between identifying two (or even three) gods with many similar attributes and divine lineage and indentifying any one god with other gods because of a single shared attribute. The former identification is at least native to Mesopotamia, even if it is only the product of the scribal class and not reflective of popular Mesopotamian mythic culture. As Jacobsen notes, although Ninurta was the hero in *Lugal-e*, the epic itself originated from Girsu, as evidenced by the invocation of Ningirsu's temple there, the Eninnu.[35] In time, Ninurta's name replaced Ningirsu's at the hands of Nippurian scribes, who considered the two gods identical; however, one version of the epic has kept Ningirsu as the name of the hero. Whether the Nippurian scribes

[33] Annus 2002, 2.
[34] E.g., J. Cooper's *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur*: an-gim dím-ma (AnOr 52; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1978); Lambert 1990, 120. Lambert also includes Zababa in this equation since all three are referred to as the chief son of Enlil.
[35] Jacobsen 1987b, 234, 235 n. 1, and 259 n. 44.

equated these two gods, as Jacobsen and others maintain, or the two names always represented one deity in the minds of the early Sumerians, a possibility Lambert entertains, is uncertain and probably impossible to determine.[36] In contrast, Annus's willingness to identify various gods with each other because of one or two similar characteristics is a treatment he has imposed as an outsider upon the Mesopotamian pantheon, a streamlining that few, if any, Mesopotamians would have comprehended. This treatment betrays a monotheistic (or, perhaps, pantheistic) conceptualization of the divine on Annus's part.

It is noteworthy that Annus refers to his methodology as philological "in the largest sense," both descriptive and synthetic, which produces a methodology that ultimately concludes that Ninurta "is identical with Nabu."[37] Elsewhere, Annus concludes that Ninurta's loss in popularity coincides with the rise of Nabû in the pantheon.[38] That one deity's rise within the pantheon could occur at the expense of another should be conceptually antithetical to the identification of the two gods. However, because he

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[36] Lambert 1975, 193. A third possibility for describing the relationship between the two deities is replacement theology. In the wake of Girsu's absorption into the Ur III Empire and loss of real political currency (A. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*: *c. 3000-330 BC* [London: Routledge, 1998], 1:58-59), as the patron deity of Girsu, Ningirsu also losses his power and is removed from his mythic traditions. In this scenario, the Nippurian scribes simply replace Ningirsu with Ninurta without intending to equate the two. This replacement by Ninurta is also attested in later versions of the Anzû poem and Gudea's hymn, the myth of the Slain Heroes (Black and Green 2000, 138).

[37] Annus 2002, 4.

[38] Annus 2002, 46-47. Annus cites B. Pongratz-Leisten's *Ina Šulmi Īrub* to demonstrate that Ninurta's position in the Assyrian pantheon dropped between the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I in the thirteenth century B.C.E. and the reign of Ashurbanipal in the seventh century (Annus 2002, 47 n. 125; see also B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Īrub*: *die Kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der akītu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr*. (Baghdader Forschungen 16; Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1994), 122 and tables 11-20). While Ninurta does occasionally appear after Ištar-of-Arbela and Ištar-of-Nineveh in the Sargonid period texts (e.g., SAA 2 3; SAA 10 197, 286, and 294; SAA 12 10 and 97; and BM 121206 ix), he also appears before these goddesses in Esarhaddon's Vassel Treaty (SAA 2 6) and Assurbanipal's Treaty with the Babylonian Allies (SAA 2 9), among others. As will be discussed below, the relative positions of Ninurta in Neo-Assyrian treaties and other administrative tablets in regards to Ištar-of-Arbela and Ištar-of-Nineveh does not merely reflect their comparative popularity or status within the Neo-Assyrian pantheon. Instead, a deity's relative position in these texts may also reflect the nature or gender of the deity.

focuses on “the divine figure behind all these names” that “persevered unchanged” instead of on the gods themselves,[39] Annus betrays his cultural biases and allows himself to distinguish the deities while simultaneously equating them.

C. Paul-Alain Beaulieu

Just as Annus describes Ninurta and Nabû in conflicting roles while arguing for their identification, so P.A. Beaulieu occasionally identifies various goddesses whom he elsewhere argues are distinct entities. Regarding the relationship between Inana/Ištar and Nanaya, he states that their identification “was a basic tenet of Babylonian theology from very early times. There are very few hymns to Nanaya from the late periods which do not contain at least some trace of it.”[40] This tenet is then revealed in first-millennium poetry, which usually includes syncretistic tendencies. Along with late copies of hymnal and liturgical traditions, the “Hymn of Nanâ,” the “Hymn to the City of Arbela,” and the “Hymn in Praise of Uruk” suggest that Nanaya was a form of Ištar.[41] However, elsewhere Beaulieu says that Nanaya was “second only to Ištar in the local divine hierarchy” of first-millennium Uruk, appearing alongside her in legal documents and official correspondence.[42] To be sure, Beaulieu usually treats Nanaya and Ištar(-of-Uruk) as separate deities, but his transition on pp. 186-187 from a discussion of the syncretistic hymnic material to the dualistic cultic and legalistic material occurs without a sense of tension or the need to explain these opposing possibilities.

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[39] Annus 2002, 47. The names behind this divine figure include not only Ninurta and Nabû, but also Adad, Nergal, and Zababa (p. 46).
[40] P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period* (Cuneiform Monographs 23; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 186-187.
[41] See E. Reiner 1974; SAA 3, SAA 8, and SAA 9. Beaulieu is more careful when he mentions a possible identification of Nanaya with Urkittu in the “Nanaya Hymn of Assurbanipa” (SAA 3 5), which “seems to equate her with Urkittu (i.e., Urkayītu),” if Urkittu is as an epithet there (Beaulieu 2003, 187 and n. 56).
[42] Beaulieu 2003, 187.

In his introduction to the Uruk pantheon, Beaulieu presents Ištar-of-Uruk as the primary form of the Ištar-goddess by noting the numerous cities and temples where she was worshiped throughout Mesopotamia.[43] However, throughout the book, he distinguishes between various local deities, leaving the reader uncertain about the nature of the relationship between Ištar-of-Babylon and Ištar-of-Uruk.[44] The impression is that, when discussing specific texts like offering-receipts, Beaulieu treats each divine name as its own entity, be it a specifically named manifestation of a god, a cultic object preceded by a divine determinative, or a god's standard or temple;[45] otherwise, all manifestations can be considered one goddess, especially when discussing hymns and mythic traditions.

This ambivalent treatment appears in his discussion of other gods, as well. In his proposed divine hierarchy for Neo-Babylonian Uruk, Beaulieu distinguishes between the Symbol-of-Nabû (alternatively, the Altar-of-Nabû) and Nusku because they appear separately in offering-lists.[46] Later, he notes that Nabû and Nusku "were considered to be one and the same god, at least in the north" because of evidence contained on two monuments.[47] The first is an altar from Tukulti-Ninurta I which depicts an image of the king kneeling before Nabû's reed stylus, and the inscription on the altar is made out to Nusku. The second piece of evidence is from a sixth-century inscription found in Ḫarrān, dating approximately 700 years later, where the name Nabû-balāssu-iqbi is spelled with Nusku as the theophoric element in place of Nabû: ^{d}PA.TUG.TIN-*su-iq-bi*. Though Beaulieu limits this theological equation to the north, this use of two wholly unrelatable

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[43] Beaulieu 2003, 103 and n. 1.
[44] Beaulieu describes this relationship as an attempt to homogenize the cults of Ištar-of-Babylon and Ištar-of-Uruk Eanna and Eturkalamma (Beaulieu 2003, 135-136).
[45] See, for example, his catalogue of deities (Beaulieu 2003, 96-97).
[46] Beaulieu 2003, 73.
[47] Beaulieu 2003, 87 n. 33.

texts is frustrating, especially when alternative explanations to identification are available.[48]

D. JoAnn Scurlock

A similar treatment of Ištar appears throughout J. Scurlock's work. In a recent discussion on the roles and actions of Mesopotamian goddesses, Scurlock defines an Ištar in the Assyrian and Babylonian worlds as the goddess of a particular city, who usually is the city god's daughter.[49] This definition renders the divine name "Ištar" as virtually equivalent to our English word "goddess."[50] Scurlock demonstrates this generic aspect of the divine name Ištar by listing several examples: in Uruk, Ištar is the daughter of Anu; in Ḫarrān, Ištar is the daughter of Sîn; and in Nippur, Ištar is the daughter of Enlil. Immediately after providing these examples, she refines the definition of Ištar by adding that these goddesses were "spoiled brats and extremely dangerous, as Ištar herself boasts: 'Hurrah for me, hurrah for me.'"[51] The proof-text that she chose to support the idea that these "spoiled brat" goddesses are Ištars is a text that comes from the lips of a very specific Ištar. In this hymn, "Self-Praise of Ištar," the goddess identifies herself as the daughter of Anu (*ma-rat*$^{!}$ ^{d}*a*-[*nim*], r. 4),[52] indicating that this Ištar should be understood as the Ištar-of-Uruk. Scurlock generalizes the specific to serve as evidence for all,

[48] For instance, we could interpret the first example as Nusku's taking on an attribute of Nabû without our necessarily recognizing the two divine names as common to the same god. Also, given Tukulti-Ninurta I's attempt at equating Enlil with Aššur, this altar could simply represent an isolated (and ultimately unsuccessful) attempt at reconceptualizing the pantheon. Finally, the alternate spelling for Nabonidus's father could simply be a mistake in which the scribe inadvertently added the extra sign TUG_2 to ^{d}PA, which is a logogram regularly used for Nabû.

[49] J. Scurlock, "Not Just Housewives: Goddesses After the Old Babylonian Period," in *In the Wake of Tikva Frymer-Kensky* (eds. S. Holloway, J. Scurlock, and R. Beal; Piscataway: Gorgias, 2009), 68.

[50] This is not to deny the fact that the divine name Ištar had, in fact, come to be used as a common noun for "goddess" already by Old Babylonian times (*CAD* I/J, *ištaru* mng. 1b), a tradition which continued through to the Neo-Assyrian period.

[51] Scurlock 2009, 68.

[52] C. Frank, *Kultlieder aus der Ischtar-Tamuz-Kreis* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1939) 37.

suggesting that she does not distinguish between these localized brats despite their differing parentages. Ultimately, each city's daughter deity is identifiable with the others.

If Scurlock identifies Ištar-of-Uruk with Ištar-of-Ḫarrān or Ištar-of-Nippur in the larger scheme of things, she does make a marked contrast between Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela as she discusses them in her chapter for the Frymer-Kensky memorial volume.[53] The reason for this distinction is found in her 2005 book with B. Andersen, *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine*. Within a discussion on diseases attributed to Ištar, Scurlock isolates Ištar-of-Nineveh from other Ištar manifestations because this Ištar originated from the Hurrian goddess Šaušga.[54] Like Ištar-of-Uruk, this Ištar is the daughter of Anu, but her brother is the head of the Hurrian pantheon, Tešub, rather than Šamaš as in Ḫarrān.

According to Scurlock's commentary, this Ninevite Ištar was thought to be responsible for harmless menstrual cramps, whereas the abdominal pain attributed to the Ištars from other cities is typically fatal.[55] However, given the evidence provided in *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine*, this distinction between an Ištar-of-Nineveh and other local Ištar-associated goddesses is difficult to determine. Of the diagnoses and prognoses that discuss abdominal issues and the "hand" of Ištar,[56] none

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[53] Scurlock 2009, 68.

[54] J. Scurlock and B. Andersen, *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine*: *Ancient Sources*, *Translations*, *and Modern Medical Analyses* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 523.

[55] Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 523.

[56] Scurlock and Andersen provide several texts that diagnose abdominal pains that are ultimately fatal and are the result of the "hand" of Ištar: 6.126 = 9.38 = 19.374 (DPS XIII B ii 29-30), concerning hepatitis; 19.151 (DPS XV 13-14), 19.152 (DPS XIII B ii 46 / / G_2 37 + G_1 20), 19.159 (DPS XIII B I 33′ / / D 7), 19.160 (DPS X B r. 4), concerning (battle) wounds; 19.161 (DPS XIII D r. 4) and 19.162 (DPS XIII J 9), concerning venereal disease; 19.373 (DPS XIII B ii 26-27 / / G_2 25 + G_1 8), possibly concerning peptic ulcers and gastric cancer; 19.375 (*BAM* 482 I iv 47′ / / *AMT* 19/1 iv! 30′), concerning liver problems; 19.376 (DPS XIII B ii 31 / / G_2 28 + G_1 11) and 19.377 (DPS XIII B ii 34), possibly concerning hepatic amoebiasis, which could be attributed to the "hand" of Sîn or Ištar; 20.66 (DPS XIII B ii 22) and 20.67 (DPS XIII B ii 24), concerning a needling pain on the left and a burning pain on the left, which are

explicitly mention either Nineveh or Šaušga. Moreover, the one diagnosis that does refer to an Ištar as the daughter of Anu (^{d}DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}*a-nim*), which could potentially refer to either the Ištar-of-Uruk or the Ištar-of-Nineveh, provides no explicit prognosis for the abdominal wound – not menstrual cramps – it describes,[57] although, its context on Tablet XIII of the Diagnostic and Prognostic Series (DPS) suggests that the prognosis would likely be death since the surrounding diagnoses are "death" or "no recovery."[58] Upon what other evidence Scurlock makes this distinction between Ištar-of-Nineveh and any other Ištar, whether a local Ištar-associated goddess or an all-encompassing Ištar personality, is unclear.

There does seem to be evidence for a local Ištar-associated goddess in the guise of Ištar-of-Arbela, however. This Ištar survived in the DPS in two separate diagnoses, once for Strachan's Syndrome, a vitamin B deficiency, and again for "shuddering."[59] Unfortunately, the name Ištar-of-Arbela does not actually appear in the Strachan's Syndrome diagnosis, though Scurlock's translation suggests it does:

> [DIŠ UGU-*š*]*u*$_2$ ˹GAZ.ME˺ *ḫi-ḫi-en* KIR$_4$/KA-*šu*$_2$ *i-raš-ši-šu*$_2$ SIG$_2$ GAL$_4$.LA-*šu*$_2$ TAB-*su* ŠU-*šu*$_2$ BAR.ME-*šu* [U]GU-˹*šu*$_2$ NU˺ [ŠUB-*ma*] *su*$_2$-*ḫur*? *ina* GI$_8$ DIB.DIB-*su u* NUN^{meš} ŠU *ur*$_2$-*bi-li-ti*
>
> [If the top] of ˹his˺ head continually feels as if split in two, the soft parts of his nose/mouth are reddish, the hair of his pubic region burns him, his hand continually hangs down limply, he does not [lay himself down] ˹on top of˺ (a woman), but turns away, it continually afflicts him in the night, and he continually trembles, "hand" of Ištar of Arbela (7.17 = DPS III A 15-16 / / C 6-7, Scurlock's translation).

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survivable and fatal, respectively. A text with a good prognosis is 12.68 (DPS XXXVII A obv. 17), concerning abdominal illness during pregnancy.

[57] Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 470. "If he was wounded on his upper abdomen (epigastrium) (and) his hands and his feet are immobilized,'hand' of (Ištar), daughter of Anu" (19.159).

[58] Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 615-616. The nearest explicit good prognoses appear 12 lines prior (i.e., DPS XIII B i 21′) to this diagnosis (l. 33′) and 10 lines after (l. 43′). Between those good prognoses, 10 diagnoses have explicit, bad prognoses.

[59] Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 159 and 708 n. 19.

Perhaps a better translation for *ur*$_2$*-bi-li-ti* would not be "Ištar of Arbela" but simply "the Arbelitess." This feminized derivative of Arbela (*ur*$_2$*-bi-li-ti = arbilītu*) might refer to the Ištar-associated goddess of this city, who is probably invoked in personal names from the Neo-Assyrian period by the same name.[60] But the fact that this is the only time an Ištar is singled out as being from a specific location and is not explicitly named "Ištar" is peculiar. Indeed, the unique treatment in this text may indicate that this goddess established herself as her own distinct personality who is to be contrasted with either the generic Ištars or the one all-encompassing Ištar found elsewhere in the DPS.

That Ištar-of-Arbela would be rendered in DPS and personal names as Arbilītu, a name that lacks the theophoric element Ištar, may itself suggest that this goddess was considered her own divine personality by the ancients, including the ancient scribes who compiled the DPS. Were this the case, modern treatments of Arbilītu should be handled in much the same way that post-Old Akkadian Annunītu and Neo-Babylonian Urkayītu are treated as goddesses distinct from their proposed Ištar-associated origins.[61] Another hint that this feminized derivative of Arbela, Arbilītu, relates to an Ištar-associated goddess is the nature of Strachan's Syndrome. Though not actually a venereal disease, a few of the symptoms listed for Strachan's Syndrome do resemble those of a venereal disease: a burning pubic region and a limp "hand," accompanied by the patient's lack of

[60] *PNA* 1/1-3/1 identify no less than seven personal names, belonging to both genders, that invoke the goddess Ištar-of-Arbela by city alone: ^{f}*ana*-URU.*arba-il*$_3$-IGI.LAL (SAAB 5 31 B b.e. 7); ^{f}*arba-il*$_3$*-ḫa-mat* (*VS* 1 96:2, r. 3, and 5); ^{m}*arba-il*$_3$-DINGIR-*a-a* (SAAB 9 74, iii 12); *arba-il*$_3$*-tu*$_2$-EN-*tu*$_2$*-ni* (*Iraq* 41 56, iii 24); $^{f.uru}$*arba-il*$_3$*-la-mur* (ND 2325:4); ^{f}*arba-il*$_3$*-šar*$_2$*-rat* (*ADD* 207:4 and l.e. 1); and ^{m}*arba-il*$_3$-MU-AŠ (ND 3466b r. 2). While names like Ana-Arbail-dugul ("Look upon [Ištar of] Arbela") and Arbail-lāmur ("May I see [Ištar of] Arbela!") could refer to the city itself, other personal names, including Arbailītu-bēltūni ("The one from Arbela is our lady") and Arbail-ḫammat ("[Ištar of] Arbela is mistress"), make more sense when understood as references to the goddess rather than to the city. It is worth noting, however, that the Arbela element in these names are typically spelled with the two signs LIMMU$_2$/*arba* and AN/*il*$_3$. None of these names uses the signs *ur*$_2$*-bi* as an indicator for *arba* in the geographic element.

[61] For a discussion of Annunītu, see Roberts 1972, 147; for a discussion of Urkayītu, see Beaulieu 2003, 255.

interest in sex.[62] Because of these symptomatic similarities, the syndrome aptly rests alongside actual sexually transmitted diseases, which the ancient physicians attributed to an Ištar as a goddess of sexual love.[63] The goddess Arbilītu's retention of this Ištar-associated characteristic recalls an analogous situation wherein Annunītu retained her Ištar-associated warrior attributes even after she was recognized as her own distinct personality.[64]

Arbilītu is the only Ištar-associated goddess specifically linked to a toponym in the DPS, and no diagnostic statements associate an Ištar with another city. Only the name Ištar appears in a given text.[65] In spite of this missing distinction of local Ištars in the DPS, Scurlock notes that the *āšipu* assigned different diseases to particular Ištar-associated goddesses. The Assyrian Ištar is never responsible for disease; Ištar-of-Ḫarrān is responsible for fevers and skin lesions; Ištar-of-Babylon, for sexually transmitted diseases; and Ištar-of-Uruk, for infantile spasms.[66]

Though the diagnoses do not provide a locale for the given Ištar, Scurlock has developed an attractive methodology to assign a location to the Ištar. She identifies these specific Ištars with the particular diseases, in part, by identifying other deities that are

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[62] For example, the diagnosis for gonorrheal urethritis (*mūṣu*) is given in text 4.2:

> [DIŠ N]A GIŠ$_3$-*šu*$_2$ *u*$_2$*-zaq-qa-su* U$_4$-*ma* KAŠ$_3$.MEŠ-*šu*$_2$ *i-ša*$_2$*-ti-nu re-ḫu-su* ŠUB-*a* [*ni-iš*] ŠA$_3$-*šu*$_2$ *ṣa-bit-ma ana* MUNUS DU-*ka* LAL UŠ$_2$ BABBAR *gi-na-a ina* GIŠ$_3$-*šu*$_2$ (DU-*ak* NA.BI *mu-ṣa* GIG *ana* TI-*šu*$_2$)
> "[If] a ⸢person⸣'s penis stings him, he lets his semen fall when he urinates, he is ⸢impotent⸣ and his going to a woman is diminished (and) pus continually flows from his penis…" (*BAM* 112 i 17′-19′ / / *AMT* 58/6:2-3; *BAM* 112 i 34′-36′, Scurlock's translation [Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 89]).

[63] Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 89 and 524.

[64] Roberts 1972, 147. Arbilītu, like Annunītu, is a warrior goddess.

[65] Scurlock and Andersen provide a few instances from DPS (4.1 = 5.76, concerning venereal disease; 13.268, concerning peripheral neuropathy; 14.26 = 19.151, concerning abdominal wounds; and 19.155, concerning gangrene) in which the divine name Ištar is spelled ^{d}*dil-bat* – a reference to Ištar as the planet Venus – instead of the typical numeric spelling ^{d}15. The diseases associated with Dilbat are typical of diseases expected to be associated with an Ištar goddess as both a love goddess and warrior goddess.

[66] Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 523.

associated with the disease and then choosing the city where an Ištar has a familial or romantic relationship with another deity. For example, when scribes hold Ištar responsible for fevers and skin lesions, she is Ištar-of-Ḫarrān because her father Sîn and brother Šamaš are also responsible for these ailments and important in that city.[67] In other instances, the other deity is explicitly mentioned within the diagnosis alongside the name Ištar, or two different divine names appear as variants in different copies of a particular diagnosis. Both of these can be illustrated by diagnoses invoking the divine name Marduk alongside Ištar:

> DIŠ NA *ina* KI.NA$_2$-*šu*$_2$ LUḪ.LUḪ-*ut* ŠA$_3$-*šu*$_2$ *e-šu-u ina* KI.NA$_3$-*šu*$_2$ *re-ḫu-su* DU-*ak* NA BI DIB-*ti* ^{d}AMAR.UTU *u* ^{d}EŠ$_4$.DAR UGU-*šu*$_2$ GAL$_3$-*ši ana* TI-*šu*$_2$
>
> If a person continually jerks in his bed, his heart (beat) is confused, (and) his semen flows in his bed, the anger of Marduk and Ištar is upon that person, to cure him…(19.112 = *BAM* 205:12′-21′ / / *STT* 95:16-18 / / *STT* 280 ii 1-3, Scurlock's translation).
>
> DIŠ *ina* SAG ŠA$_3$-*šu*$_2$ [*di-ik-šu*$_2$ GAR-*su-ma ur*]-*qa*$_2$ ŠUB-*a* ŠU ^{d}AMAR.UTU : ŠU ^{d}15 GAM
>
> If [a needling pain is firmly established] in his upper abdomen (epigastrium) (and) he is unevenly colored with ⸢yellow spots⸣, "hand" of Marduk (var. "hand" of Ištar); he will die (19.113 = DPS XIII B i 42′ / / F 4, Scurlock's translation).[68]

According to Scurlock, because these diagnoses for sexually transmitted diseases link Marduk and Ištar, an explanation should be sought to explain this link. Here, Scurlock suggests that the two are paramours, which means this Ištar is the Ištar-of-Babylon since her boyfriend Marduk's city is Babylon.[69]

Scurlock's methodology for locating these Ištars according to their acquaintance deities is appealing. However, any conclusions drawn from these results should remain tentative and be considered as secondary evidence when they complement conclusions

[67] Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 488-491 and 523.
[68] Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 459.
[69] Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 523 and 761 n. 319.

already obtained from geographic and toponymic analyses of divine names. In this regard, Scurlock's methodology resembles that of G. Barton, who, in the late nineteenth-century C.E., first proposed assigning unspecified Ištars to cities according to the provenance of the tablets wherein the divine name Ištar appears.

However, the present issue is Scurlock's willingness to simultaneously treat Ištar as a single goddess and as a class of goddesses. Her transitions between treating the local Ištars as specific individuals and as one all-encompassing Ištar indicate that she ultimately considers all the geographically located Ištars one-and-the-same goddess. Her preference for the all-encompassing Ištar personality is made apparent in two ways. First, her subheadings for each medical category under discussion are labeled "Ištar." This resembles the labels for subheadings for her discussions about other deities (e.g., "Ninurta," "Twin Gods," and "Anu, Enlil, and Ea").[70] Second, her dual treatment of Ištar as one and many personalities is manifest in the introductory sentences of the "Ancient Etiologies," chapter 19, as she relates how the various diseases came to be associated with any Ištar:

> A great variety of different syndromes were attributed to Ištar, but most can be related directly or indirectly to this multifaceted goddess's personality and/or functions. When attributing syndromes to specific causal agents, there were several different manifestations of Ištar for the *āšipu* to choose from.[71]

Here, she suggests that an all-encompassing Ištar personality may be broken down into smaller subsections at one's discretion and that this is precisely what was practiced by the ancient scribes and *āšipū*.

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[70] Compare the subheading titles for these deities with that for Ištar (e.g., Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 520-523).
[71] Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 523.

Of course, if the texts at Scurlock's disposal rarely distinguish between Ištars – just as they do not attempt to distinguish various local manifestations of other major gods – the sensible conclusion is that the compiler of the DPS was interested in depicting Ištar only as a single goddess/personality. Scurlock's preference for one all-encompassing Ištar is the more reasonable preference given the nature of her data, but this does not explain why she tries to separate local Ištar-associated goddesses according to their divine associations in the first place.[72] Does her willingness to simultaneously treat Ištar as a single goddess and a class of goddesses undermine her methodology, which would then suffer because the results it produces have no intrinsic meaning? What does it mean for Ištar of Babylon to differ from the Assyrian Ištar if they are both the same deity?

E. Gary Beckman

Scurlock differentiates Ištar-of-Nineveh from other local Ištar-associated goddesses in Mesopotamia primarily because she considers this goddess Hurrian rather than a native Mesopotamian goddess. Like any proper Ištar-associated goddess, Šaušga is the daughter of a supreme deity, in this case Anu, but she is also the sister of the storm-god Tešub; however, D. Schwemer notes that the relationship between this Ištar and Tešub is not fully understood.[73] Despite this problem, whether Ištar is understood as

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[72] Unless, by doing so, she is trying to isolate local traditions about Ištar, her family, and most importantly her nature. Thus, she would need to treat each city as though it is operating in a theological vacuum. If so, then she should limit this discussion to a period when these various cities would have had no contact with each other, if such a period ever existed. However, our copy of the DPS is a first millennium work, so no city would have been in a theological vacuum.

[73] I. Wegner states that Šaušga is the sister of both Tešub and Tašmišus in Hittite-Hurrian tradition and that both are the children of Anu. In addition to being Anu's child, Tešub also appears as the son of Sîn (*KUB* 33 89:6). This suggests to Wegner that Sîn may also be the father of Šaušga (I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien* [AOAT 36; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1981], 43-44).

D. Schwemer, "The Storm-Gods of the Ancient Near East: Summary, Synthesis, Recent Studies: Part II," *JANER* 8 (2008b): 4. Ištar/Šaušga-of-Nineveh is Tešub's sister in the Hurrian myths (the goddess

Tešub's sister or consort, this relationship still differentiates her from the other Ištars. More importantly, this ambiguity highlights how little is actually known about this goddess prior to the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods.[74]

G. Beckman notes that in the Middle Hittite period Ištar first appears in an early fourteenth-century treaty between Arnuwanda I of Ḫatti and Ašmunikkal of Kaška.[75] However, it is during Šuppiluliuma I's reign about twenty years later that the divine name Ištar begins to gain headway in Hittite treaties. In Šuppiluliuma I's treaty with Ḫuqqana of Ḫayasa, the divine first name appears no less than five times in the divine witness-list, following a pair of sun-deities, 21 storm-gods, 2 Ḫebat-named goddesses, 8 protective deities, and Aya (see Table 7.2). These five Ištars include an unspecified Ištar, Ištar-of-the-Countryside, Ištar-of-Nineveh, [Ištar]-of-Ḫattarina, and Ištar-Queen-of-Heaven (no. 3 §8, A i 48-59).[76] The goddesses Ninatta and Kulitta, servant goddesses of Šaušga, follow these five Ištars, marking the end of the Ištar section in the witness-list as the war-god section begins.[77] Various other treaties include these five Ištar-associated goddesses along with a few others.[78] Beckman estimates that 25 local Ištar-associated goddesses

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appears as ^{d}IŠ$_{8}$.TAR ^{uru}*ne-nu-wa-aš* MUNUS.LUGAL in the Myth of Ḫedammu [*CTH* 348]) and rituals recovered from Ḫattuša, the Hittite capital, suggesting their relationship was one of siblings within the Hittite Empire and into North Syria, but she seems to have been the primary goddess of the official Mitanni Empire, second to Tešub, and potentially his consort there. Although not explicitly labeled his consort to the east of the Tigris, as well as in Upper Mesopotamia, Ištar/Šaušga appears alongside Tešub often enough in cultic settings that the possibility cannot be dismissed out of hand for the deity in the east (D. Schwemer 2008b, 5).

[74] Indeed, so little is known about the early history of this goddess from the north that her earliest known reference is probably not actually a reference to the deity Šaušga at all but rather to the city Nineveh, dating to the Ur III period, to Šulgi's 46th year: ^{5}1 SILA$_{4}$.NIGA ^{6} ^{d}*ša-u*$_{18}$*-ša* ^{7}*ni-nu-a-kam* ("1 lamb for Šaušga of Nineveh," N. Schneider, *Die Drehem- und Djohatexte im Kloster Monserrat* (AnOr 7; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1932), no. 7; Beckman 1998, 1).

[75] Beckman 1998, 3. Ištar appears as a divine witness in *CTH* 139 ii 10.

[76] Beckman 1999, 29.

[77] For a discussion on these goddesses, see Wegner 1981, 76-81.

[78] Other Ištar names appear in treaties including: The-Proud-Ištar (var. Ištar Venus Star), Ištar//Evening-Star (var. Ištar Venus Star), and Ištar-of-Alalaḫ from Šuppiluliuma I's reign; and Ištar-of-Samuḫa and Ištar-of-Lawazantiya from Ḫattusili III's reign. A full discussion of Ištar names in Hittite god-lists appears in chapter 7.

appear in the Boğazköy archives, although most of these Ištars belong outside of the Hittite heartland,[79] which suggests that these various Ištars arrived in the Hittite pantheon as the Hittite Empire encountered and expanded into northern Syria and Mitanni.[80]

The multiplicity of Ištar/Šaušga divine names troubles Beckman, especially as it relates to the status of Ištar-of-Nineveh. In none of the treaties does Ištar-of-Nineveh appear at the beginning of these Ištar-lists, indicating her lack of primacy in this period. However, Ištar-of-Nineveh figures prominently in an invocation rite of queen Taduḫepa and in other records,[81] and she is explicitly called queen in the Hurrian myth of Ḫedammu. Given the divergent evidence, what can be made of Ištar-of-Nineveh as she relates to the rest of the Hittite pantheon? Solving Ištar-of-Nineveh's relative status within the Hittite divine hierarchy is only of secondary interest to Beckman, however. Instead, Beckman's problem arises from his belief that all of these local Ištar-associated goddesses are merely "hypostases of a single divine archetype."[82] Despite the observations that these local Ištar/Šaušga-associated goddesses receive individual offerings – even within a single offering-list (*KUB* 45 41 ii and iii) – he still senses that "these Ištar-figures partake of a common essence" that unite them as one, as are the cases with Zeus in ancient Greek religion and the Virgin in Catholic belief.[83] This view allows him to elevate Ištar-of-Nineveh to the top of the Ištar hierarchy, which is not much of a difficult feat given that he has reduced the hierarchy to a list with one entry.

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[79] Beckman 1998, 3. In addition to the numerous Šaušga local goddesses that Wegner lists (Wegner 1981, 157-196), Beckman lists four more (Beckman 1998, 4 n. 39).
[80] Beckman 1998, 4.
[81] Beckman 1998, 3 n. 31; *KUB* 36 18; *KBo* 10 45; and *KBo* 16 97.
[82] Beckman 1998, 4.
[83] Beckman 1998, 4 n. 48.

Beckman's elevation of Ištar-of-Nineveh as the primary Ištar/Šaušga-associated goddess reflects, in part, a bias toward her because of her antiquity. If Ištar-of-Nineveh was the primary Ištar/Šaušga-associated goddess in the eyes of the Hittites, then their treatment of her raises the question: Why is the primary Ištar, Ištar-of-Nineveh, not first among the Ištars listed in Hittite treaties? Regarding her position in these witness-lists, Beckman notes that the divine witness-lists "usually place unmodified Ištar (at the beginning of the Ištar section), sometimes followed by Ištar of the Battlefield, before the goddess of Nineveh, who in turn precedes all other local types."[84] This description is accurate in several instances but not a rule, nor does it harmonize his opinion of her with the Hittites' treatment of the goddess.[85]

Beckman also identifies Ištar-of-Šamuḫa and Ištar-of-Nineveh as the same Ištar goddess. However, he does admit that each goddess, like all the various Ištar-associated goddesses, can be studied in isolation to discern features particular to a local goddess. The portrait that he subsequently paints of the Ištar-of-Nineveh worshiped by the Hittites

[84] Beckman 1998, 4.

[85] Two treaties from the thirteenth century noticeably differ from earlier practice, and each differs in its own way. Ḫattušili III's treaty with Ulmi-Teššup of Tarḫuntassa contains two distinct divine witness-lists (Beckman 1999, no. 18B §7-8 [obv. 48′-r. 4′]) The first of these two EGLs appears to be an abbreviated version of the longer second god-list, invoking only six specific divine names and the thousand gods of Ḫatti as witnesses. The two Ištars in this list are Ištar-of-Šamuḫa (patron goddess of Ḫattušili III) and Ištar-of-Lawazantiya, and neither toponym is particularly close to Ḫatti or Taḫuntassa or plays a role elsewhere in the text. The second god-list begins by stating that the thousand deities are in assembly to serve as witnesses for the treaty, and it contains about four dozen divine names and several summary statements. Four of the deities specified in the first god-list reappear in the second; the two who do not are the two Ištars: the first list begins with the IŠKUR-of-Lightning, but he follows the other three deities who reappear in the second list in addition to several other deities. His promotion in the first list – in place of the expected Sun-god of Heaven who typically begins these lists – rather than his demotion in the second list piques the reader's curiosity. Technically, Ištar-of-Nineveh is the first Ištar tied to a specific toponym in the god-list in which she appears, but her absence in the first list is curious.

The second treaty of interest is between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarḫuntassa and only contains one lengthy divine witness-list (Beckman 1999, no. 18C, §25, iii 78-iv 15). The thousand gods are called as witnesses, including five specific Ištar manifestations, who appear after Ḫebat of Uda and Ḫebat of Kizzuwatna and before Ninatta and Kulitta: Ištar-of-Šamuḫa, Ištar-of-the-Countryside, Ištar-of-Lawazantiya, Ištar-of-Nineveh, and Ištar-of-Ḫattarina. Here, the two local manifestations that appeared in the abbreviated list a generation earlier in Ḫattušili III's reign appear before Ištar-of-Nineveh, suggesting that Ištar-of-Šamuḫa came to be a more important deity than Ištar-of-Nineveh.

is one that includes an important role in magic, which developed in her Hurrian past.[86] She may have had a temple in Ḫatti, assuming that the oracle report that mentions her temple (E$_2$.DINGIR-*LIM*, *KUB* 5 10 + *KUB* 16 83) refers to a location in Ḫatti since no other town is mentioned in the report,[87] but she does have temples in other cities within the empire. She also seems to have participated in rituals at the capital, twice beckoned in ritual texts.[88] However, Ištar-of-Nineveh lacks the close associations with the royal family in Ḫattuša that has been picked up by Ištar-of-Šamuḫa.[89] Though Ištar-of-Nineveh does receive offerings from the royal family and the queen performs cultic rituals for her, Ištar-of-Šamuḫa definitely benefits from her particularly close relationship with the Hittite royal family in the mid-thirteen century. According to the "Apology of Ḫattušilis," Ištar-of-Šamuḫa visits her priestess Puduḫepa in a dream and proclaims to her that her husband will become king and the goddess's priest.[90]

Despite Beckman's earlier statement that he ultimately believes that Ištar-of-Šamuḫa is just another form of Ištar-of-Nineveh, he claims that he will reserve his final judgment when future scholars reevaluate the available data:

> While I am inclined to follow the common opinion that the other Ištar types of the later Boğazköy texts, in particular Ištar of Šamuha, are basically "avatars" or hypostases of the Ninevite goddess, any special features of the varieties will become apparent only if each is initially studied in isolation.[91]

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[86] She is called "the woman of that which is repeatedly spoken" (*KUB* 17 7+ iii 34′: ^{d}IŠ$_8$-TAR ^{uru}*ni-nu-wa-aš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš tar-š*[*i-i*]*k-kan*$_2$*-ta-aš* MUNUS-*aš*), which Beckman suggests relates to repeated recitation of incantations (Beckman 1998, 5 n.53). Other associations Ištar-of-Nineveh has with magic include: chthonic rituals, a healing plague, and lifting curses (p. 6).
[87] Beckman 1998, 5 n. 63.
[88] Beckman 1998, 5 n. 57.
[89] Beckman 1998, 7. Ištar-of-Nineveh also loses any astral and martial aspects to Ištar-of-Šamuḫa; see also R. Lebrun, *Samuha*: *Foyer religieux de l'empire Hittite* (Louvian-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, 1976), 17 and 20-24.
[90] J. G. Macqueen, "Hattian Mythology and Hittite Monarchy," *AnSt* 9 (1959): 187 n. 115.
[91] Beckman 1998, 4-5.

However, over the next two pages, Beckman easily switches between proclaiming all references to any Ištar a mere "avatar" of the all encompassing Ištar goddess and presenting valid reasons for considering these goddesses their own distinct personalities. After all, he reports that Ištar-of-Nineveh retains her Hurrian layer of magic associations but lacks the astral and martial aspects found in Ištar-of-Šamuḫa, aspects which are commonly associated by scholars to the Mesopotamian Ištars.

Beckman's reluctance on this issue is all the more frustrating, given that he is discussing the Hittite people and their pantheon, which consisted of a thousand deities. He continues to hold his divided stance in a later article discussing the nature of the Hittite pantheon and the Hittites' focus on "various local hypostases" of the deities: "There can be little doubt that the various 'Šawuškas of Nineveh' honored in different Hittite towns were avatars of a single divinity, but they nonetheless receive separate offerings."[92] Does this statement mean that all the Šaušga honored throughout the Hittite Empire are really one Ištar/Šaušga-of-Nineveh, or does it really mean that all the Ištar/Šaušga-of-Nineveh goddesses are one "avatar" of one all-encompassing Šaušga?

If each of these goddesses receives her own offering and otherwise receives individual attention, and if Ištar-of-Nineveh has noticeably different qualities than does Ištar-of-Šamuḫa, why should Beckman continue to hold out and follow "the common opinion," waiting for later scholarship to reassert in a more convincing manner what he has already reported? Applying this frame-of-mind to the rest of the Hittite pantheon, beyond just Ištar/Šaušga, severely limits the number of deities within the pantheon. As there is one Ištar/Šausga, there would be one Ḫebat, one LAMMA/Tutelary deity, and one IŠKUR/Storm-god. Indeed, he uses this singular form when comparing other Hittite

[92] Beckman 2004, 308.

deities with Ištar: “the number of texts devoted to her worship is small compared to those treating the Storm God Tešub, Ḫebat, or even the Protective Deity.”[93] If the Hittites worshiped only one of each of these types of deities, how could they begin to count the thousand deities in their pantheon? If any ancient peoples allowed for or even desired a multiplicity of gods with one name or occupation, the Hittites would be that people. It seems, rather, that Beckman is content allowing our Western culture biases – or as he calls it, our “common opinion” – to influence his decision on the matter rather than the texts written by ancient Hittite scribes.

However, if even the Hittites could or would not recognize a multiplicity of gods sharing a first name, the possibility that the divine name Ištar/Šaušga and its related spellings function as a common noun – meaning either “goddess” generically or a particular class of goddesses – rather than a proper name should be considered.[94] Likewise, this possibility must be entertained for other divine names that appear frequently in EGLs, e.g., the Hittite treaty divine witness-lists: LAMMA/Protective-god, IŠKUR/Storm-god, War-god, etc. These could just be classes of, or titles for, gods in the Hittite texts.

F. George Barton

It was along these lines that over a century ago G. Barton, entertained the idea that “Ištar” should be interpreted as a title like “Baal” rather than as a personal divine

[93] Beckman 1998, 6.
[94] In Boğazköy, Šaušga is spelled syllabically in no fewer than nine ways. Three logograms – ^{d}IŠTAR, ^{d}GAŠAN, and ^{d}LIŠ – also receive various phonetic compliments. For a list of attested spellings in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and northern Syria, see Wegner 1981, 21-23.

name,[95] but this is something that Beckman does not consider in his discussion of the Hittite pantheon as it relates to Ištar/Šaušga-of-Nineveh.

Writing near the end of the 19th century C.E., Barton surveyed "the great mass of material extant in the Assyrian language" and concluded that these texts needed to be classified in order to reconstruct the history of Ištar in the Mesopotamian pantheon.[96] His interest in classification arose primarily in response to the three local Ištar-associated goddesses in the Neo-Assyrian period, namely, Ištar-of-Nineveh, Ištar-of-Arbela, and The Assyrian Ištar. Barton suggested two possible systems. The first relied upon the assumed link between the local goddess and her cult, and it assumed that each of these three Ištar goddesses possessed her own unique personality and characteristics. Each of these Ištars was to be considered independent of the others until Barton demonstrated otherwise. If a text could undoubtedly be traced to a particular temple (TN) or to a particular city (GN), he identified that Ištar as Ištar-of-TN/GN. After sorting the texts into three different collections according to their cults of origin, he used each collection to reconstruct an individual personality for each local Ištar-associated goddess.

Barton based his second system on the texts' historical settings rather than their geographical provenance. This approach downplayed the need to assign a provenance or origin to any texts in order to decide which Ištar a given text refers since provenance and origins were irrelevant when compared to when the text was written. Moreover, it avoided another primary assumption of the first because it did not assume that these Ištars' personalities could be differentiated. Depending on historical texts rather than cultic or mythic texts, this method linked the king to a particular Ištar. His main

[95] G. A. Barton, "The Semitic Ištar Cult (Continued)," *Hebraica* 10 (1893-1894): 68-71.
[96] G. A. Barton, "The Semitic Ištar Cult," *Hebraica* 9 (1893): 131.

assumption here was that a king would invoke the Ištar of his capital city rather than any other Ištar. Because the Ištar from his capital was geographically closer to the king than any other localized Ištar, the king must have addressed her, regardless of the provenance of a given text. Had the king meant to address a different Ištar, he would have expressly indicated this in the inscription.[97] Barton considered this latter method the more reliable of the two because it provided "a tangible rather than a speculative basis on which to rest, and in investigations of such antiquity such a basis should always be sought."[98] This speculative basis of the former method was the idea that divine personalities were distinct enough to accurately distinguish between two gods.

Barton's reconstruction began with the various Ištar-associated goddesses with Ištar-of-Nineveh because she was first invoked by Aššurnāṣirpal I, son Šamši-Adad IV, whom Barton dated to the Old Assyrian period.[99] Though Assur served as the Assyria capital during Aššurnāṣirpal's reign in the eleventh century, Barton considered this a Ninevite text because of its provenance. Moreover, this psalm refers to Ištar as the lady of Nineveh (*a-na be-let* ^uru^NINA, *AfO* 25 38, l. 5) who dwells in the Emašmaš temple (*a-na a-ši-bat* e_2*-maš-maš*, l. 3).[100] According to Aššurnāṣirpal's psalm, Ištar-of-Nineveh is Sîn's daughter and the beloved sister of Šamaš (DUMU.MUNUS ^d^30 *ta-li-mat* ^d^*šam-ši*, l. 6), as well as the wife of the supreme god Aššur (*na-ra-*mi_3*-ki* AD DINGIR^meš^…*q*[*u*^?^*-ra*]*-du* ^d^*aš-šur*, 42, l. 81). Elsewhere, Aššurnāṣirpal claims to be the one who introduced the

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[97] Barton 1893, 131. This method allows Barton to attribute the myth "Ištar's Descent" and, as a corollary of this myth, other texts discussing Tammuz and Ištar to the Ištar-of-Nineveh because the tablets were recovered from Ashurbanipal's library in Nineveh (pp. 150 and 153). Barton does, however, recognize that the tradition behind this myth likely predates the Neo-Assyrian period, but, because he lacked the much earlier Sumerian version, he could not provide a definite period for its composition (p. 150).
[98] Barton 1893, 131.
[99] Barton dated this psalm by Aššurnāṣirpal I to Ištar to ca. 1800 B.C.E. (Barton 1893, 135), but Aššurnāṣirpal I is now known to have reigned during the second half of the eleventh century (Kuhrt 1998, 1:362). Barton did note that the text only survived in a Neo-Assyrian copy from Ashurbanipal's library.
[100] W. von Soden, "Zwei Königsgebete an Ištar aus Assyrien," *AfO* 25 (1974): 38.

worship of Ištar to the people of Assyria (39, 24-25), which Barton rightly regarded a royal hyperbole.[101]

Like the extant copy of this psalm to Ištar-of-Nineveh, the remainder of the material available to Barton belongs to the Neo-Assyrian period, beginning with texts dating to Aššurnāṣirpal II's ninth-century reign.[102] The Ištar-of-Nineveh statements from Aššurnāṣirpal II's reign indicate that she was a warrior goddess, alongside Aššur, and his patron goddess (e.g., RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 i 70).[103] None of these texts explicitly refer to her as Ištar-of-Nineveh; rather, the earliest text specifically invoking Ištar-of-Nineveh that was available to Barton dates to the end of the eighth century,[104] during the reign of Sennacherib. Significantly, Sennacherib is the king who moved the Assyrian capital moved to Nineveh, and this is also, according to Barton, when Ištar-of-Nineveh joined Aššur as chief deity.[105]

Texts invoking other Neo-Assyrian period Ištars were limited compared to those invoking Ištar-of-Nineveh,[106] so Barton concluded little more than that these Ištars were warrior goddesses. Because he accepted that The Assyrian Ištar was Aššur's wife during Tiglath-Pileser I's reign at Assur and because Ištar-of-Ninveh was Aššur's wife during Sennacherib's reign at Nineveh, Barton concluded these two goddesses should be

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[101] Barton 1893, 151.
[102] Barton mentions texts from Aššur-rēš-iši I's reign, ca. 1150, and an earlier reference to Ištar in a letter from Tušratta of Mitanni to Amenhotep III of Egypt, ca. 1400, but he is forced to overlook them because he cannot definitively determine to which city or shrine – and thus to which Ištar – these texts may refer. This is no problem for him, however, since neither text adds to his knowledge of Ištar (Barton 1893, 137).
[103] Barton 1893, 136; RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 i 70: *ina qi*$_2$*-bit aš-šur* $^{\text{d}}$INANA DINGIR$^{\text{meš}}$ GAL$^{\text{meš}}$ EN$^{\text{meš}}$-*ia* TA $^{\text{uru}}$*ni-nu-a at-tu-muš*, "By the command of Aššur (and) Ištar, the great gods, my lords, I departed from Nineveh."
[104] Barton 1893, 138-139.
[105] Barton 1893, 152. Barton notes that Ištar-of-Nineveh was already "classed with Aššur as one of the two first gods of the land" (pp. 151-152) when she first reappeared in Aššurnāṣirpal II's annals, but Sennacherib first describes her as a chief deity.
[106] Because Barton recognized Assur as the capital of Assyria between 1800 and 885, he considered any unspecified reference to Ištar from this period as a reference to the Assyrian Ištar (Barton 1893, 151).

identified: "We may hence infer that the myths connected with these two Ištars were the same."[107] Ištar-of-Arbela, on the other hand, had her own mythology and familial relationships that contradict those of the other Ištars, including her lack of any known consort.[108]

In his second essay, Barton examined the goddess Ištar-of-Babylon, whose antiquity was indicated by a hymn from ca. 2000, according to Barton.[109] She was a mother goddess, merciful to those who appeal to her in times of stress, and she was the planet Venus.[110] Such statements should have led Barton to accept that there were, in fact, multiple distinct goddesses with the divine first name Ištar. However, he instead concluded: "When we remember that Zarpanit was a mother goddess, and that as the wife of Marduk, the chief Babylonian deity she occupied the same position in Babylon that Ištar did at Nineveh, the conclusion cannot be escaped that Ištar and Zarpanit were one."[111] (This is all the more surprising given that Barton knew of texts wherein Ṣarpānītu and Nanaya were asked to intercede with Ištar on the supplicant's behalf.[112]) Furthermore, Barton notes that because Nebuchadnezzar called Ṣarpānītu a "merciful mother" and "my lady," the mother epithet resembles Ištar-of-Babylon's in her hymn, while "my lady" is reminiscent of Ištar-of-Nineveh's epithet, "Lady," (*bēlet*-).[113] This similarity to Ištar-of-Nineveh solidified Barton's supposition that Ištar-of-Babylon was Ṣarpānītu. Ištar-of-Nineveh/Assur was the spouse of the chief deity of Nineveh/Assur

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[107] Barton 1893, 158.

[108] Barton 1893, 165. Barton noted that Ištar-of-Uruk is the daughter of Anu and Antu which suggests that this is also a different Ištar from Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela (Barton 1893-1894, 14).

[109] Barton 1893-1894, 15.

[110] Barton 1893-1894, 22. Barton credits Babylon and its astrological reputation for associating Ištar-of-Babylon with the planet Venus.

[111] Barton 1893-1894, 21.

[112] Barton 1893-1894, 22. Barton also adds that, like Ṣarpānītu, Nanaya is also another form or personality of Ištar, as described in the Hymn to Ištar.

[113] Barton 1893, 151-152.

Aššur, so Ištar-of-Babylon must also be the spouse of the chief god of Babylon Marduk.[114] Because Ṣarpānītu appeared as Marduk's spouse in the *Hymn to Ištar* and was paired with him elsewhere along with other couples, she, too, was his spouse, and rather than allow Marduk two wives, Barton equated the two goddesses.

Though Barton recognized that *bēlet*- was merely the feminine form of *bēl* ("lord"), itself a title,[115] he allowed this epithet to color his view of the relationship between the goddesses.[116] However, the epithet is too generic to be used to equate deities, just as using the generic titles "king" or "lord" would be inadequate to equate human kings, or using *ummu* ("mother") to equate various goddesses.[117] Such a liberal method of divine equation would inevitably lead to the identification of any deity with any and all others, a tendency that has, unfortunately, already crept into many facets of modern Assyriology and biblical scholarship.

Furthermore, Barton's diachronic analysis of the Ištar-associated goddesses is also highly problematic. Barton's willingness to draw conclusions about a goddess based on a couple of texts from (according to his chronology) the late third millennium and another from the middle of the first millennium skewed his conclusions. This may have seemed necessary to him given the relatively sparse data in his day, but scholars occasionally still supplement their conclusions drawn about a deity from one body of evidence with a text

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[114] Interestingly, the fact that Herodotus mentioned that Ištar was called Μύλιττα at Babylon, which Barton identified with the Assyrian Mulittu – though erroneously derived from *walādu* – does not inspire Barton to identify Ištar-of-Babylon with the Assyrian goddess Ištar-of-Nineveh (Barton 1893-1894, 22).

[115] Barton 1893, 156.

[116] Another epithet-like issue that Barton considers is whether the name Ištar is itself a title, which would explain for him why there are so many Ištars throughout the ancient Semitic world (Barton 1893-1894, 68-70). However, he ultimately decided that the original Ištar was the primary mother goddess of the early Semitic people and their queen, representing a primitive matriarchal government, before patriarchy became the standard form of society and Ištar was reduced to the status of the supreme deity's wife (Barton 1893-1894, 72).

[117] Aya, Bau, Bēlet-ilī, Gula, Ningal, Mullissu/Ninlil, Ninmaḫ, and Ištar are all called "mother" in Akkadian texts (Tallqvist 1938, 21).

that is from another period and provenance. Diachronic studies of deities are helpful and necessary, but the additional information that diachronic studies provide can confound results when scholars expect a uniform treatment of the deity by its devotees.

G. Others in Barton's Wake

Barton's survey of the name Ištar in cuneiform remains an admirable study, despite the limited resources available to him at the time and his readiness to equate goddesses. Modern attempts at understanding the Ištar goddesses in Mesopotamia and the surrounding regions should first focus on the goddesses and their specific locations. In this regard, I. Wegner's *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien* and W. Meinhold's *Ištar in Assur*: *Untersuchung eines Lokalkultes von ca. 2500 bis 614 v. Chr*. each analyses specific regions or cities and the local Ištar-associated goddesses.[118] Studies about Ištar in the Babylonian world or any particular Babylonian city would also be welcome.[119]

The real significance of Barton's study lies in the groundwork he laid with his method. While neither Wegner's nor Meinhold's study depends as strongly as does Barton's on the link between a king, his capital city, and the local Ištar, both use Barton's central premise that the local, but unspecified, Ištar may be the Ištar elsewhere explicitly linked to that particular cult through her geographic epithet.[120] Meinhold's analysis of the

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[118] Wegner 1981; Meinhold 2009.
[119] Treatments on the pantheons of cities is another necessary collection of resources needed for studying all extant Ištar material, including: Beaulieu's *The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period* and J. Myers, "The Pantheon of Sippar: A Diachronic Study" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2002).
[120] G. Beckman applies a form of this methodology in his analysis of Ištars in the north from the early second millennium when he suggests that the Assyrian traders at Kaneš worshipped the Assyrian Ištar. Even though Šaušga appears as a theophoric element among these Assyrian names, "we have no indication that Ištar of Aššur was ever called Šawuška," so any texts invoking Ištar must "refer to the goddess of the political capital" and not Ištar-of-Nineveh/Šaušga (Beckman 1998, 2 n. 21). Wegner also briefly uses

Neo-Assyrian Ištars notes that different cities identified their Ištar-associated goddesses with the national Ištar. In the Old Assyrian period, several Ištar divine names appeared in personal letters and official documents, including an unspecified Ištar, Aššurītu (= Assyrian Ištar = Ištar-of-Aššur), Ištar-ZA-AT, and Ištar-kakkabi, all of which had a cultic presence in the city of Assur at that time.[121] Each of these divine first names was associated with a specific cult in the city, and any form of an Ištar name could appear alongside Aššur. For this reason, Meinhold concludes that Aššur was not linked as a consort with any of these Ištars in the second millennium. Meinhold does follow Barton's lead and suggest that any unspecified Ištar from early second-millennium Assyrian text should be identified with The Assyrian Ištar because she was from the capital city.

Meinhold also notes that during the seventh century, only those living in the city of Arbela would have identified Ištar-of-Arbela with Mullissu, who was recognized throughout the Neo-Assyrian Empire as the supreme god Aššur's wife.[122] Following Meinhold's interpretation of the first-millennium data, because Ištar-of-Arbela was Mullissu in Arbela, Ištar-of-Arbela was the wife of Aššur *in Arbela*; however, no texts explicitly refer to Ištar-of-Arbela as the beloved or wife of Aššur. Elsewhere, Meinhold notes that Ištar-of-Nineveh is increasingly recognized as Aššur's wife Mullissu after

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Barton's methodology when she suggest that the Assyrian Ištar ("assyrischen Ištar) should be identified with the Hittite goddess Ištar/Šaušga-of-Šamuḫa (Wegner 1981, 160). Unless "assyrischen Ištar" is simply a reference to any Ištar cult in Assyria rather than the specific goddess [d]Ištar *aš-šu*$_{(2)}$*-ri-tu*, Wegner's choice, like Beckman's, is based upon the idea that the Assyrian merchants worshiped their local Ištar.

Wegner's position that The Assyrian Ištar is Šaušga-of-Šamuḫa need not be in conflict with Beckman's comment that The Assyrian Ištar is nowhere identified with Šaušga since Beckman is specifically referring to Ištar-of-Nineveh when he discusses Šaušga here. In addition to discussing a separate potential syncretism for The Assyrian Ištar, Wegner does not supply any references to link the two goddess; this theory is simply speculation.

[121] Meinhold 2009, 183f.

[122] Meinhold 2009, 202. For an explanation how the name "Ninlil" came to be pronounced "Mullissu" in the late third millennium, see Meinhold 2009, 192.

Sennacherib moves the Assyrian capital to Nineveh.[123] This identification of Ištar-of-Nineveh with Mullissu was local so that it did not interfere with the Ištar-of-Arbela and Mullissu identification at Arbela.

Scurlock's analysis based on texts in the DPS also follows Barton's method since she examines the familial relationships of a given local Ištar in much the same manner as Barton had. Barton insisted that Ištar-of-Arbela was not Ištar-of-Nineveh because the former was the daughter of Aššur whereas the latter was Aššur's spouse. Likewise, Ištar-of-Nineveh was The Assyrian Ištar because both goddesses were referred as the spouse of Aššur and both could take the epithet *bēlet*, "Lady." In this same way, Scurlock distinguishes Ištar-of-Ḫarrān, the daughter of Sîn, from The Assyrian Ištar, the daughter of Aššur, from Ištar-of-Uruk, the daughter of Anu.[124] It is the goddess's familial relationships that best define any one Ištar against another.

Instead of primarily defining each Ištar by her familial relationships, I. Zsolnay recently defined different Ištars according to their epithets and the geographic regions in which those epithets were found. Zsolnay identifies three Ištar goddesses by the epithets that most commonly accompany the first name in royal inscriptions: 1) *bēlet qabli u tāḫāzi* ("Sovereign-of-Combat-and-Battle"), who leads the king's army and provides him weapons and who associates with Aššur, Adad, and Ninurta; 2) *bēlet šamê u erṣeti* ("Sovereign-of-Heaven-and-Earth"), who commands the king in battle and associates with Aššur, Enlil, Šamaš, and Adad as they cooperatively lead the king's army; and 3) *bēlet ninua* ("Sovereign-of-Nineveh"), who resembles *bēlet šamê u erṣeti* but acts alone

[123] Meinhold 2009, 203f.
[124] Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 523.

or only with Aššur. [125] Elsewhere, she recognizes that there were "no fewer than eight active manifestations for Ištar," each with her own specific region, associated deities, and typical actions performed: (the unspecified) Ištar, Ištar *bēlet Ninua*, Ištar *bēlet tāḫāzi*, Dinītu, Ištar *bēlet qabli u tāḫāzi*, Ištar *bēlet šamê u erṣeti*, Ištar *bēlet têšê*, *and Šarrat-niphi*.[126] Despite delineating the geographic and chronological bounds for all of these different epithets, Zsolnay ultimately envisions them all as aspects of a single Ištar deity throughout her study, "each of these designations represents a different manifestation of the goddess."[127] For her, as for Barton, the different epithets and characteristics associated with Ištar highlight the growing importance of the individual goddess's role as the Middle and Neo-Assyrian empires themselves grew.

Another new voice making itself heard in discussions of manifestations of various deities in Assyria and the rest of the Near East belongs to B. Sommer. Like several other scholars, Sommer argues for the distinctiveness of divine manifestations – be they Adad-named deities, Baal-named deities, Ištar-associated goddesses, or deities associated with other first names – but like Zsolnay and many others, he concludes that there is really only one deity who is represented by the various divine names. He acknowledges and follows Porter's treatment of Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela as they cooperatively but independently act as Ashurbanipal's mother and nurse,[128] but these two Ištars are the same Ištar because "she appears fragmented – not self-contradictory, but manifesting herself as separate beings in separate places."[129] He stresses that the fragmentation that he

[125] Zsolnay's translations have been keep for these titles (I. Zsolnay, "The Function of Ištar in the Assyrian Royal Inscirptions: A Contextual Analysis of the Actions Attributed to Ištar in the Inscirptions of Ititi through Šalmaneser III" [Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2009], 85).
[126] Zsolnay 2009, 211.
[127] Zsolnay 2009, 209.
[128] Sommer 2009, 14.
[129] Sommer 2009, 15.

observes in the multiple Ištar epithets is not the result of a diachronic study or the syncretization of local goddesses into one Ištar; rather, it is the nature of Assyrian and other Near Eastern deities to exert their “fluidity” into “discrete conscious” selves so that “a single deity could exists simultaneously in several bodies.”[130] A deity’s multiple bodies demonstrate not the limits of the divine but the limits of the Mesopotamians’ ability to experience the divine.[131]

Whereas Bottéro argues that mankind can only focus on one deity at a time, Sommer argues that multiple manifestations of a given deity, as indicated by attestations of a common first name, reflect mankind’s need to compartmentalize the divine world according to several deities. However, because he attributes the multiple Ištars to ancient mankind’s conceptual limitations, he is also able to unify these same deities in a manner reminiscent of Annus’s readiness to identify deities with entirely different names like Ninurta and Nabû:

> The potent authority that manifested itself in the form of the high god Anu also manifested itself in Marduk, and hence Marduk’s word was Anu. The uncanny intelligence personified as Ea was also evident in Marduk, and hence Marduk had the same name, or same identity as Ea. Yet Marduk was not entirely identical with Ea or Anu…[132]

Without a doubt, Marduk, Ea, and Anu were distinct in the minds of the ancient Mesopotamians, and Sommer acknowledges this, but rather than simply accept their view of the divine, he attributes this distinctness to their inability to perceive a divine unity.

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[130] Sommer 2009, 12.
[131] Sommer 2009, 36.
[132] Sommer 2009, 36.

H. Implications for the Present Study

Admittedly, Sommer's brief discussion of Near Eastern deities only serves as an introduction to his main topic, the multiple bodies of the God of the Hebrew Bible and how later interpretative traditions dealt with the biblical data. In the process, however, his chapter on conceptions of Near Eastern deities replicates many of the same problems observed in previous scholarship. Like Bottéro and Lambert, his analysis reveals a small bias for monotheistic traditions over polytheistic ones. Bottéro argues that mankind can only focus on one deity at a time, and Lambert argues that a path towards some form of qualified monotheism is a natural aspect of polytheism, and Sommer argues that the Mesopotamians were overwhelmed by the divine and broke it into smaller fragments in order to cope better with it. Like Annus, he allows his biases to cause him to identify distinct deities with each other; however, he has been able to avoid the temptation to equate deities because of similarities that arise during diachronic investigations, a temptation to which Annus, Barton, and numerous others have fallen victim. Finally, like most other scholars, he willingly and simultaneously recognizes distinct manifestations of a particular deity, typically Ištar, and uses those distinct manifestations to lead him into a discussion of one singular deity.

This modern focus on one singular Ištar (or any other divine first name) is not always the result of scholars' identifying deities because of common attributes and epithets; nor is it simply the result of Western, Christian biases. Scholars also identify deities with each other because of their bias towards the lexical god-lists that equate those same deities. These god-lists are the products of a scholarly elite among the ancient scribes, and they make bold claims about the nature of the divine in Mesopotamia.

Moreover, these god-lists can be quite complicated, making them even more interesting for the modern scholar to study. In effect, the products of the ancient elite scholar-scribes are now being studied – and their theological contents privileged – by modern elite scholars.

Having surveyed many of the ways in which modern scholars identify deities and their reasoning behind such equations – most of which have been based upon lexical god-lists and the so-called syncretistic hymns that are the products of a resonating yet miniscule minority within the Mesopotamian population – we may now turn to the lexical god-lists themselves.

CHAPTER 5: UNDERSTANDING THE LEXICAL GOD-LISTS

In addition to this bias inherited from Western Christianity, the native Mesopotamian tradition of lexical lists that focus on divine names has influenced modern scholars' conceptions about the nature and number of divine entities in the Mesopotamian world. These lexical god-lists may actually bear more responsibility for Assyriologists' interpretations about the nature and number of Sumerian and Akkadian deities than does their Christian cultural heritage. Another Western academic bias lurks behind scholars' use of the lexical god-list traditions: the privileging of the lexical tradition over non-lexical traditions because these lists are the products of the elite scribal community.[1] We cannot know how authoritative the Mesopotamian scribes regarded these lexical god-lists or if access to them was restricted, but as discussed in chapter 2, no colophons indicate that only the initiated should read them.[2] However, the elevation of these god-lists by modern scholars is evident. Lambert deems them the "*primary documents* of ancient Mesopotamian religion,"[3] from which we can glean the identification processes between particular deities through different periods.[4] Designating the lexical god-lists as "primary documents" – especially by such an influential and prolific scholar as Lambert –

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[1] However, since these lexical god-list traditions are not labeled as esoteric texts, they should not be considered esoteric (Lenzi 2008, 205).

[2] Certain specific lexical god-list traditions may have served as educational texts for scribes in training. For instance, B. L. Crowell notes that TH 80 112 is likely a god-list from Mari that functioned as a scribal exercise (B. L. Crowell, "The Development of Dagan: A Sketch," *JANER* 1 [2001]: 41). Likewise, following N. Veldhuis's work on scribal education in Old Babylonian Nippur, J. Peterson notes that the Nippur god-lists may have been a part of the curriculum, but the texts occur so infrequently that "the exact placement of this text in a curricular sequence among other advanced lists is not entirely certain" (J. Peterson, *Godlists from Old Babylonian Nippur in the University Museum*, *Philadelphia* [AOAT 326; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2009], 8). Because some Nippur god-lists appear on the back of known intermediate level texts, they too may have belonged to the intermediate curriculum (p. 17). T. Ritcher notes that *SLT* 125 is obviously the product of school texts, whereas *SLT* 117 and 122-124 are less so (T. Ritcher, *Untersuchungen ze den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in Altbabyloniens in Altbabylonischer Zeit* [AOAT 257; 2d ed; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2004], 17).

[3] Lambert 1969, 478 (my emphasis).

[4] Lambert claims that the deities' attributes can also be traced through these god-lists (Lambert 1969, 479).

necessarily transforms their value from that of scribal exercises or theological speculation to that of prescriptive (rather than descriptive) analyses of Mesopotamian religious thought. Whatever the intended purposes of or the original audiences for these lexical god-list traditions were, in the minds and methodologies of Assyriologists, they have become the "primary documents" for reconstructing our view of the Mesopotamian pantheon. Regardless of whether the ancient scribes thought that these lexical god-lists represented only their theology, treating these lists as *the* primary documents of Mesopotamian religion does not produce reliable conclusions about the Mesopotamian pantheon.

A. Lexical God-Lists

Already in the third millennium B.C.E., Sumerian scribes began compiling and organizing the names of their gods into lexical lists. As with other Sumerian and Akkadian lexical traditions, the purpose behind the lexical god-list was both to impose order on the complexities within the Sumerian pantheon and to preserve the names of those lower-tiered deities whose names might have been lost due to their increasing insignificance. Chiefly, according to J. Bottéro, the god-lists serve to transform "a large more or less disordered and confused group" of deities into a logical and ordered hierarchy.[5] The hierarchy found within the earliest known god-lists, the Fara god-lists, resembles those of later god-lists whose own local traditions are independent of the Fara lists. These resemblances demonstrate to Litke that the lexical god-list tradition was an important tool for the Mesopotamian scribe to understand the divine world.[6] Furthermore,

[5] Bottéro 2001, 48.
[6] Litke 1998, 2.

this stability amongst the rankings has indicated to Assyriologists the reliability of the divine hierarchy and has allowed them to confidently discern these rankings elsewhere in Mesopotamian literature, be it in a cultic, political, or intellectual situation.

By preserving the names of the lesser gods for future generations of scribes, the god-lists function in the same manner as hard-word lists, practical reference works or thesauri for scribes who speak a different language (i.e., Akkadian instead of Sumerian) or those who speak the same language but whose vocabulary has changed significantly over the centuries. Indeed, that many divine names are only known today through these lexical gods lists stands as a testimony to the god-lists' role as a preservation tactic.[7] However, the possibility that many of the divine names in the Fara and other god-list traditions are otherwise unknown may also point to another aspect of the lexical or treatise tradition, specifically, that some entries have been created for the sole purpose of enhancing the list. Were this the case, these otherwise unknown or possibly new entries would resemble the extrapolated laws found in the various law collections, the extrapolated omens found in omen collections, as well as the extrapolated dreams found in dream collections.[8]

The following collection of texts spans the third to the first millennia and provides insight into some aspects of Mesopotamian theological understanding. This collection includes: the Fara List, Weidner List, Nippur List, Genouillac List, *An = Anum*, *An = Anu ša amēli*, and a few other variant lists. Most of the following examination relies on the Old Babylonian period texts because they have survived in the best condition and because later lists often reiterate points already made through these texts.

[7] W. G. Lambert notes that the high incidence of unfamiliar or obscure divine names in the Fara god-list hinders modern attempts to discover all the organizational principals within the list (Lambert 1969, 474).
[8] See Bottéro 1992, 169ff.

a. The Fara God-Lists (ca. 2600)

The earliest texts of these lexical traditions are the Sumerian Fara lists from ancient Šuruppak. Three tablets (Deimel, *Fara* 2 1, 5, and 6) from the Early Dynastic period (ca. 2600) provide only divine names, whereas god-lists from later periods provides equivalences of divine names.[9] Together, the Fara tablets provide over 500 divine names, of which only three are Semitic deities.[10] In addition to the major deities, there are several local lower-level deities, gods otherwise unknown to us, and various deified *nomina concreta* (e.g., names for wax, reed, and metal objects) that are accompanied by divine determinatives.[11] Unfortunately, due to our incomplete understanding of the cuneiform script of this early period, a full analysis of the list and its pantheon of the hundreds of divine names has not been completed.[12]

Despite our incomplete decipherment of the tablets, the legible material suggests that their format resembles subsequent god-lists in Mesopotamia: the content arrangements are determined by both lexical and theological concerns, though the influence of the latter is minimal. Although we cannot determine the overall structure found throughout the Fara tablets, the beginning of the list does provide a theological hierarchy similar to modern speculations on the Sumerian pantheon: the senior gods appear first (i.e., Enlil, Inana, Enki, Nanna, and Utu), and their offspring appear later.

Unfortunately, any hierarchical ideals found within the Fara texts are lost after these first six entries, and the lexical nature of the Fara tradition becomes apparent. Of those deities listed between i 10 and vii 13 in our exemplar text Deimal *Fara* 2 1, those

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[9] Lambert 1969, 473.
[10] A. Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara II*: *Schultexte aus Fara* (WVDOG 43; Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1969); Bottéro 2001, 48. Bottéro does not indicate who these three Semitic deities are in the Fara lists.
[11] Selz 1990, 115.
[12] Litke 1998, 2.

entries whose readings are discernable begin with a divine determinative and the NIN-sign.[13] According to Lambert, the Fara traditions represent a form of scribal exercises – a claim he bases on the widespread distribution of this lexical tradition that includes duplicates and variants from Ur, Uruk, and Tell Ṣalābiḥ – and are not dependent upon local cults' offering-lists since these should differ from city to city though much more than the Fara god-lists do.[14] Deimel also considers the Fara god-list traditions as scribal training texts, as indicated by the word "Schultexte" in the title of his book: *Die Inschriften von Fara II*: *Schultexte aus Fara*.

If Lambert and Deimel are correct, these texts do not represent any official religion of ancient Mesopotamia (as discussed in chapter 2), nor should they be considered insights to the non-official religious traditions of the general population. They are, instead, the products of and exercises for a specific population learning how to write. Aside from the brief list of five or six deities at the beginning of Deimal *Fara* 2 1, the tablets lack a reflection of any significant divine hierarchy or any apparent sophisticated theological arrangement, and they fail to present knowledge of syncretistic tendencies between the Sumerian and Akkadian pantheons. Indeed, these exercises provide no theological reflection for the scribe in training, and even modern scholars can glean little theological meaning from the tablets.[15]

[13] Presumably the broken lines, which comprise a scattered minority of the entries in this section, likewise adhered to this ^{d}NIN- pattern. This logographic-based pattern is also attested with other signs in smaller groupings throughout the remainder of the tablet. For example, ^{d}EN- begins each discernable entry in r. i 5-11, and viii 5 begins a series of four entries containing the sign UNUG as an element. In Deimal's interpretation of the list, l. 8 lacks an UNUG element (Deimel 1969, plate 2)
[14] Lambert 1969, 473.
[15] One notable theological idea that can be gleaned from the Fara god-list traditions is the possibility that the deity An has lost his position as the head of the Sumerian pantheon. An's loss is indicated by the fact that his name does not appear at the beginning of the text so that Enlil's is the first name listed (Litke 1998, 2)

b. Old Babylonian Lexical Lists

No genetic relationship exists between the Fara lists and those from the Old Babylonian periods, but like the Fara tablets these newer lists lack explicit explanations, supplying instead a simple series of divine names. Lambert and Litke each date the so-called Nippur List, known as such because of its provenance, to the Old Babylonian period.[16] According to T. Richter, this list tradition comprises three different main tablet and two fragments (*SLT* 122-124 and 117 and 125), which comprise approximately 270 divine names.[17] The Nippur List begins with the high gods – An, Antu, Enlil (i 1-4; see Table 5.1) – and continues, according to Lambert, along a theological basis, but it occasionally organizes entries according to the logograms used in the divine names.[18] If we interpret ll. 8-12 and 54-62 (see Table 5.1) as evidence for the identification of these divine names with the first goddess mentioned in each block, Ninḫursag and Inana, respectively, then these blocks have been arranged both theologically and according to the logograms.[19] Like the Fara tablets, the Nippur List should not be relied upon as a primary document of Mesopotamian religion but as a document for understanding lexicographical organization and scribal education.[20]

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[16] Lambert 1969, 474; Litke 1998, 2. This later date differs slightly from C. F. Jean's original dating to the late third millennium (C. F. Jean, "Noms divins sumériens listes des Élèves-scribes de Nippur du 3e millénaire environ avant J.-C.," *RA* 28 [1931]: 179).

[17] Richter 2004, 16; Lambert 1969, 474. Approximately sixty percent of the divine names are extant in STL 122's seven columns. Peterson describes the current state of *SLT* 117, 122-124, and 125, and other fragments, including the number of extant columns and the text's layout (Peterson 2009, 10-13).

[18] Lambert 1969, 474; Jean 1931, 182.

[19] The divine names in ll. 8-12 all begin with ^{d}NIN, while those in ll. 54-62 all begin with ^{d}INANA. The longest extant chain based upon divine names that begin with the same logogram occurs in a series of ^{d}LUGAL divine names (ll. 124-143 in Peterson's reconstruction [Peterson 2009, 15]), and another ^{d}NIN-series appears in ll. 169-180. Along with several shorter series, including those with two or three entries featuring a common logogram (e.g., ll. 188-189, 190-191, and 203-204), roughly a third of the entries in STL 122 reflect a lexical rather than theological arrangement.

[20] Like its contemporaries, the Old Babylonian period Proto-Diri list that has been published (OECT 4 no. 153 col. V) is a "simple string of names" (Lambert 1969, 474); however, according to Lambert, one

E. Weidner dated the earliest known copies of his now namesake god-list to the Ur III and the Isin-Larsa periods, but variants and fragments of later copies of the list continue into the late Assyrian and late Babylonian periods.[21] Most of the copies (i.e., the early fragments, the Late Babylonian copies, and the Assyrian fragments *KAV* 62 and 65) simply arrange the divine names in sequence, but the Assyrian *KAV* 63 was expanded into a double sub-column work – the first sub-column provides the divine name, and the second provides an explanation of the name or an epithet.[22] Weidner's reconstruction of the list begins with Anu (and his consort Antu) and Enlil (and his consort Mullissu), then includes Nusku, Gibil, Sîn and their respective consorts as members of Enlil's entourage. Following Sîn's divine names, a short inventory of his own entourage – his consort, his viziers, and his offspring and their extended courts – is listed (see Tables 5.2 and 5.2a).[23]

Lambert notes that the Weidner god-list's arrangement is difficult to understand both because of our ignorance concerning many of the minor deities listed and the possibility that the god-list is actually an ancient compilation of numerous smaller lists.[24] The treatment of the sun-god in ii 3 in Weidner's edition of the god-list serves as an example of the unusual arrangement. Šamaš first appears in ii 3 with his consort Aya and his entourage, but his name then reappears in iii 28 as the explanation for the divine name

unpublished recension contains about 100 names. There are some theological bases to the ordering, but most of the grouping is done for lexical reasons.

[21] E. F. Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten," *AfK* 2 (1924-1925): 2; Peterson 2009, 81.

[22] Two additional tablets, *KAV* 46 and 47, have expanded the tradition into five sub-columns: the first provides the pronunciation of the divine name; sub-column two gives the standard spelling of the divine name; sub-column three provides the names of the signs that comprise the divine name in sub-column two; sub-column four provides an epithet or explanation of the divine name; and the last is barely extant, so its purpose is unknown (Lambert 1969, 474).

[23] Weidner 1924-1925, 9-10. The logic behind the sequence of names in columns ii-iii of his restoration is more difficult to recognize than is the sequence of column i (see pp. 11-18; see also Table 5.2).

[24] Lambert 1969, 474.

Pa.[25] Between these two occurrences are several extended series of divine names, including a unit focusing on the gods Ninurta (and his consort Gula; ii 6-22), a unit focusing on Ea and his entourage (ii 23-iii 5), and a unit focsing on Nergal (iii 11-24). To further complicate the organization, Enki and his entourage, which includes Marduk, Nabû, and their consorts, are sandwiched between the Ninurta series and a Nergal series.[26] This haphazard arrangement may not reflect any organizing principal at all, which makes drawing any new theological conclusions drawn from the Weidner List difficult.

Even later copies, such as *KAV* 46 and 47, lack obvious organizational patterns despite their multiple sub-columns; however, they at least provide theological reflections within a line with their explanations and epithets. The scribe who read or copied this list would not have readily discerned all the relationships between and among the deities, but he likely would have learned specific concepts about specific deities within a given entry. That the Weidner List eventually served as a pedagogic exercise for ancient scribes is indicated by two fragments that appear on tablets with Syllabary A.[27] However, even as a pedagogic god-list in its final, late, expanded form, the value of the Weidner List as a primary document for reconstructing Mesopotamian religion – especially for the earlier periods – is questionable.

The Genouillac List (TCL 15 10) is the longest extant god-list from the Old Babylonian period with a simple series of divine names,[28] consisting of 473 names in ten columns. The list is arranged theologically, and H. de Genouillac has divided it into 15

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[25] Weidner 1924-1925, 18.
[26] Such an interruption in Ninurta and Nergal identifications should serve as a hint to scholars that Ninurta and Nergal are not the same deity in many circles.
[27] Lambert 1969, 474.
[28] Peterson 2009, 79.

sections (see Table 5.3).[29] Unlike the other lists, this god-list's arrangement is overtly theological. It begins with Enki and his consort Ninki (i 1-2); traces fourteen generations to the appearance of Anu (l. 30), providing his theogony; and then traces Enlil's theogony, which concludes with the presentation of Enlil and his court (i 37-ii 12). The unexpected, and somewhat unorthodox, introduction of Enki at the beginning of the list – as well as the resumption of his entourage (ii 27-39) between those of Ninurta (ii 13-35) and Marduk (ii 40-iii 14) – has prompted Lambert to suggest that the material in i 1-29 has been affixed as a prologue by a compiler who could find no better location for the material.[30] Other than the introductory material, Anu does not appear in the Genouillac List, whereas Enlil's entourage appears in iii 34-iv 4, beginning with his vizier Nusku.

Unlike the other early god-lists, the Genouillac List's arrangement not only provides the relationships between and among deities but also does so in a relatively straightforward manner. For example, Ea's court (ii 27-39) precedes his son Marduk's, which includes *his* son Nabû (ii 40-iii 14). Since Marduk precedes Nabû, this suggests that Marduk outranks Nabû, which may be expected from their intergenerational relationship. The son is subordinate to the father, as are the rest of the father's entourage. Likewise, since Ea's entourage precedes Marduk's entourage, the father Ea outranks the son Marduk. Presumably Marduk owns a higher status than the other members of his father's entourage since he himself is accompanied by an entourage[31]; however, the

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[29] H. de Genouillac, "Grande liste de noms divins sumériens," *RA* 20 (1923): 96. The names Genouillac provides for the groups are as follows: Enki, Anu, Enlil, Ninurta, Enki's court, Marduk, Nabû, [Belit-ilī], Nusku, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Ištar along with her servants, paramours, Dumuzi, Nisaba, and Nergal.
[30] Lambert 1969, 475. However, these 29 lines do not exalt Enki inasmuch as they serve here to demonstrate Enlil's descent from An, and yet they exalt Enlil above his father. This exaltation is further emphasized by the number of lines spent on each of the two deities.
[31] However, this conclusion need not be drawn at this time. Likewise, Nabû's lack of an entourage in this list highlights his own lower tiered status, though, again, conclusions comparing his status against specific individual gods in Marduk's entourage are unwarranted for this list.

relative rank among the gods beyond these filial relationships is more complicated to determine with confidence. One must consider how status of individual members of one entourage compares with those deities who are important enough to have their own entourages but who appear later in the list. The Genouillac List indicates that An, Enlil, Enki, and Bēlet-ilī each outrank Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, and Ištar in the Old Babylonian pantheon since the former appear before the latter. The list does not indicate, however, where Ninurta, Marduk, and Nabû (all appearing within the entourages Enlil and Enki) rank against Sîn and the others are are listed after them. This problem is also common to the Weidner god-list (see Table 5.2a).

A scribe reading or copying the Genouillac List could derive many theological implications from this text. Indeed, portions of the Genouillac List ultimately served as models for the largest and most complicated of all Mesopotamian god-lists, *An = Anum*,[32] which demonstrates that later scribes did, in fact, used the Genouillac List for theological speculation. Not all the units appear in the same order, but there are parallel collections of deities between the two lists. The Genouillac List itself may not be a primary source for uncovering Mesopotamian religion, and it produces as many theological questions as it presents answers, but it is the ancestor of one god-list that many Assyriologists consider *the* primary source for uncovering Mesopotamian religion. Moreover, this new god-list provides the relative status of and equations of various deities for Assyriologists.

[32] Litke 1998, 3; Peterson 2009, 79. Peterson notes that ll. 276-280 and 349-356 of *An = Anum* were direct descendants of TCL 15 10.

c. The *An* = *Anum* God-List

The six tablet collection *An* = *Anum*,[33] which in later tradition developed a seventh tablet, is likely an attempt to "codify the numerous traditional god names so far as possible in accordance with the existing religious status quo."[34] In this light, not only does *An* = *Anum* become the pinnacle achievement of the lexical god-list tradition in Mesopotamia, it also becomes *the* primary document of the Mesopotamian divine world as recorded by the elite. Lambert's statement either wholly disregards the potential distinction between the theological speculations of the elite scribal class and the everyday realities of the common, illiterate Mesopotamian who had restricted access to the cult and no access to these tablets, or it suggests to the modern scholar that this series is at least as much proscriptive of Mesopotamian religions as it is descriptive. Perhaps it does both equally. Admittedly, Lambert wrote the above statement over 30 years ago, before scholars were as aware and as conscientious as they are today about the differences between family, state, and cultic religions (see chapter 2); however, since 1975, this statement – or at least the article wherein it appears – has been highly influential in studies of and is often cited in discussion about the hierarchical organization of the Mesopotamian pantheon. A better summary description of the tradition behind the series *An* = *Anum* comes from Bottéro, "The pantheon of innumerable gods are organized into a supernatural reflection of earthly political authority."[35] Like all other lexical god-lists, the primary objective is to organize the world.

[33] Some copies of *An* = *Anum* (e.g., YBC 2401) contain the contents of the six tablets on a single tablet (Litke 1998, 4), providing a reliable template upon which to properly arrange the six tablet tradition. This also serves as a map for joining smaller fragments back into a reconstructed composite text (pp. 17-18).
[34] Lambert 1975, 195.
[35] Bottéro 2001, 51.

A secondary objective of *An = Anum* was to preserve the organization of the pantheon from earlier god-lists. The traditions behind TCL 15 10, the longest Old Babylonian witness to the Genouillic List, reappear in *An = Anum*. If Lambert has correctly dated the full form of *An = Anum* to the late Kassite (ca. 1300-1100), then this alone attests the preservation of TCL 15 10's tradition an additional 500 years.[36] Further evidence of *An = Anum*'s preservational aspect is that the two best exemplars may be Middle Assyrian tablets (K 4349 and YBC 2401) and that scribes continued copying the series into the Neo-Assyrian period and the late Babylonian period.[37]

In seventh-century Assyria, most of the approximately 1970 names within the list are still Sumerian deities, even though they may not have been worshiped for centuries at the time of their compilation.[38] Even in the late copies, the divine imperial ruler Aššur lacks the proper placement within the series befitting the head of the pantheon. Perhaps the stability to which copies of *An = Anum* from Ashurbanipal's reign attest is itself a result of its supposed canonical status,[39] but the simple truth is that series' conservative nature reflects a Sumerian world, not the contemporary Neo-Assyrian world. Aššur's relative absence undermines the idea that the series reflects its seventh-century copyists' theology. The divine reality of the Neo-Assyrian scribes should belong to a world wherein Aššur, as the head of their pantheon, deserves and receives his rightful place within any theological discussion. Because of this lack of concern for Aššur, Porter rightly notes that while *An = Anum* may have been familiar to Neo-Assyrian scribes or

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[36] Lambert 1975, 195.

[37] Lambert 1969, 475. The so-called *An = Anum* textual tradition has numerous textual witnesses. Litke's reconstruction of *An = Anum* Tablet I was based on 13 sources (Litke 1998, 20); Tablet II was reconstructed from 18 sources, after determining joins (pp. 65f.); Tablet III had 28 sources when counting joins as a single source (pp. 114f.); Tablet IV had 13 sources (pp. 148f.); Tablet V had 13 sources (pp. 167f.); Tablet VI had 24 sources (pp. 198f.); and Tablet VII had 4 sources (p. 221).

[38] Lambert 1969, 475-76.

[39] P. Garelli, "Facets of Conservative Mesopotamian Thought," *Daedalus* 104 (1975): 48.

even regularly consulted by them for spellings and explanations of divine names, their acceptance of any specific theological concepts contained within the series is unclear.[40] Instead of serving as a primary document of Mesopotamian religion in general (or Neo-Assyrian religion at all), *An = Anum* most properly serves as a primary document for its conservative compilers in the late second millennium.

Litke distinguishes *An = Anum* from the other lexical god-lists because it lacks Sumerian-Akkadian equivalents. For this reason, he prefers using the phrase "explanatory list" in order to highlight *An = Anum*'s purpose to describe the roles, relationships, and other characteristics of the deities counted within the pantheon.[41] Arranged theologically – not acrographically – *An = Anum*'s format appears in a two-column style. The first column provides the divine name, and the second column explains that name or provides an alterative divine name for the deity. Because of this second column, *An = Anum* is used today to support the equation of various Mesopotamian deities.

While the dual column nature of the series accelerates our understanding of the relationship expressed between succeeding lines, the overall structure of the series is more complex. As in the Genouillic List, this series consists of several units, and each unit begins with the common name of its main deity. Each subsequent line provides the deity's other names. Eventually, the deity's consort is introduced, along with her (or his) other names, and their offspring and entourage complete the unit.[42] As with other god-lists, *An = Anum*'s structure is complicated by the insertion of an offspring's consort and entourage within a larger parent unit. This embedding further separates the primary deity and consort from their entourage. For example, Marduk's names and entourage interrupt

[40] Porter 2000, 221.
[41] Litke 1998, 6. Litke suggests that *An = Anum* should be read as a Sumerian, rather than Akkadian, text.
[42] Lambert 1969, 475.

his father Enki's listing, displacing Enki from his own entourage. Likewise, Ninurta's listings interrupt his father Enlil from his court.[43]

The structure of *An = Anum* is not the only aspect of the lexical series that has been used as evidence for the hierarchy of the pantheon. The numeric values associated with deities in *An = Anum* have also been used to establish the relative rank of the gods. Litke suggests that the numerical designations "represent little more than a convenient way of indicating relative rank in the pantheon."[44] In *An = Anum* I 150, Enlil is identified with the number 50, which places him above Ea and his number 40 (II 171) and Sîn and his number 30 (III 3) but just below the highest deity Anu, who is identified with 60 in CT 25 50:6, but not in *An = Anum*. Of course, Anu/Enlil/Ea/Sîn corresponds well with the hierarchy presented by the Neo-Assyrian kings in their royal inscriptions and treaties (as discussed in chapter 6), but even this multi-tablet series lacks numbers – and therefore lacks relative rankings – for other great gods of interest, including Adad, Ištar, and Nabû (see Table 5.5 for listings of divine numbers). Litke is probably correct that Ištar's 15 can be explained in light of Sîn's 30:

> One might attempt to explain this numerical system by referring to the designation of ^{d}30 for the moon god as representing thirty days of a full month, or naively explaining Ištar's number "15" as representing one half the number of her father, the moon god. But this seems totally inadequate as a method of explaining the bulk of the remaining deities so designated. It is much simpler to see in the numerical system nothing more than an indication of relative rank.[45]

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[43] Lambert 1975, 195.
[44] Litke 1998, 37.
[45] Litke 1998, 37. According to Parpola, each "great god" was identified with a numeric representation in the thirteenth century, and these numbers were often used to indicate divine names in EGLs and in personal names (Parpola 2000, 182). Some identifications are obvious and ancient like Sîn and the number 30, which approximates the number of days in a lunar cycle; others are inexplicable like Ištar and the number 15 or Adad and the number 10. Other relationships between a number and a deity are problematic. For instance, Anu's mystical number is 1, and Ea's mystical number is 60 (according to Parpola [p. 182]; contra. *An = Anum* II 171), though both 1 and 60 are represented by the vertical sign DIŠ. Moreover, this numerology should be problematic for Parpola since he is primarily concerned with the meaning of the numbers and the interconnectedness of the deities for the Neo-Assyrian pantheon, but the Assyrian chief

As Sîn’s daughter, Ištar’s numerical value is half of her father’s, but the underlying point of this fractional relationship is no more obvious than Šamaš’s 20 as two-thirds of his father Sîn, a number that is also not included in *An = Anum*. This relative ranking and numeric relationship between deities is further complicated by the fact that Adad’s number 10 is has a lower value than Ištar’s 15, but Adad’s section of *An = Anum* begins in III 206, whereas Ištar’s section begins in IV 1.

If *An = Anum* reveals a hierarchy of a proposed divine world, as is typically assumed, the consorts and children of the most important gods are included within the entourage of the primary deity of interest, as is the case with the Weidner and the Genouillac, and any divine numerology is incomplete. For these reasons, drawing inferences about the hierarchy of the pantheon in *An = Anum* is complicated, and the rank of those deities belonging to another deity’s entourage cannot be easily compared to a deity listed after anytime after that entourage. The relative rankings are confounded and impossible to reliably determine. Thus, the order of the typical main deities consists of Anu, Enlil with Ninurta, Ninhursag, Ea with Marduk, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, and Ištar; however, the nature of the hierarchical relationship between Ninurta and Marduk or between Marduk and Sîn, as imaged by the Kassite compiler of *An = Anum*, is lost to all

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deity, Aššur himself, lacks a number and a place in Parpola’s diagram (p. 183). Parpola notes that the horizontal wedge, which serves as cuneiform shorthand for Aššur, resembles the DIŠ-sign and can also mean “‘single, only’ (depending on the context, also ‘one’)” (p. 183). Though he never actually identifies Aššur, Anu, and Ea in his numerological discussion, he also notes that Aššur “reflects” (*umaššil*) Anu in the genealogy at the begining of *Enūma eliš* and that Anu generates Ea in his own “likeness” (*tamšīlu*).

In response to Parpola’s previous discussions of the mystic numbers (Parpola 1993a, 184 and 190-192 and S. Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies*, SAA 9 [Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1997a] xxxiv-xxxv), Cooper points out that there are several numbers that can be associated with a given Mesopotamian deity, and there are several deities that can be associated with a given number (Cooper 2000, 437). For example, Enlil and Marduk can be associated with the number 50, and Marduk’s association with 50 in *Enūma eliš* and elsewhere is a hint of his usurpation of Enlil’s position in the pantheon at Babylon (W. G. Lambert, “Studies in Marduk,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, *University of London* 47 [1984]: 3-4). Likewise, whereas Parpola indentifies 60 with Ea and 40 with Nabû, *An = Anum* II 171 identifies the number 40 – or two-thirds of 60 – with Ea.

except the compiler himself. In this regard, *An = Anum* displays the problems of its theological ancestor, the Genouillac List.

d. *An = Anu ša amēli*

Lambert says the series *An = Anu ša amēli* ("An is the Anu of man") is undoubtedly a Kassite product like *An = Anum*.[46] This series consists of about 160 divine names but focuses on only 19 major deities (see Table 5.4b).[47] Whereas *An = Anum* is most revealing when interpreted as a Sumerian text, *An = Anu ša amēli* is, in fact, an Akkadian text.[48] Despite this god-list's association with *An = Anum*, the list shows less interest in the relative rank of the deities. Indeed, this pantheon differs significantly when compared to *An = Anum*. Instead of placing Ea nearer his Triad 1 cohorts Anu and Enlil, as *An = Anum* does, *An = Anu ša amēli* places Ea nearer the end of the list.[49] Ea only appears in ll. 119-148 (of 157), following lengthy units devoted to Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Papsukkal, Ninurta, Nergal, Ištar, Nisaba, Sumuqan, Marduk, and Nabû. However, despite Ea's low place in the list, the compiler's arrangement betrays mixed signals. Though the gods with the most seniority (i.e., Anu and Enlil) begin the list and Ea virtually closes the list, Ea's section is roughly three times the size of the individual sections covering Anu and Enlil. How a deity's serial rank relates to the space allotted him is unclear; the attention placed on Ea in his 30 lines surely suggests a higher rank in

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46 Lambert 1969, 477.
47 The Neo-Assyrian copies from Ashurbanipal's library are K 11966 and CT 26 50.
48 Litke 1998, 15. In addition to the two column format of *An = Anum*, this series contains a third column, written in Akkadian, that explains the relationship between the names in the first two columns, specifying when the first name is to be identified with the second name. For example, the first line, *An = Anu = ša amēli* (AN | AN | LU_2), states that the divine name An represents the god of a man, while line two, ^{d}di.⌜meš⌝ = *Anu* = *ša*$_2$ *sinništi*(SAL) means that the divine name Di.meš represents the god of a woman.
49 Lines 1-12 of this 157 line series (following Likte's numbering on pp. 228-241) are devoted to different aspects and syncretizations of Anu. Within this section, l. 12, ^{d}*Uraš*(IB) = *Anu* = *ša*$_2$ *mil-ki*, equates Anu with Uraš, who is elsewhere identified as Anu's wife (Lambert 1975, 197) and ll. 13-21 belong to Enlil.

the pantheon than his near-end serial position suggests, even if he does appear after his son Marduk and grandson Nabû. In addition to his late placement, Ea's separation from Anu and Enlil in *An = Anu ša amēli* is all the more peculiar given not only his own antiquity and seniority but because Anu, Enlil, and Enki/Ea are regularly presented as a unified triad throughout Mesopotamian history.[50] Because of the irregularities presented throughout *An = Anu ša amēli*, the benefits of using this lexical god-list as a primary document for Mesopotamian religion or the data gleaned from it for reconstructions of a generic pantheon – for any time period – remain questionable.

B. Non-Lexical God-List Traditions

Litke prefers to classify the god-list *An = Anum* as an explanatory list instead of a lexical list because it describes the relationships between divine names, including the equation of divine names, instead of simply listing the names of various gods as the Fara lists do.[51] That this series could be variously classified by scholars reflects its value in establishing and describing a (primarily Sumerian) Mesopotamian pantheon, regardless of how broadly this specific pantheon should be applied to the various populations' conceptions in ancient Mesopotamia. Likte's reassessment of the series as more than a lexical god-list is reminiscent of many previous Assyriological studies that have examined texts and genres that are definitely not lexical god-list in nature or intent. Many other texts, which have been compiled to address non-lexical issues – such as diagnostic lists that attribute diseases and/or cures to different deities or hymns that praise one deity by comparing him or her to others – can be examined in such a way to distill lists of gods

[50] Inana or another primary goddess (e.g., DINGIR.MAḪ or Bēlit-ilī) occasionally infiltrates this triad, making a quartet, as in the Fara list (Bottéro 2001, 48; Litke 1998, 2).
[51] Litke 1998, 6.

that have been embedded within them. Texts containing embedded series of deities represent many distinct and divergent genres, including academic/scribal, administrative, and personal generic traditions.

This next collection of texts, primarily from academic/scribal traditions, includes texts with numerous divine names embedded within them. Typically, the divine names do not appear in long chains as is the case in the lexical god-list tradition. Instead, in these texts, most of the divine names are listed individually (or in pairs). For instance, each sentence (or paragraph) of a text may list only one or two gods, but with each new sentence (or paragraph) a different deity (or pair of deities) is named. The regularity of the divine names within these literary units – be they sentences or paragraphs – allows us to reconstruct lists of gods from the structure of the texts. Viewed this way, each literary unit within a text can be viewed as comparable to an individual entry in a lexical god-list. Three traditions that serve as exemplars of this non-lexical god-list grouping are the Šurpu series, the so-called Syncretic Hymn to Ninurta, and *Enūma eliš* VI-VII. Depending on a text's genre, the embedded god-lists may arrange the deities theologically, but non-ranking arrangements are not uncommon, so hierarchical rankings and inter-deity relationships – including possible identifications – are not always evident, if they are present at all. Because the divine names and their arrangement in texts must be distilled from the texts' larger contents and contexts, the list of divine names culled from this collection of diverse genres is henceforth called "embedded god-lists" (EGLs) to easily differentiate them from what has traditionally been called god-lists in the lexical series already discussed.

The Šurpu series is a seven-tablet series of incantations and prayers, many of which were recovered from the Ashurbanipal library.[52] Tablet II of the series contains an invocation to the gods on behalf of the sick (see Table 5.6), but tablets III, IV, VII, and VIII also contain EGLs, despite their focus on Marduk (see Tables 5.7-5.8). Of particular interest for identifying EGLs is tablet II 140-184, from which over 40 divine names can be distilled to reconstruct a list of gods.[53] Specifically, notice how each divine entity or small group of entities belongs in their own sentence, marked by the Akkadian verb *lipṭur*(*u*). An introductory sentence, invoking Marduk and Ṣarpānītu as "Lord and Lady" (^{d}EN *u* ^{d}GAŠAN, l. 141), is followed by a collection of standard high gods, as well as temples, places, and lesser known entities. Unlike other EGLs that are explored in this and the following chapters, however, Šurpu II 140-184 includes multiple names of commonly identified Sumerian and Akkadian gods (e.g., Enki in l. 146 and Ea in l. 148). As a complilation of invocations designed to drive away demons, this reinvoking of deities such as Enki/Ea is understandable.

In addition to the compilation series Šurpu, other epics and hymns comprise another non-lexical tradition containing embedded god-lists. In all likelihood, the audience for these texts consisted of the scribal/academic, royal, and cultic elite, leaving the vast majority of the Mesopotamian society unfamiliar with mythical narratives that the student of Assyriology today regards as foundational Mesopotamian writing.[54]

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[52] E. Reiner, *Šurpru*: *A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations* (AfOB 11; Graz: Selbstverlage des Herausgebers, 1958), 1.

[53] The fact that ll. 130-140 comprise a separate EGL is made apparent by the text for at least two separate reasons. First, ll. 130-140 uses imperative forms of the verb *paṭāru* (i.e., *puṭur* and *puṭrā*) to command the deity or deities, whereas ll. 141-184 uses precative forms (i.e., *lipṭur* and *lipṭurū*). Second, ll. 139-140 and 185 act as summary statements for each of these EGL.

[54] The colophon of *Enūma eliš* (VII 146-151) explains that this epic belongs to the oral tradition and should be passed from father to son or from the learned to the herdsman for generations so that people may honor Marduk and he may bless them in return. Cl Wickle, however, doubts that the epic itself ever really

However, even without a mass audience, these texts are considered here not only because they contain EGLs but because previous scholarship has already placed so much emphasis upon them. Indeed, virtually all discussions of first-millennium Mesopotamian pantheons rely upon these texts to varying degrees.

Of the epic or hymnic material from which a lengthy EGL and subsequent discussion of a Mesopotamian pantheon derive, none is more famous than the so-called Babylonian Epic of Creation, *Enūma eliš*. That *Enūma eliš* has become such a centerpiece of academic discussion of Mesopotamian theology – to the point that it has been considered "the myth that sustained Babylonian civilization, that buttressed its societal norms and its organizational structure"[55] – would surely delight its composer.

In essence, *Enūma eliš* relates the cosmogony and theogony of Marduk's rise to power within the Babylonian pantheon and the universe, describing how he overcame the primordial chaos, his (multi-)great-grandmother Tiāmat, to earn the respect and rule of the gods. This is undoubtedly a propagandistic piece of literature set to cultic ritual practice, and its audience is quite specific, limited to "governors, plenipotentiaries, courtiers, top officials, and army officers" in attendance at the New Year festival ceremony to swear allegiance to the king, the state, and Marduk for the upcoming year.[56] The concluding two tablets of this seven tablet series contain a divine hymn of praise to Marduk, recited by the gods in celebration of his kingship. The fundamental structure of this hymn comprises a list of 50 divine names and epithets, closely corresponding with

functioned as part of the oral tradition, even though the many of the motifs upon which it is based belonged to an ancient oral tradition. Instead he refers to the colophon as a fiction (Cl. Wickle, "Die Anfänge der akkadischen Epen," *ZA* 76 [1977]: 174).

[55] Sarna 1966, 7.

[56] Dalley 1998, 232. See also Sarna's brief discussion of *Enūma eliš* as a theological and political text (Sarna 1966, 6-8).

the Marduk unit from *An = Anum*.[57] While, a connection between *An = Anum* and *Enūma eliš* expands *An = Anum*'s potential audience from the scribal realm to the king's court, this audience's participation in the rituals during the recitation is still limited, and the general population is still excluded from its recitation.[58]

Another hymn in the tradition of *An = Anum* and *An = Anu ša amēli* promotes the identification of numerous deities with Marduk. The structure of BM 47406 is identical to that of *An = Anu ša amēli*, making it a god-list in form, but the interpretation of its contents suggest this is a text of praise. According to Lambert, this god-list advances a qualified monotheism since "the compiler wished us to see Marduk as the sole possessor of power in the universe: all other powers of nature were but mere aspects of him."[59] The obverse contains a 14-line hymn, wherein the first column names a deity, the second names Marduk, and the third column describes the nature of Marduk. For example, "Zababa (is) Marduk of warfare. Enlil (is) Marduk of lordship and consultations. Nabû (is) Marduk of accounting" (ll. 5-7; see Table 5.9). For Lambert, this hymn represents the

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[57] S. Dalley, "Statues of Marduk and the Date of Enūma eliš," AoF 24 (1997): 167. This correspondence is higher between Tablet VII and *An = Anum* than between Tablet VI and *An = Anum*. Moreover, a text from Ḫattuša provides further evidence that *An = Anum* contains the EGL from Tablet VII, which, in addition to the mid-second millennium dates generally assigned to *An = Anum*, suggests that *Enūma eliš*'s composition may likewise come from the second half of the second millennium (Dalley 1998, 230). Since the narrative of the epic functions without tablets VI and VII, its date of composition should not be derived from or dependent on these two tablets. For this reason, Dalley suggests the Kassite period as the likely time the epic is finalize, though she admits the narrative portion of the story may go back to an earlier Amorite tradition.

[58] Not surprisingly, since the EGL of *Enūma eliš* continues the lexical god-list tradition of *An = Anum*, most of Marduk's fifty names belong to ancient Sumerian deities who were no longer worshiped in the second millennium Akkadian-speaking world (Dalley 1998, 277 n. 52). The storm god Adad is the only major deity still worshiped at the time of probable composition. (Indeed, his name still appears in treaties from near Aleppo in the first millennium, including SAA 2 2 vi and the Sefire Treaty; see Table 6.8.) Because all 50 names in *Enūma eliš* are really alternative names for Marduk, ranking these names within *Enūma eliš*'s hierarchy is of little concern in reconstructing a Mesopotamian pantheon. However, Adad's position near the end of the EGL may indicate a lack of rank in the tablet's epithets' arrangement; however, a purposeful literary arrangement of the divine names and epithets should not be ruled out.

[59] Lambert 1975, 198. This monotheism, Lambert notes, still allows for demons and Marduk's consort Ṣarpānītu. Lambert says this "extreme doctrine" can also be found in *Marduk's Address to the Demons* in which Šamaš is "Marduk of judgment" (p. 198).

end of the lexical god-list progression, a tradition that entails "the tidying up of an originally unwieldy pantheon," even though this attempt at monotheism proved unsuccessful by not garnering the broad support "which it deserved."[60] Notably, Lambert's admission that the proposed Marduk form of monotheism failed not only highlights modern scholarship's preference for monotheism but also that this text likely had a relatively small and specific audience.[61]

A third hymn praises Marduk's greatness through references to other high ranking deities. According to B. Foster, the so-called "Syncretic Hymn to Marduk" portrays "henotheistic tendencies" because the gods appearing in it are aspects of Marduk, but Porter sees this hymn as emphasizing the plurality of the Mesopotamian divine world with special focus on Marduk.[62] In the overall context of the poem, the one god Marduk cannot exist without reference to the many, so no monolatrous aspects are present in the hymn. This hymn differs from the EGL in *Enūma eliš* in that these deities may be interpreted as metaphors for Marduk's vast power rather than as instances of divine equation, or "aspects," as Foster puts it. As metaphors, the line, "Sin is your divinity, Anu your sovereignty,"[63] describes the magnitude of Marduk's divinity as being as great as the deity Sîn himself, and his sovereignty is as pervasive as that of Anu.[64] That is to say,

[60] Lambert 1975, 197 and 199.
[61] In 1997, Lambert revisited what he described in 1975 as the progression toward monotheism in Mesopotamian religion and surmised that the non-clergy population in Mesopotamia was unaware of this monotheism. Lambert concedes that syncretism between deities – or to use his phraseology the "swallowing up" of one god by another – went on without expressed outrage from the public because these syncretisms likely did not change religious practice. While Šamaš is identified as another name or aspect of Marduk, both the cults of Šamaš and Marduk continued their rituals as before (Lambert 1997, 159).
[62] Foster 2005, 692; Porter 2000, 254.
[63] Foster 2005, 692. Another interpretational investigation of this hymn would examine these deities not as metaphors but as delegates of Marduk's power. In this way, a hierarchy may become visible.
[64] Jacobsen rightly suggests that the implications of this hymn and others like it be assessed cautiously, and, for the most part, his discussion of this genre of text carefully deals with these identifications as metaphors: "To say, for example, that Marduk in his role of helper in battle to the kings of Babylon is Ninurta, is as much as saying that the enemy reaction to him and his martial prowess is the same as the one Ninurta

Marduk is equal to Sîn and to Anu in these specific respects. Other gods exist, and Marduk's qualities are as great each of these god's strongest or most important quality.

Because of this hymn's brevity, only a few of the better known gods represent Marduk's greatness. The hymn does not present the deities according to any hierarchical rank but begins with Sîn in place of the gods who traditionally begin lexical god-lists. After 11 named deities, Marduk appears twelfth in this EGL, and he is followed by a piti[less li]on, the Sebittu, the Igigū, and the depths (see Table 5.10). As with the lexical god-lists, this hymn's audience cannot be known definitively; however, it likely served the scribal or clergy populations in Marduk's temple or the king's court. Though not a "primary document" of Mesopotamian religion, this hymn still represents a genre containing EGLs with the potential for a larger or more general audience than the lexical god-lists. Furthermore, its theology is more readily understood by its audience, as is the case with *Enūma eliš*, than is the theology of the lexical god-lists.

Like Marduk, Ninurta is the subject of a hymn that likens other deities to him, the "Syncretic Hymn to Ninurta."[65] This twelfth-century Assyrian hymn, which continued as part of the scribal curriculum into the eighth and seventh centuries with "the status of a minor classic," equates other deities with Ninurta's various body parts:[66] "Your eyes, lord, are Enlil and Mullissu" (l. 11). Because the hymn's purpose is to describe Ninurta's body and its forces, the deities' order reflects no theological ranking and no hierarchy is

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would have produced" (Jacobsen 1976, 236), even using a modern day example (i.e., Napoleon of Wall Street) to demonstrate is point. However, he considers the type of identification used in this Syncretic Hymn to Marduk and the Syncretic Hymn to Ninurta as effectively equivalent to the identification used in *Enūma eliš*.

[65] Foster 2005, 713.

[66] Porter 2000, 241. A similar phenomenon is found in the Egyptian hymn "Amon as One," contained within the Papyrus Leiden I 350: "All the gods are three: Amun, the Sun, and Ptah, without their seconds. His identity is hidden in Anum, his is the Sun as face, his body is Ptah" (*COS* 1.16:25, J. P. Allen's translation).

presented to be deduced. Instead, the arrangement begins with Ninurta's head and works down to his navel, and in the extant text 33 different gods are equated with parts of Ninurta's body (see Table 5.11). Though they are all parts of Ninurta, these deities are recognized as objects of worship in their own right; they are still gods. Thus, unlike *Enūma eliš*, but like the Syncretic Hymn to Marduk, this hymn to Ninurta lacks syncretistic force.[67] Indeed, that Šamaš appears multiple times in this Ninurta hymn – once as Ninurta's face, once as his eyelid, and once as his eyebrow – emphasizes the numerous qualities that any one deity can express, and they specifically emphasize the continuing importance of Šamaš himself in Assyrian theology. Moreover, Porter reminds us that in Egyptian conceptions of the divine, two gods can be identified with each other without requiring a full equation.[68] Whether an ancient Mesopotamian would recognize this interpretive style is unlikely, but in Egypt this type of identification would suggest to the Egyptian (priestly class) that the named gods shared a common quality or characteristic. As an EGL, however, this hymn to Ninurta provides a glimpse into the author's conception of the Assyrian pantheon, in that it names 34 important Assyrian gods.[69] Because this EGL list is larger than its counterpart in the Syncretic Hymn to Marduk, the composer had the opportunity to express relationships between deities. Often this relationship is that of consorts: Anu and Antu are Ninurta's lips, while Ea and

[67] Porter 2000, 250.
[68] Porter 2000, 248.
[69] Aššur, the patron deity of the Assyrian state, is noticeably absent in the preserved portions of the hymn. Porter notes that our earliest copies of this text date to the twelfth century, and the hymn "achieved the status of a minor classic" as reflected in the fact that the hymn was still used in the scribal curriculum in Assyria 500 years later (Porter 2000, 241). The lacuna at the beginning of this hymn could either be restored as a royal epithet (e.g., "[beloved/favorite] of the great gods"), as a divine epithet for Aššur (e.g., "[father] of the great gods") or even the divine name Aššur itself. Regardless of who was named here, that subject is not identified with a body part or aspect of Ninurta. If Aššur was indeed mentioned here, this would actually exalt Aššur above Ninurta since he is said to have elevated Ninurta.

Damkina are his ears. Other relationships are also represented but are less easily defined: the goddesses Gula and Bēlet-ilī are Ninurta's eyes.

A final hymn worth mentioning here is more than merely suggestive of divine identification, the "Sumero-Akkadian Hymn of Nanâ." Reiner reports that this Neo-Assyrian text is unusual because only a handful of Akkadian texts have a deity boasting about his or her own accomplishments; it is unique because the goddess Nanaya herself proclaims to be other goddesses.[70] In the first strophe, the deity first identifies herself as Ištar/Inana from the cities Borsippa, Uruk, Daduni, and Babylon, but she then concludes with the refrain: *a-na-ku-ma* ^{d}*na-na-a*, which Reiner interprets as "still I am Nanâ":

> $^{i\ 1}$ [gašan]-mu ^{d}EN.ZU ^{d}inana na-i-nim-gi u$_{3}$-tu-da šu-a-ab-dil-e-ne
> ^{2} [*m*]*a-rat* ^{d}30 *te-li-tu*$_{2}$ *a-ḫat* ^{d}*ša*$_{2}$*-m*[*aš t*]*a-lim-tu*$_{2}$ *ina bar*$_{2}$*-sipa*^{ki} *ḫa-am-ma-ku*
> ^{3} [*ina*] UNUG^{ki} *ḫa-ri-ma-ku ina* ^{uru}*da-x-*[*x t*]*u-la-a kub-bu-ta-ku*
> ^{4} [*ina*] *bābili zi-iq-na zaq-*[*na-ku*] ⌜*a*⌝*-na-ku-ma* ^{d}*na-na-a*
>
> My Lady, Sin, Inanna, born of …, similarly(?) / I am the same(?)
> Wise daughter of Sin, beloved sister of Šamaš, I am powerful in Borsippa,
> I am a hierodule in Uruk, I have heavy breasts in Daduni,
> I have a beard in Babylon, still I am Nanâ (K 3933).[71]

The rhetorical force of this hymn's more than 20 strophes can be summarized as "they call me X, but I am still Nanâ,"[72] but despite the recurrent equational theme, using this text as evidence for a reduction in the number of Babylonian goddesses during the late Babylonian period is an over-extension of the data (see Table 5.12 for a list of goddesses equated with Nanaya). Instead, this hymn should be ranked alongside those other theologically speculative texts that intentionally emphasize one deity in terms of others, like the Marduk and Ninurta Syncretic hymns or BM 47406. This hymn is preserved on seven tablets (or tablet fragments), but this should not be interpreted to mean that the text

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[70] Reiner 1974, 221. The colophon of K 3933 identifies the scribe as *ṭuppi* Ashurbanipal (p. 230).
[71] Reiner's translation (Reiner 1974, 224).
[72] Reiner 1974, 222.

was intended for a broad audience.[73] The fact that the Sumerian lines of this text, which Reiner describes as an "artificial Sumerian" that "def[ies] translation,"[74] do not correspond with the Akkadian lines would suggest that it was intended for a small audience.

C. Implications for the Present Study

If even educated scribes or perhaps all scribes not especially schooled in the hymn to Nanaya would have not fully understood the hymn, surely Mesopotamia's general population would not have recognized its theology. Like the lexical god-list traditions that span from the third millennium to the first, this hymn should not serve as *the* primary document for reconstructing Mesopotamian religion. However, like other non-lexical god-list traditions including the Šurpu series and the hymns of Praise to Marduk and Ninurta, the hymn to Nanaya can still provide EGLs that reveals insights about those goddesses whom the author considered most important. Since all these goddesses have been identified with Nanaya in the hymn, we cannot rank the goddesses as members of the pantheon, but neither can we rank the deities in the various hymns to Marduk and Ninurta or the other non-lexical god-lists. Indeed, we cannot even reliably rank the gods in the formidable god-list *An = Anum* that has so influenced so many modern scholars' views of Mesopotamian gods because we cannot know how the non-major gods (i.e., those not listed in Table 5.4a) rank in the pantheon. Nor can we definitively determine the relative ranks of the major gods because some major gods' placements have been determined according to their familial relations (e.g., Ninurta appears in Enlil's section,

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[73] Reiner 1974, 223-224.
[74] Reiner 1974, 222.

and thus before Marduk, who appears within Ea’s section, which in turn is placed before the section with Sîn). Because of these uncertainties and the complex nature of these elite scholarly and esoteric texts, the embedded god-lists in the more common and more accessible administrative documents, state treaties, royal inscriptions, and correspondence provide a more dependable insight into conceptions about the pantheon, its members, and their relative ranks. These EGLs and the gods comprising them are explored in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY AND EMBEDDED GOD-LISTS (EGLS)

As discussed in the previous chapter, determining the relative ranks of deities in the lexical god-list tradition can be highly problematic because subunits are found within larger units (e.g., Marduk's entourage is located within Enki's). These issues are avoided when one surveys embedded god-lists (EGLs) contained within royal inscriptions, ritual texts, administrative texts, and letters. EGLs from these sources are typically rather short – often containing only 3 to 10 members – and entourages rarely accompany an important deity – they are typically limited to a consort and an offspring, who may have his own consort. The drawback to using EGLs from these sources is their limited size; deities cannot be ranked against each other if they do not appear in the same EGLs. Uncovering the relative rankings within the pantheon is important because it demonstrates that in most EGLs deities with geographic last names tend to have lower ranks than those lacking last names, an observation that will be further explored below and in chapter 9.

A. Building Composite God-Lists from Royal Inscriptions

To correct the problem mentioned above so that deities from a pantheon can be placed within the hierarchy, we can collect these smaller EGLs and create composite lists. Because the general arrangement of divine names in EGLs within royal inscriptions, treaties and other administrative documents, and letters is rather stable, the list of divine names produced through the use of common anchor points produces reliable composite lists with readily manifest hierarchies.

Anchor points are those divine names that appear in corresponding positions in multiple EGLs. Some anchor points are absolute, such as Aššur's primary position in

each of the three EGLs found in the table below (RINAP 4, Esar. 1 ii 30-39, ii 56 and Esar. 98:1-10). Likewise, Ištar's position as the last deity in Esar. 1 ii 30-39 is an absolute anchor point, as is the Sebittu's ("the Seven," or the Pleiades) position in Esar. 98:1-10. If divine names that serve as anchor points in separate EGLs appear together in one EGL, as Ištar and the Sebittu do when Esar. 98:1-10 is included, then their relative positions can be determined. When two anchor points from different EGLs do not appear together in another EGL, then the relative position between those two divine names cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. In contrast to absolute anchor points are relative anchor points, which reflect the relationships between deities within an EGL. For example, Šamaš precedes Marduk/Bēl in each EGL below, so he outranks Marduk in a relative fashion. The absolute and relative anchor points common to the EGLs allow us to build composite god-lists by inserting the remaining divine names into the composite according to their relative positions in the individual EGLs. As the following table shows, the EGLs found in some royal inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian king Esarhaddon share many common anchor points from which to build a composite list:

RINAP 4, Esar. 1 ii 30-39	RINAP 4, Esar. 1 ii 56	RINAP 4, Esar. 98:1-10	Anchors	Composite A
Aššur	**Aššur**	**Aššur**	**Aššur**	**Aššur**
		Anu		Anu
		Enlil		Enlil
		Ea		Ea
Sîn	Sîn	Sîn	Sîn	Sîn
Šamaš	Šamaš	Šamaš	Šamaš	Šamaš
		Adad		Adad
Marduk	**Bēl**	**Marduk**	**Marduk**	**Marduk**
	Nabû			**Nabû**
Nergal				Nergal
Ištar		Ištar	Ištar	Ištar
		the Sebittu	the Sebittu	the Sebittu.[1]

[1] As elsewhere in EGLs and tables in Akkadian and Sumerian texts, chief deities (i.e., **Aššur**, **Marduk**, and **Nabû**) and their consorts appear in a bold **blue-gray**; members of Triad 1 (i.e., Anu, Enlil, and Ea) and their consorts appear in blue; members of Triad 2 (i.e., Sîn, Šamaš, and Adad) and their consorts appear in

As shown, the EGLs in RINAP 4, Esar. 1 ii 30-39 and ii 56 and Esar. 98:1-10 have many anchor points. Two notable differences are present between them. The first is that the divine name Marduk is interchangeable with his epithet/title Bēl, and it should be noted here that this Marduk/Bēl interchange is the only god that regularly occurs within EGLs for male deities.[2] Otherwise, only goddesses are regularly identified by an epithet or title (e.g., Bēltiya, Lady-of-GN, or Queen-of-GN) instead of by their common names. The second notable difference is the group of concluding deities in each EGL, which, in these cases, are those following Marduk. Nergal and Ištar end the EGL in Esar. 1 ii 30-39, whereas Nabû ends the list in Esar.1 ii 56. Theoretically, in the absence of another EGL that includes both Nabû and Nergal, the relationship between Nabû and Nergal cannot be determined (just as the relationship between Ištar and the Sebittu could not be determined if Ištar were not in RINAP 4, Esar. 98:1-10). Even with the addition of Esar. 98:1-10,[3] which lacks both Nabû and Nergal, this cannot be determined. For graphic simplicity – as well as because of our knowledge of his status relative to Nergal and Ištar from other EGLs (e.g., Esar. 133:10) – Nabû has been placed before Nergal in our exemplar Composite A. However, if Esar. 1 ii 30-39 and ii 56 and Esar. 98:1-10 were the only

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red; warrior (and other male) gods appear in green; goddesses appear in pink; other deities, including deified objects appear in plum; and celestial object (e.g., planets/stars) appear in (light) orange.

[2] Nabû is identified solely as "*mār*-Bēl" in a four-member EGL (**Aššur**/**Bēl**/***mār*-Bēl**/Ištar) in l. 14 of an Esarhaddon text from Uruk (RIMB 2 B.6.31.15), which follows an eleven-member EGL beginning in l. 10.

[3] The EGL obtained from RINAP 4, Esar. 98:1-10 has been derived from its surrounding material in much the same way as that in Esar. 1 ii 30-39, but unlike that from Esar. 1 ii 56, where divine names appear in sequence without interruption, in Esar. 1 ii 30-39 and Esar. 98:1-10 each divine name is followed by an epithet specific to the deity and by a statement of praise that is descriptive of that deities role among the gods:

> "**Aššur**, father of the gods, who loves my priesthood; Anu powerful, pre-eminent, who called my name; Enlil, sublime lord, who establishes my reign; Ea, wise, the knowing one, who fixes my destinies; Sîn, shining light, who makes my omens favorable; Šamaš, judge of heaven and the underworld, who settles my decisions; Adad, terrifying lord, who makes my troops prosper; **Marduk**, prince of the Igigū and Anuna, who makes my kingship great; Ištar, lady of battle, who walks by my side; the Sebittu, the valiant ones, who destroy my enemies" (RINAP 4, Esar. 98:1-10).

information available for compiling a composite god-list, Nabû could be placed before Nergal, after Ištar, or between the two deities. Finally, Composite A provides a fairly simple new god-list with an easily decided final entry, the Sebittu, who appear after Ištar and conclude Esar. 98:1-10, though Nabû's status in this compsite is indeterminable given the available data.

Numerous other EGLs can be added to Composite A, with each new EGL added by aligning anchor deities in order to maintain the proper status of each deity in relation to the others. Often, new EGLs conform quite well to the existing composite god-list. For example, the EGL from RINAP 4, Esar. 133:10 includes only those deities already present in Composite A and lack only the Sebittu; however, it does provide additional information because it places Nabû between Marduk and Nergal: **Aššur**/Anu/Enlil/Ea/Sîn/Šamaš/Adad/**Marduk**/**Nabû**/Nergal/Ištar. Additional EGLs fill in more gaps, often including goddesses by pairing them with their consorts: Esar. 1 ii 16-18 lists Mullissu after Aššur; Esar. 105 v 24-25 lists Ṣarpānītu between Marduk and Nabû; and Esar. 12:13 lists Ningal and Aya after their respective consorts Sîn and Šamaš.[4] The addition of Esar. 1 ii 16-18 creates two minor problems, however. The first problem already exists in Esar. 1 ii 16-18 itself – the inclusion of both Mullissu and Ištar, whom many modern scholars consider the same goddess, within the same EGL. The second problem exists only when Esar. 1 ii 16-18 is integrated into the other EGLs because Nabû is listed before his father Marduk[5]:

[4] Esarhaddon pairs these divine names as he provides himself with royal epithets, which can be used to create the EGL in RINAP 4, Esar. 1 ii 12 and 16-18: "I am Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria…the creation of Aššur (and) Mullissu, the beloved of Sîn and Šamaš, the chosen one of Nabû (and) Marduk, the favorite of Ištar, the queen, the desired one of the great gods."

[5] The divine names Nabû and Marduk appear in italics in the column representing the EGL in RINAP 4, Esar. 1 ii 16-18. Throughout this dissertation, the tablet and line number are written in italics to indicate that Nabû's name is listed before Marduk's in an EGL (e.g., SAA 13 *126*:*4*).

Composite A + RINAP 4, Esar. 133:10	RINAP 4, Esar. 105 v 24-25	RINAP 4, Esar. 1 ii 16-18	Composite B
Aššur		**Aššur**	**Aššur**
		Mullissu	**Mullissu**
Anu			Anu
Enlil			Enlil
Ea			Ea
Sîn		Sîn	Sîn
Šamaš		Šamaš	Šamaš
Adad			Adad
Marduk	**Marduk**	***Nabû***	**Marduk**
	Ṣarpānītu		**Ṣarpānītu**
Nabû	**Nabû**	***Marduk***	**Nabû**
Nergal			Nergal
Ištar		Ištar	Ištar
the Sebittu			the Sebittu.

No easy solutions provide themselves for these two problems; however, neither problem is so difficult as to prevent us from continuing to build a composite god-list for Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions. The Mullissu/Ištar issue is dealt with in chapter 9, but for now it can be ignored since the two divine names are not related to each other at all. The Nabû/Marduk, however, slightly challenges our methodology, but it must be noted that Nabû never precedes Marduk in any Esarhaddon royal inscription when Ṣarpānītu is also present. Since our composite god-list includes Ṣarpānītu, Marduk rightfully maintains his position before his son Nabû. Letters by Assyrian scribes also often reflect a preference for listing Nabû before Marduk when the two deities are invoked together in blessings, whereas Babylonian scribes more consistently list the Babylonian chief deity first and Nabû second.[6] This irregularity in the treatment of these gods' relative status in EGLs is even observable within a given letter; in SAA 13 92, Nabû-šumu-iddina lists Nabû before Marduk in a blessing (l. 5), and then he proceeds with another blessing that includes Marduk, Nabû, and Nergal (l. 7).

[6] B. N. Porter, "What the Assyrians Thought the Babylonians Thought about the Relative Status of Nabû and Marduk in the Late Assyrian Period," In *Assyria 1995* (1997), 255; S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (SAA 10; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993b), XXV-XXVI.

The inclusion of the EGL from RINAP 4, Esar. 1 ii 45-46 in this composite god-list further complicates matters because it creates a tension between the invocation of an unspecified Ištar and two Ištar-associated goddesses with geographic epithets. For instance, Esar. 1 ii 45-46 contains a six-member god-list that includes Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela:

Composite B	RINAP 4, Esar. 1 ii 45-46	Composite C[7]
Aššur	**Aššur**	**Aššur**
Mullissu		**Mullissu**
Anu		Anu
Enlil		Enlil
Ea		Ea
Sîn		Sîn
Šamaš	Šamaš	Šamaš
Adad		Adad
Marduk	**Bēl**	**Marduk**
Ṣarpānītu		**Ṣarpānītu**
Nabû	**Nabû**	**Nabû**
Nergal		Nergal
Ištar		<Ištar>
	Ištar-of-Nineveh	Ištar-of-Nineveh
	Ištar-of-Arbela	Ištar-of-Arbela
the Sebittu		the Sebittu.

It should be noted, however, that Esar. 1 ii 45-46 lacks an unspecified Ištar, as do most all EGLs that include Ištar-associated goddesses with geographic last names. Since the Ištar in Composite B and the two Ištars in Esar. 1 ii 45-46 appear at or near the end of each god-list, the relative status between the unspecified Ištar and either of the other two cannot be determined.[8] For graphic convenience, the unspecified Ištar is always given priority in composite god-lists in this study, and her name is placed within < > to indicate

[7] When a consort is listed immediately after (usually) her husband in an EGL or composite god-list, her name is written in the same color as her husband's and is indented by three spaces. When the goddess is not listed immediately following her husband, her name appears in pink. Compare, for example, Mullissu's name in Table 6.2 iii and 6.3, both which reflect EGLs from Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (SAA 2 6).

[8] Depending on the context of a given royal inscription, an unspecified Ištar could reasonably be identified as either one of the two (or even both?) geographic-specific goddesses listed. Such identifications must be done only when context warrants it rather than being universally applied according to the text's provenance or according to the king's capital city as Barton suggested in the 1890s.

that she is not competing for rank with the geographic-specific Ištars below her in the list.[9]

Table 6.1 represents the results of performing this compilation algorithm as needed with those EGLs embedded within royal inscriptions for Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. The occasional irregularity does occur in an individual EGL, and complicatins are noted in the table and explained. Not only does this table demonstrate that the hierarchy of the gods is relatively static over the course of the century from the start of Tiglath-pileser III's reign to the close of Ashurbanipal's, but this hierarchy also closely follows the hierarchy found in the treaty curse-lists (see Table 6.2), which makes sense given the fact that royal inscriptions and the curse-lists found within imperial treaties are both commissioned by the kings. In short, following Barré's observation that the sequence of deities that are listed between Anu and Adad is regular in Neo-Assyrian treaties and royal inscriptions,[10] the hierarchy begins with **Aššur**, the chief deity of the Assyrian pantheon, continues with the Triad 1 deities (i.e., Anu, Enlil, and Ea, who are noticeably absent in both Tiglath-pileser III's and Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions' EGLs) and Triad 2 deities (i.e., Sîn, Šamaš, and Adad), and the Babylonian chief deities (i.e., **Marduk** and **Nabû**) and their consorts, before listing warrior (and other male) gods, goddesses, and concluding with the Sebittu. Other minor gods make infrequent appearances, but rarely do they disturb the standard pattern.

[9] On the rare occasion in which an unspecified Ištar appears in the same EGL as Ištar-associated goddesses with geographic last names (e.g., SAA 2 6 414-465), the unspecified Ištar's name is not placed within < >.
[10] M. L. Barré, *The God-List in the Treaty between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia*: *a study in Light of the Ancient Near Eastern Treaty Tradition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 9.

B. Witness-list Traditions

While a scribe might list an individual deity or group of deities in a royal inscription or in a series of curses, one could argue that these gods have been selected because they represent interests of the state rather than because they are actually distinct deities. Their inclusion could reflect the political realities of the empire rather than real theological concerns. For example, Esarhaddon's choice to include Ištar-of-Arbela in his succession treaty's curses (SAA 2 6:459f.) after Mullissu-of-Nineveh could highlight his interest in promoting the city Arbela along with her priests and cult in the city. The city is important to the empire, and securing the moral and continued support of its citizens is taken seriously by promoting the city's patron deity along with the other great deities honored in the imperial cults. The fact that she is the same deity as the already named goddess from Nineveh is irrelevant since invoking only one unspecified Ištar would not excite local Arbelites and Ninevites as strongly as explicitly naming their city would. The goddess is associated with both cities not to suggest that she is more than one goddess but to more effectively encourage or honor the local troops and wealth.

This argument, however, is not tenable for the inclusion of multiple deities sharing a divine name in EGLs found in the blessing sections of personal letters or in witness-lists. In regard to personal letters, Marduk-šallim-aḫḫē's or Urdu-Nabû's decision to invoke both Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela when they bless the king does not promote a particular Ištar-associated goddess and her local cult in the same way that an inclusion in a royal inscription or curse-list would. Perhaps the scribes have been indoctrinated by the propaganda in the royal inscriptions or have decided to toe the theological line portrayed in those inscriptions whenever they have an audience before

the king, but it is also possible that they considered Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela as distinct enough to effect a more beneficial blessing than only invoking one Ištar could. Such an interpretation allows the modern scholar to interpret the scribe's writings according to his word choice. After all, invoking more deities – which also includes ensuring that the deities are physically present in statue form at the oath ceremony[11] – presumably gives a blessing more effective power than invoking fewer deities. Additionally, it may instill honor upon either the blesser, whose increased status is indicated by the larger number of deities to whom he can appeal, or upon the blessed, whose increased status is also indicated by the larger number of deities.

Likewise, the motivation to include additional divine names in a witness-list suggests an increased status for those invoking the deities, and, through intimidation, it increases the likelihood that the human participants fulfill their responsibilities.[12] The inclusion of a deity or a divine name in a witness-list is treated here, as elsewhere, as a reflection of that deity's ability to enforce the treaty it accompanies. It is worth noting that the witness-lists in the Neo-Assyrian treaty tradition include substantially more deities than do the witness-lists in lesser state documents, such as tablets concerning grants, decrees, and gifts. Since a treaty between a king and his vassal or between a king and his equal is more important than any decree promising a loyal subject a tax-free exemption for his land, its witness-list is expected to be more involved and expansive. The divine witness-list in Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (SAA 2 6; Table 6.3) consists

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[11] T. J. Lewis, "The Identity and Function of El/Baal Berith," *JBL* 115 (1996): 404; and Koch-Westenholz 1995, 118.

[12] Admittedly, residents from Arbela would surely be excited to learn that their goddess has been called as a witness in an important treaty and respond positively – that is, if they would have ever learned of it – but it may be too cynical an explanation to accept that the kings' witness and adjuration god-lists were motivated more by political expediency than by religious convictions.

of 23 divine names, and the treaty between Aššur-nērārī V and Matiˀ-ilu of Arpad (SAA 2 2; Table 6.4) comprises over three dozen Assyrian deities, as well as eight extant non-Assyrian divine names. In contrast, the number of divine names listed in grants, decrees, and gifts is generally fewer than six (see Table 6.6), and typically only four or five deities appear in the grants and decrees: Aššur, Enlil, Adad, Bēr, and the Assyrian Ištar.[13]

The Akkadian treaty between Aššur-nērārī V and Matiˀ-ilu of Arpad (SAA 2 2) provides a lengthy EGL in the form of an adjuration (or witness-list; vi 6-26), but its oath takers swear (*tamû*) by a list of deities that represents an ideal EGL.[14] The Assyrian chief deity Aššur begins the list, followed by Triads 1 and 2 and the Babylonian chief deities, each with their primary consorts (see Table 6.4). The text's use of KI.MIN indicates how the scribe thought the gods are to be paired. Rather than placing the KI.MIN at the end of each line following a collection of divine names, KI.MIN usually appears after each pair of deities, who are often a divine couple. Exceptions to this type of pairing do occur as Madanu and Ningirsu, both male deities, appear paired together. Other exceptions include the isolation of a several deities, each appearing with his or her own KI.MIN-signs: Aššur, Ištar-of-Nineveh, Ištar-of-Arbela, Adad-of-Kurbail, Hadad-of-Aleppo, and *Palil*.

Closely resembling the EGL in SAA 2 2 is a witness-list of gods named in another treaty entered into by Matiˀ-ilu of Arpad, this time with the ruler of an otherwise unknown land, Barga'yah of KTK (Sefire i A [*KAI* 222]).[15] The resemblance between the two lists resides primarily in the pairing that the Sefire treaty incorporates into the god lists through the use of repeated *wqdm* ("and in the presence of"; see Table 6.7), just as

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[13] The invocation of these four or five deities as witnesses in these texts is a tradition that continued from the reigns of Adad-nērārī III and Tiglath-pileser III in the eighth century (e.g., SAA 12 13, 14, 69, 75, and 85) through to Aššur-etel-ilāni's reign in the 620s (e.g., SAA 12 35, 36, 40, and 41).

[14] *CAD* T, *tamû* mng. 3b1′.

[15] J. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscirptions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), 2:28-29.

several deities are paired by a following KI.MIN in SAA 2 2 (e.g., ^{d}*a-nu-um an-tum* KI.MIN ^{d}BAD ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$ KI.MIN, SAA 2 2 vi 7; see Table 6.4 and 6.8). Despite this similarity, however, the actual composition of the two EGLs is somewhat different. While SAA 2 2 lacks a consort for the chief deity Aššur, Sefire i A (*KAI* 222) pairs Aššur with Mullissu at the beginning of the list,[16] and it places the Babylonian chief deities and their consorts next, just like many Assyrian EGLs (e.g., the curse-lists in SAA 2 1 and 9, or the blessing-lists in SAA 13 10 and 102). However, the Sefire EGL lacks all Triad 1 deities and their consorts, and it lists the first two members of Triad 2 and their respective consorts after the warrior-god Nergal and his consort Laṣ (see Tables 6.7-6.8). After NKR and KD'H and a group of deities referred to collectively as "all the gods of the open country and cultivated ground" (*kl ʾlhy rḥbh wʾdm*[…], Sefire i A 10), Hadad-of-Aleppo and the Sebittu appear at the end of this list of Assyrian deities just as they do in SAA 2 2.[17] The enigmatic pairing of 'El and 'Elyon begins the list of foreign deities, which includes Heaven, Earth, the Abyss, Springs, Day, and Night.

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[16] The restoration of Aššur rather than Enlil in this lacuna in Sefire i A 7 (*KAI* 222) is based on Barré's analysis of the text (M. L. Barré, "The First Pair of Deities in the Sefire I God-List," *JNES* 44 [1985]: 210).

[17] Barré notes:

> One should note that with the exception of the supreme gods ([DN] *wmlš*, *nr*, and possibly *kdʾh*, all the deities named in Sf1 [i.e., Sefire i A (*KAI* 222)] up to and including the Sebetti are also listed in the contemporary treaty A/M [i.e., SAA 2 2]; but none of those listed after the Sebetti in Sf1 is found in A/M. This is another reason for seeing the major break in the god-list after the Sebetti" (Barré 1983, 25).

These discrepancies can now be reduced since, in his 1985 article, Barré successfully argued that the divine name Aššur belongs in the supreme deity's lacuna (Barré 1985, 210). Furthermore, drawing in Parpola's 1974 article and Dalley's 1979 article, he notes that *mlš* should be interpreted as Mullissu (p. 205). Mullissu may not be paired with Aššur in SAA 2 2, as she is in Sefire i A, but she does appear in both. Now, a third deity may also be removed from this discrepancy list since Parpola and K. Wanatabe tentatively identify the divine name *Nur* with Šamaš's consort Aya (^{d}*a-a*, SAA 2 2 vi 9), as indicated by their English translation of the line: Ditto by Šamaš and *Nur*! However, if Barré meant to tag the third divine name as *nkr* rather than *nr* (which might be the result of a typo), then two new divine names still occur in Sefire i A that are missing in SAA 2 2.

As may be expected, the resemblance among the witness EGLs in Neo-Assyrian treaties is higher than between the two Matiˀ-ilu treaties.[18] Unfortunately, however, the only surviving witness or adjuration EGLs in the treaties are found in SAA 2 2 and 6, which together – along with SAA 12 10 – provide a composite divine witness-list that is noticeably similar to other composite god-lists studied thus far (see Table 6.9). Naturally, since both these treaty EGLs follow the expected divine hierarchy for the Neo-Assyrian period, their composite god-list does as well: Assyrian chief deity, Triad 1, Triad 2, Babylonian chief deities and their consorts, warrior (and other male) gods and goddesses, and the Sebittu. Moreover, the hierarchy within this composite list is very similar to those found in the royal inscription EGLs. Between these two treaties alone, this composite god-list is the most comprehensive Neo-Assyrian one collected for this study. Indeed, perhaps only two or three significant divine names or relationships are missing from this list.[19]

Unlike the other EGL traditions, the divine witness-list tradition has an earthly counterpart against which its structure and hierarchy can be examined. Frame notes that in the Neo-Assyrian period from Uruk, witness-lists follow a predictable hierarchy.

[18] Likewise, Barré notes that royal inscriptions from N. Syria, including the Panamuwa and Bir-Rakib inscriptions (*KAI* 214-215) and Sefire (*KAI* 222), show a highly consistent collection of god-lists (Barré 1983, 9).

[19] It should first be noted that this composite god-list (Table 6.9) lacks an explicit pairing of the chief Assyrian deity with a Mullissu consort; instead, of the two Mullissus that appear in this list, the first is explicitly included as Enlil's consort because of SAA 2 2 vi 7. The second Mullissu should be interpreted as Aššur's consort, but this is not stated explicitly in SAA 2 6:16-19. Mullissu follows Aššur in the curse-list EGL (SAA 2 6:414-418), and she appears first among the independent goddesses in the witness-list in l. 19, where she precedes Šerūˀa, who was probably understood as Aššur's second wife when the treaty was written (Meinhold 2009, 218).

The absence of Nanaya in this composite list is also apparent compared to other composite lists. Another possibly significant absence is that of the Ištar-associated goddess Lady-of-Kidmuri, who does appear in EGLs found in royal inscription and personal letters. (The absence of Ištar-of-Heaven is noticeable, but this goddess may already be included in SAA 2 6:13 and 428 as Venus. For a discussion on the identification of Ištar-of-Heaven with the planet Venus and her status compared to other Ištar-associated goddesses, see Meinhold 2009, 76-79, esp. 79, and 114-116.)

Invariably, the governor (*šākin ṭēmi*) precedes the temple administrator (*šatammu*), who, in turn, precedes the delegate (*qīpu*) of Eanna and the Eanna scribe.[20] This top-to-bottom ranking – governor, temple administrator, *qīpu*, and temple scribe – is exactly what Frame says should be expected in a witness-list, and it is an order that is found in non-witness-lists as well. In SAA 10 349, Mār-Issār (his name has been restored in this letter) writes to Esarhaddon that he is unable to check on the 40 minas of gold in the temple treasury:

> ^{28} ^{lu2}ŠA$_3$.TAM ^{lu2}*qe-e-pu u*$_3$ ^{lu2}DUB.SAR E$_2$-DINGIR ^{29}*ša* UNUG^{ki} *pa-an* LUGAL EN-*ia šu-nu* $^{r.\,1}$*la e-mu-qa-a-a ba-la-tu-us-šu*$_2$*-nu* ^{2}*re-eš* KUG.GI *la a-na-aš*$_2$*-ši*
>
> The temple administrator, the delegate, and the temple scribe of Uruk are before the king, my lord; without them, I have no authority to inspect the gold (SAA 10 349:28-r. 2).

His lack of authority also prevented him from checking on any incoming gold. For the present purposes, whatever authority Mār-Issār had to act on his own is irrelevant; what matters is that his letter mimicks a hierarchical arrangement that common to almost all economic texts relating to real estate transactions at Uruk.[21]

Similarly, C. Wunsch has found a regularity in the arrangement of judges in lists. While Frame's survey notes that the hierarchy of witnesses is dependent upon the status of a witness's occupation, Wunsch demonstrates that the judicial hierarchy is determined by seniority.[22] This seniority is not determined by a particular judge's familial ties or his age but by how long he has been a royal judge. New judges consistently appear in the last position of the list and only advance when a higher-ranking judge dies or is dismissed.

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[20] G. Frame, "City Administration of Uruk in the Neo-Assyrian Period," (forthcoming), 5.
[21] Frame, forthcoming, 6.
[22] C. Wunsch, "Die Richter des Nabonid," in *Assyriologica et Semitica*: *Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65*. *Geburtstages am 18*. *Februar 1997* (eds. J. Marzahn and H. Neumann; AOAT 252; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000), 572.

Because half of her texts in this survey come from a single four year period, the ninth through twelfth years of Nabonidus's reign, they present a highly uniform picture of individual names climbing from the bottom of the list to the top. Moreover, the turnover rate for the job was quick enough that this process can be seen in just a few texts. The careers of three judges and their rank within judge-lists illustrate this point (see Table 6.10).

While the divine witness-lists display a greater variety and willingness to rearrange their members' hierarchy than do the human counterparts, the chronological and geographical spans of the divine witness-lists under investigation dwarf the Neo-Babylonian royal judge lists in the same way that gods dwarf humans. Whereas the judicial records span just a few year and are restricted to Babylon, the divine witness-lists span two centuries and represent both the western and southern ends of the Assyrian empire. Nevertheless, Frame's and Wunsch's research on the stability of human witness-lists suggest that the stable portions of divine witness-lists reflect an accurate representation of the divine hierarchy. Those deities who appear nearer the top of the witness-list are the senior or supreme gods, and those deities who appear nearer the bottom alongside the Sebittu are less important gods and goddesses.[23] This is further strengthened by the structural and hierarchical similarities common to the divine witness-lists and other EGLs. Consider, for example, the similarities between the divine witness/adjuration lists and the curse-lists in SAA 2 6 (see Table 6.3); these lists differ as one moves from deity to deity, but categories remain stable: state chief deities, Triad 1, Triad 2, Babylonian chief deities, warrior (and other male) gods, and goddesses.

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[23] A similar hierarchical order also appears in the two Akkadian versions of the flood story, Atraḫasis I i 7-10 (SBV) and Gilgamesh XI 15-18: Anu, Enlil, Ninurta, and Ennugi (Adad).

Consider also the similarities between the composite seventh-century god-lists from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, where this overall structure is still apparent. The two main differences among these various genres of EGL are the lack of interest in Triad 1 deities and the seemingly haphazard placement of warrior (and other male) gods in these lists. The absence of Triad 1 deities, which has already been observed by Barré in treaties and other god-lists,[24] is almost complete in Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions EGLs. They are also lacking in the blessings of letters from Assyrian and Babylonian scholars (in SAA 10) and are underrepresented in the curses. The warrior (and other male) gods, however, can be found ascending and descending the divine hierarchies in these composite god lists. In addition to appearing either before or after the isolated goddesses near the bottom of the lists, Ninurta, Nergal, and Nusku are occasionally listed among Triad 2 deities and before planets and the Babylonian chief deities. Despite these exceptions that challenge the observed rules governing these god-lists and their overarching hierarchy, these rules are quite simple and make themselves readily apparent to scholars who encounter them while reading the tablets for other purposes.

C. Personal and Royal Correspondence

The greetings-and-blessing sections in personal and royal correspondence provide another genre of EGLs against which divine hierarchies and arrangements can be checked. According to Frame, the gods who appear in personal correspondence tend to reflect the local divine hierarchy, or at least reflect an attempt to demonstrate loyalty to

[24] Barré 1983, 23.

the king.[25] For example, letters from the Sealand invoke the divine trio Aššur, Šamaš, and Marduk, all of whom are praised by Tiglath-pileser III in locally placed royal inscriptions. Significantly, the Sealand letter tradition lists the deities in this particular order, listing the imperial god Aššur the first, Šamaš the second as a member of Triad 2, and Marduk third as the cheif deity of the local Babylonian pantheon. As Frame suggests, this Sealand tradition includes these three deities in this same order. Despite Marduk's local importance, he was listed after Šamš; this order resembles Marduk's relatively late appearance in all SAA 2 6 EGLs (see Table 6.3).[26] Letters can also reflect a bias towards local gods in another way; Assyrian scribes tend to place Nabû before Marduk in their letters when the two deities are invoked together in a blessing, whereas Babylonian scribes place Marduk, the Babylonian chief deity, first.[27]

A survey of EGLs derived from the blessing section of letters provides the same basic hierarchy as has already been observed in the royal inscription god-lists. However, because letters are more personal in nature than royal inscriptions, deities unknown from royal inscriptions or treaty curse-lists can appear in blessings in letters (e.g., Lord Crown in SAA 13 187:6), as can the occasional temple (e.g., Ešarra in SAA 13 162:4).[28] The following composite god-list has been built from letters collected in SAA 13, 16, and 18 (see Table 6.1 for a full explanation of this composite god-list):

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[25] G. Frame, "My Neighbour's God: Aššur in Babylonia and Marduk in Assyria," *CSMS Bulletin* 34 (1999): 17.

[26] In SAA 2 6, the treaty concerns itself primarily with the rule of Esarhaddon's chosen heir Ashurbanipal over the entire empire, which is why Marduk plays a lesser role than he does in SAA 2 9, a treaty between Ashurbanipal and his Babylonian allies. In the latter text, Marduk's promotion to second deity, following only Aššur, is an exercise in securing an alliance with the Babylonians.

[27] Porter 1997, 255.

[28] Aššur and the temple Ešarra appear together in the first of two blessings in SAA 13 162 and 163, which are letters from Babylon about the reconstruction of the Esagil. The second blessing in each letter includes Marduk, Ṣarpānītu, Nabû, Tašmētu, and Nanaya. Likewise, the scribe Bēl-iddina includes Lord-Crown (^{d}EN-AGA) as the final entity in a three-member EGL (following Aššur and Ningal) in SAA 13 187.

Aššur
  Mullissu (Ištar)
Ešarra
Anu
Enlil
  Mullissu
Ea
Sîn
  Ningal
Lord Crown/Nusku
Šamaš
  Aya
Adad
  Šala (with Šarrat-nakkanti)
Marduk
  Ṣarpānītu
Lady-of-Babylon
Nabû
  Tašmētu
Nanaya
Ninurta
  Gula
Zababa
Nergal
  Laṣ
Madānu
Ištar-of-Nineveh
Ištar-of-Kidmuri
Ištar-of-Arbela.[29]

The Assyrian chief deity and his family and temple begin the composite list and are followed by Triad 1 and Triad 2 members and their consorts (and, in the cases of Sîn and Adad, some members of their entourage). The Babylonian chief deities and their consorts then follow and are themselves followed by warrior (and other male) gods and various goddesses.

[29] This reconstructed god-list has been created from the EGLs from the following Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal period letters from SAA 13, 16, and 18: SAA 13 9, 10, 12, 15, *37*, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 80, 92, 102, 132, 140, *147*, 156, 161, 162, 163, 187, and 188; SAA 16 14, 15, 17, 18, 31, 33, 49, 52, 59, 60, 61, 65, 72, 86, 105, 106, 117, 126, 127, 128, 153, and 193[?]; and SAA 18 85, 131, 182, and 185. Other EGLs that nearly fit this reconstruction are noted in subsequent footnotes and explained below. If a text number has been italicized, Nabû immediately precedes Marduk in an EGL within that text.

The Ištar-associated goddesses at the end are quite noticeable in this seventh-century period composite god-list. Though Ištar-associated goddesses tend to appear near the end of god-lists in other genres (see Tables 6.1 and 6.9 for royal inscription and witness god-lists, respectively), the treaty curse-list tradition present in SAA 2 6 (and SAA 2 5) presents the Ištar-associated deities before Gula (see Table 6.2). This letters-based composite has Gula and Laṣ before Ištar-of-Nineveh, Ištar-of-Kidmuri, and Ištar-of-Arbela. Of those letters used to build this composite god-list, neither Gula nor Laṣ actually appears in an EGL with any Ištar-associated goddess. Theoretically, Gula, Laṣ, and the Ištars could be grouped without rank following the warrior (and other male) gods. The ranking presented above, however, has been determined by the EGLs in three separate letters: SAA 16 52, 126, and 128. The first letter is a petition written within the Assyrian heartland by an unknown scribe, and the other two are written by Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu, from the western reaches of the empire. The extant portion of SAA 16 52 begins with an invocation of paired deities in the blessing:

> ^{1} [^{d}]EN *u*$_{3}$ ^{d}GAŠAN-*ia* ^{d}AG ^{d}*taš-me-tu*$_{4}$ ^{2}[^{d}]⸢MAŠ⸣ *u*$_{3}$ ^{d}*gu-la* ^{d}U.GUR ^{d}*la-*⸢*aṣ*⸣ ^{3}DINGIR^{meš} *an-nu-te* GAL^{meš} *a-na* ^{md}AG—[x x x] ^{4}*lik-ru-bu-ka*
>
> "May Bēl and Bēltiya, Nabû (and) Tašmetu, Ninurta and Gula, Nergal (and) Laṣ, these great gods, bless you, O PN!"

The male deities have been paired with their respective consorts in this letter, so Gula is listed immediately after Ninurta is the EGL, and Laṣ follows Nergal. Had the goddesses not been paired with their consorts and ranked according to their husbands' positions, their relative status among the goddesses in the composite god-list could not be determined; they could be placed legitimately either before or after the Ištar-associated

goddesses. In contrast, Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu sends his blessings in a purely serial format so that our EGL format does not hide any alternations in divine status:

SAA 16 126:4-6		SAA 16 128:4-5	
Aššur	^{d}*aš-šur*	**Aššur**	^{d}*aš-šur*
Šamaš	^{d}UTU	Šamaš	^{d}UTU
Bēl	^{d}EN	**Bēl**	^{d}EN
Nabû	^{d}PA	**Nabû**	^{d}PA
Nergal	^{d}U.GUR	Nergal	^{d}U.GUR
Ištar-of-Nineveh	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki}	Ištar-of-Nineveh	^{d}15 *ša* ˹NINA˺^{ki}
Ištar-of-Kidmuri	^{d}15 *ša* *e*$_2$*-kad-mu-ru*		
Ištar-of-Arbela	^{d}15 *ša arba-il*$_3$^{ki}	Ištar-of-Arbela	^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-*˹*il*$_3$˺.

In these two EGLs, the only significant difference is the absence of Ištar-of-Kidmuri in the second. In both letters, the final male deity Nergal is listed before all the Ištar-associated goddesses. Once the EGL from SAA 16 52 is combined with those from SAA 16 126 and 128, the composite god-list is created: **Aššur**/Šamaš/**Bēl**/**Bēltiya**/**Nabû**/**Tašmētu**/Ninurta/Gula/Nergal/Laṣ/Ištar-of-Nineveh/Ištar-of-Kidmuri/Ištar-of-Arbela. Regardless of Gula's and Laṣ's relative position compared to the other goddesses, the fact that three distinct Ištar-associated goddesses are listed together must be stressed.

Another collection of seventh-century letters produces a similar but noticeably different divine hierarchy. This second letter collection is drawn from SAA 10, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, and is treated here separately from the material in SAA 13, 16, and 18 in order to highlight the treatment of deities, divine names, and their hierarchies by ancient scholars. As discussed in chapter 2, the astrologers, exorcists, and other court scholars who wrote this collection are among the most educated scribes of the Neo-Assyrian period. They received specific training in their respective fields of interest, which often included access to esoteric and other elite texts. Despite this extra training, the EGLs and divine hierarchies produced by the scholars and found in SAA 10 more closely resemble those written by the less-well educated scribes found in SAA 13,

16, and 18 than they do the god-lists and hierarchies found in lexical god-lists. Moreover, the Ištar-associated goddesses that they invoke are consistently linked to a specific location so that nowhere does an unspecified Ištar appear in this collection.

The differences in the divine hierarchy in this second collection of EGLs are noteworthy. As in the EGLs in Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions, members of Triad 1 are noticeably absent. The one exception is the invocation of Enlil and his consort Mullissu in SAA 10 286 (see Table 6.11), which is all the more an exception since these two deities are listed before Aššur in this EGL. A second difference is the presence of four planets in an EGL from SAA 10 197 (see Table 6.12) and select other letters.[30] That the planets appear in SAA 10 is no surprise since, as astrologers and diviners, several authors would be very concerned with the motion or influence of the planets.

Though Nusku appears earlier than normal in SAA 10 197, further similarities between the SAA 10 composite and that of SAA 13, 16, and 18, as well as other lists, should be noted. (See Table 6.13 for a comparison of the SAA 10 with the SAA 13, 16, and 18 composite god-list.) First, Ninurta and Nergal have been paired with their consorts Gula and Laṣ, respectively. Second, Ištar-of-Nineveh consistently appears before Ištar-of-Arbela whenever the two goddesses are in the same EGL. This also resembles what is found in the witness-lists and oath-lists of SAA 2 2, 6, and 10 (following the restoration of SAA 2 10) of the Neo-Assyrian treaties.[31] Likewise, Lady-of-Kidmuri's location between two other Ištar-associated goddesses is anticipated from other EGL genres.

[30] Oddly enough, these deities/planets are not listed as a single group in SAA 10 197 but have been broken up in two pairs: Jupiter and Venus interrupt the typical sequence of Triad 2-Babylonian chief deities, while Saturn and Mercury appear between the Babylonian deities and Ištar-associated goddesses.
[31] Cultic texts from Sennacherib's reign also show this arrangement (e.g., BM 121206 ix and x), as does the list of gods in two generic curse statements in Sennacherib's Succession Treaty (SAA 2 3:7´-10´ and r. 2´-8´).

However, the placement of the Ištar-associated goddesses prior to the warrior (and other male) gods and their consorts differs from the SAA 13, 16, and 18 composite god-list, the NA treaty curse-lists, and several Sargonid period royal inscriptions, as well as the witness-list that appears in SAA 2 6. The fact that the goddesses are listed before the male gods may not be surprising, but it could not have been predicted for any given individual EGL. This difference between the relative rankings for the Ištar-associated goddesses in different EGL genres should not overshadow the fact that even the elite scholars with additional scribal training and direct access to the king still make distinctions between the Ištar-associated goddesses with different geographic names.

D. Cultic Texts and EGLs

In contrast to lexical god-lists, the EGLs examined so far in this chapter function pragmatically, which is how they resemble another group of texts containing EGLs: offering-lists, liturgical texts, and ritual texts. The main difference between these texts and the EGLs examined above is that the latter are the products of, and are primarily used by, the priests serving the gods in their temples. These offering-lists and ritual texts provide records of which deities a state or city supported in the temple complexes and how they were supported. *A priori*, there is little reason to assume that these texts would reflect the average Mesopotamian's conceptions of the divine as opposed to the theological speculations of those priests and scribes who administered to the gods. Were the latter idea true, cultic texts would be expected to resemble the lexical god-lists that also reflect the theological speculations of the elite – including the equations of various deities with one another – as discussed in chapters 2 and 5. However, a survey of a few

offering and ritual texts indicates that cultic texts do not reflect the high theology of the lexical god-lists and other elite or esoteric texts. Instead, they provide a theological middle ground between the EGLs already examined in this chapter and the lexical god-lists, and they provide further insight about a divine world that was perceived by those people closest to that world. In addition to the scant Neo-Assyrian material collected, a brief survey of cultic texts from Neo-Babylonian Uruk is first offered.

a. Neo-Babylonian Uruk

In his study of the pantheon at Neo-Babylonian Uruk, Beaulieu presents a dozen previously-unpublished offering-lists, each of which includes the number of animals offered to various deities in and around Uruk on a particular day.[32] These texts provide an opportunity to compare their hierarchy and use of divine names with other EGLs already examined. Beaulieu finds five exceptions to what otherwise appears to be a fixed divine hierarchy: the Divine Chariot appears before Bēlet-Eanna in NCBT 862; the Temple of Marduk appears after Uṣur-amāssu and Gula in PTS 2942; Ninurta precedes Nergal in PTS 2042; Šamaš is placed between Uṣur-amāssu and Gula in PTS 3242; and Sîn is placed between Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Uṣur-amāssu in PTS 3210. Otherwise, the regularity within these EGLs prompts him to propose the following divine hierarchy that "reflects their relative theological importance in the local pantheon": **Symbol-of-Bēl**/ Bēltu-ša-Uruk/**Symbol-of-Nabû**/Nanaya/Bēltu-ša-Rēš/Temple of Marduk/Uṣur-amāssu/

[32] Beaulieu 2003, 41.

Urkayītu/Gula/*Palil*/Bēlet-Eanna/*Palil*-of-Udannu/Divine-Chariot/*bīt-ḫilṣi*/Nergal/Ninurta/Nusku/Šamaš/Aya (see Table 6.14).[33]

Four of these nineteen divine entities are not residents of Uruk: Šamaš and Aya are from Larsa, and Bēlet-Eanna and *Palil* are the patron deities of Udannu.[34] According to Beaulieu, precisely because deities from Larsa and Udannu appear in these Urukian offering-lists, we have evidence of a central administration in charge of all these shrines and temples in Uruk. In this regard, these texts are evidence of an official religion in the state-run sense of the phrase with the authority resting in a regional city. This is why local deities dominate the hierarchy of these offering-lists; these are the deities about which local priests and administrators were concerned.

Attention should again be paid to the divine names in these EGLs as they reflect not the theological speculations of elite scribes or priests but the cultic reality of the local temple administrators. Beaulieu notes that the local Ištar-associated goddess in these Neo-Babylonian Uruk texts is the Bēltu-ša-Uruk, who was worshiped in the city's main temple the Eanna.[35] As indicated in these offering-lists, she was treated separately from Bēlet-Eanna and Urkayītu, both of whom are also considered to be Ištar-associated goddesses by some scholars.[36] Furthermore, the goddess known as Bēlet-Eanna-of-

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[33] Beaulieu 2003, 73. Beaulieu notes that PTS 2097 and *SWU* 161 and the collection that he terms "group B," which are not included among the 12 previously unpublished texts, conform with his proposed hierarchy (pp. 74 and 87-95).

The Sumerian divine name IGI.DU has been read as Palil. Because this reading is uncertain, the name appears in italics.

[34] Beaulieu 2003, 73. Ištar-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Uṣur-amāssu, Gula, *Palil*, and the symbols and altars of Bēl and Nabû all reside in the Eanna. Marduk, Sîn, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku, and the Divine Chariot reside in small sanctuaries in Uruk, and the *bīt-ḫilṣi* is probably also in the Eanna.

[35] Beaulieu 2003, 119-123.

[36] As the primary temple in Uruk for millennia, Eanna is the ancient home of Uruk's patron goddess Inana/Ištar. Thus, Bēlet-Eanna would theoretically be synonymous with Ištar-of-Uruk as one of her epithets; however, in these texts, the divine name Bēlet-Eanna is expressly treated to ensure that it is distinguished from the epithet. The divine name is preceded by a divine determinative in the offering-lists.

Udannu (*ša*$_2$ UBARA^{ki} ^{uru}*u*$_2$-*dan-nu*)[37] did not reside in the Eanna temple in Udannu; rather, she was a resident of the *Palil* temple (e.g., E$_2$ ^{d}IGI.DU ^{uru}*u*$_2$-*dan-ni*, YBC 11546:4, and *ša*$_2$ ^{d}IGI.DU *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*u*$_2$-*dan-nu*, YOS 7 137:8). So while the Ištar-associated goddess who actually resided in the Eanna temple in Uruk was never referred to as Bēlet-Eanna in the Neo-Babylonian archives,[38] the goddess who resided in the *Palil* temple in Udannu went by the divine name Bēlet-Eanna. If scholars interpret a divine name with an appended geographic epithet as indicating where the deity was worshiped (e.g., Ištar-of-Arbela was worshiped at Arbela), then a deity worshiped at a cult location that contrasts with the divine last name should be problematic. In this case, the Bēlet-Eanna-of-Udannu was not a goddess worshiped in Eanna, she was a goddess named Bēlet-Eanna worshiped in Udannu and was recognized as such by the priests who administered the Eanna. For example, as YBC 9135:4-5 demonstrates, the administrators made sure that the Bēltu-ša-Uruk (along with her 'consort' [Symbol-of]-Bēl) received an ox, a sheep, a bird, a lamb, and a turtledove on the 16th of Ulūlu (at Uruk's Eanna); likewise, they made sure Bēlet-Eanna received a sheep and a turtledove, as indicated in l. 13.[39] Perhaps this goddess originated in and relocated from the Eanna at Uruk, and she retained not only her name but also gained a geographic epithet in the move, and another distinct deity with the same

Beaulieu notes that Bēlet-Eanna-of-Udannu is probably also a local manifestation of Ištar (Beaulieu 2003, 290).

[37] Beaulieu notes that there is no syllabic spelling of this goddess's name, so her name could have been Šarrat-Eanna (Beaulieu 2003, 290 n. 44).

[38] After the Kassite period, inscriptions refer to the local Ištar by the epithet Bēlet-Eanna and lack a divine determinative (^{d}⸢innin⸣ nin.e$_2$.an.⸢na⸣, A 3519:1-2; ^{d}innin nin.e$_2$.an.na, *UVB* 1, plate 26, no. 12 ll. 1-2 and *UVB* 1, plate 27 n. 15); Bēlet-Eanna does not reappear until the late eighth century when Merodach-Baladan II calls the local Ištar by this name, using the divine determinative (*a-na* ^{d}*iš-tar be*-⸢*let*⸣ KUR.KUR *šur-bu*-[*t*]*i* DINGIR.MEŠ *qa-rit-ti* ^{d}NIN-E$_2$.AN.NA *a-šib*-⸢*ti*⸣ [U]NUG^{ki} *ša*$_2$ *kul-lat* [*pa*]*r*$_2$-*ṣi ḫa-am-mat*, "For Ištar, lady of the lands, the greatest of the gods, the valiant one, the Lady-of-Eanna who dwells in Uruk, the one who usurped all of the divine offices," RIMB 2 B.6.21.1:1-2 and B.6.21.3:1-2). Aside from these attestations, which notably predate the offering texts from Nabonidus's reign by approximately a century-and-a-half, no Urukian goddess is indentified as Bēlet-Eanna (Beaulieu 2003, 117).

[39] Oddly, in YBC 9135:14-15, *Palil*-of-Udannu receives a lamb and an ox. [*Palil*] appears on l. 14, where the lamb is indicated, while *ša*$_2$ [^{uru}*u*$_2$-*dan*]-*nu* appears on l. 15, where the ox is indicated.

first name took her place at Uruk, appearing in the same texts and lists. Significantly, the priests at Uruk readily acknowledged this.[40]

Just as the Neo-Babylonian offering-lists provide a fixed order in their presentation, they also solve another problem, namely, explaining the relationship between the quantity of sacrificial animals received by a deity and that deity's position in an offering-list. All previous work in this chapter suggests that a god's position is more important for determining a deity's rank than the amount of sacrifices that deity received. However, the Uruk material also reveals a strong correlation between a god's position in offering-lists and the amount of offering received. In each of the 12 texts used to determine the Urukian hierarchy, the quantity of sacrificial animals consistently diminished as the lists progressed.[41] Potential exceptions to the diminishing offerings are NCBT 1213:8; NBC 4801:10; and YBC 9445:10; however, in these instances an increased offering relates to a pair of deities receiving double portions together after an individual deity received a single portion. NBC 4801 serves as an example:

	GU$_4$.ME	UDU.NITA$_2$	MUŠEN.ḪA$_2$	SILA$_4$	TU.KUR$_4$$^{mušen.me}$….	
4	1	2	2	2	2	IGI *šu-bat* ^{d}EN
5						*u* $^{d!}$GAŠAN *ša*$_2$ UNUG^{ki}
6	1	2	2	2	2	IGI *šu-bat* ^{d}NA$_3$
7						*u* ^{d}*na-na-a*
8		1	1	1	1	IGI ^{d}GAŠAN *ša*$_2$ SAG
9		1	1	1	1	IGI E$_2$ ^{d}AMAR.UD
10	1	2	2	2	2	IGI ^{d}URI$_3$-INIM-*su*
11						*u* ^{d}UNUG^{ki}-*i-ti*
12		1	1	1	1	IGI ^{d}*gu-la*

[40] Likewise, if the unspecified *Palil* who was worshiped in the Eanna at Uruk is identified with the *Palil*-of-Udannu (YBC 9135:14-15 and NCBT 6702:13-14) who was worshiped at the *Palil* temple in Udannu by administrators who oversaw both cults, then why are the administrators doubling up the offerings to this deity but still keeping them separate (and separated, by Bēlet-Eanna) in the records?

[41] One qualification must be made here before the texts are closely examined. In YBC 9135, Šamaš and Aya, who appear as the last entry in this EGL, receive three turtledoves (and one sheep and one lamb), while the first 8 entries receive one and the subsequent 3 receive none. Šamaš and Aya receive their offerings as a team rather than as individual gods. In NCBT 1213:17 and YBC 9445:19, Šamaš receives double offerings as the last member of these EGLs, and Aya is not present. In these three texts, the final deity, who is worshiped outside of Uruk at Larsa, receives an extra portion.

oxen	sheep	birds	lambs	turtledoves	
1	2	2	2	2	before the altar of Bēl and (before) the Lady-of-Uruk
1	2	2	2	2	before the altar of Nabû and (before) Nanaya
	1	1	1	1	before Bēltu-ša-Rēš
	1	1	1	1	before the temple of Marduk
1	2	2	2	2	before Uṣur-amāssu and Urkayītu
	1	1	1	1	before Gula (NBC 4801:1 and 4-12).

Just as (the altars of) Bēl and Nabû received their offerings with the Bēltu-ša-Uruk (Lady-of-Uruk) and Nanaya, so too did Uṣur-amāssu with Urkayītu, though the single recipients like Bēltu-ša-Rēš and the temple of Marduk received their offerings in between these sets of paired deities. Thus, the perceived increase of offerings in l. 10 is not actually an increase on a per-receipient basis.

A larger collection of texts – Beaulieu's Groups 1, 2, 3, 5, and PTS 2097 – also provides an answer for the correlation between a deity's serial position in an EGL and the quantity of offerings received. Overall, Bēltu-ša-Uruk and Nanaya received about twice as many sacrificial animals than the other goddesses each day as PTS 2097 indicates, which, according to Frame, serves as a sign that Bēltu-ša-Uruk was the most revered deity in Uruk:

> As "owner" of Eanna, the Lady-of-Uruk generally received larger quantities of goods than the other three deities in PTS 2097. The amounts assigned to the other two goddesses were often similar and much smaller than those assigned to the first two goddesses [i.e., Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Uṣur-amassu].[42]

In PTS 2097, specifically, Bēltu-ša-Uruk (whom both Frame and Beaulieu identify as Ištar) received 10 *mašīḫu*s of barley, 3 5/6 of dates, 1 5/6 of emmer, and 3 *qû*s (*ina rabīti*) of Telmun dates, while Nanaya received 93%, 100%, 73% and 100%, respectively, of these goods. The third goddess Bēltu-ša-Rēš received 53%, 87%, 73%, and 50% of

[42] G. Frame, "Nabonidus, Nabû-šarra-uṣur, and the Eanna Temple," *ZA* 81 (1991): 50.

Bēltu-ša-Uruk's offerings, and Uṣur-amāssu, the fourth goddess, received the same amount of every category as does Bēltu-ša-Rēš except for her barley allotment, which was only 48% of Bēltu-ša-Uruk's barley (see Table 6.15).

Unfortunately, the data from offerings at Neo-Babylonian Uruk are incomplete and complicated because the texts deal with different deities and relationships at the local rather than imperial level, but they still reflect a reality in which the most important deities were listed earlier and received a greater volume of offerings. Moreover, this is a reality in which geographic last names were appended to first names to distinguish them from other deities with the same first name, like *Palil* and *Palil*-of-Udannu.

b. The Cult and EGLs in Neo-Assyria

According to G. van Driel, not many texts have survived that inform us about the daily aspects of the Assyrian temple cult, especially as they relate to the Neo-Assyrian period.[43] He suggests that so little is known about the Assyrian temple cult because the priests never kept records of their daily activities in a descriptive series as did their neighbors in Babylonia to the south. Instead, the cultic material that has survived relates to the high holy days of the religious year. The texts of particular interest to Assyriologists are food offering texts, which include *STT* 88 x 5ff. and VAT 8005 and the *tākultu*-texts VAT 10126, *KAR* 214, and K 252.[44] Another Assyrian temple ritual of interest is the *Akītu*-ritual, which is known to have been practiced in several Neo-Assyrian cities, and its primary texts include *KAR* 215, BM 121206, *KAV* 49, and VAT

[43] Van Driel 1969, 51.
[44] Van Driel 1969, 52; R. Frankena, *Tākulti*: *de Sacrale Maaltijd in Het Assyrische Ritueel*: *Met een overzicht over de in Assur Vereerde Goden* (Leiden: Brill, 1954); Menzel 1981, 2:T113-125, no. 54 and T138-144, no. 61.

13597+13999.[45] Texts providing information on the New Year's rituals include K 2724+8207, Bu 91-5-9,104, K 13325, Assur Photos 4132[f] and 4123[a], A 126, *KAR* 146, VAT 13717, VAT 10598, and the *Götteradressbuch* of Aššur (GAB). While, the *tākultu*-ritual texts, VAT 10126 along with parallels in VAT 8005 and K 252, contain numerous god-lists with a total of 246 different divine names, Porter notes that many of these god-lists are difficult to interpret because they are "not simply listing gods, but rather invoking the various representations and forms of gods that were worshipped in one or another temple."[46] These lists often seem to be repetitive and in order to ensure that every form of any named deity or divinized cult object in the Ekur temple was not left out of the ritual.[47] Because of the confusing and uncertain nature of the lists in these texts, our analysis of Neo-Assyrian cultic texts is limited primarily to BM 121206 and GAB §§4-5.

1´. "*BM 121206*"

BM 121206 is a ritual text from Aššur's temple that describes numerous rites in its seven surviving columns.[48] According to van Driel col. iv is largely unintelligible and untranslatable, and he only briefly mentions that a first indication of the relative position between Mullissu and Šerūʾa may occur here; Menzel does not supply any portion of iv

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[45] R. Frankena suggests that the *tākultu*-ritual was actually a part of the akītu-festival due to the high degree of similarities between *KAR* 215, VAT 8005, and *STT* 88 (R. Frankena, "New Materials for the Tākultu Ritual: Additions and Corrections," *BiOr* 8 [1961]: 202).

For locations that hosted the *Akītu*-festival, see B. Pongratz-Leisten, "The Interplay of Military Strategy and Cultic Practice in Assyrian Politics," in *Assyria 1995* (1997), 246. For the list of relevant texts for the festival, see van Driel 1969, 53.

[46] Van Driel 1969, 51; Porter 2000, 231-232.

[47] This hyper-inclusion to ensure that all the deities and divinized representations housed in Ekur are included, feed, and honored is reminiscent of the Athenians' careful religiosity and their altar inscribed "to an unknown god," for which Paul criticizes them in the Areopagus (Acts 17:22-23).

[48] Van Driel 1969, 81-103; Menzel 1981, 2:T59-72, no. 35. Regarding the actual findspot of BM 121206, van Driel simply says that the "text must have turned up in the course of the excavations at Aššur" (van Driel 1969, 74).

for transliteration and interpretation.[49] Column v begins with a continuation of a rite performed on Ayyar 13, and this rite's description includes – as do many other rites in BM 121206 – a list of gods and the total number of gods named (v 11´).[50] In this case, the total number of gods is said to be 15, which van Driel claims is reached by adding the divine names from ll. 4´-5´ with those from 7´-10´ and ignoring any repetition. For van Driel, this means ignoring Madānu one of the two times he appears, as well as counting deities that fall in strategically placed lacunae.[51] Menzel's newer transliteration, however, has replaced the Madānu in l. 7 with Sîn and Ningal, but this still makes enumerating 15 divine names difficult.[52] Cols. v-viii describe various rites that occur on differing dates and concern multiple gods. Aššur and Mullissu are the deities of interest in col. vi, but

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[49] Van Driel 1969, 74; Menzel 1981, 2:T59. Though van Driel claims that col. iv is "not worth translating," he provides a handcopy and transliteration of the extant material (van Driel 1969, 80 and 86).
[50] Van Driel proposes that this rite is a preparation for a later procession (van Driel 1969, 105).
[51] V 5´ and 7´ (van Driel 1969, 86-87).
[52] Menzel's edition of BM 121206 v:

> $^{4´giš}$GIGIR ^{giš}⸢TUKUL⸣ [*s*]*e-b*[*t-t*]*u* ^{d}*ḫa-ia*$_3$ ^{d}KU$_3$.SU$_3$ ^{d}MAŠ *ša*$_2$ BAD$_3$
> $^{5´d}$TIŠPAK ^{d}*man-*[*d*]*a-nu* ^{d}PA.TUG$_2$ ^{d}*ka*$_3$(GA)-*ka*$_3$(GA)
> $^{6´}$AŠ$^{!}$ *ḫ*[*e-p*]*i*$_2$ [*ḫ*]*e-p*[*i*$_3$]
> $^{7´d}$⸢30 ^{d}⸣NI[N.G]AL ^{d}UTU ^{d}*a-a* ^{d}EN.LIL$_2$
> $^{8´d}$15 NINA^{ki} ^{d}*ka*$_3$(GA)-*ka*$_3$(GA) ^{d}⸢PA⸣.TUG$_2$
> $^{9´}$PAP [*š*]*a bit-a-*⸢*ni*⸣ ^{d}GUR$_2$-KUR *ina re-eš* ^{d}⸢EN-MAN⸣$^{?}$
> $^{10´}$*ina* TUR$_3$ ^{d}*ḫa-ia* ^{d}KU$_3$.SU$_3$ *i*[*na*] GUB$_3$-*ša*$_2$
> $^{11´}$PAP 15 DINGIR.MEŠ *ša*$_2$ ZAG
> The Chariot, the Weapon, the Sebittu, Ḫaja, KUSU, Ninurta-of-the-wall,
> Tišpak, Ma[d]ānu, Nusku,
> (broken) (broken)
> ⸢Sîn,⸣ Ni[ng]al, Šamaš, Aya, Enlil,
> Ištar-of-Nineveh, Kakka, Nusku
> Total: for the interior - Kippat-māti *in front of* ⸢EN-MAN⸣;
> In the courtyard - Haja, (with) KUSU on her left.
> Total: 15 gods (who stand) to the right (of Aššur) (Menzel 1981, 2:T59, no. 35 v 4´-11´), my translation).

If this set of 15 gods begins with the (divine) Chariot, then the Sebittu are in an unusual place for themselves near the beginning rather than at the end of a list of Assyrian deities. Beginning with the chariot and discounting the multiple attestations as van Driel recommends totals more than 15 deities. If the count begins after Sebittu – with Mullissu (^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$) restored to l. 6 (as Meinhold maintains [Meinhold 2009, 203 n. 1213]) Nusku and Kakka counted only once despite their double attestations – the number is 15, assuming only one other divine name appears with Mullissu in l. 6.

other deities also appear. Cols. vii and viii are less cohesive as they present information concerning other deities and various dates.[53]

God-lists become important elements in the final two columns of BM 121206. Col. ix 5´-6´ prepares us for the "gods that Sennacherib, king of Assyria, [through div]ination made stand beside one another,"[54] who are listed in ll. 7´-23´. These 17 lines cannot be considered to contain an EGL since individual divine names frequently recur; however, each single line does act as its own EGL. The full force of ll. 7´-23´ provides the physical layout of the deities' statues, indicating their relative position for the ritual. Lines 9´-11´ make this clear:

> $^{9' d}$15 NIN^{ki} SAG ^{d}*ku-ta-ta-te* SAG ^{d}KURNUN
> $^{10' d}$*ku-ta-ta-te* SAG ^{d}KURNUN SAG ^{d}PA.TUG$_2$
> $^{11' d}$KURNUN SAG ^{d}PA.TUG$_2$ ^{d}15 NINA^{ki} SAG ^{d}PA.TUG$_2$
>
> Ištar-of-Nineveh is ahead of Kutatate (who) is ahead of Tašmētu; Kutatate is ahead of Tašmētu (who) is ahead of Nusku; Tašmētu is ahead of Nusku; Ištar-of-Nineveh is ahead of Nusku (BM 121206 ix 9´-11´).

Visualizing this linearly, these three lines of text provide a simple arrangement of four deities' statues: Ištar-of-Nineveh/Kutatate/Tašmētu/Nusku.[55] The redundant aspects of these lines ensure that the reader fully understands their relative positions in the ceremony; in this case, "ahead of" (SAG) is visually represented by moving to the left, and "below"(KI.TA), to the right. van Driel claims that "[a]n acceptable reconstruction of the order in which they gods were arranged cannot be drawn"[56]; however, these 17 lines

[53] Van Driel is at a loss to explain BM 121206 viii 11´-21´, noting that they "belong together somehow" and "[p]erhaps they deal with a ritual in front of Šarrat-nipḫa" (van Driel 1969, 112).
[54] This translation is based, in part, on Oppenheim's idiomatic rendering of *ina rēš aḫeiš* (A. L. Oppenheim, "Idiomatic Accadian (Lexicographical Researches)," *JAOS* 61 [1941] 255). Van Driel notes that this idiom may also refer to rank among the deities (van Driel 1969, 114).
[55] Little-to-nothing is known about the deity named Kutatate who appears in BM 121206. Because even the gender of the deity is unknown, the divine name has been left black in EGLs and in tables.
[56] Van Driel 1969, 115.

suggest the following arrangement of statues listed in ix 7´-23´ if the above interpretation of ll. 9´-11´ is accurate:

←("ahead," SAG) ("below," KI.TA)→

Aya	**Bēl**	Kippat-māti	Sîn	Anu	
		Šerūʾa		(two broken names)	
		Ištar-of-Nineveh	Kutatate	Tašmētu	Nusku
		Adad	Ea	Kakka	
		Sumuqan	Enlil	Šamaš	**Nabû**[57]
	Gula	Šarrat-nipḫa	Bēlet-ekalli	Tišpak. [58]	

Regardless of what van Driel writes about any potential layout reconstruction, each divine name is of primary interest. In particular, within this complex of divine names, the one explicitly Ištar-associated goddess is addressed by her last name, a geographic name. Indeed, here the name Ištar-of-Nineveh is treated in the same way as Kippat-māti, Šarrat-nipḫa, and Bēlet-ekalli; all the elements are needed to distinguish the individual goddess from other goddesses. Porter notes that BM 121206's author demonstrated a "preoccupation with protocol" and an implied "anxiety" that each great god of the Assyrian pantheon was understood by its own nature.[59] Otherwise, the precise location of each statute would have been inconsequential for this ritual.

While no other explicitly Ištar-associated goddess besides Ištar-of-Nineveh appears in the complex of BM 121206 ix 7´-23´, four Ištar-associated goddesses appear in the following section (ll. 27´-34´), in a list of gods venerated publicly by Sennacherib: Ištar-of-Heaven, Ištar-of-Nineveh, Ištar-of-Arbela, and the Assyrian Ištar (see Table 6.5). Moreover, Mullissu appears alongside Aššur as the chief deity's consort and not with the

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[57] Van Driel reads the last sign in BM 121206 ix 23´ as UTU, and his translation indicates that one statue of the sun-god has been placed in front of another of the same deity (^{d}UTU SAG ^{d}UTU). Menzel reads the final sign as "PA$^{?}$," allowing for an otherwise missing Nabû (Menzel 1981, 2:T65, no. 35).

[58] BM 121206 ix 19´-21´ provide no relative position between the gods listed in this final row and the others.

[59] Porter 2000, 263-264.

other goddesses. Just as Mullissu is distinct in many, if not most, non-cultic EGLs from the Sargonid period, she is also distinct in this ritual text. This distinction is all the more significant because this god-list (ll. 27´-34´) is intentionally described as a list of deities that Sennacherib sought to "publicly…raise their veneration"[60]. The point of these rituals is to ensure that everyone involved in (or witnessing) the event realize the importance of each singular deity.

2´. The "*Götteradressbuch* of Aššur"

The other cultic text for review is the so-called *Götteradressbuch* of Aššur (GAB).[61] While this is a cultic text, it is not a ritual text. GAB is also known as a "Divine Directory" and "Topography" of the city of Assur.[62] This text lists the gods venerated in the city of Assur, and it also lists Assur's city and temple gates, temples, and ziggurats.[63] GAB also identifies the four main cult centers in the Assyrian Empire as Assur, Nineveh, Arbela, and Kalzu. The lists found within GAB are particularly interesting, as George notes, because the "order is one based on the ranking of the gods within the pantheon developed by the ancient theologians [i.e., lexical god-lists], with certain modifications perhaps introduced for topographical reasons."[64] According to George, the list of gods worshiped (GAB ll. 1-119 = §1 in George's divisions of the text) follows the same

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[60] The description for this EGL is based on van Driel's transliteration and translation of BM 121206 ix 24´-26´ (van Driel 1969, 98-99):

> DINGIR.MEŠ *ša*$_2$ ^{md}30-PAP^{meš}-SU MAN KUR *aš-šur ana*$^!$ *bi-ri ana* GU$_2$.ZI^{meš} *ku-ba-di-šu*$_2$*-nu man-zal-ta-šu*$_2$*-nu ina pi-i* UKU$_3$^{meš} *ik*$^!$*-ru-ru-ni*
> The gods whose places Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, established publicly by divination in order to raise their veneration.

This god-list's heading "is very difficult to understand," according to van Driel (van Driel 1969, 115), and *CAD* K says the word *kubātu* ("honors") is "in [a] difficult context" (*CAD* K, *kubātu*).

[61] Menzel 1981, 2:T146-166, no. 64; A. R. George 1992, 167-184.

[62] George 1992, 167.

[63] George 1992, 176-183.

[64] George 1992, 169.

standard order as the names of the temples devoted to each god (GAB ll. 144-185 = §4). Because §4 is significantly shorter than §1, it is examined here, and a familiar pattern appears. However, describing the arrangement of the deities in §4 as dependent upon a lexical god-list tradition, as George does, stretches the definition of "dependent." Rather, this pattern in §4 more closely resembles the pattern found in many of the non-cultic EGLs already discussed. As Table 6.16 shows, §4 begins with the chief deity and his consort and continues with two members of Triad 1, Ea and Anu, who are separated by Ninurta. Following George's argument of lexical god-list dependency, Ninurta's placement here must represent a topographical reality since no lexical tradition would place Ninurta after Ea without Enlil being nearby.[65] Adad and the other members of Triad 2 appear next and are followed by Nabû and a collection of goddesses. This collection of goddesses includes two non-consecutive Ištar-associated goddesses: the Assyrian Ištar begins the grouping and Ištar-of-Nineveh ends it.[66] A third Ištar-associated goddess appears in the second of two pairs of gods and goddesses and is the first goddess appearing in this EGL whose temple is not located in Assur.[67] Interestingly, this third Ištar-associated goddess, Ištar-of-Arbela, seems to follow [Ninurta] (l. 177), who has the

[65] George argues that Aššur has long been identified with Enlil in Assyrian religion (George 1992, 185), but this stance and his appeal to the lexical god-list tradition makes Ninurta's placement all the more puzzling. If Aššur is Enlil, then Ninurta is Aššur's son and should appear after the chief deity and his consort Mullissu. Instead, Ninurta appears after Ea, with whom he has no discernable relationship. Perhaps, Ninurta's placement between Ea and Anu has nothing to do with topography, but he appears as a replacement for the Triad 1 member Enlil as the chief deity of Nippur. No textual variations of GAB attest to E_2.ŠU.ME.ŠA_4 or E_2.MAḪ (ll. 152 and 152a) as belonging to Enlil in place of Ninurta, but if Ninurta did replace Enlil, this would also explain why Ninurta reappears much later in the list in l. 177.
[66] Somewhat surprisingly, the Assyrian Ištar is the first of the goddesses mentioned (l. 164), but this is certainly because of the Assur-centric nature of the list. George reckons that these goddesses in ll. 164-171 were "lumped together as manifestations of Ištar" (George 1992, 170).
[67] George 1992, 171. To be clear, she is worshiped in Assur as GAB l. 70 indicates (^{d}15 *arba-il*$_3^{ki}$), placing her immediately before Išum, but, unlike the other deities in GAB §4, she does not have her own temple in this city.

only divine name that may reappear in this EGL. The list finishes with the chief deity of Babylon, his consort, and Bēl-of-Zabban.[68]

By no means does the EGL in §4 strictly align with any EGL obtained from the non-cultic texts, but its structure more closely resembles those EGLs than any lexical god-list in the elitist/esoteric/school tradition. While cultic realities influenced the arrangement of deities in GAB §4, as expected, non-elite tendencies common to royal inscriptions, personal correspondence, and curse-list traditions are more prevalent. These include: placing Aššur as the chief deity at the beginning of the god-list; keeping the members of Triad 2 together while being more relaxed about the cohesiveness of Triad 1 deities; distinguishing between the goddess Mullissu, who is Aššur's consort, and various Ištar-associated goddesses who appear near the end of the EGL; and explicitly including geographic epithets as necessary last names to properly distinguish between deities with the same first name. As a review of lexical and hymnic god-lists suggests (see Tables 5.1-12), these are not properties common to the elite tradition. Thus, even though the scribes who produced the GAB likely had little expectation that the laity would ever have access to these texts, in many ways the materials that they created are more similar to those created by palace scribes (including the scholars of SAA 10) than they are to the speculative theological materials favored by modern scholars. This is true not only for GAB, but also for the Neo-Babylonian texts at Uruk examined by Frame and Beaulieu and for the Sennacherib period cultic text BM 121206.

[68] George notes that Zabban is a cult center on the border of Assyria and Babylon and that its patron god is an Adad deity (George 1992, 171).

E. Implications for the Present Study

Throughout this chapter, the primary objective has been to examine the nature and roles of the many EGLs found in Neo-Assyrian texts, including those obtained from royal inscriptions, personal letters, state treaties, and administrative documents, and even a couple of cultic ritual texts. The underlying assumption of this chapter's methodology is that if a scribe listed or referenced a deity by a particular name, then that particular name identified a specific deity who was considered distinct from all the other deities in that EGL. In essence, this assumption attempts to take the ancient scribes at their word and interprets a name as a defining aspect of each deity. A second objective stressed throughout this chapter has been the relative stability of the divine hierarchy in this period. Though variations existed within the EGLs in the texts surveyed, hierarchical arrangements are somewhat predictable. The major or most important gods appear first – often following the pattern: Assyrian chief deity, Triad 1, Triad 2, the Babylonian chief deities, warrior (and other male) gods, goddesses, and the Sebittu – and, typically, deities with common first names and distinct last names appear later in the EGLs. These two factors suggest that deities who are known by both a first and a last name are less important deities than those who are known by only one name.

Recognizing this, the argument cannot be made that multiple attestations of a divine name mean the elevation in status of a solitary deity by that name. When multiple Ištar-associated goddesses appear near the end of an EGL, they appear there because they are less important than the gods preceding them in that EGL. Had the scribes' envisioned only one singular Ištar who was so important that she appeared numerous times, why do the Ištar-associated goddesses appear at the end of most EGLs rather than with the major

gods? Moreover, if the scribes considered repetition of a divine first name, each with a unique last name, as an appropriate way to honor a major deity, why do major gods lack name repetition in the non-cultic EGLs examined above? If a last name is simply a way to indicate that a deity is venerated at a specific location – be it an important town or temple – then other major gods could have also appeared multiple times in the EGLs with multiple designations placing them throughout Assyria, Babylonia, or west of the Euphrates.

The methodology applied in this chapter recognizes that epithets were often treated in the same manner as divine names in an EGL, as indicated when the epithet is preceded by a divine determinative. For example, ^{d}15 refers to a goddess known solely as Ištar by the scribe in the same way as the signs ^{d}15 *ša$_2$ arba-il$_3$* refers to a goddess known as Ištar-of-Arbela or the signs ^{d}GAŠAN-*ki-di-mur-ri* refers to a goddess known as the Lady-of-Kidmuri. This is not to suggest that a scribe or devotee would or could not invoke a single entity by more than one name or epithet. Nor does this assume that the scribe would never refer to Ištar-of-Arbela as merely Ištar; rather, it assumes that he chose to make such a distinction between Ištar-of-Arbela and an unspecified Ištar in that text. It also respects that decision instead of trying to undermine it. This methodology does allow for the possibility that multiple names and epithets can be used to refer to a singular deity, but those names are expected to appear in succession (or explicitly linked with each other elsewhere in the text) rather than interspersed throughout a list of numerous other divine names. In this way, SAA 10 227 lists Mullissu immediately after Aššur and only later lists Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela in a fifteen-member EGL

that includes a dozen other deities who are undoubtedly independent entities.[69] There is nothing in SAA 10 227 to suggest that Mullissu is either Ištar-of-Nineveh or Ištar-of-Arbela in Adad-šumu-uṣur's letter to the king. Though some modern scholars argue otherwise – that Mullissu was equated with Ištar in seventh-century Assyria – neither this EGL nor the other EGLs examined in this chapter or those examined in chapter 9 suggest that Mullissu is either Ištar-of-Nineveh or Ištar-of-Arbela in these scribes' theological world. Just as we cannot ignore the fact that repeated divine first names with different last names are most likely to appear near the end of an EGL and claim that the repetition of a divine name is evidence of an elevated status in the hierarchy, we cannot argue that a deity has been invoked by multiple unique divine names (e.g., Mullissu and Ištar) sporadically throughout an EGL unless something within that particular text suggests those names represent one individual deity.

We will now turn, in chapters 7 through 9, to case studies of deities with identical first names and different last names in three different ancient Near Eastern religious and political contexts: the IŠKUR/storm-gods, LAMMA/tutelary deities, and Ištar-associated goddesses from the Hittite imperial period; Baal-named deities from the Northwest Semitic texts from the second and first millennia; and the Ištar-associated goddesses of the Neo-Assyrian period.

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[69] **Aššur**/**Mullissu**/Sîn/Šamaš/Adad/**Marduk**/**Ṣarpānītu**/**Nabû**/**Tašmētu**/Ištar-of-Nineveh/Ištar-of-Arbela/Ninurta/Gula[!]/Nergal/Laṣ (SAA 10 227:1-6).

CHAPTER 7: THREE HITTITE CASE STUDIES ON MULTIPLICITY

Hittite religious traditions are admittedly distinct in many ways from Mesopotamian religious traditions. The Hittites spoke an Indo-European language rather than Sumerian or a Semitic language, and the topography and climate in Anatolia were quite different from those of the alluvial plain of Iraq. The Hittites, however, were undeniably influenced by their Mesopotamian neighbors, as evidenced by their adoption of Sumerian logograms to identify their deities instead of writing the names out syllabically, which is why the actual names of many Hittite gods are unknown today.[1] Moreover, the genres of the Hittite texts examined below (e.g., state treaties, ritual texts, and royal inscriptions) often resemble their generic, Akkadian counterparts. Like the Akkadian texts surveyed in the previous chapter, these Hittite texts contain several embedded god-lists (EGLs) that reveal a hierarchy and include numerous entries, which share first names but have unique last names. For these reasons, the same methodology presented in chapter 6 can be used on the following Hittite texts in order to examine the multiplicity of Hittite storm-gods, tutelary deities, and Ištar-associated goddesses.

A. Adding to the Hittite Pantheon

The Mesopotamian scribes prided themselves on the plethora of names a given deity could have. Not only do the lexical lists demonstrate this, but royal inscriptions and hymnic or epic poetry bear witness to this tendency as well. Even if the list of fifty names in tablets VI-VII were not original to *Enūma eliš*, their ultimate position in the series

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[1] Because the first names of so many Hittite deities are written with Sumerian logograms, we often do not know those deities' first names in Hittite. Nevertheless, the Sumerian logograms serve to indicate the type – rather than first name – of the deities in question, regardless of what signs are appear in individual inscriptions: IŠKUR = a storm-god; UTU = a sun-god; UTU.MI$_2$ = a sun-goddess; and LAMMA = a tutelary deity

allowed them to serve as the climax of the poem. Tiāmat may have been flayed by Marduk in tablet IV, and mankind created by Ea in tablet VI, but the celebrations of Marduk's reign and the order of the universe are not complete until the lesser gods praise Marduk by reciting his fifty names (VII). This hymn attests to the importance of names in the scholastic, esoteric and/or cultic tradition, as does Nanaya's hymn of self-praise, wherein the goddess describes her status and her accomplishments by proclaiming herself to be numerous other goddesses (see Table 5.12). The point was that each name illuminated an important aspect of the deity. The more names that a deity could embrace the more awe the deity could inspire. After all, why would an insignificant deity have several names?

While Lambert might argue that these hymns provide evidence of an emerging monotheism in the final centuries of Mesopotamian religion, he also notes that apart from the priestly or scribal elite, these potential changes would be lost on most of the population.[2] Thus, polytheism continued as the reigning form of religion among the non-elites, which included state officials and priests.

For the Mesopotamians, a plethora of names for one deity may have been acceptable, but the opposite appears to have been true for the Hittites, whose religious sentiment "was not into theological speculation and contemplation, but practical, pragmatic, functional, and expedient" issues, at least until the reign of Ḫattušili III in the first half of the thirteenth century.[3] The Hittite one continued expanding as new territories were encountered or conquered.[4] In order to integrate newly conquered areas securely into the empire, the Hittites removed cult-statues from their cities of origin and

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[2] Lambert 1997, 159.
[3] T. Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 145.
[4] Bryce 2002, 135.

transferred them to Ḫattuša, the Hittite imperial capital, for veneration. This act demonstrated respect for the deities and symbolized the deities' acknowledgement of the takeover. Beckman refers to this type of incorporation into the empire as "agglutinated" rather than "assimilated," while I. Singer stresses that the Hittites' treatment of the cult-statues indicates their supplication to foreign deities.[5] H. Deighton considers the Hittites' practice of integrating a deity into their pantheon as a new god rather than identifying it with an already acknowledged deity as one of the "major oddities" of Hittite religion.[6] It is precisely for this reason that the Hittites could boast of their thousand gods (*LI.IM* DINGIR^{meš}, *KBo* 18.77:18-19), which T. Bryce describes as "an extreme form of polytheism."[7]

The so-called Puḫanu Chronicle from the Old Hittite period illustrates this practice in a dialogue between IŠKUR-of-Aleppo and the king's emissary (*CTH* 16b). Only when IŠKUR-of-Aleppo was satisfied with the respect the Hittites gave him could they rule over the newly conquered city of Aleppo. This was indicated by the charge given to Puḫanu: "The male gods of [IŠKUR] sent me to the King (saying): 'Go (and) find the Great Ones and let the Great Ones say to the King: "You have shown me respect,

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[5] G. Beckman, "Pantheon. A. II. Bei den Hethitern," *RlA* 10/3-4 (2004) 308; I. Singer, "'The Thousand Gods of Hatti': The Limits of an Expanding Pantheon," in *Concepts of the Other in Near Eastern Religions* (eds. I. Alon, I. Gruenwald, and I. Singer; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 86-87.

[6] H. Deighton, *The 'Weather-God' in Hittite Anatolia*: *An Examination of the Archaeological and Textual Sources* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series, 1982), 109.

[7] Bryce 2002, 135. While noting that local manifestations are paid individual attention by the Hittites "rather than subsuming them in worship under a single figure" (e.g., Ištar or Šaušga), Beckman asserts that these local manifestations are merely "local hypostases" who are "avatars of a single divinity" despite the fact that they receive their own separate offerings in *KUB* 38 6 i 18-23 and iv 12′-22′ (Beckman 2003, 308). Thus, he reiterates what he has suggested in his "Ištar Reconsidered" article five years earlier (see chapter 4).

See also the restorations of "thousand gods" in letter nos. 34 (p. 148) and 85 (pp. 250ff.) in H. A. Hoffner's *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom* (ed. G. Beckman; SBLWAW 15; Atlanta: SBL, 2009). In the Telipinu myth, the Sun-god hosts a feast for the thousand deities, but they are not satiated because, with Telipinu's disappearance, vegetation, trees, pastures, and springs had dried up, causing famine in the land ("The Disappearance of the Storm God," §5 [A i 16-21; H. A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths* (ed. G. Beckman; SBLWAW 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 21]).

(therefore) I have come.'"'[8] According to the chronicle, the Hittite capture of Aleppo was due as much to a theological invitation by the local gods as it was to a military campaign. Nothing suggests that IŠKUR-of-Aleppo was identified with storm-gods already venerated in Ḫattuša by the Hittites. Similarly, when Šuppiluliuma conquered Carchemish, out of respect for the local gods, he ensured that no Hittite troops desecrated the local temples, and the local goddess Kubaba, the Great Lady of Carchemish, was agglutinated to the Hittite pantheon at Ḫattuša.[9] Other peoples' gods also became new Hittite gods. Ultimately, the result of this theological stance agglutination was that foreign deities retained their local personalities, even when they were identical in nature to gods already part of the Hittite pantheon.[10] Eventually, most of the Hittite pantheon consisted of foreign gods,[11] including at least 25 Ištar-associated goddesses,[12] as well as numerous storm-gods, such as "IŠKUR-of-Aleppo- and Ḫebat-of-Aleppo-of-Ḫattuša" and "IŠKUR-of-Aleppo- and Ḫebat-of-Aleppo-of-Šamuḫa" (*KUB* 6 45 i 43 and 51).[13]

B. Puduḫepa's Reform

To combat this ever expanding and increasingly foreign pantheon, a divine restructuring was attempted during Ḫattušili III's reign. This reform occurred relatively late in the history of the Hittite Empire, during the middle of the thirteenth century.[14] Upon his return from the battle at Kadesh, where he had been on campaign for his brother King Muwatalli, the future king Ḫattušili III stopped in Kizzuwatna, where he met and

[8] Singer's translation (Singer 1994, 87).
[9] Singer 1994, 88.
[10] Bryce 2002, 135.
[11] Singer 1994, 82.
[12] Beckman 1998, 3.
[13] Singer 1994, 88.
[14] Scholars typically date the Empire Period from ca. 1650, Ḫattušili I's reign, through the kingdom's destruction ca. 1210 during Šuppiluliuma II's reign; see the chronology given on Kuhrt 1998, 1:230.

married Puduḫepa.[15] As a priest's daughter and a priestess herself, Puduḫepa was steeped in the Hurrian tradition of her homeland and – upon her husband's ascendency to the throne – used her influence to impress these traditions upon the Hittite religious scene.[16] Her devotion to the gods and especially to the Hurrian goddess Ḫebat is most dramatically and visually represented in the reliefs at Firaktin in Cappadocia, in which she and her husband are depicted pouring libations. She pours libations to Ḫebat, and he pours libations to another deity (see Photo 7.1).[17]

Queen Puduḫepa's re-conceptualization of the Hittite pantheon was, in part, a response to the ever-expanding cultic services in the years prior to her reform. Her efforts not only reduced multiplicity within the pantheon but also reflected the "Hurrianization of Hittite culture," uniting the empire's various people politically.[18] In this regard, equating Hittite deities with their Hurrian counterparts served as her most celebrated accomplishment, and this accomplishment has been recorded in stone at Yazilikaya, near Ḫattuša. At Yazilikaya, bas-reliefs mixed Hittite iconography with Hurrian divine names.[19] The storm-god, who has been identified as the Hurrian storm-god Tešub, stands

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[15] G. McMahon, "The History of the Hittites," *BiAr* 52 (1989): 70.

[16] While ruler of northern Anatolia, Ḫattušili III (ca. 1275-1245) usurped the throne from his nephew Urhi-Tešub/Murshili III (T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999], 287-288; Bryce 2002, 137; and Kuhrt 1998, 1:258-259).

In addition to being actively involved in religious reform, including a reevaluation of the pantheon, Puduḫepa was also deeply involved in judicial and diplomatic/international relations (Bryce 1999, 316).

[17] Bryce 1999, 317. Bryce remarks how Puduḫepa and Ḫattušili together formed "one of the closest and one of the most enduring and constructive royal partnerships of the ancient world," noting that she does not appear to have used her "substantial powers for purely personal ends" (p. 319). Indeed, aside from a brief expulsion from the capital – likely the result of her son King Tudḫaliya's new wife/queen's unease with the queen mother – nothing suggests anything negative about this queen (p. 331).

[18] Bryce 2002, 137-138.

[19] G. Beckman, "The Religion of the Hittites," *BiAr* 52 (1989): 99; J. V. Canby, "Hittite Art," *BiAr* 52 (1989): 125. Since Tudḫaliya IV is depicted in the reliefs opposite the divine procession in the Yazilikaya reliefs, these reliefs and their associated religious reform/innovations are often attributed to him (Canby 1989, 125). Because Tudḫaliya's image is a foot taller than the gods in their reliefs, Canby suggests his image is a later addition, carved after his death.

on two mountains, left of center, while the UTU.MI-of-Arinna, indentified as the Hurrian goddess Ḫebat, stands immediately opposite him on a lioness (see Photo 7.2 and Table 7.1). E. Laroche notes that this mixing of Hurrian and Hittite religious thought so near the Hittite capital city demonstrates the precision and success with which Puduḫepa's reform was brought about.[20] It should be noted, however, that Puduḫepa's reform revolved primarily around the identification of equivalent Hurrian and Hittite deities rather than a basic streamlining of all the major types of Hittite god-categories.[21]

In practice, Queen Puduḫepa's religious reform meant that her son, king Tudḫaliya IV, needed to make sure that local temples were in good condition so that the local people did not feel isolated from their gods.[22] Benefiting from the peace with Egypt that had been established by his predecessors, Tudḫaliya was able to focus on these

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[20] E. Laroche, "Le Panthéon de Yazilikaya," *JCS* 6 (1952): 121. Identifying deities by their Hurrian names in religious practice mimicked the perfusion of Hurrian textual elements contained within the Kizzuwatna tablets, a collection of tablets describing Hurrian purification rites written in Hittite that Queen Puduḫepa had commissioned and collected from her hometown (H. G. Güterbock, "A View of Hittite Literature," *JAOS* 84 [1964]: 113). The tablets are written in Hittite, but Hurrian elements permeate them.

Laroche highlights a few tablets that best represent the meaning and effect of the Kizzuwatna tablets as they relate to Puduḫepa's reform (Laroche 1952, 122). One colophon from the series "*išuwaš* festival" proclaims:

> "during the reign of Puduḫepa, URMAḪ-ziti was appointed chief of the scribes of Ḫattuša in order to make the Kizzuwatna tablets" ([12]SAL.LUGAL *pu-du-ḫe*$_2$*-pa-aš-kan*$_2$ *ku-wa-pi*$_2$ [13m]UR.MAḪ.LU$_2$*-in* GAL DUD.SAR$^{\text{meš}}$ [14uru]*ḫa-at-tu-ši A.NA dup-pa*$^{\text{ḫi.a}}$ [15uru]*ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na* [16]*ša-an-ḫu-wa-an-zi u*$_2$*-e-ri-at KUB* 20 74, the English is based on Laroche's translation).

Another tablet describes the Hurrian practice of washing the deity's mouth as now practiced in the religious life of the Hittite kings:

> "The 10$^{\text{th}}$ tablet. End – of the ritual *itkalzi* – of the washing-of-the-mouth. Before My Sun, we perform verbal Zithara during the harvest" ([36]DUB 10 KAM *QA.TI ŠA* SISKUR.SISKUR *it-kal-zi-aš* [37]*a-iš šu-up-pi*$_2$*-ja-aḫ-ḫu-wa-aš* [38]*A.NA* $^{\text{d}}$UTU$^{\text{ši}}$*-at-kan*$_2$ *I.NA* $^{\text{uru}}$*zi-it-ḫa-ra* [39]*I.NA* BURU KAxU-*az pa-ra-a a-ni-ja-u-en*, *KUB* 29 8, the English is based on Laroche's translation).

Neither of these texts in and of themselves demonstrates any identification or equation of Hittite and Hurrian deities. They do, however, exemplify the syncretism of Hittite and Hurrian religious practices (following the definition of "syncretism" discussed in chapter 3) as they reflect a transition or merging of ideas from two established religious traditions into one new tradition whose meaning is still ambiguous.

[21] Bryce 2002, 137.

[22] Laroche claims that Tudḫaliya began his reign as a co-regent with his mother Puduḫepa after the death of his father Ḫattušili III (Laroche 1952, 122). For this reason, the religious reforms that date to his reign can also be attributed to the queen mother.

religious reforms and their ramifications.[23] In addition to solidifying his mother's reforms into full Hittite religious practice, he commissioned deputies to survey cult sites throughout Anatolia and take inventory of cultic equipment, personnel, and the various local ceremonies. This ensured that all these local cults could continue to perform their rituals, but at the same time he brought these same rituals, cults and deities to the capital.[24]

Despite her great influence on the official cult and its implementation at the capital, the force of her program does not appear to have "extended, at least officially, below the highest level of divine society."[25] In fact, Puduḫepa's reforms probably did not affect the organization of the cults or the equations of deities in any real way. The queen boasted of the vast number of places where UTU.MI-of-Arinna was worshiped in order to link Hurrian and Hittite deities ("O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of all the lands! In Hatti you gave yourself the name Sun-goddess of Arinna, but the land which you made, that of the cedar, there you gave yourself the name Hebat"), but even this high praise from the queen did not guarantee the identification of even these two goddesses in the minds of the rest of the Hittite Empire.[26] As Singer notes, cults continued to be maintained for both goddesses, even at the same locality.[27] After her reform, a vast multiplicity of independent and distinct gods remained in the Hittite pantheon. Indeed, iconography and texts from Yazilikaya themselves argue against the streamlined

[23] McMahon 1989, 71.
[24] Bryce 2002, 138; McMahon 1989, 71; see the discussion of LAMMA rituals, below (see G. McMahon, *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities* [AS 25; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1991], 140).
[25] Bryce 2002, 137.
[26] Singer's Translation ("Puduhepa's Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and her Circle for the Well-being of Ḫattusili" (*CTH* 384) in I. Singer, *Hittite Prayers* [ed. H. A. Hoffner; SBLWAW 11; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002], 102).
[27] Singer 1994, 90.

pantheon that she is said to have imagined. Though the Hurrian storm-god Tešub was officially identified with the Hittite storm-god (^{d}10, *JCS* 6 121, l. 42),[28] another storm-god is shown standing behind Tešub in the reliefs. This storm-god is identified in the accompanying text as IŠKUR-of-Ḫattuša (see Figures 7.2 and Table 7.1). Not even this exemplar of Hurrian-Hittite syncretism reflects a full religious reform.[29] Puduḫepa's reform was aimed at officially syncretizing Hurrian deities with their Hittite counterparts in the official state pantheon in a very specific and limited way, but it did little to minimize the multiplicity of deities within the pantheon who are designated with similar first names – the storm-gods, the tutelary deities, and the Ištar-associated goddesses – to which we now turn.

C. The Hittites and Divine Labels: The Storm-Gods (IŠKURs)

If the Yazilikaya bas-reliefs *do*, in fact, reflect a successful reform, then the syncretization of Tešub with the unspecified IŠKUR and Ḫebat with UTU.MI-of-Arinna, along with their placement atop the Hittite pantheon, still only occurred as the Hittite civilization neared its end. Typically, one or both deities – with either their Hurrian or Hittite divine names – appear first or early in several EGLs from treaties and prayers,

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[28] Laroche 1952, 121.

[29] Note also that Ištar/Šaušga appears twice in the Yazilikaya text, once among a collections of male gods with her entourage members Ninatta and Kulitta on the left (l. 38), and once at the end of the goddess collection on the right (l. 56 in the text, but now lost in the reliefs). R. Alexander readily accepts the goddess on right as Šaušga, symbolizing fertility, but claims that the goddess in position 38 is a war-goddess "with a dual sexual nature" (R. L. Alexander, "Šaušga and the Hittite Ivory from Megiddo," *JNES* 50 [1991]: 173).

The repetition of a Šaušga divine name in the EGL in the inscription at Yazilikaya is curious as it is the only divine designation that repeats in the text; after all, ^{d}10 (AN) in l. 42 is distinguished from ^{d}10 *ḫa*^{uru} in l. 41. Laroche notes this peculiarity at the end of his discussion by commenting on the absence of "^{d}IB = the Hurrian Ninurta" in this EGL (Laroche 1952, 121 n. 51). Note, however, that Laroche has retained a question mark at the beginning of l. 56 (see Table 7.1), indicating the presence of a sign that would, in fact, modify the specific name of the deity in this line, distinguishing it from the divine name in l. 38.

even though Beckman notes that “no single hierarchy prevailed in all circumstances.”[30] Context determines each EGL’s hierarchy, and since the Yazilikaya reliefs depict a particular theological moment, Tešub and Ḫebat take the central positions. Regardless of the reform’s scope or success, a fortunate result for us is that it highlights the issue of multiplicity in the ancient Near East, especially as it regards the naming of specific deities.[31] Actually, “naming” may not be the most accurate term for the designation of Hittite deities when the cuneiform signs used by the Hittites refer to a type of deity rather than that deity’s first name. Instead, “labeling” better reflects how the Hittites categorized the gods according to their function in the pantheon. Two divine labels, reflected by the use of Sumerian logograms, demonstrate this: the storm-gods and the tutelary deities.

Originally, the Hittite scribes used the logogram IŠKUR to represent their storm-god, who, from the beginning of Hittite history, was honored as the chief deity of the Hittite pantheon, the preserver of order in the universe, and the supreme protector of Ḫatti.[32] D. Schwemer notes that the Hattic storm-god was named Taru, from an Indo-European root and Hittite word meaning “to be powerful” or to “overcome”; however, syllabic writings are quite uncommon so the specific personal name of even the most important Hittite storm-god is still uncertain.[33] This deity’s primary epithet and designation as head of the Hittite pantheon was simply IŠKUR-of-Heaven.[34] The deity’s worship spread throughout the Hittite empire, with 150 local cults named in Hittite

[30] Beckman 1989, 100; Beckman 2004, 313.
[31] Bryce notes that the typical Hittite gave little or no thought to the issue of local manifestations and the multiplicity of divine names prior to Puduḫepa’s reform (Bryce 2002, 145). This may also be true of the few remaining decades of Hittite history following her reforms.
[32] Bryce 2002, 143.
[33] D. Schwemer 2008b, 18; A. R. W. Green, *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East* (Biblical and Judaic Studies 8; Lake Winona: Eisenbrauns, 2003) 132. The chief god of both the Neo-Hittites and the Luwians is Tarḫund, who is later identified with Zeus (Deighton 1982, 45; Bryce 2002, 144).
[34] Schwemer 2008b, 15 and 20. A. Green equates the Hittite IŠKUR-of-Heaven with IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti (Green 2003, 131).

texts.[35] According to Schwemer, many of these local deities were considered sons of the great IŠKUR-of-Heaven, including IŠKUR-of-Nerik and IŠKUR-of-Ziplanda, rather than considered manifestations of the main storm-god himself.[36] Many of these local storm-gods "were established as gods in their own right" and had their own personal divine names, including Telipinu, Piḫaimmi, and Piḫammi.[37]

These numerous storm-gods, however, had very different characteristics and backgrounds, and subsuming them all under the general category IŠKUR or Storm-God does them a disservice. Many of these storm-gods were from the pre-Hittite Hattic layer of religious tradition, each representing the nature of the water and weather that was local to each cult site's geography, climate, and community.[38] As a result of these differing climatic and geographic differences, each deity had different characteristics, and any common features between them were more a function of each deity's association with water than a common heritage.[39] The differences included the peaceful attributes of both

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[35] Schwemer 2008b, 21. Ph. Houwink ten Cate says that about 140 towns had their own storm-god cult (Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "The Hittite Storm God: His Role and his Rule According to Hittite Cuneiform Sources," in *Natural Phenomena*: *Their Meaning*, *Depiction*, *and Description in the Ancient Near East* [ed. D. J. W. Meijer; Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1992], 84).

[36] Schwemer 2008b, 21. Schwemer notes that these two local manifestations are equated in the imperial period.

[37] According to Deighton, Telipinu and IŠKUR-of–Nerik had much in common (Deighton 1982, 71). Both Telipinu and IŠKUR(^{d}10)-of-Nerik were sons of ^{d}10. IŠKUR-of-Nerik was the son of UTU.MI_2-of-Arinna, and Telipinu was also associated with her. Moreover, each was associated with Mt. Ḫulla, and the mythology of both gods involves the drying up of springs.

Schwemer typically does not interpret multiple local manifestations of a god as indicating separate, distinct deities, but he do recognize the distinctions between Piḫaimmi and Piḫammi, who were sons of another storm-god (Schwemer 2008b, 22 and n. 57; see also *Chicago Hittite Dictionary P*, p 253). Otherwise, he considers the storm-god titles with non-geographic epithets as manifestations of Taru:

> The same embedding in the pantheon as son-gods was also then applied to some of the many *aspectually differentiated manifestations of* ***the*** *storm-god*; typical examples of such *aspectually differentiated manifestations of* ***the*** *storm-god* include the storm-god "of thunder", "of the meadow", "of the (the king's) person", "of the market", "of the army", "of the oath" etc (Schwemer 2008b, 21, my emphasis).

[38] Bryce 2002, 144.

[39] For this reason, many scholars prefer to refer to Hittite storm-gods as "weather gods": J. G. Macqueen, "Nerik and its Weather God," *AnSt* 30 [1980]: 179-187 and Deighton, *The Weather-God in Hittite Anatolia*, as well as Botteró, Annus, and Barré.

an Anatolian terrestrial/chthonic water-god (i.e., Taru) – who was associated with aquifers rather than floods and who could act as the divine herder of the winds – and also a celestial storm god (i.e., Tešub) – who was associated with thunder, lightning, and rain.[40]

Regardless, these various kinds of water/weather/storm gods are all labeled ^{d}IŠKUR (or ^{d}10) in the cuneiform texts, including the Hurrian god Tešub, the Akkadian god Adad, and the West Semitic god Hadad.[41] Though they all share the same labels, scholars have identified between five and eight separate types of Hittite storm-god.[42] Of these, Houwink ten Cate's analysis of Hittite storm-god epithets is the most pertinent and instructive for the present study. The first of the five categories he proposes describes those deities who are defined by forces of nature: e.g., IŠKUR-of-Heaven, IŠKUR-of-lightning, -of-clouds, -of-rain, -of-dew, and -of-growing.[43] The second category defines the deities in terms of human characteristics or by their relationship with mankind, including IŠKUR-of-the-head, which reveals that god's relationship with the king. The third category defines the deity in relation to non-city geography: IŠKUR-of-the-field and -of-the-military-campaign. The fourth comprises topography within the city: e.g., IŠKUR-of-the-temple, -of-the-house, -of-the-market, and -of-the-palace. Finally, the fifth

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[40] Green 2003, 130f. Green notes that later Hittite traditions would come to associate the IŠKUR-of-Heaven with Adad (p. 149).

[41] Over time, the logogram ^{d}10 – the "unequivocal Sumerian logogram for the Semitic Adad" (Green 2003, 131) –replaces ^{d}IŠKUR for the storm-gods, and by the mid-fifteenth century, ^{d}10 becomes the standard logogram for the Hittite storm-god. This change coincides with the Hittite empire's rise as a dominant political power in the region (Deighton 1982, 50) and reflects their interests in war and domination, which is common with Semitic Adad's role as warrior-god.

Despite this common cuneiform designation, the various Hittite storm-gods have nothing in common with the Semitic god Adad (Deighton 1982, 49-50). In comparison to the Hittite storm-god tradition, Adad's character is a destructive one, even though he is also associated with life-giving rain in addition to death-inflicting floods.

[42] As Deighton reports, Özgüç's classification system with eight categories was determined upon the basis of iconography (Deighton 1982, 37), whereas Houwink ten Cate has five categories that relate to the storm-god epithets (Houwink ten Cate 1980, 85).

[43] Houwink ten Cate 1980, 85.

category of epithets deals with warfare and political authority, as represented by IŠKUR-of-the-army-camp, -of-the-coadjutor, -of-the-alliance, and -of-the-fastening. For Houwink ten Cate, each of these epithets represents a distinct deity. As he explains, these epithets –whether they are adjectival or participial in nature – "have been personified."[44]

Gods with geographic epithets, Houwink ten Cate's third and fourth categories comprise a large portion of these storm-gods. Of the 21 storm-gods listed in the divine witness section of Šuppiluliuma I's treaty with Ḫuqqana of Ḫayasa (treaty no. 3 in Beckman's *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*; see Table 7.2), most epithets associate a deity with a city: e.g., IŠKURs-of-Aleppo, -of-Arinna, and -of-Nerik.[45] However, the first storm-god is IŠKUR-of-Heaven, whose epithet places him in Houwink ten Cate's first category as a force of nature. Following IŠKUR-of-Heaven are eight geographically identified storm-gods and IŠKUR-of-the-Army, a member of Houwink ten Cate's fifth category. Next is IŠKUR-of-the-Market, which is within a city, so it belongs to the fourth category. Following another spurt of city-based storm-gods is IŠKUR-of the-Ruin-Mound, which belongs to the third category because it represents non-city geography. Of the extant storm-god epithets, only the second category, which refers to the god's relationship with humanity, is absent.[46]

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[44] Houwink ten Cate 1980, 109.

[45] "Insofar as our uneasy notions about Hittite geography allow for a cautious judgment, the towns are evenly spread over the country" (Houwink ten Cate 1980, 90). Some cities' storm-gods were included because of their "glorious Hittite past," which is to say the cities had established themselves as political powerhouses (i.e., IŠKUR-of-Aleppo and -of-Kizzuwatna), even though only IŠKUR-of-Arinna and IŠKUR-of-Ḫattuša have sanctuaries near the capital. Other cities are included for theological reasons because of the fame of the local storm-god in popular myhts (i.e., IŠKUR-of-Nerik).

[46] According to Houwink ten Cate, *CTH* 42, which dates to Šuppiluliuma I's reign, lists sixteen local Anatolian storm gods (i.e., those identified by city) and four identified by their relationship to humanity (i.e., category two; Houwink ten Cate 1980, 90). Likewise, *CTH* 53 and 62 list fourteen local storm-gods and three with non-geographical epithets.

It should be noted that storm-gods with geographic epithets are not limited to treaties or ritual texts. King Muršilil II named multiple storm-gods in his personal prayers, with each deity selected to aid with a particular problem. Muršili rose to the throne when a great plague killed off large portions of the Hittite population, including his two royal predecessors, his father Šuppiluliuma I and his brother Arnuwanda II.[47] According to his prayers, the plague lasted 20 years, which he considered the result of his father's political misdeeds (*COS* 1.60:156). Muršili performed the ritual bloodshed that had been neglected by his predecessors, to no effect, so he prayed to the gods for forgiveness and relief from the plague (p. 157). The so-called First Prayer of Muršili was addressed to all the deities of the Hittite pantheon:

> O [all of] you [male deities], all female deities, [all] male deities of the oath, [all] female deities of the oath, [all] primeval [deities], all [male] deities and all female deities who were summoned to assembly for witnessing an oath in this [matter]! O mountains, rivers, springs, and underground watercourses! I, Muršili, your priest and servant, have now pled my case before you. O gods, my lords, [listen] foe me to my concern about which I present you my justification ("First Prayer," *COS* 1.60:156, Beckman's translation).

This appeal is, at its heart, reflective of the Hittites' extreme polytheism, but it was not answered, so the king tried again and specifically petitioned IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti because he was the deity angered by Šuppiluliuma's transgressions:

> O Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord, and gods, my lords – so it happens: People always sin. My father sinned and transgressed the word of the Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord….Because I have confessed the sin of my father, let the souls of the Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord, and of the gods, my lords, again be appeased. May you be well-disposed toward me once more. Send the plague away from Ḫatti again….I repeatedly plead my case [to you], Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord. Save me! ("Second Prayer," *COS* 1.60:157, Beckman's translation).

A third prayer was directed to UTU.MI-of-Arinna; a fourth was directed to a plethora of deities residing throughout the empire; and a fifth listed numerous gods. However, only

[47] G. Beckman, "Plague Prayers of Muršili II," in *COS* 1.60 (1997), 156.

in the second prayer was an individual god singled out for petition because only he had been personally offended. This individual deity was specifically and explicitly named as IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti, and he was named over two dozen times in the second prayer.[48]

Another of Muršili II's prayers was also the result of his learning (through oracles) that a particular storm-god was responsible for his "withered" speech, the result of a minor stroke that the king suffered after the stresses of constant warfare, continued plague, and emotional family crises:

> Thus speaks My Sun Muršili, the Great King: "I travelled to Til-Kunnu…A storm burst forth and the Storm God thundered terrifyingly. I was afraid. Speech withered in my mouth, and my speech came forth somewhat haltingly. I neglected this plight entirely. But as the years followed one another, the cause of my plight began to appear in my dreams. And in my sleep the god's hand fell upon me, and my mouth went sideways. I consulted the oracles, and the Storm God of Manuzziya was ascertained (as responsible for my plight)" (*CTH* 486:1-10).[49]

As he indicated in his report, Muršili implicitly understood that some particular storm-god was responsible for his affliction because a thunder storm had triggered the problem, but the king was not satisfied with such a general identification. He was determined to find out exactly who this god was. He sought oracular advice, performed a ritual involving a "substitute ox" given as a burnt offering at the storm-god's temple in Kummanni, and wore the clothes he wore when his ailment first occurred.[50] Muršilli discovered that the offended deity was IŠKUR-of-Manuzziya and ensured that this deity was satisfied and healed him. Unfortunately, no extant text reports whether the ritual was effective and confirms that IŠKUR-of-Manuzziya was actually responsible for Muršili's withered speech, but this does again highlight the importance of a Hittite god's last name

[48] The deity is named as an unspecified IŠKUR three times in the prayer, one of which has been restored. Approximately three of the twenty-six occurrences IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti have been partially or totally restored.
[49] Bryce's translation (Bryce 1999, 239).
[50] Bryce 1999, 239-240.

as a way to single him out from the vast crowd of Hittite storm-gods. The king appealed to IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti when he was the responsible party and to IŠKUR-of-Manuzziya when he was. Anything less specific did not suffice.

In the Hittite world, many deities were identified as storm-god. This collection of storm-gods included deities representing numerous local and ethnic pantheons and deities representing several different types of storms or other water-related phenomena. As Hittite hegemony expanded from Ḫattuša throughout Anatolia and into northern Syria, these local storm-gods were typically not identified with one another, though some did establish filial connections with each other. Instead, new cults were established in the capital and the new deity's geographic origins functioned as their last names, serving to distinguish each storm-god from the others in ritual texts, treaties, and royal inscriptions. Making such distinctions was important, as Muršili's prayers demonstrate when he seeks to address the specific IŠKUR that had been offended.

D. The LAMMA Deities

The labeling of a deity through the use of a particular cuneiform sign according to the deity's function is not something the Hittite scribes performed uniquely for the storm-gods; they also did this for their tutelary deities (LAMMA). Protective deities were not unique to Hittite tradition since the Mesopotamians also worshiped spirits that watched over particular individuals, places, or activities.[51] In fact, the term LAMMA is Sumerian, as is the related sign ALAD, and both logograms have Akkadian equivalents, *lamassu* and *šēdu*, which represent the protective spirits who guarded individuals or served as

[51] McMahon 1991, 2.

patron deities.[52] The sign LAMMA serves as a common noun in Hittite, as it does in Sumerian and Akkadian, but in most occurrences it also serves as the title of a specific unnamed deity, standing alone or accompanied by an epithet.[53] Thus, LAMMA could be treated as a deity's first name, and the epithet acted as that deity's last name. LAMMAs include both male and female deities, as indicated in Muwatalli's prayer to IŠKUR Piḫaššašši (*KUB* 6 45 + *KUB* 30 14 ii 5-6), in which a tutelary deity from Karaḫna named Ala is spelled ^{df}*a-la-a-aš*.[54] The fact that the divine and feminine determinatives were both used suggests that a LAMMA could be either gender in Hittite tradition.

G. McMahon identifies four categories of LAMMA in Hittite religion: those whose divine name is given in a text; those deities who are only identified by the tutelary logogram LAMMA; those deities who are identified as the LAMMA of a geographic region (e.g., ^{d}LAMMA-^{uru}Karaḫna); and, finally, those identified with a non-geographic epithet (e.g., ^{d}LAMMA-^{kuš}*kuršaš*, The-tutelary-deity-of-the-hunting-bag).[55] Most LAMMAs belong to the final two categories.[56] Since most of our Hittite sources come from Ḫattuša, LAMMAs from other regions played a minor role in the festivals and cult activities recorded at the capital, but it is through these texts that McMahon has detected

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[52] *CAD* L, *lamassu* mng. 1; *CAD* Š/2, *šēdu* A mng. 1. In pre-Hittite tradition in Anatolia, the LAMMA-equivalent entities were associated with the stag, which continues to be a LAMMA-associated animal in the Hittite period. (The deity was depicted standing upon a stag.) The hieroglyphic stag-god has been identified as the equivalent of the cuneiform ^{d}LAMMA (McMahon 1991, 4). Other LAMMA iconography includes the deity being armed with a sword and bow, holding an eagle, or grabbing a hare.

[53] McMahon 1991, 28.

[54] McMahon 1991, 12. Ala appears in another text (*KUB* 43 23 r. 38-42), where she receives offerings alongside another LAMMA: 2 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA GID$_2$.DA 1 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA LIBIR 1 GAL GEŠTIN 1 MAŠ$_2$.GAL *ANA* LU$_2$.MEŠ *ŠA* ^{d}LAMMA ^{d}LAMMA ^{d}*a-a-la* ("Two 'long' thick breads, one 'old' thick bread, one cup of wine, (and) one billy-goat to the men of the Tutelary Deity, the Tutelary Deity, (and) Ala"). McMahon's interpretation that these offerings are given to two deities – rather than interpreting Ala as an appositive of ^{d}LAMMA – is reasonable since Ala appears as a divine name without a preceding ^{d}LAMMA in *KUB* 6 45 + *KUB* 30 14 ii 5-6. As such, Ala belongs to category I of ^{d}LAMMA, those whose DN is written out.

[55] McMahon 1991, 4-5.

[56] McMahon 1991, 10.

the distinction between these LAMMAs.[57] The deity LAMMA-of-Ḫatti appears as an offering recipient in two texts, one that places this deity in Ḫattuša and the other in Kizzimara.[58] LAMMA-of-Ḫatti also appears after an unspecified LAMMA in Muršili's fifth plague prayer to the gods:

> §1 [Sun-god of Heaven], Storm-god [of …, Sun-goddess of] Arinna, Mezzulla, [Hulla(?)/Zintuhi(?)], Storm-god of Hatti, [Storm-god of] Zippalanta; §2 […]. Seri, Hurri, [Storm-god *piḫaiumi*(?)], all the Storm-gods; §3 […], Ḫebat of Kummanni, all [the Ḫebats], Ḫalki; §4 All [the Sarrumas(?)], […], all the Ḫebat-Sarrumas; **§5 Protective-god (LAMMA), [Protective-god] of Ḫatti, all the Protective-gods**, Ištar, [Ištar of the Field of] His Majesty, Ištar of Šamuḫa, [all the] Ištars, Telipinu, all the Telipinus, War-god (ZABABA), all the War-gods; §6 Sun-goddess of the Netherworld, Lelwani, Pirwa, Marduk, Iyarri, Ḫasammeli, Fate-goddesses, Mother-goddesses, all the male gods of the assembly(!), all the female gods of the assembly(!), the place of the assembly, the place in which the gods assemble for judgment.[59]

Besides this one unspecified LAMMA – whom McMahon argues is the archetypal "Tutelary Deity" to be contrasted with the several unspecified common-noun LAMMA of the second category (not unlike the case of our unspecified Ištar in chapter 6)[60] – and the specific LAMMA-of-Ḫatti, no other tutelary deities, including those with their own specific first names, are mentioned in the EGL found in Muršili's prayer. Instead, other LAMMAs are mentioned as part of the collective "all the tutelary deities" (ᵈLAMMA^meš *ḫumanteš*).[61] Other texts also refer to the multiplicity of LAMMAs in Hittite religion. *A.NA ŠUM*^!-ḫi.a ᵈLAMMA *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš* ("to the names of all the tutelary deities," *KUB* 2 1 i 42, McMahon's translation) appears in the "Festival for all the Tutelary

[57] McMahon 1991, 33-35.
[58] McMahon 1991, 35; *KBo* 12 140:2 and *KBo* 26 166 ii 15.
[59] *CTH* 379; *KUB* 31 121 + *KUB* 48 111:1^! 11′. Singer's translation (Singer 2002, 67), my emphasis.
[60] McMahon 1991, 28. Elsewhere, this specific yet unspecified LAMMA will, following McMahon, be indentified as the Tutelary Deity, with capital letters.
[61] McMahon 1991, 35. Other texts also allude to the multiplicity of LAMMAs in Hittite religion: *ANA ŠUM*^*ḫi.a* ᵈLAMMA *ḫumandaš* ("to the names of all the tutelary deities," *KUB* 2 1 i 42) found in "the Festival for all the Tutelary Deities," and ᵈLAMMA.ḪI.A ("the tutelary deities," *KUB* 5 1 ii 94-95) from an oracle on the campaign (McMahon 1991, 27). Similarly, Muršili II calls upon "all the storm-gods," using ᵈIŠKUR.ḪI.A *ḫumanteš* in his prayer to all the gods (*KUB* 31 121 i^! 6′).

Deities," and ^{d}LAMMA$^{\text{ḫi.a}}$ ("the tutelary deities," *KUB* 5 1 ii 94-95) from an oracle on campaign.

Another example comes from the cult inventory from Karaḫna (*KUB* 38 12 ii 5 and iii 13´-16´), wherein LAMMA-of-Karaḫna precedes an unspecified LAMMA, whom McMahon interprets to be the tutelary deity of the provincial cult center.[62] McMahon suggests that all of these geographically specific LAMMAs in Hittite treaties and rituals were identified by their titles, that is the-tutelary-deity-of-GN, which are not necessarily synonymous with proper names.[63] If LAMMA-of-Karaḫna can be interpreted two ways – "*the* tutelary-deity-of-Karaḫna," as opposed to "*a* tutelary-deity-of-Karaḫna" – McMahon argues the former would be the equivalent of identifying a deity as a city's patron or principal deity, whereas the latter would indicate that the deity is only one of several potential tutelary deities associated with a city. While many of these LAMMAs probably had individual-specific first names, their names were lost due to Hittite scribal preferences for logograms over syllabograms, as is the case with so many Hittite gods (and Hittite words, in general). So the deity indentified as LAMMA-of-Karaḫna in these texts probably had a specific name by which the local devotees knew her but which has been lost to us. In addition to the already discussed LAMMA-of-Ḫatti, several other local

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[62] McMahon 1991, 30-31. McMahon's interpretation of this unspecified LAMMA as a mere unspecified tutelary deity fits with his interpretation of the archetypal LAMMA in Muršili's so-called Fifth Prayer. When the unspecified LAMMA appears first, as it does in the Fifth Prayer, it deserves that location because it is the important Tutelary Deity, but when the unspecified LAMMA appears later, it is simply a generic or lesser tutelary deity, as here in the Karaḫna text. Such a dualistic interpretive stance is understandable but complicates our ability to maintain a consistent methodology for establishing the meaning of divine names.

[63] McMahon 1991, 39. "This type of god, the tutelary deity of a specific place, presents certain problems in our understanding of them. They are recognizable in the texts by title, but they probably also had names. We may know the names of some of them without realizing that they are to be correlated with those LAMMA titles….Given the nature of a tutelary deity, one may wonder if 'LAMMA' was ever used to indicate the primary deity of a particular place. For instance could ^{d}LAMMA-^{uru}Karaḫna simply be interpreted as the principal deity of Karaḫna, whoever that might have been, who would naturally take a protective attitude towards her city and could therefore perhaps be considered a tutelary deity of that city, or is she a specific goddess with protective functions?" (p. 39).

LAMMA-of-GN are mentioned in extant festival texts throughout the empire, including LAMMA-of-Ḫatenzuwa, -of-Zapatiškuwa, -of-Tauriša, -of-Tatašuna, -of-Tašḫapuna, -of-Anukwa, -of-Ḫurma, -of-Kalašmitta, -of-Maḫḫut[…], -of-Pitamma, -of-Wašḫa[ni[?]], and -of-Wiyanawanta.[64] Little is known about the specific nature of these individual deities, and their personal names have been lost.

McMahon suggests that the Hittites inherited their numerous LAMMAs as a result of the political fragmentation of the Hattic area in the early second millennium.[65] As was the case with the numerous local IŠKURs, the Hittites included the LAMMAs in their pantheon, provided them with offerings in the state cult, and invoked them as treaty witnesses. As the Hittite state expanded, the LAMMAs became less prominent in official texts and rituals, possibly because of increased Hurrian influence in the Hittite cult.[66] LAMMA-of-Ḫatti, however, remained an important deity and appeared in more texts than any other LAMMA with a geographic last name in the later period.[67] Yet, he was only one god within a group of gods, rather than a member of an elite Hittite triad – alongside the unspecified IŠKUR and UTU.MI – as the unspecified Tutelary Deity had been in many Old and Middle Hittite period texts.[68] Treaties and ritual texts from the

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[64] McMahon 1991, 38.
[65] McMahon 1991, 212.
[66] McMahon 1991, 323 and 212. Hurrian influence over the Hittite state's view of the pantheon involves distinguishing between deities with universal sway and those with only local interests. While the Hittites as a people and empire are interested in all divine beings, the centralized aspects of the Hurrian culture concentrate on universal beings and their state-sponsored cults. Thus, as the Hittite empire expanded, the priests and king try to honor local Hattian gods and mimic their cultic traditions at Ḫattuša, but comparatively little effort is latter expended on the local level.
[67] McMahon 1991, 34. [d]LAMMA-[uru]*Ḫatti*'s special status compared to other third category LAMMAs, even in this late period, is indicated by his inclusion in an offering-list from the Festival of Ištar-of-Šamuḫa (*KUB* 27 1 i 64-67) and in a list of Hurrian deities (*KUB* 34 102+ ii 11-15´, iii 32´-35´; McMahon 1991, 35).
[68] McMahon 1991, 32. The Hittite triad – UTU, IŠKUR, and LAMMA – appears in both state-sponsored rituals, such as the Totenritual and the Ritual by the Enemy Border (*KUB* 39 33 iii 7-9 and *KUB* 4 1 i 3), and in "private" rituals, like the one of Pupuwanni (*CTH* 408; *KUB* 41 3:20´-22´) or the Prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal (*CTH* 375; FHL 3 + *KUB* 31 123:9).

empire period portray all the LAMMAs as a collection of lower level deities. The divine witness-list located in §7 of the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Ḫuqqana of Ḫayasa begins with UTU-of-Heaven and UTU.MI-of-Arinna, several IŠKURs with geographic and non-geographic epithets, and two Ḫebat goddesses, before identifying any LAMMAs (see Table 7.2).[69] The unspecified LAMMA is the 26th divine name in this EGL and the first of eight LAMMAs.

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[69] The fact that a male deity identified as Sun-god and a female deity indentified as Sun-goddess existed separately in the Hittite religious tradition is beyond doubt as both deities play a part in the myth "The Disappearance of Telipinu": UTU throws a party for the Thousand Gods (§4, A i 16-20) and UTU.MI$_2$(-of-the-Dark-Earth) is described as having a (solar?) route (§26, A iv 8-13; Hoffner 1998, 15-17). Moreover, both UTU-of-Heaven and UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna are invoked in the royal prayer "Invocation of the Sun-goddess of Arinna for the Protection of the Royal Couple" (*CTH* 385.10); UTU-of-Heaven is described as having luminous sunbeams (§8´, ii 16-26), but most of the prayer refers to a female deity (e.g., §§5´-6´, ii 1-11) and the temple and priest are the ones "of the UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna" (§§12´-13´, iii 20´-33´; Singer 2002, 25-27). However, M. Popko argues that the invocation of a male sun-god in *CTH* 385 10 ii 16ff is really just the result of borrowing a non-Anatolian hymn and incompletely substituting the UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna for the male god in the original (M. Popko, *Religions of Asia Minor* [trans. I. Zych; Warsaw: Academic Publications, 1995], 103).

In "Muwatalli's Model Prayer to the Assembly of Gods through the Storm-god of Lightning" (*CTH* 381), the king begins his invocation of the gods of Ḫatti with "UTU-of-Heaven and UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna" (§2, i 10ff.), but UTU-of-Ḫatti (§12, i 50-53), UTU.MI$_2$-of-the-Netherworld (§25, ii 1-2; i.e., Ereškigal), and UTU(.MI$_2$)-of-Wašaniya (§47, ii 48-49) are also invoked in the prayer (Singer 2002, 86-90). There is no need to posit that Muwatalli and the Hittites believed that sun itself consisted of multiple deities and that these deities were venerated as the Ḫattuša cult continued to incorporate the pantheons of cities newly added to the empire. Rather, Popko suggests that UTU(.MI$_2$) was really a category of goddesses that had been designated by ^{d}UTU, just as IŠKUR and LAMMA represented a class of storm and tutelary deities (Popko 1995, 70). UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna, for example, was originally a Hattic mother-goddess named Urunzimu/Wurušemu, who probably represented the earth not the solar-disc. (In Hattic religion, the solar-disc was Eštan, whose Hittite name was Ištanu.)

While the Hattians and the Hittites may have recognized only one deity as the actual, celestial solar disc, R. Stieglitz has observed that the third-millennium Eblaite pantheon might have included both a sun-god and a sun-goddess (R. Stieglitz, "Divine Pairs in the Ebla Pantheon," in *Eblaitica*: *Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language* [eds. C. H. Gordon and G. A. Rendsburg; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002], 4:213-214). Rather than assume that ^{d}UTU and ^{d}UTU.MI$_2$ are alternative ways to indentify the same deity, Stieglitz and Pettinato agree that ^{d}UTU represents a sun-god and ^{d}UTU.MI$_2$ represents a sun-goddess (Stieglitz 2002, 213-214; G. Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla*: *An Empire Inscribed in Clay* [New York: Doubleday, 1981], 246). ^{d}UTU appears in seven Eblaite texts in which he represents the solar-disc and in twenty-three personal names, and ^{d}UTU.MI$_2$ is listed as receiving provisions at a textile house (F. Pomponio and P. Xella, *Les dieux d'Ebla*: *Étude analytique des divinités éblaïtes à l'époque des archives royales due IIIe millénaire* [AOAT 245; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1997], 335-342). An additional sun-god, the Sun-god-of-Saza [^{d}UTU SA.SA$_x^{ki}$] appears in another four texts (p. 340), but this deity is not contrasted with either of the other two.

Stieglitz compares ^{d}UTU and ^{d}UTU.MI$_2$ with Šamaš and his consort Aya in Akkadian tradition (see, for example, SAA 2 2 vi 9 in Table 6.4) and with Šamaš and his presumed consort Nur in the Aramaic Sefire treaty (*KAI* 222 i A 9), suggesting that ^{d}UTU and ^{d}UTU.MI$_2$ should be interpreted as the solar-disc and his consort rather than two deities that are the sun (Stieglitz 2002, 214). However, the texts never

Also of interest is the fact that though the LAMMA class of deities was a protective deity class, no kings from the empire period indentified any LAMMA as their special patron protective god.[70] Muršili II depends upon UTU.MI_2-of-Arinna, Muwatalli upon IŠKUR, and Ḫattušili III upon Ištar-of-Šamuḫa, but even Tudḫaliya IV – the king who sponsored the "Festival for All the Tutelary Deities" in the second half of the thirteenth century – depended upon Šarruma for protection rather than any particular LAMMA.[71]

More LAMMAs are enumerated within the texts about the "Festival for All the Tutelary Deities" than are known from all other sources. McMahon speculates that many of these otherwise unattested LAMMAs were the product of the scribes responsible for recording the festival's celebration since the festival "apparently creates new tutelary deities to protect everything the writer can think of."[72] If the LAMMAs who are unique to these texts were first revered at this festival, then these texts provide insight into the religious speculations of the Hittite scribes and scholars, as McMahon notes, "The Hittite penchant for seeking out and worshipping all possible manifestations of the divine is illustrated beautifully by this experiment in diversification."[73] Gods could be invented to suit all possible needs of the king, people, and the empire. Since these protective gods

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provide a native pronunciation or gender for the sun-deity at Ebla, so a reasonable interpretation of the data is that ^{d}UTU represents a sun-goddess at Elba who is attested as ^{d}UTU.MI_2 in *ARET* 3 637 i 1′. The possibility that there was only one solar deity at Ebla is still likely since ^{d}UTU.MI_2 does not appear in contrast with ^{d}UTU in any texts. That the sun/solar-disc was identified as a goddess is not unreasonable since Šapšu was the solar deity at Ugarit, and the solar-disc can be grammatically feminine in biblical Hebrew (e.g., "the sun set," ותבא...השמש, Judges 19:14). Ultimately, it cannot be definitively demonstrated if there was one sun-god at Ebla who was indentified with the solar-disc and who had a consort or if there was just one sun-goddess. If UTU-of-Saza was a separate deity from the one venerated at Ebla, this would reopen the question of whether multiple deities can be simultaneously identified with an unavoidably singular object, like the sun, while maintaining their individuality.

[70] McMahon 1991, 51-52.

[71] The festival is described in a text (preserved in two copies) that mentions king Tudḫaliya IV, but McMahon suggests that festival's origins predate this king (McMahon 1991, 140).

[72] McMahon 1991, 83.

[73] McMahon 1991, 83.

were needed, the scribes and priests must have thought that they already existed, even if earlier generations were not aware of the veneration these new LAMMAs deserved. For this reason, the festival texts emphasize the assortment of deities more than did the ritual and offerings texts themselves.[74]

§§31´-32´ of the “Festival for All the Tutelary Deities” provide a list of LAMMA deities belonging to McMahon’s first, third, and fourth categories, whom receive two large oxen as a group (2 ˹GUD GAL˺ *A-NA ŠUM*$^{!\text{ḫi.a}}$, *KUB* 2 1 i 42; see Table 7.3). §33´ is a list of LAMMAs who share the common name Ala ($^{\text{d}}$*a-a-la-aš ŠUM*$^{\text{ḫi.a}}$*-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš*, “to all the names of Ala,” iii 27), each with an additional epithet (see Table 7.3). As a group, these Ala-deities receive one cow and three billy-goats-of-the-countryside (1 GUD.AB$_2$ *gi-im-ma-ra-aš* 3 MAŠ$_2$.GAL, iii 26). Within §§31´-33´, over one hundred deities are listed: “a total of 112 names of LAMMA, one (offering) table” (ŠU.NIGIN 1 *ME* 12 *ŠUM*$^{\text{ḫi.a}}$ $^{\text{d}}$LAMMA 1 $^{\text{giš}}$BANŠUR, 2.1 iii 25) and “Total: sixty [names]; one w[icker(?)]table” (ŠU.NIGIN *ŠU-ŠI* [*ŠUM*$^{\text{ḫi.a}}$] 1 $^{\text{giš}}$GANŠUR A[D.KID$^{?}$], v 4-5, McMahon’s translation). McMahon notes that many of the Ala-deities repeat characteristics and epithets of the LAMMAs,[75] which may reflect the idea that LAMMA and Ala deities formed divine couples or that each specific type of tutelary deity controlled a different area of protection. Regardless, the scope of objects and places that these deities were expected to protect was quite broad, yet specific, indicating the importance of each one’s role in protecting the Hittite king and his empire.

[74] McMahon 1991, 84.
[75] McMahon 1991, 138.

In addition to these offering-lists, another festival – the “Festival of Individual Offerings” (*KBo* 11 40, among others[76]) – closely parallels the “Festival for All the Tutelary Deities” but lists the deities individually. Rather than present a large collection of deities with a single offering, this festival text lists deities with the following formula: one *tuḫurai*-bread, one type of flesh offering, one *talaimi*-jug of beer to the LAMMA-of-GN (e.g., [1 ^{ninda}*t*]*u-u-ḫu-ra-i* 1 ^{uzu}*da-a-an-ḫa-aš-ti* GUD ZAG [1 ^{du}]^{g}*ta-la-i-mi-iš* KAŠ [^{uru}*tu-u*]*t-tu-wa-aš* ^{d}LAMMA-ri, *KBo* 11 40 §13´ i 5´-7´, McMahon’s translation). In §§11´-30´ about thirty tutelary deities are named, though several more probably appear in broken lines, and about one dozen Ala-deities appear in the extant lines of §§31´-40´ (see Table 7.3).[77] Many, but not all, of the deities in the “Festival of Individual Offerings” also appear in the “Festival for All the Tutelary Deities.” Because this latter text lists these deities separately – more often than not, each deity appears not only in its own line but also in its own paragraph, as indicated by a line drawn on the tablet – this festival more explicitly indicates that each deity is distinct from the others.

In much the same way as the Hittite scribal tradition refers to the numerous storm-gods through the common functional labels IŠKUR and 10, and only differentiates them by their last names, tutelary deities are often designated by the cuneiform ^{d}LAMMA and differentiated by their last names. LAMMAs’ last names might be conceptual or geographic; some LAMMAs might have their own unique first names and are only recognizable as LAMMAs because of the context of the name; and still other LAMMAs are called upon the first name Ala, as opposed to LAMMA, with conceptual or geographic last names.

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[76] McMahon 1991, 117.
[77] See McMahon 1991, 120-127.

E. Hittite Treaties

Ritual texts from Tudḫaliya IV's reign are not the only source for Hittite EGLs in the post-reform era; Hittite diplomatic texts, treaties, and prayers also provide evidence for the multiplicity of types of gods in Hittite religion. As discussed above, the monumental bas-reliefs at Yazilikaya reflect the multiplicity of storm-gods (and probably of Ištar/Šaušga-associated goddesses). Before examining these and other Hittite EGLs, however, a brief review of their function and arrangement in the Hittite Treaties is in order. Barré divides the deities in the long divine witness-lists in the Hittite treaties into three separate categories of deities: high gods, associated deities, and "non-cultic" witnesses. This final category includes both deified objects and olden gods.[78] Barré characterizes the olden gods as those with a netherworldly nature, noting that Ereškigal appears as the head of this collection.[79] Others in the "non-cultic" group include rivers, mountains, clouds, day and night, and other deified objects. According to Barré, the distinction between the high gods and the associated gods is also easily defined. Specifically, the associated group begins with the unspecified LAMMA, who is often separated from the high gods by a ruled line. After this unspecified LAMMA, the associated gods appear in the following order: oath god(desse)s, deities in the "circle of Ištar," Zababa and other warrior gods, and other local gods who are listed before a summary statement.[80]

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[78] A summary statement encompassing "all the gods of the Ḫatti and all the gods of the land," typically divides the first two categories from the third, and a ruled line sometimes precedes the summary statement (Barré 1983, 32).
[79] Anu, Antu, Enlil, and Ninlil appear in this group, so his label "olden gods" is preferable to his netherworld characterizations (Barré 1983, 27 and 32).
[80] Barré 1983, 9 and 33. Barré refers to the local gods as "the Lowest-Ranking Gods Venerated in the Cult."

Barré's categorization of the deities mentioned in the divine witness-lists of Hittite treaties is quite helpful, both for understanding the overall nature of the Hittite pantheon and for aiding our analysis of EGLs as compared to what is found in Levantine and Mesopotamian treaties. By dividing the highest gods from the so-called associated gods, often with a physical line on the tablet, and by placing the olden gods near the end of the god lists, the Hittites identified a number of deities whom we might have considered high gods from the enormous number of other deities found in the individual EGLs. Following Barré's classification, we can see that the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti and Ḫuqqana of Ḫayasa includes only three units within the high gods section: the supreme gods (i.e., UTU-of-Heaven and UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna), a large assortment of storm-gods, and two Ḫebat-named deities.[81] This collection of high deities is so manageable that scholars with reductionist leanings could argue that it represents what would become the ultimate divine pair after Puduḫepa's reform: Ḫebat, who was equated with UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna, and her husband the unspecified IŠKUR, who represents all storm-gods and UTU-of-Heaven since he is the consort of UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna.

Though the present study disagrees with the idea of identifying all storm-gods with one unspecified IŠKUR and all Ḫebat-named goddesses to one Ḫebat, recognizing Barré's categories is an instructive means of simplifying the treaty tradition's witness-list EGLs. This is precisely how Beckman summarizes the treaty EGLs: sun-deities, storm gods, LAMMAs, forms of Ḫebat (and Šarrumma), "avatars" of Šaušga and her

[81] D. Schwemer accepts A. Archi's plausible suggestion that the divine name Ḫebat, the name of Hadad's consort, could have derived from the name of Hadad-of-Aleppo's city: [d]*ḫa-a-ba-du* = Ḫa(l)abatu ("the Halaabaean"), though he admits there is no certain proof for the derivation of her name (D. Schwemer, "The Storm-Gods of the Ancient Near East: Summary, Synthesis, Recent Studies: Part I," *JANER* 7 [2008a], 154). As the consort of a primary regional storm-god, the inclusion of Ḫebat-associated divine names among the gods of highest rank is no surprise.

attendants, special guardians of oaths, war gods, patrons of towns, deities of mercenaries, general male and female gods (i.e., Barré's "olden gods"), and elements of the cosmos and geographic features (cf. Table 7.2).[82] This grouping system highlights the prominent features of Barré's associated gods, comprising a multiplicity of tutelary deities, most of whom are unnamed and identified by only their (often) geographic last name.

F. The Ištar/Šaušga Class of Goddesses

Barré's classification also highlights the similar treatment used for both the LAMMA category of deities and the following Ištar category, as well as for warrior-gods. The divine name Ištar appears to function here in the same manner as the logograms for the storm-gods and tutelary deities and is often used in the formula DN-of-GN (see Table 7.5 for a collection of Ištars from other treaties).[83] While it may be true that Ištar actually serves here as a logogram for the divine name Šaušga rather than the divine name Ištar itself, a better interpretation would be that IŠTAR functions as a title for a class or category of goddesses in the same way that LAMMA and IŠKUR/10 refer to categories of tutelary deities and storm/weather/water gods. More than just resembling LAMMA and IŠKUR/10 by comprising a category of deity, the Ištar section appears in these lists in the same manner as do the labels for tutelary deities and storm-gods. The first goddess

[82] Beckman 2004, 313.

[83] Although the divine name and category Ištar first appears in an early fourteenth-century treaty between Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikkal of Kaška (*CTH* 139 ii 10), it is during Šuppiluliuma I's reign that it appears in the treaties with some force. Indeed, Šuppiluliuma's treaty includes five distinct Ištar-goddesses (*CTH* 42:A ii 48-59; see Table 7.2). This is the same number of Ištar-goddesses that appear in Tudḫaliya IV's treaty with Kurunta of Tarḫuntassa near the end of the thirteenth century (Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, no. 18C, §25). However, only three of these Ištar-goddesses are common to both treaties: Ištar-of-the-Countryside, Ištar-of-Nineveh, and Ištar-of-Ḫattarina. The unspecified Ištar in Šuppiluliuma's treaty is absent in Tudḫaliya's treaty, as is the goddess Ištar-Queen-of-Heaven. In their places are local manifestations, Ištar-of-Šamuḫa and Ištar-of-Lawazantiya, who appear first and third among the Ištar-goddesses in the EGL in Tudḫaliya's treaty.

mentioned by that title is either unspecified or -of-Heaven. Since Barré has demonstrated that the overall structure of the divine witness-list reflects a hierarchy of deities and since the unspecified member of the LAMMA category appears first in both treaties and ritual contexts, accepting that the first deity in each category is the most important of its class is not unreasonable for the Ištar-associated goddesses. After all, any deity or entity that can be identified by its title without further qualification must be important.[84] Thus, the five Ištars included in Šuppiluliuma I's treaty could be translated as "The Šaušga-Goddess, the Šaušga-goddess-of-the-Countryside, the Šaušga-goddess-of-Nineveh, [the Šaušga-goddess]-of-Ḫattarina, (and) the Šaušga-goddess-(who is)-Queen-of-Heaven" (Table 7.2). These five deities, along with Ninatta, Kulitta, and others, belong to Laroche's so-called "circle of Ištar."[85]

As a label, "Ištar" or "Šaušga" does not likely specify a deity as merely female. Since the goddess Aya precedes all the Ištar-associated goddesses in Šuppiluliuma I's treaty and lacks an Ištar title herself, she does not appear to be included within this Ištar/Šaušga category. Ištar/Saušga seems to specify a particular class or type of goddess, and given Ištar/Šaušga's characteristics in Hittite and Hurrian tradition, perhaps this represents a class of warrior goddesses, of love goddesses, or of both. Indeed, the dual representation of Ištar/Šaušga goddesses on the Yazilikaya bas-reliefs might point to both these categories since one Ištar appears among the men, which is suggestive of this goddess category's warlike qualities, and another appears among the goddesses, which is

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[84] R. Beal agrees that the unspecified titles in EGLs, like "the Ištar/Šaušga," refer to particular individual deities and do not serve as headings for the subsequent list of titles with specific epithets (R. Beal, personal communication, 02/08/2010). By his reckoning, if the unspecified titles had simply been included as introductions or categorical labels, the preferred method of citation would have been something like "all the Šaušgas" (Šaušga$^{\text{meš/ḫi.a}}$ *ḫumanteš*/*dapianteš*), which resembles the treatments of LAMMAs in ritual texts presented by McMahon.

[85] E. Laroche, "Panthéon national et pantheons locaux chez les Hourttites," *Or* NS 45 (1976): 97.

suggestive of this category's love/fertility qualities (see Table 7.1 with Photo 7.2). According to O. Gurney, at Šamuḫa and other cities in the Taurus region (e.g., Lawazantiya and Tameninga), the iconography associated with Hurrian Ištar-associated goddesses includes winged-goddesses and goddesses standing on lions, the latter of which symbolizes the martial nature of this class of goddess.[86] Moreover, Ištar-of-Šamuḫa herself acts in military affairs. In his apology, Ḫattušili III appealed to this goddess, along with (her brother) IŠKUR-of-Nerik, when he challenged his nephew and ultimately usurped the throne:

> For seven years I submitted. But at a divine command and with human urging, Urḫi-Teshub sought to destroy me. He took Hakpis and Nerik from me. Now I submitted to him no longer. I made war upon him. But I committed no crime in doing so, by rising up against him with chariots or in the palace. In civilized manner I communicated thus with him: "You have begun hostilities with me. Now you are Great King, but I am king of only one fortress. This is all you have left me. Come! Ištar of Samuha and the Storm-God of Nerik shall decide the case for us" (The Apology of Ḫattušili III, §10c, iii 62-79, Bryce's translations).[87]

The two gods were called to judge between the two men by determining the outcome of this (military) trial.[88]

Another goddess associated with the military is Išḫara, whom Laroche has already counted among the "circle of Ištar." G. Wilhelm notes that characteristics of the goddess Išḫara are "to some extent amalgamated" with those of the Šaušga goddess in northern

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[86] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 112. As the Yazilikaya bas-reliefs demonstrate, Ḫebat and other deities (e.g., her son Šarruma [see E. Laroche, "Le Dieu Anatolien Sarrumma," Syria 40 (1963): 277]) may also be depicted standing on lions, but the lion is associated with Ištar throughout Mesopotamian history and in Hittite tradition as well (E. D. Van Buren, "The *ṣalmê* in Mesopotamian Art and Religion," *Or* NS 10 [1941]: 67; R. M. Boehmer, "Die Datierung des Puzur/Kutik-Inšušinak und einige sich daraus ergebende Konsequenzen," *Or* NS 35 [1966]: 373-374; Bryce 2002, 158).

[87] Bryce 1999, 286. In *KBo* 4 29 ii 1-8 (*CTH* 85.1), Ḫattušili III issues the same challenge but drops the geographic epithets for the storm-god: "You are a Great King, while I am a small king. Let us go in judgment before the Storm-God my Lord and Shaushga (Ishtar) My Lady. If you prevail in the trial, they will raise you; but if I prevail in the trial they will raise me" (Liverani's translation from M. Liverani, *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1600-1100 BC* [New York: Palgrave, 2001], 105).

[88] Elsewhere, Ḫattušili III declares himself the beloved of UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna, IŠKUR-of-Nerik, and Ištar-of-Šamuḫa (*KBo* 4 28 = *CTH* 88). This Ištar-of-Šamuḫa is also the goddess his wife Puduḫepa served as priestess.

Syria.[89] Išḫara was herself associated with the military in Hittite tradition, serving as a deity of the oath (*NIŠ DINGIR*) in the so-called "First Soldiers' Oath" (*COS* 1.66:166). Indeed, she earned one of the few epithets that the Hittites doled out within their treaties' witness-lists (see Tables 7.8 and 7.10), where she was referred to as the "Queen of the Oath(s)." This military association is highlighted by Išḫara's position in these treaty EGLs. In treaty nos. 12, 13, 18B and 18C (see Tables 7.6-7.10 and 7.11), not only was Išḫara awarded this epithet, but she appeared immediately after Ninatta and Kulitta (the most famous members of the Ištar entourage in Hurrian and Hittite tradition) and prior to the unspecified War-God in treaty nos. 12 and 13.[90] Thus, on the one hand, she was linked to the Ištar-goddesses, and on the other, to the male war-deities.

Together, all this suggests that Išḫara could be interpreted as a goddess belonging to the IŠTAR category (or circle) but who went by a personal name rather than a categorical title with or without a supplemental last name. In this regard, she differs from the goddesses known as Ištar/Šaušga-of-Nineveh and Ištar/Šaušga-of-the-Countryside, and even from the unspecified goddess known as Ištar/Šaušga. Applying the four categories that McMahon established for LAMMAs, Išḫara could be considered a category one Ištar, whereas the unspecified Ištar belongs to the second category, Ištar-of-Nineveh belongs to the third category, and Ištar-of-the-Countryside belongs in the fourth and final category.[91] In this regard, she is to the IŠTAR category what the tutelary deity

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[89] G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989), 51.

[90] The Moon-God, his consort Ningal, and the Deity-of-Arusna interrupt this flow in nos. 18B and 18C (Tables 7.9-7.10).

[91] Likewise, the storm-gods in the divine witness-lists also fall into these same four categories. Piḫaimmi, Šeri, and Ḫurri are named deities, belonging to the first category; IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti and IŠKUR-of-Nerik are geographically located deities, belonging to the third category; and IŠKUR-of-Help and IŠKUR-of-Lightning are identified by non-geographic epithets, belonging to the fourth category If "Powerful" is not interpreted as an epithet, then the Powerful IŠKUR may actually be interpreted as an unspecified storm-god and, thus, belonging to the second category.

Zithariya is to the LAMMA category, namely, a deity who could be invoked without explicit mention of the category to which the deity belonged. By no means does this suggest that Išḫara was identified, equated, or syncretized with any particular Ištar-associated goddess, as several scholars have claimed[92]; in fact, this suggestion runs completely counter to any identification between them. Instead of being equated with Šaušga, Išḫara was simply a goddess lumped in with other similar goddesses, including one known only as Ištar/Šaušga and others known chiefly by the first name Ištar/Šaušga and their own last name (e.g., Ištar/Šaušga-of-Šamuḫa and Ištar/Šaušga-of-Nineveh, both of whom might actually have distinct divine personal names in addition to their IŠTAR category titles, but like their LAMMA counterparts, these divine personal names have been lost or were never recorded by the scribes in the first place).

Given the Hittite religious tendency towards an extreme polytheism that allowed – and maybe even have demanded – the individuality of local deities who share a common first name or title, and given the Hittite scribal convention of using Sumerian logograms that originally represented specific Mesopotamian deities to represent classes or kinds of Hittite deities (e.g., LAMMA and IŠKUR/10), it would be reasonable to conclude that there was also a category of Ištar/Šaušga goddesses in the Hittite pantheon. In fact, it is a straightforward way of recognizing the relationship between deities that are invoked specifically and individually and are worshiped specifically and individually, and, thereby, should be interpreted by scholars as existing specifically and individually in the minds of the kings and other devotees. The unspecified Ištar/Šaušga, the goddesses

[92] For example, see I. Nakata (I. Nakata, "Deities in the Mari Texts: Complete Inventory of All the Information on the Deities Found in the Published Old Babylonian Cuneiform Texts from Mari" [Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1974], 80) in reference to Old Babylonian identifications of the goddesses, and Livingstone (Livingstone 1986, 234) for a Neo-Assyrian period identification.

with the first name Ištar/Šaušga and their own last names, and those goddesses who had their own unique first names but shared Ištar-like qualities – were all revered goddesses in second-millennium Hurrian and Hittite religious traditions as indicated by their invocation in numerous treaties. Like their cohorts the IŠKURs and LAMMAs, they were recognized by the state as "associated gods," to use Barré's terminology, marking them as members of the official religion both individually and collectively. For scholars to suggest otherwise not only runs against the official state-sponsored position, it ignores the structural integrity of the EGLs in official state documents.

G. Implications for the Present Study

The Hittite pantheon has been said to exhibit polytheism in an extreme fashion by boasting of a thousand deities, and these deities are even referred to as "the Thousand Gods (who) are now summoned to assembly" in Ḫattušili III's treaty with Ulmi-Teššup (treaty no. 18B in Beckman's *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*; see Table 7.9). At first glance, it might appear that many of these deities shared first names. Upon closer inspection, however, it becomes clear that what would be considered first names in Sumerian or Akkadian texts are really categorical or functional labels in Hittite texts that designate the deity's categorical type. IŠKUR and LAMMA are labels, while the individual deities are actually differentiated by their last names. The designation Ištar/Šaušga might function in a similar way, but this collection of Ištar/Šaušga-associated goddesses is significantly smaller – four or five as opposed to twenty or more. The inescapable fact remains that there were numerous deities in the surviving cuneiform texts known as IŠKUR-of-X,

LAMMA-of-X, and Ištar/Šaušga-of-X, and on several occasions deities with the same title were contrasted with one another, indicating that they were distinct deities.

As is discussed in the following chapters, some Akkadian and Northwest Semitic divine names could or should be interpreted as categorical labels that actually mask the deities' real first names. Because the divine name Baal can be interpreted as the common noun *baal* ("master" or "lord"), some scholars accept that there are some independent and distinct Baal-named deities who should not be identified with the storm-god Hadad. For example, Bēl-Ḫarrān, whose name can be translated "Lord-of-Ḫarrān," is often identified with Sîn(-of-Ḫarrān) rather than with any Hadad/Baal-named deity. Similarly, the mysteriously named Baal-Kanapi, whose name means "Lord-of-the-Wing," is not often considered a typical Baal-named deity since nothing about his name suggests that he is a storm-god or that the name Hadad is hiding behind the name Baal. Names such as Baal-Ḫarrān and Baal-Kanapi indicate that it is not only in Hittite that what is usually interpreted as a first name (e.g., IŠKUR interpreted as Hadad) can also be used as a general label (e.g., IŠKUR interpreted as storm-god). Sometimes, scribes designate deities with last names to stress the individuality and distinctiveness of those deities, regardless of how their first name should be interpreted. We will now turn to these Baal naming issues in chapter 8.

CHAPTER 8: AN INVESTIGATION OF GEOGRAPHIC EPITHETS IN THE WEST

As we saw in chapter 7, the Hittites in Anatolia boasted that their pantheon consisted of a thousand deities. In contrast, the roughly contemporary pantheon at the Mediterranean coastal city of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra, Syria) comprised a much smaller number of deities. For the Ugaritic pantheon, estimates range from 100 to 265 deities.[1] On a smaller scale still, the pantheons of Israel's neighbors, including Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Phoenician city-states, of the early first millennium have been estimated to consist of ten or fewer deities.[2] Even within these smaller pantheons, a few distinct deities shared the first name Baal, so it was necessary to list both their first and last names in offering-lists, in state treaties, and on other occasions.

This divine name, or *title* as the case may be (see pp. 256-362), is attested throughout the ancient Near East from the third-millennium cuneiform inscriptions found at Ebla to Aramaic inscriptions that date to the early centuries of the Common Era found at Ḥatra. Most of the texts of interest, however, have been dated to the second and first millennia B.C.E. and represent a variety of Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic, Aramaic, and Hebrew texts, as well as Neo-Assyrian. This collection of texts includes royal

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[1] According to G. Del Olmo Lete, there are approximately 240 divine names and epithets mentioned at Ugarit, which compares well with D. Pardee's more recent count of 234 different deities in offering texts, though J. C. de Moor's previously offered count is slightly higher at 265 (G. Del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*: *According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit* [trans. W. G. E. Watson; 2d rev. ed.; Bethesda: CDL Press, 1999], 78; D. Pardee, *Ritual and Cutl at Ugarit* [ed. T. J. Lewis; SBLWAW 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002], 222; J. C. de Moor, "The Semitic Pantheon of Ugarit," *UF* 2 [1970]: 216). Despite these estimates in the mid-200s, there are two primary reasons that each scholar assumes that the size of the Ugaritic pantheon was significantly smaller. On the one hand, many of these divine names would have been identified with each other in official Ugaritic religion, and, on the other hand, most divine names only appear once, so they probably had no actual cultic presence in the city.

[2] Smith notes that the evidence for these first millennium states is relatively limited (M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God*: *Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* [2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002], 60-64). For example, scholars are uncertain whether the Ammonite deity Milkom was identified with El (p. 60), and they are unsure of how the divine name Aštar-Chemosh that appears once in the Mēšaˁ Inscription (*KAI* 181:17) relates to the Moabite dynastic deity Chemosh (pp. 60-61). However, even if these names are interpreted as representing distinct deities, each local pantheon is still significantly smaller than the Ugaritic pantheon.

inscriptions, dedicatory building inscriptions, votive inscriptions, treaties, and biblical narratives, but all of these texts mention at least one Baal with a geographic last name, and some mention multiple Baals with distinct last names, representing distinct deities in the EGLs. Those texts that mention the different Baal divine names are not as numerous as those Akkadian texts that mention the different Ištar divine names (chapters 6 and 9) or Hittite texts that mention the various IŠKURs or LAMMA (chapter 7), but they are examined here in order to show how geographical epithets are used for distinct deities who are revered by peoples speaking Northwest Semitic languages. Not only does this provide a fuller history for Baal-named deities, but this survey also provides a regional context for examining the geographic epithets attributed to the Israelite deity Yahweh (chapter 10). Moreover, as noted below, a few of these Baal-named deities retain their last name in inscriptions that do not mention other Baals, indicating that their last names are as essential to their identity as first names are to most other gods. For instance, the divine names Baal-of-Ṣapān, Baal-Šamêm, and Baal-Ḥamān each appear in EGLs, but each full name also appears when it represents the only male deity in an inscription.

As is discussed below, Baal-of-Ugarit, Baal-of-Aleppo, and Baal-of-Ṣapān were consistently treated as distinct deities in second-millennium Ugaritic texts. Likewise, Baal-Šamêm, Baal-Ḥamān, and, again, Baal-of-Ṣapān were treated as distinct deities in first-millennium texts when more than one of them appears in the same EGL. Before continuing, however, an explanation must be given for the nomenclature of these various Baal-named deities and the other deities whose last names are essential to their identification. Grammatically, the Semitic names represented by, for example, Baal-of-Ugarit and Baal-Ṣidon are identical. In the original language, each full name consists of

two nouns that belong to a construct chain; the first noun (the divine first name = DN) is grammatically a noun whose case is dependent upon its role in the sentence, and the second noun (the geographic last name = GN) is grammatically a genitival noun.[3] In the Ugaritic material, scholars conventionally translate these construct chains according to the formula DN-of-GN (e.g., Baal-of-Ugarit), whereas the construct chains in Aramaic, Phoenician, Punic, and other texts from the first millennium are conventionally translated as DN-GN (e.g., Baal-Ṣidon). We will follow the conventional practices here except in the case of the divine name Baal-of-Ṣapān. Because this name appears in both Ugaritic and first-millennium Northwest Semitic texts, for consistency we retain the conventional Ugaritic translation DN-of-GN throughout the chapter.

Finally, this chapter surveys Northwest Semitic goddesses whose geographic epithets resemble those epithets associated with Baal divine names and those that have been proposed by scholars as epithets for Yahweh. Unlike most of the other epithets in this chapter that follow the DN-of-GN/DN-GN construct chain pattern, these proposed epithets use the so-called *bet*-locative to address the deity's relationship with the named topographical location (DN-in-GN). Compared with the DN-of-GN/DN-GN usage, the proposed DN-in-GN epithets do not function in the same way. The DN-in-GN pattern does not appear in EGLs, and it never contrasts two deities with the same first name.

A. Baal and the Baals of the Ugaritic Pantheon

Whereas significant portions of our Neo-Assyrian and Hittite surveys examined state treaties, other non-cultic administrative documents, and letters to the royal court, our

[3] For a discussion of the construct chain in biblical Hebrew, see B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 137-154.

survey of Ugaritic texts must rely primarily upon scholarly materials and texts produced by temple scribes for the cult (i.e., ritual and offering texts) because the letters and administrative texts that have survived from Ugarit "[do] not offer us much as far as religious expression is concerned."[4]

Specifically, in this survey of Ugaritic texts we are interested in the invocation of deities in EGLs whose first name is Baal and who have geographic last names, such as Baal-of-Ṣapān, Baal-of-Ugarit, and Baal-of-Aleppo. Most of the texts containing EGLs have been described by D. Pardee as "prescriptive sacrificial rituals,"[5] which typically state which deities receive what kinds and quantity of offerings during the cultic year. The festival and its dates for which the rites are performed and the temple in which they are performed are provided in the ritual texts, but details about how the offerings were performed and the functions of those offerings are usually not stated.[6] Most of these texts are Ugaritic and written in alphabetic cuneiform, but some texts are in Akkadian. Additionally, we will examine one administrative text that mentions specifically Baal-of-Aleppo, and we will discuss the role of Baal and his epithets in the so-called Baal Cycle.

One unavoidable consequence of surveying the ritual texts from Ugarit is encountering a multiplicity of entities who share a divine first name. Indeed, the so-called Deity or Canonical List – or "'principal' deity lists,"[7] as Pardee prefers to label *KTU*[2] 1.47, 1.118, and 1.148:1-9 – boasts of seven entities associated with the first name Baal. Of these, *KTU*[2] 1.118 best preserves this multiplicity, and the Akkadian text RS 20.024

[4] Del Olmo Lete 1999, 338.
[5] Pardee 2002, v.
[6] Pardee 2002, 26.
[7] Pardee 2002, 13.

explicitly marks the distinct-ness of these storm-gods with a numerical count (indicated by Roman numerals in the following chart):

KTU^2 1.118[8]	Translation[9]	RS 20.024	Translation
^{1}*ʾilʾib*	God-of-the-Father	^{1}DINGIR-*a-bi*	God-of-the-Father
^{2}*ʾil*	El	^{2}DINGIR^{lum}	El
^{3}*dgn*	Dagan	$^{3\ d}$*da-gan*	Dagan
^{4}*bʿl ṣpn*	Baal-of-Ṣapān	$^{4\ d}$IŠKUR *be-el* ḪUR.SAG.*ḫa-zi*	storm-god, Baal-of-Ṣapān
^{5}*bʿlm*	(another) Baal	$^{5\ d}$IŠKUR II	second storm-god
^{6}*bʿlm*	(another) Baal	$^{6\ d}$IŠKUR III	third storm-god
^{7}*bʿlm*	(another) Baal	$^{7\ d}$IŠKUR IV	fourth storm-god
^{8}*bʿlm*	(another) Baal	$^{8\ d}$IŠKUR V	fifth storm-god
^{9}*bʿlm*	(another) Baal	$^{9\ d}$IŠKUR VI	sixth storm-god
^{10}*bʿlm*	(another) Baal	$^{10\ d}$IŠKUR VII	seventh storm-god
^{11}*ʾarṣ w šmm*	Earth-and-Heaven	$^{11\ d}$IDIM u_3 IDIM.	Mountains-and-the-Abyss

J. C. de Moor notes that Baal-of-Ṣapān is the only Baal-named deity with a geographic last name in either of these two texts. [10] He doubts that the multiple *bʿlm* are distinct, local Baals since they are geographically unspecified so instead claims that "the Ugaritic priests wished to express… that there might exist a *bʿl ʾugrt*, *bʿl ḫlb* or *bʿl l šd*, but that they were nothing more than some of the manifold manifestations of one god: *bʿl ṣpn*, the *bʿl* par excellence."[11] For de Moor, this intentional sevenfold repetition of the divine name Baal in the Deity Lists simultaneously highlights Baal-of-Ṣapān as the Baal *par excellence* and down plays Baal-of-Ugarit and Baal-of-Aleppo.

[8] *KTU*^{2} 1.118 begins with a list of the high gods: God-of-the-Father, ʾIlu, Dagan, and Baal-of-Ṣapān, and six bʿ*lm* (ll.5-10). One of its parallel texts, *KTU*^{2} 1.47 prefaces its list with the title, "The gods of Mount Ṣapān" (*ʾil ṣpn*, l. 1), whereas another, *KTU*^{2} 1.148, designates itself an offering-list, "The sacrifices of Mount Ṣapān" (*dbḥ ṣp*n, l. 1).

[9] Based on Pardee's translation, who translates ll. 5-10 as "(another manifestation of)" Baal (Pardee 2002, 15).

[10] De Moor 1970, 219. A second reason that de Moor provides is that the Baal Cycle equates *bʿlm* (*KTU*^{2} 1.2 iv 9 and 1.6 v 11) with *bʿl* (*mrym*) *ṣpn*. He argues that the *mem*-ending acts as a plural of intensity rather than a plural that indicates more than one Baal because since the parallel texts (i.e., *U* 5 N, nos. 18 and 170) lack the MEŠ-sign in the corresponding places. His final reason is that the six *bʿlm* of *U* 5 V, no. 9:11-12 (= *KTU*^{2} 1.148) should be preceded by *bʿl ṣpn*. Instead, he reads [*bʿl*]*m bgbl ṣpn* in l. 10, which suggests to him that *bʿlm* = *bʿl ṣpn*. *KTU*^{2} 1.148:10 remedies this final issue, reading [ʾal]*p ʿbl ṣpn* instead of [*bʿl*]*m bgbl ṣpn*. In a footnote, *KTU*^{2} 1.148 further suggests that *ʿbl* should be read *bʿl*, which solves his final objection.

[11] De Moor 1970, 219.

Contrary to de Moor's claim that repeated unspecified Baals elevate Baal-of-Ṣapān's status in the so-called Deity Lists, the EGL in RS 20.024 seems to suggest that Baal-of-Ṣapān is merely one of several storm-gods who receive offerings at Ugarit. Because l. 4 begins with the logogram IŠKUR and then adds *be-el* HUR.SAG.*ḫa-zi* – as opposed to only listing *be-el* HUR.SAG.*ḫa-zi*, the Akkadian equivalent to the *bˁl ṣpn* appearing in Ugaritic texts – the latter signs appear to act as an appositive for IŠKUR: "Hadad (which is to say) Baal-of-Ṣapān." Thus, the IŠKUR in l. 4 could be interpreted the same way as those in ll. 5-10. After God-of-the-Father, El, and Dagan, there is a storm-god known as Baal-of-Ṣapān, there is another storm-god who is presently unnamed, then there is a third storm-god, a fourth, a fifth, and a sixth storm god, all of whom are followed by Mountains-and-the-Abyss. The text simply does not provide their names like it does for Baal-of-Ṣapān. This interpretations still gives Baal-of-Ṣapān priority over the other, unnamed storm-gods since he appears before them and is provided with a full name, but he is only one of a category or class of storm-gods, not the only, elevated storm-god.

In his discussion of the so-called Deity Lists, Pardee takes a noncommittal stance regarding the nature of these six additional unspecified Baals. Elsewhere, however, he considers the possibility that one of the six unspecified Baals should be identified with Baal-of-Aleppo because Baal-of-Aleppo appears in another EGL on the reverse of *KTU*^{2} 1.148: "*bˁl ḫlb* [*KTU*^{2} 1.148:26] probably corresponds to one of the *bˁlm* in lines 6-11 of text 1A and B" (*KTU*^{2} 1.47 and 1.118, respectively).[12] Pardee may be right, but since Baal-of-Aleppo is the only *bˁlm* named elsewhere on the tablet, five unidentified *bˁlm* in need of last names remain.

[12] Pardee 2002, 24 n. 10.

Just as Pardee used another EGL in *KTU*[2] 1.148 to make sense of six unspecified *bˁlm* in light of Baal-of-Aleppo, we too can use the rest of *KTU*[2] 1.148 – a tablet that is replete with EGLs derived from offering-lists – to determine that these unspecified are distinct deities. The tablet has been divided into three major sections, and the middle and third sections can each be further divided into two subsections: 1 = ll. 1-9; 2a = ll. 10-12; 2b = ll. 13-17; 3a = ll. 18-23; and 3b = ll. 23-45. Section 1 has already been identified by Pardee as one of the "'principal' deity lists" and, when restored, the EGL in ll. 1-5 corresponds closely to *KTU*[2] 1.118:1-11, with each listed deity receiving a bull and a sheep (*ˀalp . w š*; see Table 8.2 for this EGL).[13] Ll. 6-9 continue with another 20 deities or groups of deities (e.g., "the Assembly of El," *pḫr . ˀilm*, l. 9), who each receive a sheep offering (*š*). Section 2a contains a shorter EGL that resembles the beginning of section 1,[14] whereas sections 2b and 3a contain no EGL and can be ignored. Section 3b contains the longest of *KTU*[2] 1.148's EGLs.[15] Most of the deities in 3b receive a sheep offering, but a select few receive both a bull and a sheep.[16]

As can be seen in Table 8.2, there are many points of correspondence among the EGLs in sections 1, 2a, and 3b. God-of-the-Father is the first deity in each list, and El, Dagan, and Baal-of-Ṣapān each appear near the beginning; however, the appearance of Earth-and-Heaven, Kôṯarātu, and Baal-of-Aleppo in section 3b's EGL interrupt the God-

[13] Pardee 2002, 13.

[14] Note, however, that section 1's EGL includes Baal-of-Ṣapān and FIVE unspecified Baals, whereas section 2a's EGL includes Baal-of-Ṣapān and SIX unspecified Baals, which better corresponds with *KTU*[2] 1.118:1-11 (see above and Table 8.2; see also Pardee 2002, 14 n. 5). In section 2a, God-of-the-Father and El receive one sheep (*š*), whereas Dagan, Baal[!]-of-Ṣapān, and the unspecified Baals receive one bull (*ˀalp* is listed for Dagan and Baal[!]-of-Ṣapān, while the unspecified Baals' offering is indicated by ditto marks (*kmm*).

[15] Section 3 is broken in several places, but much of the restoration has been based on RS 92.2004 (Pardee 2002, 17).

[16] Those receiving both a bull and a sheep are Kôṯarātu, Baal-of-Aleppo, Baal-of-Ṣapān, Ṯarraṯiya (*KTU*[2] 1.148:25-28) and the other manifestations of Baal at the end of the list (ll. 44-45).

of-the-Father/El/Dagan/Baal-of-Ṣapān sequence common to sections 1 and 2a (and common to the other so-called Deity Lists). The most notable difference between the EGLs in section 1 and in 3b is the position of the unspecified Baals. In section 1, as in the so-called Deity List, five of them appear immediately after Baal-of-Ṣapān. The same goes for the six unspecified Baals in section 2a. However, in section 3b, the four unspecified Baals appear near the end of the tablet. These Baals receive a larger offering than the deities listed before them (a bull and a sheep instead of just a sheep, which is what they receive in section 1, ll. 3-4); this is unexpected given their late position in the EGL.

Because of the conflicting data – the late position in the EGL and the increased offering – determining the relative status of these unspecified Baals is problematic. Could this mean that the list ends by repeatedly offering bulls and sheep to one unspecified Baal, whom de Moor would identify as Baal-of-Ṣapān, the Baal *par excellence*? If the EGL does continue – as both Pardee and the editors of *KTU*[2] suggest – this seems unlikely.[17] Regardless of where this EGL ends, these unspecified Baals do appear to be more important than the deities who precede them, just as earlier in section 3b, the two geographically specified Baals receive a larger offering than the deities preceding them:

> [26]*dgn . š . bˤl . ḫlb ˀalp w š .* [27]*bˤl ṣpn . ˀalp . w. š.*
>
> (For) Dagan, a sheep; (for) Baal-of-Aleppo, a bull and a sheep; (for) Baal-of-Ṣapān, a bull and a sheep (*KTU*[2] 1.148:26-27).[18]

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[17] As noted in Table 8.2's endnote, many of section 3b's restorations are dependent upon RS 92.2004:1-43 (Pardee 2002, 17-18), which follows four unspecified Baals ([d]U, ll.38-41) with "(deceased) [Ki]ngs" ([[d]*mail*]*ik*[meš], l. 42) and "Šalimu" ([[d]]SILIM, l. 43). However, the EGLs in RS 92.2004 and section 3b are not exactly alike, and the tablet containing section 3b breaks off after before all four (assumed) unspecified Baals are listed, so we cannot know how many, if any, divine names follow these Baals in *KTU*[2] 1.148:44-45.

[18] God-of-the-Father, Earth-and-Heaven, and El each receive one sheep in *KTU*[2] 1.148:23-25, as does Kôṯarātu, who appears immediately prior to Dagan. However, erasure marks indicate that Kôṯarātu was originally listed as receiving a bull and a sheep ([[ˀ*alp w š*]], l. 25).

Baal-of-Aleppo and Baal-of-Ṣapān, each receive a bull and a sheep, whereas Dagan only receives a sheep. The latter listed Baal-named deities (numbers 6 and 7) do seem to be more important than the five deities listed before them. However, the unspecified Baals (in positions 38 through 41 in an EGL with 41-43 divine names) have been deliberately placed near the end of this EGL – which is also very far away from Baal-of-Ṣapān – as a comparison of the EGLs in section 1 and 2a indicates, so insisting that these unspecified Baals are more important than the preceding 20-30 deities may not be warranted.

Another reason not to assume that these unspecified Baals refer to Baal-of-Ṣapān as Baal *par excellence* is that Baal-of-Aleppo appears before Baal-of-Ṣapān in section 3b, indicating that Baal-of-Aleppo has the higher status in this EGL. It seems unlikely that any unspecified Baals at or near the end of section 3b would refer to Baal-of-Ṣapān when he is not even the first Baal appearing in the list. To argue, as de Moor does, that all these Baals specifically represent Baal-of-Ṣapān over and over again and indicate a "plural-of-intensity" disregards the information contained in these offering-lists and ignores the EGL's structure in ll. 23-45.[19] One may argue this for the offering-lists in sections 1 and 2a, but not for the EGL in section 3b. Whoever these Baals are, each received his own offerings just as the rest of the Ugaritic pantheon received their own offerings.

Baal may be the only first name repeated in *KTU*[2] 1.148's three EGLs and in the other so-called Deity Lists, but Pardee is probably right when he suggests we look for other Baals with last names in the Ugaritic cultic texts to make sense of who these (4, 5,

[19] De Moor 1970, 219. De Moor says this repetition highlights Baal as "Baal-the-Great."

ġor 6, depending on the EGL) unspecified Baals are. *KTU*[2] 1.148 suggests that Baal-of-Aleppo is one, but other texts mention a Baal-of-Ugarit and a Baal-Kanapi.[20]

B. Baal-of-Ugarit and the other Baals at Ugarit

Just as de Moor interprets the unspecified Baals from the so-called Deity Lists as an attempt to invoke Baal-of-Ṣapān seven times, Del Olmo Lete similarly interprets this as an indication that the unspecified Baal is the great god seven times over.[21] For Del Olmo Lete the Baal in question is not Baal-of-Ṣapān but Baal-of-Ugarit. Whereas de Moor's proposal follows the god-lists, Del Olmo Lete's suggestion that the supreme Baal-named deity is the only one explicitly identified with the city of Ugarit has no basis in the text and actually contradicts it.[22] Instead, his declaration that Baal-of-Ugarit was the primary Baal-named deity and "seven times god" leads him into another equation: "His (Baal-of-Ugarit's) personality is defined by the attribute *ṣpn*, with which are identified all the other possible epithets of circumstance and place, his epiphanies,

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[20] Baal-of-Ṣapān appears or has been restored in *KTU*[2] 1.41:33 and 41; 1.46:12 and 14; 1.109:6, 9, 29, and 32-33; 1.112:22-23; 1.148:2, 10, and 27; 1.130:17 (see Dijkstra, *UF* 16 [1984] 74) and 22 (RS 24.284:2, 7, and 9 in Pardee's edition [Pardee 2002, 32]); as well as in the syllabic deity list RS 92.2004:7.

Baal-of-Ugarit appears or has been restored in *KTU*[2] 1.41:34-35 and 42; 1.46:16; 1.105:6′; 1.109:11, 16, 34, and 35; 1.112:23; 1.119:3, 9-10, 12, and 22′; and 1.130:10, 24, and 26 (RS 24.284:11 and 23 in Pardee's edition [Pardee 2002, 32]).

Baal-of-Aleppo appears or has been restored in *KTU*[2] 1.109:16; 1.130:11; and 1.148:26; as well as RS 92.2004:6.

The unspecified Baal appears or has been restored in *KTU*[2] 1.41:15 and 41; 1.46:16; 1.105:17′ and 24′; 1.109:13 and 20; 1.119:6 and 25′ff.; and 1.130:3.

The Baals (*bˁlm*) appear or have been restored in *KTU*[2] 1.41:18 and 19; 1.119:15[?]; 1.148:3-4, 11-12, and 44-45.

The non-geographic Baal-Kanapi appears in *KTU*[2] 1.46:6, and Baˁlu-RˁKT appears in 1.119:1.

[21] Del Olmo Lete 1999, 75.

[22] Had Del Olmo Lete made this suggestion within a discussion of *KTU*[2] 1.119, at least he would have proposed that Baal-of-Ugarit was the main manifestation of Baal/Hadad from a text that referred to the deity by that particular epithet (see Table 8.3 for a listing of divine names in this text). Indeed, *KTU*[2] 1.119 places its ritual within "the temple of Baal-of-Ugarit" (*w bt . bˁl . ˀugr*t, l. 3; see also ll. 9-10), and the second section of this tablet consists of a hymn to an unspecified *bˁl* that invokes the deity on eight separate instances (ll. 28-34).

mentioned in the texts (*bˁl ˀugrt*, *ḫlb*…).”[23] Essentially, for Del Olme Lete, Baal-of-Ugarit is defined by *ṣpn* so that other geographic epithets are unnecessary, including “of-Ugarit.” Unfortunately, the Akkadian edition of the Deity List and its explicit numeric count of deities (i.e., ᵈIŠKUR II – ᵈIŠKUR VI, RS 20.024:5-10) only emboldens Del Olmo Lete because he interprets this text as identifying Baal-of-Ṣapān with seven explicitly labeled Hadads, including ᵈIŠKUR *be-el* ḪUR.SAG.*ḫa-zi* (“Adad, lord of Mount Ḫazi,” l. 4):

> He is, therefore, the same god. In this way the list is a kind of “litany,” a text of invocation or recitation, and probably underlying the literary form of “god list” is a cultic usage of the type mentioned, which later developed into the series of names for Allah and into other litanic formulae in the history of religions. It is, therefore, not merely or originally a “literary” text or a document of “theological” synthesis.[24]

In the footnote, Del Olmo Lete compares this sevenfold repetition of the divine first name Baal with Jewish and early Christian treatises on the “Divine Names” and the “Names of Christ.” Only by ignoring the fact that none of the so-called Deity Lists at Ugarit include any Baal by a particular name except Baal-of-Ṣapān can one compare this repetitive sequence with a litany from an Abrahamic religion.[25] Likewise, with no other geographic last names listed, these lists do not directly indicate the identification of Baal-of-Ṣapān with any other Baal-named deity. One could hint at such a possibility, as Pardee does in a footnote and in reference to another god-list (one that lists Baal-of-Aleppo *prior* to Baal-

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[23] Del Olmo Lete 1999, 75. In the footnote following this sentence (n. 80), he suggests that *KTU*² 4.15’s list of local/family epithets should be counted toward the six unspecified *bˁlm*.

[24] Del Olmo Lete 1999, 75.

[25] Del Olmo Lete 1999, 75 n. 82. Del Olmo Lete reveals his Western Christian bias on the previous page when he claims that El, ˀIluˀibī, and Dagan round out “a first *tri-unity* of epithets (p. 74, emphasis original). Interestingly, he recognizes that while “the epithets might be distinct in the cult and in the prayers of the faithful, in myth and theology they correspond to the same god” (p. 74). Without any real evidence to guide him and without apology (though he does suggest that “it is highly likely” that El’s temple and Dagan’s temple were equated [p.74 n. 78]), Del Olmo Lete openly contradicts the source material left behind by El’s and Dagan’s devotees in the god-lists and ritual texts as proof of the cultic syncretization of Canaanite and the Amorite religious thought.

of-Ṣapān and ignores Baal-of-Ugarit altogether[26]); however, anything more than this reveals one's bias against the multiplicity of deities sharing a first name, which, in this case, happens to be a title.

It is conceivable that in the minds of some at ancient Ugarit the entity recognized as Baal-of-Ugarit was the same as the entity recognized as Baal-of-Ṣapān, as Del Olmo Lete claims, though this is nowhere made explicit. Alternatively, the Baal who lacks a geographic epithet is both the Baal extraordinaire and Baal-of-Ṣapān, as de Moor claims on the basis of some explicit texts. However, this supreme Baal was not identified with Baal-of-Ugarit in alphabetic cuneiform tablets. He is, at best, a Baal whose residence was really on Mount Ṣapān, according to the mythology, but who was worshiped in the temples of Ugarit. To define this deity in terms of Ugarit as Del Olmo Lete wants to do, a first name that was followed by two last names (e.g., *bˁl ˀgrt ṣpn*, "Baal-of-Ugarit-of-Ṣapān," or perhaps *bˁl ṣpn ˀgrt*, "Baal-of-Ṣapān-of-Ugarit") would need to have been found somewhere in the Ugaritic corpus, resembling what appears in Hittite texts (e.g., IŠKUR-of-Aleppo- and Ḫebat-of-Aleppo-of-Ḫattuša and IŠKUR-of-Aleppo- and Ḫebat-of-Aleppo-of-Šamuḫa [*KUB* 6 45 i 43 and 51]).[27] Just as no texts explicitly identify these distinct deities with one another, no such full name appears at Ugarit.

Del Olmo Lete's take on Baal at Ugarit is by no means unique within the scholarly community. Schwemer also comments that "[t]he cult distinguishes between Baˁlu of the city of Ugarit and Baˁlu of Mt. Ṣapuna,"[28] but he adds that the Baal temple

[26] Pardee 2002, 24 n. 10. Indeed, the offering-list in which *bˁl . ḫlb* precedes *bˁl ṣpn* is *KTU*^{2} 1.148:26-27, and it is located on the reverse of side of the tablet that lists the six *bˁlm* (ll. 3-4).
[27] Pardee interprets the ḫ*lb* in *KTU*^{2} 1.109:33 as a form of offering ("one/some ḪLB") which is accompanied by an ewe's liver offering. Preceding this word is the divine name Baal-of-Ṣapān, *bˁl ṣpn*, so that, theoretically, one could argue for the existence of the divine name Baal-of-Ṣapān-of-Aleppo (*bˁl ṣpn* ḫ*lb*, ll. 32-33).
[28] D. Schwemer 2008b, 10.

on the Ugaritian acropolis "could be called the temple of Baˁlu Ṣapuna, as the mythical home of Baˁlu (of Ugarit) was definitely meant to be Mt. Ṣapuna."[29] While this statement fits well with modern scholarship's pro-syncretistic tendencies – and closely resembles Jerusalemite identification of Mount Ṣapān with Mount Zion as Yahweh's dwelling (e.g., הר-ציון ירכתי צפון, Ps 48:3) – no texts from Ugarit refer to a local temple as the "temple of Baal-of-Ṣapān."

There is, however, a temple at Ugarit dedicated to the local deity indentified as Baal-of-Ugarit. Three related texts describing "rituals for a single month" identify rituals as taking place "in the temple of Baal-of-Ugarit" (e.g., *w b bt . bˁl ˀugrt*, *KTU*[2] 1.109:11; and *bt* [.] b[ˁl .] ˀug*r*[t], 1.130:26 [24.284:11 in Pardee's edition (Pardee 2002, 32)]).[30] Of these, one text explicitly distinguishes between Baal-of-Ṣapān and Baal-of-Ugarit in the same offering-list:

> [32] *ˁlm . ˁlm . gdlt . l bˁl* [33]*ṣpn . ḫlb* x[x]xd . d[q]*t* [34]*l ṣpn*[š . l]*bˁl . ˀu*g[rt š]
>
> On the day after next: a cow for Baal-of-Ṣapān, ḪLB and an e[w]e's [live]r for Mount Ṣapān, (and) [a sheep for] Baal-of-Ugarit (*KTU*[2] 1.109:32-34).[31]

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[29] Schwemer 2008b, 10-11. Baal-of-Ṣapān outranks Baal-of-Ugarit but is, in turn, outranked by Baal-of-Aleppo in the *ḫiyaru*-ritual (*KTU*[2] 1.148:26-27). These two Baals are followed by Šarraššiya (ṯrṯy, [d]*šar-ra-ši-ia*), whose name in Hurrian means "kingship," but *šarrašše*- also means "offering term" in Hurro-Hittite ritual texts (Schwemer 2008b, 11). Since these three deities receive a larger offering than all others on the list (i.e., a bull and a sheep instead of just a sheep), Schwemer suggests that the overall effect of this offering-list is that the *ḫiyaru*-festival demonstrate "(the Aleppine) Baˁlu's kingship over the gods" (p. 11).

It should be noted that Baal-of-Ugarit precedes Baal-of-Aleppo in the offering-list *KTU*[2] 1.130:10-11. However, there are more attestations of Baal-of-Ṣapān preceding Baal-of-Ugarit than either Baal-of-Aleppo preceding Baal-of-Ṣapān or Baal-of-Ugarit precing Baal-of-Aleppo.

[30] Pardee 2002, 26. *KTU*[2] 1.46 and 1.130 are broken in several places, while *KTU*[2] 1.109 is in good condition. Though these three tablets are not duplicates of each other, they closely resemble one another in structure and format so that restored signs should be considered quite reliable. Because these texts are so similar, "in the temple of Baal-of-Ugarit" has been restored in *KTU*[2] 1.46:16 (see also, Pardee 2002, 27-28).

[31] The translation "an e[w]e's [live]r for Mount Ṣapān" is based on Pardee's restoration of *KTU*[2] 1.109:33: ˹*w kb*˺*d* . ˹*d*˺[*q*]˹*t*˺ (Pardee 2002, 30).

Indeed, throughout these texts, various Baal-named deities are repeatedly distinguished from one another. For example, Baal-of-Ugarit appears third in a seven-member EGL in an offering-list in *KTU*^{2} 1.130, and Baal-of-Aleppo follows him in the fourth position:

KTU^2 1.130:	No. 6C (Pardee 2002, 32):	Translation[32]:
[8]w šl[m]m	[21]*w šl*[*m*]*m*	And as peace-o[fferings]:
[9]*l ʔil*<ʔi>b [š]	[22]*l ʔil*˹*ʔi*˺[*b š*]	for God-of-the-Fa[ther, a sheep];
[10]*l bˁl ʔ*u[grt š]	[23]*l bˁl* ˹*ʔu*˺[*grt š*]	for Baal-of-U[garit, a sheep];
[11]*l bˁl ḫl*b [š]	[24]*l bˁ*˹*l*˺ *ḫlb* [*š*]	for Baal-of-Aleppo, [a sheep];
[12]*l yrḫ š*	[25]*l yrḫ š*	for Yariḫu, a sheep;
[13]*l ˁnt ṣpn* [l.e. 14] *ʔalp w š*	[26]*l ˁnt ṣpn* [27]*ʔalp w š*	for Anat-of-Ṣapān, a bull and a sheep;
[15]*l pdr*<y> *š*	[28]*l pdr š*	for Pidar, a sheep;
[le.e][w] l *dd*mš . š	[l.e.29]˹*l*˺ *ddm*[!]˹*š*.˺ *š*	for Dadmiš, a sheep.

Given that this ritual took place in Baal-of-Ugarit's temple (l. 26), the fact that Baal-of-Ugarit precedes Baal-of-Aleppo is reasonable. In *KTU*^{2} 1.46:6-7, an EGL found in an offering-list includes both an unspecified Baal and Baal-Kanapi ("Lord-of-the-Wing"):

KTU^2 1.46:6-7:	Translation:
[6][ʔi]*l š* .	[(For) E]l, a sheep;
bˁl š .	(for) Baal, a sheep;
ʔaṯrt . *š* .	(for) Ašerah, a sheep;
ym . *š* .	(for) Yammu, a sheep;
bˁ*l knp* g[[7]dlt…]	(for) Baal-Kanapi, a c[ow];
[ ]g*dlt* .	(for) […], a cow;
ṣpn . *dqt* . *šrp* .	(for) Mount Ṣapān, a ewe as a burnt-offering.

The unspecified Baal is the second deity in this EGL, whereas the oddly named Baal-Kanapi is the fifth of seven deities. Later, a third Baal-named deity appears in a "feast [for Baal-of-Ṣa]pān," who receives "two ewes and a city-dove," as well as "[a bul]l's [liver] and a sheep":

> [11]*ˁšrt* [12][l bˁḻ . ṣ]p*n* d[q]t*m* . *w* [yn]t *qrt* [13][w mtntm . w š .] l *rm*[š .] *kbd* . *w š* [14][l šlm . kbd . ʔal]p *w š* . [l] *bˁl* . *ṣpn* [15][dqt . l ṣpn . šrp] . *w* šl*mm* . *kmm* [16][w b bt . bˁl ʔugr]t
>
> A feast [for Baal-of-Ṣa]pān: two e[w]es and a city-[dov]e; [and two loins/kidneys and a sheep] for RM[Š]; a liver and a sheep [for Šalimu; a bul]l's [liver] and a sheep [for] Baal-of-Ṣapān; [an ewe for Mount Ṣapān as a burnt-offering] and

[32] Pardee's edition of RS 24.284 not only switches the obverse and reverse found in *KTU*^{2} 1.130, which creates a new numbering system, but he also provides new readings to the text itself. The translation given in the third column follows Pardee's edition.

again as a peace-offering. [And in the temple of Baal-of-Ugari]t…(*KTU*[2] 1.46:11-16).

In addition to Baal-of-Ṣapān, whose name appears twice in ll. 11-15, three divine names receive offerings in this ritual feast: RMŠ, Šalimu, and Mount-Ṣapān.[33]

The unspecified Baal in *KTU*[2] 1.46, 1.109, and 1.130 deserves special attention. One could suggest that this unspecified Baal is, in fact, the primary Baal who is distinct from all other Baal-named dieites and who needs no qualification. Alternatively, if we assume that there was only one Baal in the implicit theology of the Ugaritic population and cult, one could argue that the three localized deities are subsumed under the unspecified Baal. This is exactly what most scholars accept. These texts demonstrate, however, that if this unspecified Baal should be identified with any particular Baal, that Baal should be Baal-of-Ugarit and only Baal-of-Ugarit. *KTU*[2] 1.109:11-15 lists five divine names, each receiving a specific offering, and the middle deity is indentified only as Baal, but this list appears after the locale of the sacrifices is specified as the temple of Baal-of-Ugarit (*w b bt . bˁl . ˀugrt*, "and in the temple of Baal-of-Ugarit," *KTU*[2] 1.109:11).[34] Likewise, *KTU*[2] 1.130:26-29 and 2-6 (RS 24.284:11-20 in Pardee's edition [Pardee 2002, 32]) probably comprises an eight-member offering-list, though much of the text is reconstructed.[35] Again, the ritual takes place in the temple of Ba[al-of]-Ugarit (l.

[33] The divine name Baal-of-Ṣapān only occurs once in this offering-list, between Šalimu and Mount Ṣapān (both of whose names have been restored in this text). The previous occurrence of the divine name is in the title of the feast, namely, "a Feast [for Baal-of-Ṣa]pān." Throughout this offering-list, the sacrificial victims appear first and are followed by the deity who receives them, so the two ewes and the city-dove are only implicitly listed as an offering to Baal-of-Ṣapān. An alternative interpretation is that the "Baal-of-Ṣapān" in l. 12 is an example of the so-called Janus Parallelism, so that the name functions distinctly in both phrases: "A feast for Baal-of-Ṣapān" and "for Baal-of-Ṣapān, two ewes and a city-dove" (see J. S. Kselman, "Janus Parallelism in Psalm 75:2," *JBL* 121 [2002]: 531-532).

[34] *KTU*[2] 1.109:11-15 offers a cow to God-of-the-Father, a sheep each to El and Baal, a bull and a sheep to Anat-of-Ṣapān, and a sheep to Pidray.

[35] Pardee's edition of RS 24.284 not only switches the obverse and reverse found in *KTU*[2] 1.130, which creates a new numbering system, but also provides new readings to the text itself. The translation given

11), and the unspecified Baal is understood within this context.[36] The occurrences of the unspecified Baals in *KTU*^{2} 1.46:3, 6, and 8 and *KTU*^{2} 1.109:20 seem to parallel these two examples, suggesting that they, too, refer to Baal-of-Ugarit in his own temple. Elsewhere (e.g., *KTU*^{2} 1.109:32-34), when Baal-of-Ṣapān and Baal-of-Ugarit appear in the same EGL, the first is explicitly identified as Baal-of-Ṣapān and the second is identified as Baal-of-Ugarit (ll. 35-36); thus, when the context is ambiguous, the texts make a point to clarify which specific Baal is being discussed. This is emphasized further by *KTU*^{2} 1.119, where a Baal-of-RˁKT appears in the second extant line, and the next line resets the physical context in "the temple of Baal-of-Ugarit" (*w bt . bˁl . ˀugr*t, *KTU*^{2} 1.119:3; see also ll. 9-10, 21´-22´, and 12, which mention Baal-of-Ugarit but lack "temple"). As in the other texts, a Baal-named deity might be listed only by his first name in his own temple, but if another Baal (or Baals, like the *bˁlm* in l. 6) is also present in the text, reiterating the full name is necessary.[37]

below in the third column follows Pardee's edition. Note that the Baal divine name is unspecified, but since these sacrifices are offered in the temple of Baal-of-Ugarit, the unspecified Baal is likely Baal-of-Ugarit.

KTU^2 1.130	No. 6C (Pardee 2002, 32)	Translation
r. 26 *bt* [.] b[ˁl .] ˀug*r*[t]	11 *bt* ˹*b*˺[ˁ*l*] ˹ˀ*u*˺*gr*˹*t*˺	(In) the temple of Ba[al]-of-Ugarit:
[kbdm 27 npš ˀil]ˀ*ib* . gd[lt]	12 ˹*l*˺ [ˀ*il*]ˀ*ib* . *gd*[*lt*]	for [God-of-]the-Father, a c[ow];
28 [ ]t[ ]	l.e. 13 […]	…
29 […]	14 […]	…
o. 2 [l] *š*x[ ]	r. 15 ˹*l*˺ *š*˹-˺[…]	for Š…
3 l *b*ˁ[l š]	16 *l b*ˁ[*l š*]	for Baa[l, a sheep];
4 *l* x[ ]	17 l ˹-˺[…]	for…
5 *l* ˁ[nt ṣ]p[n] 6 ˀa[lp w š]	18 *l* [ˁ*nt ṣpn*] 19 ˹ˀ*a*˺[*lp w š*]	for [Anat-of-Ṣapān,] a b[ull and a sheep];
6 *l* p[dry]	20 *l* [*pdr*(*y*) *š* <u>*šrp*</u>]	for [Pidray, a sheep as a burnt-offering].

[36] The most likely restoration for *KTU*^{2} 1.46:16-17 ([w b bt . bˁl . ˀugr]t……[b]˹ˁ˺[l]) is based upon these two examples.

As discussed in chapter 4, Barton proposed that an unspecified divine name could be identified with a deity with a full name when the relevant inscription was written in the town (or temple) of that deity. For example, Barton concluded that an unspecified Ištar found in an inscription from Nineveh is Ištar-of-Nineveh (Barton 1893, 131; see also Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 523).

[37] Appended to the ritual and sacrificial discussion in *KTU*^{2} 1.119:1-25, is a prayer to an unspecified Baal (ll. 28-34), as indicated by the statement that the supplicant "shall lift your eyes to Baal" (ˁn*km . l .* bˁ*l tš*ˀ*un*, l. 27) that introduces the prayer (Pardee 2002, 149). Pardee notes that the prayer in ll. 28-34 has been framed by an address to the supplicants in ll. 26-27 and 35-36 (p. 104 n. 53). The introduction indicates that

In contrast, whenever Baal-of-Ṣapān appears in the three ritual texts (i.e., *KTU*^{2} 1.46, 1.109, and 1.130), these texts make sure that the reader recognizes this particular Baal as the one being discussed. Unlike with Baal-of-Ugarit, Baal-of-Ṣapān's last name does not disappear when the context would seem to make it unnecessary or even redundant. For example, "a feast for Baal-of-Ṣapān" (*ˁšrt l bˁl ṣpn*)[38] includes offerings to RMŠ, Šalimu, Baal-of-Ṣapān, and Mount Ṣapān itself. Though context could suggest to any reader that an unspecified Baal involved with the feast of Baal-of-Ṣapān would likely be Baal-of-Ṣapān himself, the texts do not let the context speak for itself. Instead, both times that this ritual is presented, the deity is referred to by his first and last name, even though the next god is the deified Mount Ṣapān. This Baal-named deity is sandwiched

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this prayer should be recited on the occasion when the supplicant's city has been attacked by an enemy, and the conclusion promises that Baal will drive the enemy away. Moreover, this prayer lacks any explicit link to the preceding discussion of sacrificial rites, and ll. 25-36 lack the dividing lines that occur between every line in ll. 1-24 (pp. 50-52 and 149). For these two reasons, he interprets the divine name that appears ten separate times in these twelve lines as the unspecified Baal, as opposed to Baal-of-Ugarit (p. 50).

However, though the prayer section has been isolated from the sacrificial rites section, the prayer's context still suggests that this particular unspecified Baal is actually Baal-of-Ugarit for two similar reasons. The first and more important of the two is the fact that the supplicant has a physical context for Baal; the prayer would have likely been recited in the temple of Baal-of-Ugarit since sacrificial offerings are mentioned in the prayer itself: a bull (*ˀibr*, l. 29), a vow-offering (*mḏr*, l. 30), a [fir]stborn (d*kr*, *KTU*^{2} 1.119:31; Pardee reads [b]*kr* [Pardee 2002, 150]), a *ḥtp*-offering (*ḥtp*, l. 32), and a feast (ˁšr*t*, l. 32). Moreover, the supplicants say, "we shall go up to the sanctuary of Baal" (*qdš b*ˁl . *n*ˁ*l*, l. 33), clearly placing the supplicant and his sacrifices in the temple of Baal-of-Ugarit. The second reason is that the tablet itself gives a physical context for the prayer in ll. 25-36. Baal-of-Ugarit has been named no less than four times in ll. 1-24, and his temple has been mentioned three of those times in order to reestablish the physical context to the sacrificial rites. Each time that Baal-of-Ugarit's temple is specified by his full name another deity (or deities) had been named in a previous line. The Baal-of-Ugarit in l. 3 follows Baal-of-RˁKT from l. 2; in l. 9, he follows the Baals (*bˁlm*) from l. 6; and in l. 21-22, he follows an unknown Baal from l. 15 (*b*ˁl xx[ ]), as well as any possible deity who appears in the lacuna in ll. 16-18. In ll. 24-25, however, the unspecified Baal who receives a libation-offering (*šmn . šlm bˁl . mtk . mlkm rˀišyt*, "oil peace-offering of Baal, the first-fruit libation for the kings") is governed by the reminder in ll. 21-22 that this occurs in the temple of Baal-of-Ugarit. Though the prayer section is not explicitly linked to the sacrificial rites section, the most recent Baal-named deity is still Baal-of-Ugarit from ll. 21-22 and 25. The prayer is on the same tablet, and that tablet is concerned with a specific temple. The contexts given in *KTU*^{2} 1.119 suggest that the unspecified Baal in question is Baal-of-Ugarit.

[38] The title "a feast for Baal-of-Ṣapān" has been reconstructed from two of the ritual texts:

KTU^2 1.46:11-12	ˁšrt [l bˁl . ṣ]⸢p⸣n
KTU^2 1.109:5	ˁšrt . l bˁ[l . ṣpn]
Composite	ˁšrt . l bˁ[l . ṣ]pn.

Unfortunately, even between the two texts, not every letter is attested.

firmly within a Ṣapān context, but the scribes writing these ritual texts still felt the need to stress which specific Baal-named deity they intended.

In the so-called Baal Cycle (*KTU*² 1.1-1.6), however, Baal(-of-Ṣapān) was squarely situated and could shed his geographic name precisely because there were no other Baal-named deities and the context was clear. The Baal in the text identifies Ṣapān as his mountain, and is entertained in the heights:

> The hero (with) a good voice sings to Baal on the heights of **Ṣapān** (*yšr . ġzr . ṭb . ql ˤl . bˤl . b . ṣrrt* ***ṣpn***, *KTU*² 1.3 iii 20-22).
>
> …in the midst of my mountain, the divine **Ṣapān**, in the holy (place), in the mountain of my possession, in the good (place), in the hill of my victory (*b tk . ġry . ˀil .* ***ṣpn*** *b qdš . b ġr . nḥlty b nˤm . b gbˤ . tlˀiyt*, 1.3 iii 29-31).

Indeed, he is even buried there:

> Šapaš, the light of the gods, listens (to Anat's plea). She lifts up the mighty Baal onto Anat's shoulders. Having lifted him up, she brings him up onto the heights of **Ṣapān**. She weeps and buries him (*tšmˤ . nrt . ˀilm . špš tšˀu . ˀalˀiyn . bˤl . l ktp ˤnt . k tšth . tšˤlynh b ṣrrt .* ***ṣp***{ˤ}***n*** *tbkynh w tqbrnh*, 1.6 i 13-17).[39]

When it is clear that the Baal in question is the Baal associated with Ṣapān, his geographic last name is unnecessary, but when the scribe has not sufficiently set Baal in his Ṣapān mountain context, he included a last name.

Likewise, in his letter to the king (*KTU*² 2.42), an official from Alashia specifically invokes Baal-of-Ṣap[ān] (*bˤl* ṣp[n]) as the first deity in his blessing.[40] Aside from the divine name itself, the letter contains no context to help the reader know which Baal-named deity he is involved, which might be why the chief of Maˀẖadu (*rb* mˀi[ẖd?],

[39] The phrases *ṣrrt ṣpn* (*KTU*² 1.3 iii 20-22; see also 1.6 i 16) and *mrym . ṣpn* (1.3 iv 38) occur several other times throughout the Baal Cycle.
[40] Baal-of-Ṣapān is the first in this five-member EGL: Baal-of-Ṣapān/the-Eternal-Šapaš/Aṯtartu/Anat/all-the-gods-of-Alashia (*KTU*² 2.42:6-7). No other EGLs of this length are found in the extant portions of *KTU*² 2.1-2.83.

l. 2) chose to use the full name. The chief of Maʾḫadu is not the only letter writer who specifies which Baal-named deity he meant. Of the few times a Baal-named deity appears in a letter as a divine name, none lack a geographic last name: Baal-of-Byblos (*b*ˁl . *g*bl, *KTU*[2] 2.44:8), Baal-of-Ṣapān (*b*ˁl . *ṣp*n, l. 10, and *b*ˁ[l .]š*pn*, 2.23:19), and possibly Baa[l-of-Ugarit] (*b*ˁl ʾ*u*[rgt?], 2.3:5-6).[41] Maybe these last names are only needed to distinguish a Baal-named deity from the human ruler (e.g., "lord" or "my lord"), but this requires at least some context, which the deity's first and last name provide.[42] As with these letters, when a scribe locates Baal-of-Ṣapān in a particular cultic situation, he proceedes with caution and provides the deity's first and last name. In the cultic context at the temple of Baal-of-Ugarit, the unspecified Baal was typically Baal-of-Ugarit while Baal-of-Ṣapān was just that, Baal-of-Ṣapān. Admittedly, delineating when or why a scribe felt the context was inadequate for determining whether a Baal-named deity should be specified by a last name is, if not complicated, mildly confusing, but their methods did fulfill some need the scribes had.[43]

C. Baal: Epithet or Name?

This treatment of the three local Baal-named deities in the cultic texts, as opposed to the use of the unspecified Baal in them, highlights the question of whether Baal should

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[41] This Baal-of-Ugarit suggestion depends on whether there is room to restore three missing signs *g-r-t* before the *š-h-r* in *KTU*[2] 2.3:5-6: ʾ*u*[xx]*šhr*[.].

[42] Most of the time *b*ʾ*l* appears in letters, it seems to be a reference to the king or pharaoh, as is the case in the following: *b*ˁ*ly* ("my lord," *KTU*[2] 2.35:5), *mlk b*ˁ*ly* ("the king, my lord", 2.33:30-31), *mlk b*ˁ*lh* ("the king, his lord," 2.47:1-2), and *špš* . *b*ˁ*lk* ("the Sun, your master," 2.39:11 and 13), among others.

[43] The above analysis attempts to organize and explain the limited and perplexing data, but a modern analogy may also serve to explain the problem. Throughout this dissertation, multiple references have been made to Smith's work. Typically, the references include a publication date so that the reader knows what book or article is being discussed or quoted; the publication date provides the fuller context, when the reader would not necessarily be expected to know which Smith book was currently under discussion. However, as footnotes and publication dates establish the context for the reader, subsequent invocations of "Smith" in my prose are understood.

be interpreted as a title instead of a divine name. According to Schwemer, the epithet *bēlu*/*baˁlu* ("lord") can be used "with all sorts of gods," especially when that deity is understood to be "lord of a place," or the word can be used to praise a deity as "lord" (of the gods) *par excellence*, as is the case with the title Bēl for Marduk.[44] The use of *baal* as a title dates to the middle of the third millennium, as evidenced by god-lists from Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ and the list of calendar names from pre-Sargonic Ebla (ITI *be-li*, "month of the lord," which Pettinato identifies as the first month of the year (TM.75.G.427 iv 2 and r. iii 2).[45] The identity or identities behind the third-millennium *baal* attestations are difficult to determine, but Schwemer rules out the possibility that Hadad was known as Baal at Ebla because the fourth month in the Eblaite "New Calendar" was named after Hadad (ITI NIDBA$_x$ ^{d}ʾ*a*$_3$-*da*, "month of the feast of Hadad," r. i 3 and iii 5). At Ebla, Dagan was probably the deity called "lord" in ITI *be-li* in TM.75.G.427 since another text, TM.75.G.2075 ii 14-15, mentions that the feast in the first month was in honor of the Lord-of-Tuttul (^{d}LUGAL *du-du-lu*^{ki}; see also LH iv 27-31), an epithet G. Pettinato readily attributes to Dagan.[46]

Along the Levantine Coast, the epithet *baal* developed a special relationship with the storm-god Hadad in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries.[47] Evidence from Ugaritic mythological texts, from cuneiform texts in the Amarna corpus, from texts found at Tell Taˁanakh, and from Egyptian sources suggest that the divine name Hadad and the epithet

[44] Schwemer 2008b, 8.
[45] Schwemer 2008b, 8; Pettinato 1981, 150ff.
[46] Pettinato 1981, 257. Pettinato notes that Dagan "enjoyed a preeminent position, perhaps the first position" at Ebla (p. 246), as suggested by fact that a city quarter and city gate are named after him and the fact that his consort is known simply as "lady" (*bēlatu*). Moreover, Dagan's name is often represented by the logogram ^{d}BE/BAD at Ebla – whereas Hadad's name is typically written ^{d}ʾ*a*$_3$-*da* (p. 248) – which Pettinato translates as "lord." These data do not definitively prove that Dagan is the *bēli* in question in the month name, but they suggest that Dagan is a more likely candidate than Hadad.
[47] Schwemer 2008b, 9.

Baal had been successfully equated in the West by the mid-second millennium.[48]This equation was inspired by Hadad's rise to the top of the various pantheons in Syro-Palestine. Hadad, like Marduk in Babylon, had become the lord of the gods, so his epithet needed to reflect this rise to power. Eventually, after Hadad successfully maintained his position as the head of the pantheon in Ugarit, the epithet Baal began to function as his name rather than as an epithet, and, conversely, Hadad began to function as the epithet.[49] This reversal is most salient in the Baal Cycle itself, wherein the name Hadad appears infrequently compared to Baal, especially when Hadad appears in the second line of any poetic parallelism.[50] For example, in *KTU*^{2} 1.5 i 22-23, the name Baal is given first, and the name Hadad follows: "Invite me Baal with my brothers, call me Hadad with my kin!" (*ṣḥn bˁl . ˁm ˀaḫ*y [.] qrˀa*n h*d . *ˁm ˀaryy*).[51] Again, in 1.4 vi 38-40, the name Baal precedes Hadad in parallel clauses: "[Baa]l arranged [his] house, Hadad arra[nges his palace" (*ˁdbt . bht*[h . bˁ]*l yˁdb . hd . ˁdb* [. ˁdb*t hklh*]). Reflecting this preference for the name Baal over Hadad, A. Rahmouni lists *ġmr hd* ("the annihilator/avenger/champion Hadad," 1.2 i 46) as one of Baal's 14 epithets and lists none for Hadad.[52]

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[48] Schwemer 2008b, 9. de Moor notes that the divine names Hadad and Baal were interchangeable in 15th-century Alalaḫ, as well (J. C. de Moor, "בעל baˁal: I-II," in *TDOT* [1988] 2:184).

Schwemer argues that not all of the Baal-Cycle traditions trace back to the mythology of the storm-god Hadad (Schwemer 2008b, 12). Whereas Baal's conflict with Yammu is connected with earlier Hadad tradition, Baal's conflict with Môt belongs to the Dumuzi tradition concerning the dying and returning god. Schwemer seems to be suggesting that this Môt portion of the cycle is incorporated into the so-called Baal-cycle only after the epithet Baal had established itself as a *Beiname* for Hadad instead of just as an epithet.

[49] Schwemer 2008b, 9. Pardee notes that while Baal was a title of Hadad, "particularly in the coastal area, [Baal] came to function as a divine name" (D. Pardee, "The Baˁlu Myth," in *COS* 1.86 [1997a], 247 n. 42).

[50] However, Baal does refer to himself in *KTU*^{2} 1.4 vii 38 as Hadad when addressing his audience: *ˀib hd* ("enemies of Hadad").

[51] Another example of this Baal/Hadad parallelism has been offered by Pardee, whose restoration differs from *KTU*^{2} 1.3 iv 25-27: ^{25}*yšt* ^{26}⸢b š⸣[mm .] *bˁl . mdlh . ybˁr* ^{27}[hd . mṭ]⸢r⸣[. –rnh], "May Baˁlu place his watering devices in [the heavens], may [Haddu] bring the [rain of] his X," (*COS* 1.86:253, Pardee's translation; Pardee 1997a, 253 n. 95). Where Pardee proposes [hd . mṭ]⸢r⸣, *KTU*^{2} proposes [rkb . ˁr]pt ("[rider of the clo]uds") as the restoration at the beginning of l. 2

[52] Rahmouni notes that some scholars argue that *ġmr hd* is actually a verbal phrase rather than an epithet, but this interpretation is unlikely given that one must ignore the imperative verb *šmˁ* earlier in the line (A.

Use of Hadad's epithet "Baal" spread as far east as Emar in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, where he was known as Hadad//Lord(Baal)-of-Emar (e.g., ^{d}IŠKUR EN ⸢*i-mar*⸣, Arnaud Emar 6/3 373:133′).[53] However, the epithet did not replace the storm-god's name at Emar as it had at Ugarit, which is indicated by the fact that the storm-god's name was always written IŠKUR at Emar, including in the NIN.DINGIR-festival text and in other ritual texts, in god-lists, and his temple's name.[54] D. Fleming notes that Emar's population was familiar with the storm-god traditions of Hurrians, Canaanites, and Mesopotamians,[55] which may explain the resistance there to completely identifying the local storm-god with the epithet Baal.[56] Another possible factor hindering the spread inland of the *Beiname* Baal for Hadad was the composition of local pantheons and the nature of the relationships between deities in each city. At Emar, for example, the storm-god's consort was Ḫebat and – to a lesser extent, with lesser evidence, and at a later period – Aṯtartu.[57] At Ugarit, Baal was a young god who lacked a consort "in a real sense"; however, the mythological texts suggest he had "sexual encounters with both

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Rahmouni, *Divine Epithets in the Ugaritic Alphabetic Texts* (trans. J. N. Ford; HO 93; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 147-149). Pardee translates *ġmr hd* as "Haddu the Avenger" (Pardee 1997, 247 n. 42).

[53] Schwemer 2008b, 14. According to Schwemer, Hadad's identification as Baal made no inroads in Mesopotamian theology because Marduk was already the local Bēl.

J. G. Westenholz notes that at Emar Baal was Hadad, who was identified with Tešub, but in her treatment of the hierarchical offering-lists, she translates the logogram ^{d}IŠKUR as "Storm god" rather than as "Hadad" (J. G. Westenholz, "Emar – the City and its God," in *Languages and Cultures in Contact*: *At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm*: *Proceedings of the 42th RAI* (eds. K. van Lerberghe and G. Voet; OLA 96; Leuven: Peeters, 1999], 156-158 and 164). Her reluctance to translate the divine name Hadad is likely a response to the fact that ^{d}IŠKUR appears twice in the hierarchical offering-lists' EGL (Lord-of-Sagma/^{d}IŠKUR-of-the-land-of-Bašime?/Ninurta-of-Repasts/^{d}IŠKUR//Lord-of-Emar/Ninurta//Lord-of-Kumar; p. 156 nn. 33 and 35); however, elsewhere Westenholz specifically identifies ^{d}IŠKUR EN *i-mar* as Hadad (p. 158 and 164).

[54] D. E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar*: *A Window on Ancient Syrian Religion* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 4 n. 6. Fleming further notes that in ritual texts ^{d}IŠKUR is consistently written without any syllabic spelling or phonetic complements at Emar (p. 7).

[55] Fleming 1992, 71.

[56] Schwemer says the epithet has been treated so that it "came to be established as the proper name of the Syrian storm-god (Baʿlu, Baʿal), a development that sent waves far into the hinterland" (Schwemer 2008a, 159).

[57] Schwemer 2008b, 14; Fleming 1992, 73-76.

ˁAṯtartu and Baˁlu's sister ˁAnatu."[58] At Tell Taˁanakh, Ašerah was Baal's consort, even though she was El's consort at Ugarit.[59] For A. Caquot and M. Sznycer, the fact that each local pantheon in the Bronze Age had its own understanding of divine relationships indicates that each locale cherished its locale ancient traditions.[60] Pairing a consort with the local storm-god or renaming a deity to indicate his new position within the pantheon may not have been interpreted by the local populations or cultic elite as means by which their storm-god was differentiated from other storm-gods, but the cultic texts do make these distinctions in their descriptions of the rituals: IŠKUR remained the storm-god at Emar and was accompanied by his consort Ḫebat in the NIN.DINGIR-festival, whereas Baal-of-Ugarit was the storm-god at Ugarit with Pidray acting as one of his consorts (*KTU*^{2} 1.132 1-3); the paramours of the mythical Baal, whose palace was built on Mount Ṣapān, were apparently Aṯtartu and Anat.

As was the case at Emar, Ḫebat was the consort of the storm-god Hadad-of-Aleppo.[61] This deity appears in a handful of texts at Ugarit identified as a Baal: twice in the so-called deity lists (*bˁl ḫlb* in *KTU*^{2} 1.117:26 and ^{d}10 *ḫal-bi* in RS 92.2004:6), where he is listed before Baal-of-Ṣapān, and twice in the ritual texts (bˁ*l ḫlb š* in *KTU*^{2} 1.109:16 and *l b*ˁ⌜*l*⌝ *ḫlb* [*š*] in *KTU*^{2} 1.130:11), where he is listed after Baal-of-Ugarit. A fifth attestation of Baal-of-Aleppo appears in a tax receipt *KTU*^{2} 4.728:1-2, indicating that five

[58] Schwemer 2008b, 13. Baal's three "daughters" (*bt*) – Pidray, ˀArṣay, and Tallay – are evidence that the deity had encounters with some goddess, but neither Aṯtartu nor Anat was the mother of these three younger goddesses.

The ritual text *KTU*^{2} 1.132.1-3 suggests that Baal is married to his daughter Pidray (Smith 2001, 56). As such, this text is one of many wherein Baal acts as a divine representative of the earthly king.

[59] A. Caquot and M. Sznycer, *Ugaritite Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 7.

[60] Caquot and Sznycer 1980, 7. The fact that Aṯtartu may later replace Ḫebat as the storm-god's consort at Emar suggests that these local variations in the interdeity relationships are not simply the continued product of ancient traditions being enforced. Indeed, this – as well as the rise of Hadad from a second-tiered deity to active head of the Ugaritic pantheon as "Baal" – change in consorts (or addition of a new consort, if that is a better explanation of Aṯtartu's role) at Emar is itself evidence of a deity's rise or fall in popularity and at the local pantheon.

[61] Schwemer 2008a, 164.

individuals paid their oil-tax to Baal-of-Aleppo.[62] Though these attestations at Ugarit are few, Hadad/Baal-of-Aleppo had a long history in Syria. Already in pre-Sargonic times, great reverence was shown for this storm-god and his relationship with the city of Aleppo. Upon his return from a military campaign against Mari, King Ibbi-zikir of Ebla presented purification offerings specifically to Hadad-of-Aleppo (^{dʔ}*a*$_3$-*da* LU$_2$ *ḫa-lab*$_x$^{ki}, TM.75.G.2426 xi 1).[63] Other texts from Ebla point to his temple at Aleppo as the most important temple in northern Syria, and the Hadad-temple in Ebla was itself based on the model from Aleppo.[64] The emphasis on this storm-god at Ebla so strongly associated the deity with Aleppo that Schwemer and A. Archi disagree over whether the temple in question in these texts actually stood in Aleppo or Ebla.[65] Contemporary evidence from Mari also reveals that a Hadad-of-Aleppo was worshiped there on the bend of the Euphrates, and Zimri-Lim's Old Babylonian correspondence highlights this deity's importance in the area when Zimri-Lim referred to the king of Yamḫad, whose kingdom included the city of Aleppo, as the "beloved of Hadad"; Zimri-Lim also referred to

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[62] Pardee notes this taxed oil may have been presented to the cult as part of a sacrificial ritual, resembling perhaps the ritual in *KTU*^{2} 1.105:18 (Pardee 2002, 216).

[63] A. Archi and M. Giovanna Biga, "A Victory over Mari and the Fall of Ebla," *JCS* 55 (2003): 22. This offering consists of two plates and two bracelets, totaling about four mina of gold. A Hadad-of-Ḫalam is also mentioned in Testo 39 r. xii 21-22: ^{dʔ}*a*$_3$-*da* ^{lu2}*ḫa-lam*^{ki} (G. Pettinato, *Testi amministrativi della biblioteca L. 2769* [Series Maior (Istituto universitario orientale. Seminarior de studi asiatici) 2; Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1980], 1:268).

In addition to Hadad-of-Aleppo, F. Pomponio and P. Xella report that Hadad-of-Abati (^{dʔ}*a*$_3$-*da* LU$_2$ *a-ba-ti*^{ki}, TM.75.G.1764 viii 24-25), Hadad-of-Armi (^{dʔ}*a*$_3$-*da ar-mi*^{ki}, TM.75.G.10201 r. 10), Hadad-of-Dub (^{dʔ}*a*$_3$-*da du-ub*^{ki}, TM.75.G.2365 vii 23; 2429 xxiii 5; 2462 xi 21), Hadad-of-Lub (^{dʔ}*a*$_3$-*da* LU$_2$ *lu-ub*^{ki}/ *lu*$_5$-*bu*$_2$^{ki},), Hadad-of-Luban (^{dʔ}*a*$_3$-*da lu-ba-an*^{ki}, TM.75.G.1464 i 3′-13′), and Hadad-of-Saza (E$_2$ ^{dʔ}*a*$_3$-*da* LU$_2$ *sa-za*$_x$^{ki}, TM.75.G.2507 ii 34-iii7) are attested at Ebla (F. Pomponio and P. Xella 1997, 527). See pp. 42-48 for a list of 56 attestations of Hadad-of-Aleppo at Ebla; pp. 48-50 for 26 attestations of Hadad-of-Lub at Ebla; and pp. 31-41 for 81 attestations of an unspecified Hadad at Ebla. Pettinato also reports that a Hadad-of-Atanni (^{dʔ}*a*$_3$-*da* ʔ*a*$_3$-*ta-ni*^{ki}) is attested at Ebla (Pettinato 1981, 248).

[64] Schwemer 2008a, 162. Schwemer notes that the wall foundations of Hadad's temple in Ebla are so thick that the towering temple itself "could be seen from afar in the plain around the city" (p.162).

[65] Schwemer 2008a, 163 n.127; A Archi, "The Head of Kura–The Head of ʔAdabal," *JNES* 63 (2005): 85.

Yamḫad itself as "the Land of Hadad."[66] Significantly, Hadad-of-Aleppo was not the only storm-god that Zimri-Lim knew. In M. 7750:3′-5′, Zimri-Lim names three storm-gods in sequence, using IŠKUR as the logogram to represent each first name – $^{3'\,d}$IŠKUR *ša ša-me-e ta*-[*ma*] $^{4'\,d}$IŠKUR *be-el ku-um-mi-in*^{ki} *ta*-[*ma*] $^{5'\,d}$IŠKUR *be-el ḫa-la-ab*^{ki} *ta*-[*ma*] – which F. Joannès suggests should be interpreted as Hadad-of-Heaven, Tešub-of-Kummin, and Hadad-of-Aleppo.[67]

IŠKUR-of-Aleppo is also attested at Nuzi, Tunip, Emar, and Ḫattuša, as well as in other Anatolian cults, in the middle of the second millennium.[68] Interestingly, each culture referred to the deity by the name of its usual storm-god name; however, in each instance he retained his geographic epithet "of-Aleppo" as a last name. For the Eblaites, he was ˀAdu-of-Aleppo; for the Hurrians, he was Tešub-of-Aleppo; for the Hittites, he was IŠKUR-of-Aleppo(-of-Ḫattuša); for the Luwians, he was Tarḫund-of-Aleppo; for the Assyrians, he was IŠKUR(=Adad)-of-Aleppo (see SAA 2 2 vi 18); at Sefire (*KAI* 222), he was Hadad-of-Aleppo; and for the Ugaritians, he was Baal-of-Aleppo.[69] This diversity

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[66] Schwemer 2008a, 163; J.-M. Durand, *Le Culte d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alahtum* (FM 7, Mémoires de NABÛ 8; Paris: Société pour l'étude du Proche-orient ancien, 2002). Zimri-Lim also sent a statue of himself to the king of Yamḫad to be placed in the lap of the deity, but Yarim-Lim replied that the statue of the sun-god, which was already in the statue's lap, took priority (Schwemer 2008a, 164; Durand 2002, 14-58 and 44 no. 17 8- l.e. 20). Similarly, the king of Elam sent a votive bow to the cult of Hadad-of-Aleppo (Durand 2002, 11-13 no. 4). Zimri-Lim's third regnal year was named after a statue of Hadad-of-Aleppo that he had commissioned (MU *zi-im-ri-li-im* ALAM-*šu a-na* ^{d}IŠKUR *ša ḫa-la-ab* u_2-*še-lu*, "Year: Zimri-Lim brought up his statue to Hadad-of-Aleppo," ARMT 25 736:8′-9′; see also ARMT 21 265:9-12). Notably, this tablet lists another of Zimri-Lim's regnal years that is named after Hadad-of-Maḫānu: $^{5'}$MU *zi*-[*im-r*]*i-li-im* ^{giš}GU.ZA GAL $^{6'}$*a-na* ^{d}IŠKUR *ša ma-ḫa-nim* u_2-*še-lu*-u_2 ("Year: Zi[mr]i-Lim brought up a throne to Hadad-of-Maḫānu," ll. 5′-6′).

[67] F. Joannès, "Le traité de vassalité d'Atamrum d'Andarig envers Zimri-Lim de Mari," in *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs*: *Etudes sur la civilization mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli* (eds. D. Charpin and F. Joannès; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991), 176.

[68] Schwemer 2008a, 165. As discussed above, the Puḫānu Chronicle places IŠKUR-of-Aleppo at Ḫattuša in the reign of Ḫattušili I. During Muwatalli II's reorganization of festivals, IŠKUR-of-Aleppo is identified as IŠKUR-Aleppo-of-Ḫatti. Muršili III considers IŠKUR-of-Aleppo as his personal protective deity. As his Hittite cult expands, this deity receives thirteen special festivals in addition to normal cultic rites (Schwemer 2008a, 166).

[69] Worship of IŠKUR-of-Aleppo survived in northern Syria and Anatolia after the fall of the Hittite Empire (Schwemer 2008a, 167). Luwian Prince Taita renovated the temple of Tarḫunza-of-Aleppo ca. 1100. This

of divine names for the same storm-god demonstrates that the last name was the more important aspect for invoking the deity than the first name. The last name may be dropped when context makes this clear, but the last name itself marks this deity as especially deserving of reverence for over two thousand years. To dismiss him as just another local manifestation of a supreme storm-god, equivalent to Baal-of-Ṣapān and Baal-of-Ugarit, overlooks the pervasive and persistent honor that the deity received in the ancient Near East by his full name.

D. Baals of the First Millennium

By the close of the second millennium, the Hurrians were gone, the Hittite Empire had disintegrated, and the city of Ugarit had been destroyed, but several Baal-named deities appear in texts from the first-millennium world (see Table 8.4 for a list of Baal-named deites with geographic epithets). With the destruction of his city, Baal-of-Ugarit disappeared from the record, but Baal-of-Ṣapān and Baal-of-Aleppo were still actively revered by the peoples of the first millennium.[70] In the seventh-century treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal, king of Tyre, Baal-of-Ṣapān appears as the third of three Baals in a

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temple was destroyed about 200 years later, and a new temple was rebuilt. Later, in the mid-ninth century, Shalmaneser III of Assyria offered sacrifices in Aleppo (^{udu}SISKUR^{meš} *ana* IGI ^{d}IŠKUR *ša* ^{uru}*ḫal-man* DU_3-*uš*, "I made sacrifices before Hadad-of-Aleppo," RIMA 3 A.0.102.2 ii 87 (= A.0.102.6 ii 25-26) and A.0.102.8:15′, which is similar but broken). Hadad-of-Aleppo is also listed in GAB §1 (^{d}IŠKUR *ša*$_2$ *ḫal-bi*, l. 116, near the end of the so-called divine directory of Assur, where he appears after Hadad-of-Kume (^{d}IŠKUR *ša*$_2$ *ku-me*, l. 115), though the unspecified Adad (^{d}IŠKUR) appears much earlier than these two divine names in l. 59.

[70] Sommer suggests that the Baal of Ugaritic mythology "seems to have fragmented into a great number of baal-gods who could be worshipped and addressed separately" (Sommer 2009, 25). Such a statement seems to undermine his assessment that "there are many baal-gods [at Ugarit], and they are listed separately from Baal of Ṣaphon" made in the preceding paragraph. However, these two statements need not be in conflict if Sommer is interpreted as saying that every Baal at Ugarit, except Baal-of-Ṣapān, disappeared after the destruction of Ugarit so that any Baals from later periods are offshoots of Baal-of-Ṣapān alone. Given that these later gods "show no individuation of personality, character, or function" (p. 25), deciding from which specific Ugaritic-period Baal they were derived seems an unnecessary exercise.

six- or eight-member EGL of Tyrian deities[71]: Baal-Šamêm, Baal-Malagê, and finally Baal-of-Ṣapan (^{d}*ba-al ša-me-me* ^{d}*ba-al-ma-la-ge-e* ^{d}*ba-al-ṣa-pu-nu*, SAA 2 5 iv 10′).[72] Sommer has recently argued that these three Baal names refer to the same deity because the Akkadian verb used in the curse, *lušatbâ* (*lu-šat-ba*, "to make rise," l. 11) is singular and because "no explicit copula" indicates that the three Baal divine names are not actually separate deities:

> [T]he translations in Parpola and Watanabe, *Treaties* [= SAA 2], and Pritchard, *ANET*, add the word "and" between Baal Malagê and Baal Saphon, thus implying that the text speaks of three gods. However, no explicit copula appears between Baal Malagê and Baal Saphon, and (more important) the verb *lušatba* (a Š-stem injunctive of *tebû*/*tabā'u* in iv.10 is clearly in the singular (the plural would be *lušatbû*).[73]

Sommer fails to note, however, that no other paired Phoenician deities in these curses are separated by an explicit copula: ^{d}*ba-a-a-ti*-DINGIR^{meš} ^{d}*a-na-ti-ba*-⸢*a*⸣-[*a-ti*-DINGIR^{meš} ("Bethel and Anat-Bethel," l. 6′) and ^{d}*mi-il-qar-tu* ^{d}*ia-su-mu-nu* ("Melqart and Ešmun," l. 14′).[74] Reading the curse in isolation, one could argue that l. 10′ refers to one deity by

[71] The proper length of this EGL has been debated because the curse involving Bethel and Anat-Bethel (SAA 2 5 iv 6′-7′) appears between a curse enacted by the Sebittu (l. 5′) and summary curses by the great gods, the gods of Assyria, and the gods of Eber-nāri (ll. 8′-9′). As noted in chapter 6, following Barré's analysis of treaty god-lists, the Sebittu invariably close the list of Assyrian deities in Neo-Assyrian treaty EGLs (Barré 1983, 19). Van der Toorn argues they should be considered Aramean deities and that, as Aramean deities, they belong within the list of Assyrian deities because they have been incorporated into the Assyrian pantheon (K. van der Toorn, "Anat-Yahu, Some Other Deities, and the Jews of Elephantine," *Numen* 39 [1992]: 84), whereas Smith agrees with Barré that these should be accepted as Tyrian deities (Smith 2002, 63). Whether one counts them among the Assyrian deities or Tyrian deities – the latter seems more in line with other Neo-Assyrian treaty EGLs – their position in SAA 2 5 is unexpected. Included with the Tyrian deities, this curse section provides the following EGL: Bethel/Anat-Bethel/Baal/Šamêm/Baal-Malagê/Baal-of-Ṣapān/Melqart/Ešmun/Astarte (SAA 2 5 iv 6′-7′ and 10′-19′).

[72] E. Lipiński argues that the name of the second Baal in SAA 2 5, Baal-Malagê, should be interpreted as *bˁl mhlk* (*ym*$^{?}$) in Phoenician, meaning "Baal-of-the-march/voyage-(to-the-sea$^{?}$)" (E. Lipiński, *Dieux et Déesses de l'univers Phénicien et Punique* [OLA 64; Leuven: Peeters, 1995], 243-244).

[73] Sommer 2009, 24 (and) 189 n. 82; see *CAD* T, *tebû* mng. 14. According to J. Hämeen-Anttila's grammar of Neo-Assyrian period Akkadian, a third-weak plural verb with a ventive ending would be marked with more than just long a-vowel: *lušatbâ* (J. Hämeen-Anttila, *A Sketch of Neo-Assyrian Grammar* [SAAS 13; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpsus Project, 2000], 92).

[74] Likewise, the summary statements that precede the curse in SAA 2 5 iv 10′ consists of four groupings, "the great gods of heaven and earth, the gods of Assyria, the gods of Akkad, the gods of Eber-nāri" (DINGIR^{meš} GAL^{meš} *ša*$_{2}$ AN-*e u*$_{3}$ KI.TIM DINGIR^{meš} KUR-*aš-šur*^{ki} DINGIR^{meš} KUR.URI^{ki} DINGIR^{meš} *e*-

listing the three Baal-epithets, but this ignores the fact that each of the three divine names is preceded by a divine determinative. Barré notes would make this only instance in which a divine name is followed by two epithets, each with its own divine determinative.[75] The better interpretation is that the verb is singular but the three deities are acting as a unity, which is how the seven deities who are the Sebittu function since their curse also includes a singular verb (*liš-kun*, "may he establish, l. 5′), even though they are described as "heroic gods" (DINGIR^{meš} *qar-du-te*, l. 5′) in the plural! As noted elsewhere in this study, scholars generally accept that a divine determinative indicates a divine name distinct from the preceding divine name rather than an epithet of the first divine name. The same holds true in Esarhaddon's treaty with King Baal of Tyre.

Baal is not the only storm-god in the first-millennium Neo-Assyrian treaties. Hadad-of-Aleppo appears in the ninth-century treaty between kings Aššur-nērārī III and Mati'-ilu of Arpad (SAA 2 2 vi 18) as the thirty-fifth divine name in a thirty-seven-member EGL. In fact, Hadad-of-Aleppo (^{d}IŠKUR *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*ḫal-la-ba*) is the third Hadad/Adad-associated deity in the adjuration list (vi 6-26; see Table 6.4), appearing long after the unspecified Adad of Triad 2 (l. 9, who is the twelfth deity in this EGL) and immediately after Adad-of-Kurbail (^{d}IŠKUR *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*kur-ba-il*$_{3}$, l. 17, who is thirty-fourth in this EGL).[76] Hadad-of-Aleppo ([*hdd ḥ*]*lb*, Sefire i A 10-11 [*KAI* 222]) probably also

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bir-ID$_{2}$, ll. 8′-9′), which also lacks a copula, though no one would argue these are all restatements of one collection of deities.

[75] Barré 1983, 55. Sommer's interpretation also ignores the fact that Baal-of-Ṣapān and Baal-Šamêm appear alongside other Baal divine names in various other EGLs, be they from Ugaritic texts or Phoenician and Aramaic texts (see Tables 8.2 and 8.5).

[76] An unspecified "Hadad" (^{d}IŠKUR, SAA 2 2 vi 24) appears outside of the Assyrian god-list in SAA 2 2, as the seventh divine name in a possible ten-member EGL of deities in the Arpad pantheon (see Table 6.4). That this Hadad belongs to the local pantheon in Arpad and not to the Assyrian pantheon is secured by his post-Sebittu position in this text (see Barré 1983, 25). This Hadad's relation with the other Hadads in the treaty is uncertain, and the non-committal translation IŠKUR may be preferable here as is the case in Hittite treaties.

appears as the penultimate divine name in the Sefire Treaty, following sixteen Assyrian deities and "the gods of the open country and [cultivated] ground" (see Table 6.7), preceding only the Sebittu.[77] A Baal-named deity served as chief of the Ugaritic pantheon in the second millennium, but storm-gods seem to have lost the prominence of their namesakes in the first millennium, at least in the treaty tradition.[78]

With the demotion of these storm-gods in the Western treaty tradition, a new storm-god appeared at the forefront in the west, Baal-Šamêm/Šamaim/Šamayn, whose name could be translated, "Lord-of-Heaven." According to both K. Koch and H. Niehr, the earliest attestation of Baal-Šamêm as a proper divine name is in the tenth-century inscription of King Yeḥimlk of Byblos (*KAI* 4).[79] Baal-Šamêm (בעל-שמם, l. 3) is listed

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[77] Schwemer notes that the Phoenicians and biblical authors always call the storm-god Baal in the late second and first millennia, whereas the Arameans in Upper Mesopotamia and Syria call their storm-gods Hadad (Schwemer 2008b, 15).

In addition to his appearance in SAA 2 5, Baal-of-Ṣapān's name is found on a sixth-century amulet from Tyre (Lipiński 1995, 247), as well as in Hebrew and Egyptian sources (Bˁr Ḏpn, p.244).

[78] This is not to suggest that the unspecified Baal/Hadad was an unimportant deity in the West in the first millennium; indeed, Hadad was an especially important deity for the Aramaic speaking peoples. Hadad is the first of five deities in the so-called Hadad Inscription (*KAI* 214; the five-member EGLs are in ll. 2, 2-3, 11, and 18) and Panamuwa Inscription (*KAI* 215; the four-member EGL is in l. 22) from the mid-eighth century, both of which are Panamuwa of YˀDY royal inscriptions (see Table 8.6). Because of these texts, Barré argues that Hadad was the supreme deity in northern Syria as he was in Aleppo and in Alalaḫ (Barré 1983, 40 and n. 11).

Moreover, Hadad-of-Sikan (הדד סכנ, *KAI* 309:1; J. C. Greenfield and A. Shaffer, "Notes on the Akkadian-Aramaic Bilingual Statue from Tell Fekherye," *Iraq* 45 [1983]: 112) is the primary deity of interest in the ninth-century, bilingual Tell-Fekherye Inscription, and Hadad assists the king in his battle against Israel in the eighth-century Tel Dan Stele (ויהלכ . הדד . קדמי, "Hadad went before me," *KAI* 310:5; A. Biran and J. Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 43 [1993]: 87-90), but there is no EGL in either of these inscription. Of course, in addition to the numerous other extra-biblical inscriptions from the first millennium in which Baal appears, Baal worship was also in Israel (e.g., 1 Kings 18).

[79] K. Koch, "Baˁal Šapon, Baˁal Šamem and the Critique of Israel's Prophets," in *Ugarit and the Bible*: *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible*: *Manchester*, *September 1992* (eds. G. J. Brooke, A. H. W. Curtis, and J. F. Healey; UBL 11; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), 159; Niehr 2003, 37.

E. Lipiński, however, traces the evidence for a Baal-Šamêm to the Amarna period, following H. Gressman's suggestion from 1918 (Lipiński 1995, 81; H. Gressmann, "Hadad und Baal nach den Amarnagriefen und nach ägyptischen Texten," in *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft* (eds. W. Frankenberg and F. Küchler; BZAW 33; Berlin: Graf von Baudissin, 1918], 213), as evidenced in the fourteenth-century letters from Abi-Milku, king of Tyre, to Egypt: "the king, my lord, (is) like the sun/Šamaš; you (are) like Hadad(Baal)-in-Heaven" (^{6}LUGAL *be-li-ia ki-i-ma* ^{d}UTU ^{7}*ki-ma* IŠKUR *i-na ša-me at-ta*, EA 149); "who gives his thunder in Heaven like Hadad" (^{13}*ša id-din ri-ig-ma-šu i-na ša-mi*$_{2}$ ^{14}*ki-ma* IŠKUR, EA 147); and "the king, who exists like Hadad(Baal)- and the sun/Šamaš-in-Heaven" (^{9}*šar*$_{3}$*-ri ša ki-ma* ^{d}⸢IŠKUR⸣ ^{10}*u*$_{3}$ ^{d}UTU *i-na ša-me i-ba-ši*, EA 108). These lines have been

along with Baalat-Byblos and the gods of Byblos (בעלת-גבל and אל-גבל קדשם, ll. 3-4). Koch summarizes three popular theories regarding the origin of this deity: Baal-Šamêm is another name for Baal-of-Ṣapān, having moved from Mount Ṣapān to Heaven; Baal-Šamêm is another ancient deity who represents Heaven personified; and Baal-Šamêm is a new deity who resides in heaven but manipulates life on earth.[80] Koch suggests that the third theory, originally proposed by O. Eissfeldt in 1939, is the only persuasive one of the three.[81] According to Niehr, though Baal-Šamêm has characteristics that resemble those of the second-millennium storm-gods, Baal-Šamêm is a new deity and only appears during a creative period in Phoenician religious history, a period which also witnesses the appearance of the gods Ešmun and Melqart.[82] Unlike his second-millennium storm-god predecessors and his first-millennium contemporaries, who were linked with geographic cults, Baal-Šamêm is a cosmic god who acts on behalf of different nations throughout the first millennium.[83]

Schwemer suggests that Baal-Šamêm's association with the celestial realm aided his rise in importance in treaties since his epithet was "supposed to bind people from

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translated to reflect Gressman and Lipiński's desire to link this second-millennium Hadad with the last name "in-Heaven." As is discussed below and again in chapter 10, the preposition "in" (*ina* in Akkadian and *bet* in Hebrew and other Northwest Semitic languages) followed by a geographic name should not be interpreted as part of a divine last name.

[80] Koch 1994, 160.

[81] Koch 1994, 164. This view was proposed in Eissfeldt's "Baˁalšamem und Jahwe" (*ZAW* 57, 1-31). Koch is correct that Baal-Šamêm was not Baal-of-Ṣapān since both appear in SAA 2 5, and his and others' inability to connect this deity with an ancient counterpart suggests that Baal-Šamêm was not simply a reinvented deity from hoary antiquity (see also Niehr 2003, 31), so his conclusion that the deity was a relatively new one who jumped to the top of various pantheons in the first millennium does seem the most reasonable of the three options. Moveover, Baal-Šamêm's rise to the top is supported by the analogous rise of Yahweh to the top of Israel's pantheon at roughly the same period.

[82] Niehr 2003, 32-33. Baal-Šamêm's origins differ from Melqart's, a divinized, deceased king, and Ešmun's, a healing deity, but all three deities are products of this same period of religious innovation.

[83] Lipiński identifies Baal-Šamêm with the unspecified Hadad since they never appear together in an EGL (E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics II* [Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1994] 196). He also argues that this god is identified as *Caelus aeternus* in Latin inscriptions found at Rome and as Zeus Οὐράνιος ("-of-Heaven") in Greek inscriptions found at Damascus.

different regions.”[84] All peoples could relate to and appeal to this sky-based deity because of his lack of a geographic last name. If so, the motivation behind giving Baal-Šamêm a higher status over other Baal-named deities resembles Ištar-of-Heaven’s higher status over three localized Ištar-associated goddesses in BM 121206 ix (see Table 6.5). Unlike Baal-of-Ṣapān, who appears after God-of-the-Father, El, and Dagan in the so-called Deity List from Ugarit and who never appears in any extant Aramaic texts, Baal-Šamêm occasionally is listed in the top position in Western pantheons. For example, in addition to the Phoenician text *KAI* 4, Baal-Šamêm is the first deity in EGLs in the Phoenician Azatiwada Inscription (*KAI* 26 A iii 18), the Aramaic inscription of Zakkur, King of Ḥamath (*KAI* 202 B 23-26), and a Punic votive inscription from Carthage (*KAI* 78 2-4; see Table 8.5). Notably, the EGL from *KAI* 78 contrasts Baal-Šamêm with two other Baals: Baal-Ḥamān and Baal-Magnim. Even in this third-century B.C.E. inscription, multiple Baal-named deities are listed separately just as they had been in SAA 2 5.[85] Moreover, the fact that the goddess Tannit is listed as the second deity in this four-member EGL demonstrates that the other two names are not additional epithets for Baal-Šamêm. However, in Esarhaddon’s treaty with King Baal of Tyre (SAA 2 5 iv 6´-7´), Baal-Šamêm has a lower rank than Bethel and Anat-Bethel, but their placement in this EGL is somewhat problematic.[86] Moreover, by the start of the Common Era at Ḥatra, Baal-Šamêm has lost his top status to a deity known as “Our Lord” (מרנ, the Aramaic

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[84] Schwemer 2008b, 15.

[85] Throughout the Azatiwada Inscription (*KAI* 26), an unspecified Baal (A i 1, 2, 3, 8, ii 6, 10, 12, iii 11, and C iv 12) and a Baal-KRNTRYŠ (A ii 19, iii 2, 4, C iii 16, 16-17, 19, and iv 20) are named. The divine name Baal-KRNTRYŠ first appears in Azatiwada’s discussion of rebuilding of the city Azitiwadiya and making the deity dwell in it (A ii 17-19), and Baal-KRNTRYŠ’s name is written more often than the unspecified Baal until the end of the inscription. Whatever the relationship between these two Baal divine names – which could include being the same deity, a non-Hadad storm-god – they seem to be distinct from Baal-Šamêm, who only appears in the curse section (A iii 18-19).

[86] Barré 1983, 20, 46 and 135.

semantic equivalent to בעלנ) and to members of that deity's family (*KAI* 245-248; see Table 8.5).

Another point of contrast with Baal-of-Ṣapān, who is known in different Ugaritic texts as the son of Dagan and El, Baal-Šamêm has no known genealogy or consort.[87] The goddess Atargatis (אתרעתא) appears after Baal-Šamêm in *KAI* 247 and 248, which could be suggestive of a consort relationship; however, these texts belong to a very late period so projecting any possible relationship between the god and goddess back 1000 years is problematic. Moreover, Koch warns that because this goddess lacks an explicit connection with Baal-Šamêm elsewhere, these texts could indicate a divine rivalry as easily as they could a consort relationship. Koch's warning is justified since two other goddesses appear after Baal-Šamêm in EGLs: Baalat-Byblos (*KAI* 4) and Tannit (*KAI* 78). While each local pantheon could have named a different goddess as Baal-Šamêm's consort, as discussed above for the second millennium, we cannot assume that a goddess who is listed after a god in only one EGL is that god's consort without any explicit indication, and the same should also be said of divine rivalries. In all likelihood, Baal-Šamêm had no relationship with Tannit in *KAI* 78 since she was probably Baal-Ḥamān's consort, and he is listed after her in this EGL.[88]

In addition to the divine name Baal-Šamêm appearing in Phoenician, Aramaic, Akkadian, and Punic inscriptions over the course of more than a thousand years, Donner and Röllig suggest that the Punic text from third-century B.C.E. Sardinia (*KAI* 64:1) attests a Baa<l>-Šamêm who is located on Hawk Island (modern San Pietro, Sardinia).[89] This text is especially interesting because the full divine name is followed by a *bet*-

[87] Koch 1994, 164.
[88] Tannit and her epithets are discussed below.
[89] H. Donner and W. Röllig, *KAI II*: *Kommentar* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964) 80.

locative phrase: Baa<l>-Šamêm on-Hawk-Island (לבעשממ באינצמ). In his examination of potential local Yahweh-named deities in the Hebrew Bible, P. K. McCarter has offered the possibility that the *bet*-locative can serve as an epithet in Hebrew in the same way that *ša* functions in Akkadian epithets.[90] *KAI* 64:1 could then be interpreted as naming a specific Baal-Šamêm who resides on the Halk Island: Baa<l>-Šamêm-on-Hawk-Island. Like IŠKUR-of-Aleppo-of-Ḫattuša and IŠKUR-of-Aleppo-of-Šamuḫa (*KUB* 6 45 i 43 and 51), this would be a name with three elements. Such an interpretation would mean that Baal-Šamêm-on-Hawk-Island is a different deity from the unspecified Baal-Šamêm. However, since Baal-Šamêm-on-Hawk-Island never appears in a context where he is distinguished from an unspecified Baal-Šamêm, drawing this conclusion would go beyond the methodology presented in chapter 6.[91] The deity is simply Baal-Šamêm who is worshiped at the cult on Hawk Island. However, Donner and Röllig, Barré, and McCarter interpret a divine name followed by a *bet*-locative phrase as a full divine name in another Punic text, namely *KAI* 81, which mentions a goddess potentially known as Tannit-in-Lebanon (see pp. 384-397, esp. 395-397).

One final text to consider while discussing Baal-named deities in the first millennium B.C.E. is the Phoenician Kilamuwa Inscription (*KAI* 24) from the late ninth century. No deities are mentioned in this text until the end in a curse against whoever would damage the inscription (ll. 15-16). As was the case with Baal-Šamêm in SAA 2 5 and *KAI* 78, this text includes more than one Baal-named deity: Baal-Ṣemed, Baal-

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[90] McCarter 1987, 140-142; Barré 1983, 186 n. 473. See chapter 9 for a fuller discussion of *ša* as it pertains to Ištar-associated goddesses and chapter 10 for a fuller discussion of the *bet*-locative as it pertains to Yahweh and other Northwest Semitic deities.

[91] Donner and Röllig do not interpret *KAI* 64:1 as invoking a deity known as Baal-Šamêm-on-Hawk-Island, as indicated by their lack of quotation marks around the whole phrase (Donner and Röllig 1964, 80), and McCarter does not mention this text in his study.

Ḥamān, and Rakib-El. The first deity's last name is not a geographic name since Baal-Ṣemed means "lord-of-the-mace/club," which J. Gibson notes is suggestive of Baal's victory over Yammu in the Ugaritic Baal Cycle.[92] Mace/club makes sense since the deity is called upon to smash the offender's head (ישחת . ראש . בעל . צמד, *KAI* 24:15), but Lipiński claims, "'mace' hardly corresponds to the real meaning of the theonym."[93]

The second deity mentioned in *KAI* 24:15-16 is Baal-Ḥamān, whose last name places his origin near the Phoenician coast. According to Gibson, Mount Ḥamān should be identified with Umm El-ˁAmed, which is between Tyre and Akko, whereas Lipiński want to identify it with the Mount Amanus on the border of Samˀal, near where Kulamuwa's inscription was found.[94] Like Mount Ṣapān, Mount Ḥamān was considered divine at Ugarit, as indicated by its use as the theophoric element in the personal name "Servant of Ḥamān" (*ˁbdḫ . mn*, *KTU*^{2} 4.332:12; ^{m}ARAD-*ha-ma-nu*, *PRU* II 223 and *PRU* III 240). This name also belonged to a tenth-century Tyrian (Ἀβδήμουνος, Josephus, *Against Apion* I 120) and a seventh-century Assyrian (^{m}*ab-di-ḫi-mu-nu*, SAA 6 283:15´; *PNA* 1/1 5; see also Ḫammāia in *PNA* 2/1 448), and Ḥamān appears without the element Baal on three steles from Carthage (*CIS* 1 404, 405, and 3248). The mountain is well attested if it is not synonymous with the deity. In addition to the Phoenician *KAI* 24, the divine name Baal-Ḥamān appears in numerous Punic and Neo-Punic inscriptions

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[92] J. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, vol 3. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 39. Gibson notes that the phrase following Baal-Ṣemed is "who belongs to Gabbar" (אש . לגבר, l. 15), which indicates that official worship of this deity at Zenjirli began during the reign of Gabbar, a previous king who, according to this text, accomplished nothing ([ובל . פ]על, l. 2).

A Ṣedem-Baal (צדמבעל) appears in *KAI* 62: an inscription from Malta that dates sometime between the fourth and second centuries. If Baal-Ṣemed and Ṣedem-Baal are the same deity as Donner and Röllig posit (Donner and Röllig 1964, 78), then this deity is the first deity in both EGLs in which he is present: Baal-Ṣemed/Baal-Ḥamān/Rakib-El (*KAI* 24:15-16) and Baal-Ṣemed/DN/Aštart/DN. Alternatively, Ṣedem-Baal could be a mistake for צלמבעל, meaning "image of Baal."

[93] Lipiński 1994, 207 n. 25.

[94] Gibson 1982, 39 and 118; Lipiński 1994, 207 n. 24; for a full discussion of the various mountains with which this deity has been identified and their role in Ugaritic mythology, see Xella 1991, 143-166. As a place name, Ḥammon (חמון) appears in Joshua 19:28 along with Ebron, Rehob, Kanah, and the great Ṣidon.

(where the name might have been pronounced Baal-Ḥamoon), many of which present Baal-Ḥamān alongside Tannit (see pp. 277-279). The divine name also appears in Greek and Latin inscriptions as *ΒΑΛΑΜΟΥΝ* and *Balamoni* (see Table 8.4).

According to F. M. Cross, Baal-Ḥamān was identified with El already in a Ugaritic hymn that praises El as "El the One of the Mountain/Ḫamān…" (*ʾil pbnḫwn* [[xxx]]*ḫmn*, *KTU*^{2} 1.128:9-10).[95] He traces this identification into the late first millennium by noting that the Punic iconography of Baal-Ḥamān from Hadrumetum (Sousse) resembles El's iconography at Ugarit: each deity has a long beard, sits on a throne, wears a conical crown, and a winged sun-disk appears above.[96] If Baal-Ḥamān is El, then, following scholarly syncretistic traditions, Baal-Ḥamān was also identified with the Greek god Kronos and Latin Saturnus. After discussing the Phoenician secret ritual in which children are slaughtered as a propitiatory sacrifice to the gods, the first-century C.E., Phoenician historian Philo of Byblos explicitly identifies El with Kronos: "Now Kronos, whom the Phoenicians call El, who was in their land and who was later divinized after his death as the star of Kronos" (*PE* 1.10.44).[97] Already in the fifth century, Sophocles equated Baal-Ḥamān with Kronos (Sophocles, *Andromeda*, fragment 126) because "the barbarians" (βαρβάροις) made infant sacrifices to Kronos, which corresponds with Baal-Ḥamān's infant victims at Carthage.[98]

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[95] Cross's translation (F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*: *Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973], 28). Cross admits that the syntax is unclear in this line and that Ḥamān is probably parallel to the first half of the line (p. 28 n. 85).
[96] Cross 1973, 35. Cross notes that the scenes on two scarabs from Sardinia resemble these.
[97] H. W. Attridge and R. A. Oden's translation (H. W. Attridge and R. A. Oden, Philo of Byblos: *The Phoenician History*; *Introduction*, *Critical Texts*, *Translation*, *and Notes* [CBQMS 9; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981], 62-63). This passage, which is preserved in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica*, is also reminiscent of Kronos's swallowing the stones while thinking he was eating Zeus in Hesiod's *Theogony* (*Theogony* 485-491).
[98] Lipiński 1995, 257 and 260-261.

By comparing the EGLs in *KAI* 24 and *KAI* 215, the argument could be advanced that Baal-Ḥamān was El (see Table 8.6).[99] Both divine names are second in their respective EGLs, and both are followed by Rakib-El, the dynastic deity at Zenjirli[100]:

KAI 24:15-16:	*KAI* 214:2:	*KAI* 214:2-3:
Baal-Ṣemed	Hadad	Hadad
Baal-Ḥamān	El	El
	Rašap	
Rakib-El	Rakib-El	Rakib-El
	Šamaš	Šamaš
		Rašap.

Furthermore, if Baal-Ṣemed is the storm-god Hadad, as Gibson suggests, then these two lists correspond perfectly, allowing for the fact that a Rašap-named deity appears in a different position in each of the first three EGLs in *KAI* 214, and completely absent in the final EGL.[101]

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[99] For a list of EGLs in which Baal-Ḥamān appears, see Table 8.7

[100] Rakib-El is identified as Lord-of-the-Dynasty (בעל . בית) in *KAI* 24:16 and *KAI* 215:22. Rakib-El, whose name means "chariot driver of El," also appears in the Kilamuwa scepter inscription (*KAI* 25:4 and 5-6) and in the Bar-Rakib Inscription (*KAI* 216:5).

[101] Gibson 1982, 39. Already predisposed to this identification between El and Baal-Ḥamān because of Philo of Byblos's and Sophocles's writings, a few scholars have offered further inscriptional evidence for this identification. Gibson, for example, argues that in two Phoenician inscriptions from the third century B.C.E. the two adjacent words אל and חמן constitute the divine name El-Ḥamān (אל חמנ, *KAI* 19:4 = *TSSI* 3 31:4 and *TSSI* 3 32:1), which he identifies with Baal-Ḥamān (Gibson 1982, 120):

> [1]ערפת כברת מצא שמש וצ[2]פלי אש בן האלמ מלאכ מלכ[3]עשתרת ועבדי בעל חמנ [4]לעשתרת באשרת אל חמנ
> [5]בשת 26 לפתלמיס...[6]בנ פת[7]למיס וארסנאס
>
> The portico in the western quarter and its object[?], which the god (literally: "the son of the gods") Angel-of-Milkastart and his servants the citizens[!] (literally: Baal) of Ḥamān (built) for Aštart in the sanctuary of El-Ḥamān, in the 26th year of Ptolemy…son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë (*KAI* 19/*TSSI* 3 32:1-7).

In *TSSI* 3 32, the divine name Milkastart and El/god-of-Ḥamān appear together:

> [1]לאדני למלכעשתרת אל חמנ כפרת חרצ מתמ אש יתנ עבדכ [2]עבדאדני בנ עבדאלנמ ב[נ] עשת[ר]תעזר ב[-?]על חמנ
> כמאשי[3]להאלנמ מלכעשתרת ומלאכ מלכעשתרת כ שמע קל יברכ
>
> To my lord, to Milkastart El-Ḥamān, an atonement offering, which your servant ˁAbdˀadoni son of ˁAbdelˀonum son of ˁAštar[t]ˁazara, citizen of (Baal) Ḥamān as his gift to the gods Milkastart and Angel-of-Milkastart because he heard his voice. May he bless him (*TSSI* 3 32:1-3).

According to Gibson, this potential El-named deity and Milkastart represent "a fusion of two deities, El ('the king')…and Astarte," and he compares it to the compound divine name Kôṯaru-wa-Ḫasīsu at Ugarit (Gibson 1982, 120). His interpretation, namely, that El is referred to as "king," overlooks the fact that the word "king" precedes Aštart, not El. A better interpretation would understand אל as the common noun "god," which functions in this text as the title in the epithet God-of-Ḥamān, which is how H. Seyrog, M. Sznycer, and Donner and Röllig each interpret the two words אל and חמן (H. Seyrig, "Antiquités Syriennes," *Syria* 40 [1963]: 27; M. Sznycer, "Une inscription punique trouvée a Monte Sirai [Sardaigne]," *Semitica* 15 [1965]: 43; Donner and Röllig 1964, 27-28). The words in *TSSI* 3 32:1 should then be translated, "King-Aštart//God-of-Ḥamān."

Like their third and second millennia counterparts, several first-millennium Baal-named deities had different geographic last names. In some instances, *baal* likely served as the title for a god who is well associated with a locale, like Sîn-of-Ḫarrān who was also known as Baal-Ḫarrān (see Table 8.4 and chapter 9). Similarly, if Philo of Byblos, Sophocles, and modern scholars can be trusted to relate more than just theological speculations, Baal-Ḥamān was identified by the ancients with El (and Kronos) and not a Hadad-named storm-god. However, many first-millennium Baal-named deities were storm-gods. At Cyrus, Baal-Lebanon appeared in an eighth-century B.C.E. inscription (*KAI* 31:1), and Hadad-Lebanon appeared more than a millennium later in a fourth-century C.E. Greek inscription. Considering Hadad's association with Baal in the second and first millennia B.C.E., the identification of Baal-Lebanon and Hadad-Lebanon seems reasonable. Finally, there was the storm-god Baal-Šamêm who lacked an earthly geographic epithet and any known divine family but whose heavenly associations seem to be an integral aspect of his personality.[102]

E. A Few First-millennium Goddesses in Northwest Semitic Texts

Just as the first name Baal appears in both second and first millennia inscriptions associated with geographic last names, a select few goddesses are also associated with geographic names. Specifically, these goddesses include localized Anat-named deities, Ašerah-named deities, Aštart/Astarte-named deities, and Tannit-named deities (see Table 8.8 for a list of goddesses and their geographic epithets).

The two Anat-named deities who appear in *KTU*[2] 1.109, one of the tablets that describe a set of rituals for a single month, are Anat-of-Ṣapān (ll. 13-14, 17, and 36) and

[102] Niehr 2003, 33.

Anat-of-HLŠ (l. 25).[103] Since this text contains a ritual that is concerned with offerings being given to particular deity at particular times, the specificity of its parallels is understandable.

Another Ugaritic text, one which would not necessarily be expected to pair a deity with a geographic epithet, is the so-called Epic of Kirta. In this text, Kirta makes a vow as he prepares to lay siege to the city Udum as part of his search for a wife:

> [38]*ˀi* [[*ṯ*]]*ˀiṯt* . *ˀaṯrt* . *ṣrm* [39]*w ˀilt* . *ṣdynm* [40]*hm* . *ḥry* . *bty* [41]*ˀiqḥ* . *ˀašˁrb* . *ġlmt* [42]*ḥẓry* . *ṯnh* . k[!]*spm* [43]*ˀatn* . *w* . *ṯlṯth* . *ḫrṣm*
>
> Certainly, by the lives of Ašerah-of-Tyre and the goddess-of-Ṣidon. If I take Ḥurāya into house (and) I bring the girl into my courts, I will pay twice her (worth) in silver and triple her (worth) in gold (*KTU*[2] 1.14 iv 38-43).[104]

Immediately prior to making the vow, the narrative refers to these goddesses as Ašerah-of-Tyre and the goddess-of-Ṣidon (ll. 35-36). Later in the epic, when Kirta has yet to fulfill his vow, an unspecified Ašerah cries out upon remembering the unfulfilled vow and she seems to be joined by another goddess, presumably the one previously associated with Ṣidon. Unfortuntaly, the text is broken: "And Ašerah remembers his vow, the goddess-of-X…" (*w tḫs*s . ˀaṯrt *ndrh w* . *ˀilt* . x[xx], *KTU*[2] 1.15 iii 25-26). The epic nowhere explicitly identifies the goddess-of-Ṣidon, but if she is not merely a divine synonym for Ašerah, both Anat and Astarte make potential candidates since they appear elsewhere in the text. Anat is mentioned alongside Ašerah when Kirta's son is described

[103] Pardee 2002, 26. In addition to these two names, *KTU*[2] 1.109 also names a Baal-of-Ṣapān (ll. 5, 9, 29, and 32-33), a Baal-of-Ugarit (ll. 11, 16, 34, and 35-36), and a Baal-of-Aleppo (l. 16).
[104] The value "by the life of" for *ˀiṯ* in l. 38 is derived from *ˀiṯ*, which is an existential particle meaning "there is" (D. Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* [HO 28; Leiden: Brill, 2001], 187). Pardee acknowledges this possibility and also proposes the meaning "gift," which he uses in his translation (Pardee, "The Kirta Epic," in *COS* 1.102 [1997b], 336 n. 34).

as nursing on Ašerah's milk and suckling from the maiden Anat's breast (*KTU*[2] 1.15 ii 26-27).[105]

Ašerah is not the only goddess mentioned with Anat in the epic. Astarte is is mentioned after Anat in Kirta's vow when he compares Ḥurāya to these two goddesses: "Her goodness is like Anat's, her beauty is like Astarte's" (*k . nˁm . ˁnt . nˁmh km . tsm . ˁṯtrt . ts*mh, *KTU*[2] 1.14 iii 41-42; and again in vi 26-28). Astarte also appears at the end of the epic, where she is given the epithet Name-of-Baal (*ˁṯtrt . šm . bˁl*, *KTU*[2] 1.16 vi 56; this also appears in the Baal Cycle at *KTU*[2] 1.2 i 8). This specific epithet reappears several centuries later in the fifth-century Ešmunazar Inscription (עשתרת שמ בעל, *KAI* 14:18). If Astarte is called Name-of-Baal in Ugaritic texts and again in *KAI* 14:18, the possibility that she is the one hiding behind the epithet Goddess-of-Ṣidon in *KTU*[2] 1.14 iv 35-36 and 39 must be considered because *KAI* 14 also mentions "Astarte (who is) in-Ṣidon//Land-by-the-Sea" in l. 16.[106] Moreover, the phrase "Astarte (who is) in-Ṣidon" appears in a seventh-century Ammonite text (עשת<רת> בצדנ).[107] If Kirta did swear his

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[105] "He will nurse on Ašerah's milk, he will suckle from the maiden [Anat]'s breast" (ynq . ḥlb . ˀa[ṯ]rt mṣṣ . ṯd . b*tlt* . [ˁnt], *KTU*[2] 1.15 ii 27). Though Anat's name is broken, *btlt* is "the most common epithet of the goddess" Anat (Rahmouni 2008, 133; see also *KTU*[2] 1.17 vi 34 and 1.92:29), so her restoration in l. 27 is highly likely.

[106] Allowing for the possibility that in-Ṣidon is actually an epithet as McCarter has suggested, this explanative epithet Land-by-the-Sea does not appear to specify Astarte but is an appositive for the city Ṣidon itself. In addition to its occurrence in *KAI* 14:16 after Astarte-in-Ṣidon, it appears in l. 18 after "for the gods of the Ṣidonians" (לאלנ צשדנמ בצדנ אעצ ימ).

Two parallel lines (//) are used here and elsewhere to indicate that a proper name and epithet are acting together with the force of a full name (e.g., Astarte//Name-of-Baal, Tannit//Face-of-Baal, and Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh). See chapter 9 for a full treatment of divine full name formulas.

[107] N. Avigad, "Two Phoenician Votive Seals," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 247-248; N. Avigad, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities: the Israel Exploration Society: the Institute of Archaeology: the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997); and K. P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age* (HSM 27; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 77. N. Avigad suggests that עשת is an abbreviation for the divine name Astarte (עשתרת), which he also identifies as the theophoric element in the names בדעשת (*CIS* 1 3568), עשתעזר (*CIS* 1 5614), and the hypocoristic form עשתא (*CIS* 1 164; Avigad 1997, 328), whereas Jackson notes that the missing רת- at the end of the goddess's name is the result of haplography. Though Avigad original identified this seal as Phoenician because of the vocabulary and the mention of Ṣidon (Avigad 1966, 248), he has more recently included it among the Ammonite seals (Avigad 1997, 328). L. G. Herr notes that Cross was the first to identify the seal as Ammonite (L. G. Herr, *The*

vow to two goddesses in *KTU*^{2} 1.14 iv 38-39 and not just to Ašerah, Astarte was probably the second goddess.

In addition to the temples built for Baal-Ṣidon (בעל צדנ) and Astarte//Name-of-Baal, *KAI* 14:14-16 mentions that Ešmunazar and his mother Amotastarte built other temples: one for "[Astar]te (who is) in-Ṣidon//Land-by-the-Sea" (עשתר]ת בצדנ ארצ ימ], l. 16) and one for "Astarte-of-the-Lofty-Heavens" (עשתרת שממ אדרמ, l. 16).[108] The fact that three separate temples were built to Astarte in the city of Ṣidon may be significant, indicating that the "Astarte (who is) in-Ṣidon" was distinguished from Astarte//Name-of-Baal some time between the thirteenth and fifth centuries. This "Astarte (who is) in-Ṣidon" should be considered an unspecified Astarte who is associated with the city of Ṣidon, which is to say that she was not known as Astarte-of-Ṣidon or Astarte-Ṣidon. In all likelihood, at no time was a goddess known by the full name Astarte-of-Ṣidon, which is why Kirta made his vow to the goddess-of-Ṣidon and not to Astarte-of-Ṣidon.

Astarte's epithet Name-of-Baal is closely related to a common epithet for the goddess Tannit, Face-of-Baal (פנ בעל). This epithet is most commonly found in inscriptions from Carthage, but there are two inscriptions from Constantine (Algeria) with the epithet.[109] As the English translation indicates, scholars typically interpret the epithet to indicate that Tannit is a representation, or hypostasis, of the deity Baal; however, Lipiński suggests that the phrase should be interpreted adverbially, which

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Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals [HSM 18; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978], 71; and Jackson 1983, 78-79). According to Herr, the paleography is a great example of late seventh-century Ammonite writing, with "perfect Ammonite forms" for the ע, ת, צ, כ, and ה, and the personal name Abinadab (עבנדב) "is also happy Ammonite" (Herr 1978, 71). In contrast to these opinions, M. Weippert indentifies עשת as the Hurrian deity Asiti (M. Weippert, "Uber den asiatischen Hintergrund der Göttin 'Asiti,'" *Or*NS 44 [1975]: 13).

[108] Donner and Röllig offer an alternative reading of *KAI* 14:16 – עשתרת שמ מאדרמ – which would mean "Glorify Astarte there!" (Donner and Röllig 1964, 22).

[109] Lipiński 1995, 200.

would mean that the goddess stands *before* (פנ) Baal, a reference to the goddess's original role as lamenter in the storm-god's cult.[110] Lipińiski's interpretation not only makes historical sense of the epithet, but it also allows him to treat the goddess as a deity in-and-of herself, as all evidence she was, indeed, a deity in her own right. The divine name Tannit appears in the fifth-century Ṣidonian personal name עבדתנת ("Servant-of-Tannit," *KAI* 53:1), in two sixth-century groups of devotees (גרתנת, "faithful-of-Tannit") at Ṣidon and Kition, in an underground crypt (חנת[ת]מת), Lebanese toponyms (i.e., ˁ*Aqtanīt*, ˁ*Aïtanīt*, *Kfar Tanīt*), and in various icongraphic media.[111]

Of the fourteen times that Tannit is identified as the Face-of-Baal, her name is listed before Baal-Ḥamān seven times (*KAI* 78:2; 79:1; 85:1; 86:1; 87:2[!]; 88:2; 94:1; and 97:1[!]); her name is listed after Baal-Ḥamān four times (*KAI* 102:1-2; 105:1; 164:1; and 175:2-3); it is listed after Kronos once (*KAI* 176:1-3); and it is listed after an unspecified

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[110] C. L. Seow, "Face פנים, II," in *DDD* (1999), 322; Sommer 2009, 26. Seow further includes the phrases *smlb*ˁ*l* (סמל בעל, Image-of-Baal, *KAI* 12:3-4; consider also the personal name פנסמלת in *KAI* 57 which means "face of the image"). These comparisons inevitably focus on the physical aspect of the epithets.

Cross notes that the two epithets are semantically equivalent and that they are, in fact, suggestive of the goddesses' status as hypostases of their consort deities (Cross 1973, 30). Cross also notes that despite the semantically equivalent epithets, there is a legitimate reason to deny the identification of Tannit ("who is in Lebanon") with Astarte. The sixth-century inscription from Carthage, *KAI* 81:1, mentions both divine names as their new temples are dedicated: לרבת לעשתרת ולתנת בלבננ מקדשמ חדשמ, "to the ladies, to Astarte and to Tannit (who are) in Lebanon: new temples." On the other hand, the compound divine name Tannit-ˁAstarte (tnt-ˁštrt) in a sixth-century inscription from Sarepta has been offered as proof of the identification of the two goddesses (J. B. Pritchard, *Recovering Sarepta*, *A Phoenician City*: *Excavations at Sarafund*, *Lebanon*, *1969-1974*, *by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978], 104-106). As M. G. Guzzo Amadasi notes, however, this double name could simply indicate that Tannit is an associate of Astarte rather than the same goddess (M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, "Tanit - ˁŠTRT *e* Milk - ˁŠTRT: *ipotesi*," *Or* NS 60 [1991]: 82-91, esp. 88-90).

Lipiński 1995, 199-201. Lipiński notes that the goddess's name is a piel form of the verb t-n-y (תני), which means "the lamenter" (p. 199; see also Judges 11:40).

[111] Lipiński 1995, 202 and n. 68. Lipiński notes that גרתנת is the patronym of a group dating back to the sixth century (p. 202 n. 67), and the toponyms can be found in S. Ronzevalle's 1912 book *Traces du culte de Tanit en Phénicie* (pp. 75*-84*). The so-called "sign of Tannit" appears on figurines, amulettes, seals, funerary monuments, mosaics, and statues. For a fuller discussion of Tannit, see Lipiński 1995, 199-215.

Baal once (*KAI* 137:1).[112] Sommer suggests that because Tannit receives the Face-of-Baal epithet only when she is "alongside Baal" she is Baal's consort and "has little independent existence," and he claims that her second invocation in *KAI* 79:10 as Tannit//Face-of-Baal reinforces the fact that "she is somehow also a part of Baal, at least much of the time."[113] This necessarily ignores the fact that the goddess was venerated throughout the Mediterranean world for centuries without constant explicit connections with Baal(-Ḥamān).[114] She might have stood before Baal(-Ḥamān) in a cultic setting as Lipiński suggests, and the fact that Baal-Ḥamān is typically present when this epithet is used may emphasize such an historical role, but this does not undermine her individuality as an independent goddess. As a consort of Baal-Ḥamān, her name usually appears before his, whereas in Mesopotamian EGLs the reverse is true: a god's name typically appears before his consort's name. Moreover, devotees honor Tannit on her own as a goddess at least as much they honor her as Baal-Ḥamān's consort, which also contrasts her with the Mesopotamian goddesses Mullissu (as Enlil's consort), Aya, Šala, Ṣarpānītu, and Tašmētu. In addition, concluding that Tannit is Baal's consort is mildly problematic if for no other reason than a lack of precision. She only appears in one inscription with an unspecified Baal, whereas she is paired with Baal-Ḥamān about a dozen times.[115] For Sommer, this is not an issue because he claims that he cannot distinguish distinct personalities or functions for the various Baal-named deities. He considers all Baal-

[112] The epithet Face-of-Baal is spelled with a yod (i.e., פינ בעל) four times: *KAI* 94:1; 97:1; 102:1; 105:1. In the two Greek inscriptions, the epithet is transliterated as Φανεβαλ (*KAI* 175:2) and Φενηβαλ (*KAI* 176:2-3).
[113] Sommer 2009, 26.
[114] Cross suggests that the earliest inscription bearing the divine name Tannit is actually Proto-Sinaitic Text 347, which appears on a sphinx in the Hathor temple (Cross 1973, 32). The name itself is a feminine derivative of *tannīn* ("serpent"), according to Cross (p. 33), which prompts him to identify Tannit with the Ugaritic goddess Ašerah.
[115] *KAI* 87:1 and 97:2 have both been corrected by Donner and Röllig to read Baal-Ḥamān in the translations. The divine name actually appears as בחלמנ in *KAI* 87:1 and as בעל המנ in *KAI* 97:2.

named deities essentially one, even if Baal-Ḥamān is often identified by scholars as El/Kronos, rather than Hadad like many other Baal-named deities.[116]

The epithet Face-of-Baal is not the only potential epithet of interest for this goddess. Another is found in *KAI* 81, an inscription from Carthage that locates Tannit in-Lebanon (ולתנת בלבננ), which Donner and Röllig interpret as Tannit-in-Lebanon.[117] They also note that Lebanon indicates not the Syrian mountains, in general, but specifically the hills on which shrines to Ceres/Demeter and Proserpina/Persephone were built in Roman times. If correct, this means that this Carthaginian inscription places the goddess at home in a very distant cult from its place of composition. As with the other topographic names governed by *bet*-locatives in West Semitic inscriptions that Barré and McCarter have proposed as divine epithets, this interpretation is not wholly convincing for *KAI* 81. Unlike the multiple IŠKURs, LAMMAs, and Ištar-associated goddesses in Hittite treaties, the multiple Baal-named and Anat-named deities in Ugaritic offering-lists and ritual texts, and the various Baal-named deities in first-millennium texts, this Tannit who is linked with Lebanon in *KAI* 81 is not distinguished from any other Tannit in this text – just as the Baal-Šamêm who is revered on Hawk Island is not distinguished from any other Baal-Šamêm. No Northwest Semitic inscription lists an unspecified Tannit alongside a Taanit-in-Lebanon, and no inscription distinguishes an unspecified Baal-Šamêm from Baal-Šamêm-on-Hawk-Island. Tannit is distinguished from Astarte in *KAI* 81, which argues against the identification of these two goddesses. Given the lack of other explicit connections between Tannit and Lebanon, this *bet*-locative could be

[116] Sommer 2009, 25; Cross 1973, 26, 30 and 35; Smith 2001, 138-139; and M. S. Smith, *God in Translation*: *Deities in Cross-Cultural Discourse in the Biblical World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 64, 248, and 253.
[117] Donner and Röllig 1964, 98-99. Barré and McCarter both interpret בלבננ ("in Lebanon") as an epithet for Tannit (Barré 1983, 186 n. 473; McCarter 1987, 141).

interpreted as also referring to both Tannit and Astarte, who herself had a strong association with cults in Ṣidon (e.g, *KAI* 14:16): "Astarte and Tannit (who are) in Lebanon."

F. Implications for the Present Study

Although the Ugaritic pantheon is significantly smaller than the Hittite pantheon, and the local Phoenician, Punic, and Aramaic pantheons are smaller still, they still include several distinct deities who share a common first name, Baal, which seems to have functioned less as the title ("lord" or "master") than it originally did and more as a name (or nickname) for the god. Typically, but by no means exclusively, Baal was another name for distinct storm-gods otherwise known as Hadad. At Ugarit, Baal-of-Ṣapān appears alongside Baal-of-Ugarit and Baal-of-Aleppo in offering and ritual texts as one of several storm-gods worshiped in the city's temples. Applying the methodology from chapter 6 on these EGLs from Ugarit, we can confidently argue that these three Baal-named deities were treated and perceived, as three distinct deities.

While the storm-god Baal-of-Ugarit was only attested in texts found at or near Ras Shamra, the storm-god Hadad/Baal-of-Aleppo was attested as early as the third millennium and still attested into the first millennium. His last name -of-Aleppo was more important for his identification than either of his first names – which makes sense, given that he had two first names. Likewise, the divine name Baal-of-Ṣapān continued to appear in texts ranging from seventh-century Assyria to sixth-century Egypt and third-century Marseilles (in modern France; see Table 8.4). Baal-of-Ṣapān and Baal-of-Aleppo were not the only Baal-named deities common to the first millennium. Others with

geographic last names included Baal-Šamêm, Baal-Ḥamān, Baal-Lebanon, and Baal-Kition, among others, some of whom appeared alongside each other in EGLs, thereby demonstrating that they were envisioned as distinct Baals (see Table 8.5). Some, such as Baal-Ḥamān, appear as the only male deity in an inscription, yet they still retain their full name, indicating how important the geographic last name was to those Baal-named deities.

There are other Baal-named deities whose names do not appear in EGLs or in texts that mention another Baal-named deity, but we may still consider the possibility that they were envisioned as distinct from the Baal-named deities discussed in this chapter. Indeed, because of examples like Baal-Ḥamān, we must at least entertain the possibility that other full named Baals were considered distinct from the unspecified Baal and other well-known Baals. For example, Baal-Peˁor is mentioned in four different books in the Hebrew Bible, but nothing in those passages indicates that he is being contrasted with an unspecified Baal or other geographically specific Baals. Perhaps this Baal-named deity was considered a distinct and independent Baal by his devotees and their Israelite neighbors, or maybe the location of the idolatrous event was too important to the Israelite scribes to let it be forgotten. Because Baal-Peˁor never appears in an EGL with other Baal-named deities, we cannot definitively decide which it was, but we may tentatively consider the likelihood that he was his own distinct deity based on analogy with Baal-Ḥamān and other Baals.

Together with the geographic epithets of the Northwest Semitic goddesses, the geographic epithets of these variously Baal-named deities provide us with a basis for interpreting geographic epithets that have been proposed as last names for local Yahweh-

named deities. Most of these geographic last names that distinguish deities who share a common first name follow the simple construct chain formula, in which the divine name is followed directly by the geographic epithet, which has been translated either DN-of-GN or just DN-GN throughout this chapter. In contrast, the *bet*-locative formula (DN-in-GN) that has been proposed by a few scholars is significantly less common, never appears in EGLs, and does not appear to be essential to the relevant deity's identity. This and other proposed epithet formulas are explored further in chapter 10 in our discussion of Yahweh. We shall now return to Assyria to examine the nature of the divine first name and occasional title Ištar

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CHAPTER 9: IŠTARS OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PANTHEON

The major deities of the Neo-Assyrian pantheon have already been introduced in chapters 5 and 6 in the discussions of the lexical god-list traditions and the embedded god-lists found in hymns, royal inscriptions, witness-lists, blessing and curse lists, and even in cultic and ritual lists. In the lexical god-list tradition, the Triad 1 deities (i.e., Anu, Enlil, and Ea) typically appear first, along with their consorts, offspring, and courtiers, and they are then followed by the Triad 2 deities (i.e., Sîn, Šamaš, and Adad) and their consorts, offspring, and courtiers, with additional lower-tiered gods and goddesses listed at the end of the lists (e.g., Tables 5.1-5.4b). Unfortunately, because Triad 1 and Triad 2 deities may have many courtiers, some important deities occasionally appear very late in a particular god-list. For example, in the Weidner Lexical God-List (Table 5.2), Ea, his consort Damkina, and his son Marduk appear late in the second column of deities, after the Triad 2 deities and their consorts because all these deities were counted among Enlil's courtiers (or as courtiers of his offspring).[1] Another problem with the lexical god-list tradition is its conservativism. As discussed in chapter 5, Neo-Assyrian copies of *An = Anum* were not altered to include local Assyrian religious thought, such as listing the chief deity Aššur.[2] For these and other reasons, the lexical god-list traditions provide little assistance in determining the hierarchy of the major deities comprising the Neo-Assyrian pantheon.

By examining the embedded god-lists (EGLs) from Neo-Assyrian state documents and letters, however, both of these problems can be bypassed as we determine

[1] See Table 5.1 for Ea's relatively late appearance in the Nippur God-List (Table 5.1).

[2] The divine name AN.ŠAR does appear (*An = Anum* I 8), but this should be interpreted as the heavenly counterpart to the chthonic deity KI.ŠAR rather than a spelling of the divine name Aššur taking advantage of the assimilation of the N with the subsequent Š.

the relative ranks of the deities, as well as the roles and relationships of the Ištar-associated goddesses, within the pantheon. First, as demonstrated in chapter 6, the members of Triad 1 and Triad 2 are rarely followed by a long list of their courtiers in these EGLs. Usually, each Triad 1 and Triad 2 deity is followed only by his consort (or, in the case of the Babylonian chief deity Marduk, by his consort, their son Nabû and one or two of Nabû's consorts).[3] Because a deity's extended entourage is generally not contained in an EGL, the relative rank of the deities that are present is more readily apparent than in lexical god-lists. Second, although the EGLs often preserve ancient hierarchies (for example, see Table 6.2, in which the curse-list in the epilogue of Hammurapi's eighteenth-century law stele closely resembles the curse-list in the ninth-century treaty from Šamši-Adad V's reign), the gods included in Neo-Assyrian EGLs reflect the contemporary hierarchy of the Neo-Assyrian period rather than those of much earlier times. As should be expected, the Assyrian chief deity Aššur is usually the first deity in these EGLs (see Tables 6.1-6.13 and the notable exception in SAA 10 286:3-7, Table 6.11, where Enlil and Mullissu precede Aššur). Likewise, as has already been demonstrated in chapter 6, Neo-Assyrian period EGLs indicate that the various Ištar-associated goddesses generally rank among the least and last of the major deities, that they are often grouped together, and that each last name is as essential to an individual goddess's identification as is a first name for non-Ištar deities, like Marduk or Šamaš. In this final regard, the Ištar-associated goddesses from the Neo-Assyrian period closely resemble the Baal-named deities who are common to the numerous Western Semitic

[3] One notable exception is Bēl-iddina's letter to the king (SAA 13 188:4-5, see Table 6.13), wherein Nusku appears after Ningal as a member of Sîn's entourage and precedes other members of Triad 2. See Tables 6.1, 6.9, and 6.11-6.13 for attestations of Marduk and his entourage in Neo-Assyrian EGLs.

pantheons: the topographical location associated with the divine name is the deity's identity.

With a firm grasp on the Neo-Assyrian pantheon derived from the numerous EGLs, we can now more closely examine how Ištar-associated goddesses fit in the Neo-Assyrian pantheon as a group or collection of deities. Understanding this fit and the relative status of Ištar-associated goddesses within this group allows us both to explore the various name formulas by which only these goddesses are identified in EGLs and to conclude securely that each formula does, in fact, invoke the same goddesses by name. For example, Ištar-of-Nineveh is Ištar-*ša*-Nineveh, Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh, Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh, and even Lady/Queen-of-Nineveh. These conclusions allow us to move beyond the EGLs in administrative texts, treaties, and letters to the more theologically sophisticated texts, such as hymns and oracles, which still distinguish between the multiple Ištar-associated goddesses worshiped in the Neo-Assyrian period. Finally, we will compare these distinct goddesses who share a first name with goddesses who have been historically associated with them but who have a unique divine name. This comparison not only helps us define what it means to be an Ištar-associated goddess, but it also highlights why several scholars are still resist the possibility that these goddesses are distinct and independent deities.

A. The Last Shall Be Second, or the Last Are Still Least?

In her study on the function of Ištar in Assyrian royal inscriptions, Zsolnay discusses the arrangement of divine names in invocations from royal inscriptions spanning between the fourteenth and eighth centuries. As with the Sargonid period royal

inscriptions already discussed in chapter 6 (see Table 6.1), Aššur is generally the first deity in these earlier royal inscriptions, and occasionally he is the only deity.[4] Though Zsolnay observes that there was no fixed tradition regarding which deities were included in any royal inscription or regarding what epithets were affixed to a divine name, those deities present in any particular royal inscription *generally* appear in a set standard order,[5] though there are explainable exceptions.

Zsolnay agrees with V. Hurowitz and J. G. Westenholz's proposal that sometimes the final divine name listed in an EGL belongs to the most important deity.[6] This idea is partially based on *LKA* 63:35´-43´, a poem from Tiglath-pileser I's reign, that contains an atypical EGL in which Aššur appears as the first *and* last deity: (**Aššur**)/Enlil/Ištar/Ninurta/Nusku/Adad/(**Aššur**).[7] However, as indicated by the parentheses, "Aššur appears before and after the god list, but not in its immediate context."[8] Properly, *LKA* 63:36´-40´ only contains a five-member EGL: Enlil/Ištar/Ninurta/Nusku/Adad. While the case could be made that Adad should have a higher position in an EGL than Ninurta and Nusku – even the occasional Sargonid period EGL lists Ninurta or Nusku before Triad 2 deities – so *LKA* 63 should not count as evidence for a "crescendo" in EGLs, or a progression in which each new deity outranks the previous one from Nusku to Adad to Aššur.[9] For

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[4] Zsolnay 2009, 148.
[5] Zsolnay 2009, 151. This is in general agreement with the regular hierarchy observed by Barré in 1983 that Aššur begins the lists and is followed by the Triad 1 and Triad 2 deities, the Babylonian chief deities, warrior gods, and goddesses (see chapter 6).
Zsolnay rightly rejects T. J. Schneider's claim that the EGLs found the invocations of royal inscriptions are derived from the lexical god-list *An = Anum* (Zsolnay 2009, 152; T. J. Schneider, "A New Analysis of the Royal Annals of Shalmaneser III" [Ph.D diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2002], 254, Table 2).
[6] Zsolnay 2009, 153-154; V. Hurowitz and J. G. Westenholz, "*LKA* 63: A Heroic Poem in Celebration of Tiglath-Pileser I's Musru-Qumanu Campaign," *JCS* 42 (1990): 38.
[7] Hurowitz and Westenholz 1990, 37.
[8] Hurowitz and Westenholz 1990, 38. Hurowitz and Westenholz suggest that Aššur is present in this EGL's context because he is the "heir of Ešarra" (*apil-Ešarra*) who is alluded to in the king's name before the EGL (*LKA* 63: 35´) and because he is so closely associated with "the king" who is mentioned again after the EGL (l. 43´).
[9] Hurowitz and Westenholz 1990, 38; Zsolnay 2009, 154 n. 300. In SAA 12 93, Ninurta is listed before Adad (see Table 6.2) in an EGL contained in a donation to the god Ninurta. In SAA 13 188:4-5, Nusku is listed before Šamaš, if

Zsolnay, this appeal to the final deity as the most or second most important deity in an EGL is an attempt to elevate the unspecified Ištar's status in royal inscriptions from the reigns of Tukultī-Ninurta I through Šalmaneser III and Tiglath-pileser II. Because Šamaneser III's royal inscriptions are chronologically closest to our Sargonid period texts of interest, the EGLs in his inscriptions that Zsolnay examined are of most interest:

RIMA 3 A.0.102.2 i 1-3a	A.0.102.6 i 1-7	A.0.102.10 i 1-5	A.0.102.14 1-13 (the "Black Obelisk")
Š III: A	Š III: B	Š III: C	Š III: D[10]
Aššur	**Aššur**	**Aššur**	**Aššur**
Anu	Anu	Anu	Anu
Enlil	Enlil	Enlil	Enlil
Ea	Ea		Ea
Sîn	Sîn		[Sîn]
		Adad	⸢Adad⸣
Šamaš	Šamaš		Šamaš
			[**Mardu**]**k**
	Ninurta	Ninurta	Ninurta
			Nergal
			Nusku
			Mullissu
Ištar	Ištar	Ištar	Ištar
		Ea	
		Sîn	
		Marduk.[11]	

Specifically, Zsolnay finds it "inconceivable that Ištar, one of the great deities of the Assyrian empire, was considered a lesser deity than Nusku, who may appear two deities before her in certain invocations."[12] She would rather approach the order of each EGL with a different explanation than entertain the possibility that (the unspecified) Ištar is not

the proposed reconstruction is accepted, but this is because Nusku is included as an immediate member of Sîn and Ningal's entourage. Likewise, Ninurta and/or Nusku appear before Adad in the lexical god-lists (see Tables 5.3 and 5.4a).

[10] This table is derived from the last four rows in Zsolnay's "Chart A" (Zsolnay 2009, 153 n. 299 and 154). Zsolnay's treatments of these inscriptions are on pp. 168, 169, 172, and 171, respectively.

[11] As elsewhere in EGLs and tables in Akkadian and Sumerian texts, chief deities and their consorts appear in a bold **blue-gray**; members of Triad 1 and their consorts appear in blue; members of Triad 2 and their consorts appear in red; warrior (and other male) gods appear in green; goddesses appear in pink; other deities, including deified objects appear in plum; and celestial object (e.g., planets/stars) appear in (light) orange.

[12] Zsolnay 2009, 154.

one of the three or four most important deities in the Middle and Neo-Assyrian royal pantheons. Even though the EGLs in RIMA 3 A.0.102.2 i 1-3a and A.0.102.6 i 1-7 follow Barré's observed hierarchy, Zsolnay prefers to explain (the unspecified) Ištar's appearance at the end of the EGL as a feature of her celestial or warrior aspect: in the former, as Venus, she is grouped with Sîn and Šamaš in the heavens, and in the latter she is paired with fellow warrior deity Ninurta.[13]

If we entertain the possibility that Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela should be identified with the unspecified Ištar, we could then consider the possibility that this Ištar was the second most important deity in the Neo-Assyrian pantheon. The divine names Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela are typically the last two names in EGLs in Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions, and when an unspecified Ištar is the only Ištar-associated goddess in an EGL, hers is usually the last divine name listed (see Table 9.1, the occasional exception is noted). Likewise, if we entertain the possibility that the Assyrian Ištar ([d]15 *aš-šu-ri-tu*) should be indentified with the unspecified Ištar, Ištar's is again the last divine name in EGLs found in state documents in SAA 12 (see Table 6.6, the EGL in SAA 12 10 r. 6´-9´ is a notable exception). This final position for Ištar-associated goddesses is usually true for the EGLs found in the letters collected in SAA 10, 13, 16,

[13] Zsolnay 2009, 170. Similarly, she reanalyzes the EGLs in RIMA 3 A.0.102.10 i 1-5 and A.0.102.14:1-13 to reflect thematic groupings instead of any regular hierarchies. The three groups in A.0.102.10 i 1-5 include three majestic gods (i.e., Aššur, Anu, Enlil), three other gods (i.e., Adad, Ninurta, Ištar), and three wisdom gods (i.e., Ea, Sîn, Marduk; pp. 172-173). The late appearance Ea, Sîn, and Marduk in this EGL is, admittedly, unexpected, but it also undermines Zsolnay's argument for the final deity being of utmost importance because Marduk's position in the middle of the EGL in A.0.102.14:1-13, as well as in the EGLs represented in "Chart B" (p. 154), is unremarkable. Finally, she goes to great lengths to argue a thematic organization for the EGL in A.0.102.14:1-13 (p. 172; see also pp. 160-164), but her explanations are too complicated in comparison to Barré's observed model: Assyrian chief deity, Triad 1, Triad 2, Babylonian chief deity, warrior gods, and goddesses. Zsolnay's explanation for Mullissu's position in this EGL is particularly problematic. Mullissu's is the twelfth of thirteen great gods in this EGL, and Zsolnay suggests that her penultimate position corresponds to Enlil's second position in the EGL (p. 163). Mullissu's epithet does indeed describe her as Enlil's spouse, but Enlil's is the third, not second, divine name, so there is no correspondence with Mullissu. To correct this, Zsolnay proposes that Anu and Enlil have been presented as a combined deity in the inscription (p. 160).

and 18 (see Table 6.13 and its first two endnotes for a full listing of relevant texts; SAA 10 197:7-13 [Table 6.12] and 286:3-7 [Table 6.11] are notable exceptions).

While identifying all Ištar-associated goddesses with the unspecified Ištar would provide results that place this Ištar at the end of *most* EGLs from the seventh century, there are numerous and significant exceptions that challenge this preference for treating the final deity in these EGLs as the second most important deity in the Neo-Assyrian pantheon. In addition to the EGLs in the letters SAA 10 197 and 286, where Ninurta, Nergal, and their consorts appear after the Ištar-associated goddesses, it is not uncommon for other divine names to follow them in Assyrian state treaties. Gula appears after Ištar-of-Arbela in the curse-list EGL in Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (SAA 2 6, see Table 6.2), and this is probably also true in Esarhaddon's treaty with King Baal of Tyre (SAA 2 5 iv 2´-3´). Adad-of-Kurbail, Hadad-of-Aleppo, and *Palil* all appear after Ištar//Lady-of-Arbela, in Aššur-nērārī V's treaty with Mati$^{?}$-ilu of Arpad (SAA 2 2 vi 16-19; see Table 6.4), and several divine names follow the four Ištar-associated goddesses listed in Sennacherib's Succession treaty (SAA 2 3 7´-11´ and r. 2´-5´; cf. BM 121206 ix 27´-34´; see Table 6.5).[14] It should be noted that the EGLs of interest in SAA 2 2 and 6 are those EGLs upon which Barré modeled his observed hierarchy, but his proposal has repeatedly been demonstrated to be a reliable model for EGLs in non-treaty genres throughout chapter 6.

Another look at the EGL in SAA 2 2 vi 6-26 not only shows why an Ištar-associated goddess at the end of an EGL should not be interpreted as a particularly important Assyrian deity – second only to Aššur in the pantheon – but also demonstrates

[14] The proposed arrangement of divine names in SAA 2 3 is, admittedly, unexpected, but this may be because their this EGL is based upon the EGL in BM 121206 ix, which is concerned with the specific placement of cult statues during a ritual rather than just the hierarchy of the gods.

why Ištar-of-Nineveh should not be identified with Ištar-of-Arbela in this and other EGLs. The arrangement of divine names in this eighth-century treaty adheres to Barré's ideal pattern: the Assyrian chief deity without a consort, the members of Triad 1 and their consorts, the members of Triad 2 and their consorts, the Babylonian chief deities and their consorts, warrior gods (three with consorts and six without consorts), a collection of goddesses, another three gods, and the Sebittu (see Table 6.4). The fact that the Sebittu are present in this EGL is significant because Barré notes that the Sebittu invariably conclude EGLs in treaties (see also Table 6.7 for the Aramaic text of the treaty Sefire i A [*KAI* 222] between two non-Assyrian states, in which the Sebittu conclude the first group of divine names).[15] If we treat the deity in the final position in EGLs as the second most important, as Zsolnay proposes, then the Sebittu would be more deserving of this high status than any of the Ištar-associated goddess because they are invariably last in an EGL with Assyrian deities; however, nothing from the EGLs examined indicate that the Sebittu were considered among the highest ranked deities.

The placement of the two Ištar-associated goddesses is telling in another regard, namely, that they appear immediately before two male deities with geographic last names: Adad-of-Kurbail and Hadad-of-Aleppo.[16] The fact that the four deities with last names appear together near the end of this EGL in SAA 2 2 is significant. As discussed in chapter 8, Hadad-of-Aleppo was venerated in the West from the mid-third millennium into the first millennium, and the invocation of his geographic last name was at least as important to his identity as his first name. Aleppo was a politically and culturally

[15] Barré 1983, 19 and 25-26

[16] The cuneiform for the first name of Adad-of-Kurbail is the same as that for Hadad-of-Aleppo, ^{d}IŠKUR. The different spellings of their names in English reflects the convention used in chapter 8: Adad represents a deity's Assyrian or Mesopotamian background, whereas Hadad represents a Northwest Semitic background.

important city in the West, so his association with that city was continually stressed. Kurbail, Nineveh, and Arbela served as military or intelligence centers for the Neo-Assyrian Empire, which Pongratz-Leisten notes is why each of these cities received "special financial and theological promotion(s)."[17] These promotions included hosting an *akītu*-festival for the city's patron deity.[18] Adad-of-Kurbail was a storm-god whose city was the capital of its Neo-Assyrian province and bordered Urartu.[19] Nineveh was the capital of the Assyrian Empire in the seventh century, and Arbela bordered the Zagros Mountains and provided access to the Iranian plateau, serving as a military base for invasions into Urartu.[20] Each of these four deities played a significant political role for the empire because their cities were vital to the empire's security and potential expansion in the eighth century. Theologically, the patron deity from each of these cities was rewarded with inclusion in Aššur-nērārī's treaty with Matiʾ-ilu of Arpad along with the other great gods of the Neo-Assyrian pantheon, but they had to be distinguished from other deities with whom they shared a first name – including the unspecified Adad, who was listed along with the Triad 2 deities (SAA 2 2 vi 8-9).[21] However, the fact that Adad-of-Kurbail and Hadad-of-Aleppo appear near the bottom of this EGL, with the two Ištar-associated goddesses, rather than immediately following the unspecified Adad and his

[17] Pongratz-Leisten 1997, 251.
[18] Pongratz-Leisten 1997, 246. The other Assyrian cities that hosted *akītu*-festivals are Assur, Kilizi, and Ḫarrān.
[19] Pongratz-Leisten 1997, 247. Pongratz-Leisten notes that this city, probably near the Urartian border, originated in the ninth century during Šalmaneser III's reign.
[20] Pongratz-Leisten 1997, 249-251.
[21] Of these four deities, only Hadad-of-Aleppo was also listed in the EGL in the Sefire treaty (*KAI* 222:10-11, see Table 6.7), which was another treaty involving Matiʾ-ilu of Arpad. Unfortunately, only the last two letter of the deity's last name are extant in the text: [*hdd ḥ*]*lb*.

consort Šala – an arrangement common to Hittite EGLs – suggests that geographic last names mark the deity as having a relatively low status.[22]

Alternatively, the placement of these two Ištar-associated goddesses and two storm-gods near the bottom of this EGL could be interpreted as indicating that the multiplicity of deities with common names dilutes the theological significance of the common name. Perhaps the unspecified Ištar or even Ištar-of-Nineveh alone would have been important enough to deserve a higher position in the EGLs of the Neo-Assyrian pantheon, but the addition of another Ištar, usually Ištar-of-Arbela and sometimes others, not only reduces the rarity of the divine name but also reduces the theological importance of each deity bearing the common name.[23]

Zsolnay argues that the unspecified Ištar could appear as the final deity in EGLs in royal inscriptions and still maintain her elevated status because the goddess's epithets proclaim her position as "the most supreme deity in the pantheon."[24] Throughout these royal inscriptions, the unspecified Ištar was identified as a warrior goddess – *bēlet tēšê* ("Sovereign-of-Frenzy"), *mušarriḫat qablāte* ("[She]-who-Quickens-Combats"), and *bēlet qabli u tāḫāzi* ("Sovereign-of-Combat and-Battle") – and a supreme deity – *ašaritti ilāni* ("Preeminent-among-the-Gods") and *ašaritti šamê u erṣeti* ("Preeminent-of-Heaven-and-Earth").[25] These epithets do indeed testify to the warrior goddess's importance in the pantheon, but they need not indicate that she was the supreme deity in

[22] Similarly, Adad-of-Kurbail and Bēl-of-Zabban appear near the end of the Assyrian Temple List in GAB § 4 (see Table 6.16).
[23] This possibility is explored further below for Ištar-associated goddesses, but the presence of two storm-gods, namely, Adad-of-Kurbail and Hadad-of-Aleppo, does not appear to have diminished the theological importance of the unspecified Adad in the EGL in SAA 2 2 vi 6-20.
[24] Zsolnay 2009, 177. Of all the invocations contained in royal inscriptions examined in her study, Zsolnay notes that there are only two instances in which Ištar's is not the final divine name mentioned, one of which she considers a scribal error (p. 176).
[25] Zsolnay's translations have been retained for Ištar's titles (Zsolnay 20009, 177).

the pantheon, second *only* to Aššur; instead, these epithets could be understood as praising her as the most supreme *goddess* in the pantheon. The goddess's late appearance in EGLs in the royal inscriptions that Zsolnay examined, along with the late appearance of Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela in EGLs in state treaties and other genres of text, reflects her (or their) relatively low status alongside the other deities in these EGLs. For example, (the unspecified) Ištar appears after Mullissu in the Black Obelisk from Šalmaneser III's ninth-century reign and in numerous EGLs in treaties, cultic texts, and letters going down into the seventh century. Epithets provide pertinent information about a deity and his or her nature, but they do not improve that deity's status within the pantheon; otherwise, the unspecified Ištar would precede most of her male counterparts and Mullissu more often in the royal inscriptions (see Table 6.1 and the discussion on relative ranks in EGLs in chapter 6).

B. An Ištar by Several Other Names

Though the Ištar in most of the Assyrian royal inscriptions between the fourteenth and eighth centuries is unspecified, the geographically specific goddesses Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela are the most frequently attested Ištar-associated goddesses in Sargonid royal inscriptions and other texts from the eighth and seventh centuries. In many of these texts, their names are written out in the typical formula DN-of-GN (i.e., DN-*ša*-GN), but not all texts follow this pattern.[26] In the treaty between Aššur-nērārī V

[26] As a formula, this DN-of-GN looks identical to the one used for Baal-named deities from Ugarit in chapter 8; however, there is a slight grammatical difference between the two. In Ugaritic, as well as in the other Northwest Semitic languages surveyed, DN-of-GN usually represents two nouns linked in a construct chain. Literally, Baal-of-Ugarit appears in Ugaritic texts as "Baal . Ugarit" (*b*ˤl . ˀ*ugrt*). Grammatically, this construct chain does occur in Akkadian and could be used to construct divine full names (e.g., ˹15˺ *arba-il*$_3$, RINAP 4, Esar. 1006:11), but the preferred Akkadian formation for full divine names includes the particle *ša*$_{(2)}$, which *CAD* defines as "of, that, which, that of (introducing a genitive or a subordinate clause)" (*CAD*

and Mati[?]-ilu of Arpad (SAA 2 2 vi 15-16), the goddesses Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela are not named according to the typical formula DN-of-GN.[27] In each line, the first name Ištar is followed by an epithet consisting of a noun clause rather than the standard *ša*-clause: ^{15} ^{d}15 NIN ^{uru}*ni-na-a* KI.MIN ^{16} ^{d}INNIN NIN ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$ KI.MIN ("Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh, Ditto! Ištar//Lady-of-Arbela, Ditto!" 15-16). That Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh and Ištar//Lady-of-Arbela are theologically synonymous with Ištar-*ša*-Nineveh and Ištar-*ša*-Arbela may be obvious, but it is also methodologically reliable given that these two goddesses who appear near the end of this EGL in SAA 2 2 also appear together in similar positions in the EGLs in SAA 2 6:16-20 (= ll. 25-30, see Table 6.3) and 10 r. 9´-10´, SAA 10 286 (see Table 6.11), and several other letters in SAA 10, 13, and 16 (see Table 6.13).[28] Though the insertion of NIN (*bēlet*, "lady") between the goddesses' first and last names disrupts what we might call their "full names" and creates new epithets in

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Š/1, *ša* mng. a). So the Akkadian divine name ^{d}15 *ša*$_{(2)}$ $^{(uru)}$*ni-nu-a*$^{(ki)}$ can be translated, literally, as "Ištar of Nineveh" or "Ištar, that of Nineveh," but both options maintain the same meaning as their Northwest Semitic counterparts.

[27] For example, the formula DN-of-GN (DN *ša* GN) is the most frequently written form for Ištar-associated goddesses in Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions. When Ištar-of-Nineveh is identified by her full name in these texts, the divine number 15 usually indicates the first name Ištar. Less often, the logogram INANA or the syllabic writing *iš-tar* is used. Similarly, the geographic name Nineveh takes many forms. Regardless of the writing, each of the following instances adheres to the standard DN-of-GN formula in Akkadian inscriptions:

^{d}15 *ša*$_{(2)}$ $^{(uru)}$NINA/*ni-nu-a*$^{(ki)}$:	^{d}INANA *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki}:	^{d}*iš-tar ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*ni-na-a*:
RINAP 4, Esar. 1 i 6,10, 45, 59, ii 45, iv 78, v 34, and vi 44; 2 i 9 and iv 22; 3 iv 21´; 5 i 3´; 6 i 5´; 8 [ii´ 4´]; 70:3; 71:3; 77:12; 78:[11]; 79:[11] and [6´]; and 93:5 and 26.	RINAP 4, Esar. 33 (tablet 2) iii 11´; and 71:3	RINAP 4, Esar. 48:25

In a few of the above instances, 15 has been restored for Ištar-of-Nineveh (i.e., RINAP 4, Esar. 8 ii´ 4´; 78:11; and 79:11 and 6´), but in each case Ištar-of-Arbela's first name was also written ^{d}15. Throughout the EGLs in Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions, the first name is written out the same way for both goddesses, so that the proposed restorations in these four instances seem reliable in each EGL.

The one possible exception for this parallel spelling of the first name Ištar in Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions is RINAP 4, Esar. 48:25-26, where Ištar-of-Nineveh's first name is spelled syllabically; Ištar-of-Arbela's name is not extant, but [^{d}15] has been suggested as the restoration. Also, SAA 2 2 vi 15-16 includes 15 for Ištar-of-Nineveh's first name and INNIN for Ištar-of-Arbela's.

[28] SAA 10: 82:6; 83:4; 130:6; 174:18; 227:5; 228:4; 245:5; 249:2´; 252:7; 286:6; 293:4; and 294:3; and SAA 13: 9:7; 10:7; 12:6; 15:7; 56:6; 57:7; 58:6; 60:6; 61:6; 62:6; 64:6; 65:6; 66:6; 67:5; 68:6; 140:5; 156:6; and 187 r. 5´; and SAA 16: 1:10; 33:6; 49:4; 59:3; 60:3 and 10´; 61:3; and 128:5.

SAA 2 2, these epithets lack divine determinatives so no new deities are named after each unspecified Ištar. Neither do these epithets undermine the fact that the geographic information conveyed in the epithets is still an essential aspect of the goddess's identification. (Other than Hadad-of-Aleppo and Adad-of-Kurbail, who are indentified by the standard Akkadian DN-of-GN formula [SAA 2 2 vi 17-18], no other divine names that appear in these EGLs include a city name as part of a deity's identity.[29]) The form of Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela's full names in SAA 2 2 may be unusual for an EGL, but it is not problematic and should be treated as nothing more than an alternative, and slightly more complex, formula to DN-of-GN: DN//title-of-GN.[30]

In his discussion of Ištar-of-Babylon as Lady-of-Babylon at Uruk, Beaulieu stresses that punctuation matters when translating these divine names and epithets.[31] Hyphens between the words indicate that there is a divine determinative in the cuneiform and indicate that the words represent a divine name. Lady-of-Babylon (^{d}*be-let* KA$_2$.DINGIR.RA^{ki}, SAA 16 49:3) is a divine name in the same way that Ištar-of-Babylon is a divine name. Words without hyphens, on the other hand, indicate that there is no divine determinative in the cuneiform so the words represent an epithet. *Lady of Babylon*

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[29] Ištar-of-Kidumri appears in SAA 16 105:5; 127:5; and 128:5, but her last name refers to a temple not a city. Ištar-of-Kidmuri's relationship with other Ištar-associated goddesses is described below.

[30] Two parallel lines (//) are used here and elsewhere to indicate that a proper name and epithet are acting together with the force of a full name (e.g., Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh, Ištar//Lady-of-Arbela, and Astarte//Name-of-Baal). With reference to the cuneiform evidence, these parallel lines also indicate that the first name is preceded by a divine determinative, but the epithet is not. When an epithet is preceded by a divine determinative, that epithet – typically "Lady" (*bēlet*-) or "Queen" (*šarrat*-) – will instead be written out separately from any specific first name without the parallel lines: "Ištar, Lady-of-Babylon" represents two goddesses whereas "Ištar//Lady-of-Babylon" represents one goddess. As noted elsewhere, scholars generally recognize that a divine determinative (the Sumerian logogram DINGIR/AN), which precedes an epithet indicates the epithet itself was treated like a divine name.

[31] Beaulieu 2003, 75 n. 10. Beaulieu notes that the two divine names Ištar-of-Babylon and Lady-of-Babylon were "functionally equivalent in first millennium theology" (p. 121). This is *proven* by *An* = *Anum* IV 128, which equates ^{d}INNIN *a-ga-de*$_3$^{ki} (Ištar-of-Akkad) with *be-let ak*-⸢*ka*⸣-[*di*] (Lady-of-Akkad) rather than with goddesses actually located at Babylon. Livingstone also generalizes this Ištar-of equals Lady-of to the corresponding divine names at Uruk and elsewhere.

is an epithet. Often these epithets follow a divine name, like Ištar//Lady-of-Babylon, or like in SAA 2 2 vi 15-16 Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh and Ištar//Lady-of-Arbela. Of those Neo-Assyrian texts included in our examination of EGLs, SAA 2 2 is the only one that includes the formula DN//title-of-GN.[32]

In addition to the alternative formula DN//title-of-GN – wherein title-of-GN is grammatically an epithet of DN – two other alternatives to the standard DN-of-GN are used to identify Ištar-associated goddesses in EGLs. The second and similar formula is title-of-GN, in which “title” is preceded by a divine determinative and represents only a few select possibilities: *šarrat* (“queen of”) and *bēlet* (“lady of”). This formula is only slightly more common than DN//title-of-GN in EGLs, but it is more common outside of EGLs since it is found in court poetry, prophetic texts, and literary miscellanea.[33] That title-of-GN as a divine name refers to the same deities as DN-of-GN can easily be demonstrated by comparing EGLs.

The best example to demonstrate that title-of-GN represents the same deity as the Ištar-associated goddess designated by DN-of-GN is found in a letter that the king’s chief haruspex Marduk-šumu-uṣur wrote the king in order to inspire and praise the king for his surpassing wisdom and to remind him of Assyria’s glorious victories in Egypt (SAA 10 174:7-16).[34] Framing the body of this letter are two EGLs. The first is a six-member EGL

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[32] A formula resembling DN//title-of-GN occassionally accompanies the unspecified Ištar in EGLs in royal inscriptions: DN//title-of-X. For example, RINAP 4, Esar. 98:9 mentions a geographically unspecified Ištar as the “Lady of War and Battle” (^{d}INANA *be-let* MURUB$_4$ *u* ME$_3$). See Zsolnay’s appendices A, B, C, and D for discussions on Ištar’s epithets that follow this DN//title-of-X formula from various Middle and Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions (Zsolnay 2009, 217-289).

[33] Reynolds proposed the restoration of the divine name Lady-of-Nineveh for a five+-member EGL in SAA 18 16:1′-4′: [GAŠAN-*ni*]-⌜*na*$^{?}$⌝-a^{ki} (l. 3′).

[34] This is the same Marduk-šumu-uṣur who advocates making pragmatic changes to a student diviner’s curriculum (SAA 10 177:15-r. 5) in chapter 2.

comprising three blessings, each of which includes two divine names (ll. 4-6), and the second is an eleven-member EGL that simply lists all the divine names in one blessing:

First Blessing:	(ll. 4, 5, and 6)	Second Blessing:	(ll. 17-18)
		Aššur	AN.ŠAR$_2$
Sîn	^{d}30	Sîn	^{d}30
Šamaš	^{d}UTU	Šamaš	^{d}UTU
		Adad	^{d}IM
Nabû	^{d}AG	**Bēl**	^{d}EN *u*$_3$
Marduk	^{d}AMAR.UTU	**Nabû**	^{d}AG
		Ninurta	^{d}MAŠ
		[Nergal]	[^{d}U.GUR] *u*$_3$
		Nusku	^{d}PA.TUG$_2$
Lady-of-Nineveh	^{d}GAŠAN NINA^{ki}	Ištar-of-Nineveh	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki}
Ištar-of-Arbela	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	Ištar-of-Arbela	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$.

Note that the second blessing is an expanded version of the first – it adds the Assyrian chief deity, completes Triad 2 by adding Adad, and inserts three warrior gods – and that all the deities who are listed in the first blessing also appear in the second. As discussed in chapter 6, Nabû is often listed before Marduk in EGLs and in blessings that only invoke the two of them, even when Marduk appears before Nabû elsewhere in the text.[35] The remaining difference in these EGLs is the divine name associated with Nineveh. In the first EGL, the goddess referred to using the title-of-GN divine name formula (i.e., Lady-of-Nineveh), whereas in the second EGL, she is named using the normal DN-of-GN divine name formula (i.e., Ištar-of-Nineveh). Both divine names are preceded by a divine determinative, and both divine names appear immediately before Ištar-of-Arbela, who is the last deity in each EGL, as expected (see Table 9.2).

Other examples of this title-of-GN formula include Ištar-associated goddesses other than just the anticipated Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela. Ištar-of-Kidmuri (SAA 16 105:5; 126:5; and 127:5) is called Queen-of-Kidmuri in SAA 10 197:11 between Queen-of-Nineveh and Queen-of-Arbela (see Table 6.12) and in SAA 16 106:6

[35] As noted elsewhere, a text and line number that are written in italics (e.g., SAA 13 *126*:*4*) indicates that Nabû is listed before Marduk in an EGL in that text.

between Mullissu and Ištar-of-Arbela (^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$ ^{d}GAŠAN *ki-di-mu-ri* ^{7} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$).[36] The goddess appears as Lady-of-Kidmuri in SAA 16 105 after she had already been identified as Ištar-of-Kidmuri in l. 5. This second time she is paired with Mullissu; however, this time their names do not appear in an EGL. They are praised as the king's loving mothers: "the protection of Mullissu (and) of Lady-of-Kidmuri, who (are) the mothers that love you" (*ki-din-nu ša* ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$ ^{13}*ša* ^{d}GAŠAN *ki-di-mu-ri* ^{14}*ša* AMA^{meš} *ša i-ra-ma-ka-a-ni*, SAA 16 105 r. 12-14).[37] Ištar-of-Kidmuri also appears between Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela in EGLs in Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions. Even though the other two Ištar-associated goddesses' first names are usually written 15, her name is typically written in the title-of-GN pattern (e.g., Lady-of-Kidmuri, *BIWA* 33 A ii 27, and Queen-of-Kidmuri, 36 A iii 13). As mentioned above, the divine name Lady-of-Babylon also appears in an EGL. In a petition written by the maidservant Sarai, Lady-of-Babylon (^{d}*be-let* KA.DINGIR.RA^{ki}) is listed as the third deity of a seven-member EGL in SAA 16 49:3-5: **Bēl**/**Bēltīya**/Lady-of-Babylon/**Nabû**/**Tašmētu**/Ištar-of-Nineveh/Ištar-of-Arbela.[38]

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[36] In SAA 16 105:5, Ištar-of-Kidmuri is listed after Ištar-of-Nineveh and is last in a four-member EGL. In SAA 16 126:5 and 127:5, she appears between Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela in eight- and nine-member EGLs, respectively. Note that the temple Kidmuri is spelled *k**a**d-mu-ru* in SAA 16 126:5.

As indicated in these EGLs from the seventh century, the goddess known as Lady-of-Kidmuri became more relevant when the Assyrian capital moved to Nineveh, where one of her temples was located (J. Reade, "The Ištar Temple at Nineveh," *Iraq* 67 [2005]: 384). A Kidmuri Temple was also rebuilt in Kalaḫ by Aššurnāṣirpal II in the ninth century when he moved the Assyrian capital there (A. George, *House Most High*: *The Temple Lists of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 5; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 113, no. 645; see also J. Reade, "The Ziggurrat and Temples of Nimrud," *Iraq* 64 [2002]: 135-216).

[37] Ištar-of-Kidmuri appears in an EGL listing the precious items assigned to each cult statue (^{d}15 E$_2$ *kid-mu-*⸢*ri*⸣, SAA 7 62 ii 2′). Ištar-of-bīt-Eqi is the next goddess listed (^{d}15 E$_2$ *e-qi*, ii 7′), and Mullissu appears much later (^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$, iv 9′), far removed from Aššur who is the first extant divine name in this text (^{d}*aš*$^{!}$-*šur*, i 6′). For a discussion of Ištar-of-bīt-Eqi, see Meinhold 2009, 97-98, 124, 154-160, and 183.

[38] Lady-of-Uruk appears in two letters from Uruk to the king (^{d}GAŠAN *ša*$_2$ UNUG^{ki}, SAA 18 79:5; ⸢^{d}⸣GAŠAN *ša*$_2$ UNUG$^{⸢ki⸣}$, SAA 18 82:20′; ^{d}GAŠAN ⸢*ša*$_2$⸣ UNUG^{ki}, SAA 18 82 r. 6′). Technically, these are not EGLs since only Nanaya accompanies her in these blessings, but as blessings in a letter these more closely resemble EGLs than court poetry and prophecy. Notably, the divine name Lady-of-Uruk is a hybrid between the standard DN-of-GN and title-of-GN since the *ša*-particle is used to mark the relationship

In each of these title-of-GN names, the relevant goddess is identified by a title rather than a proper name, but the title is treated like a proper name. The fact that these Ištar-associated goddesses can be referred to as "queens" or "ladies" of a particular place – be it a city or a temple – instead of just as Ištars of that place suggests that these titles should be interpreted as names (or nicknames) in much the same way Baal came to function as a name (or nickname) for storm-gods in Ugaritic and other Northwest Semitic languages, especially since *bēlet*- ("lady"), the feminine form of *bēl*-, has roughly the same meaning as *šarrat*- ("queen") and both *bēlet*- and *šarrat*- can be written with the same logogram, GAŠAN. Indeed, aside from Mesopotamia's most famous Baal Bēl, who is Marduk, and his consort Bēltīya, who is Ṣarpānītu, the deities in the EGLs that are surveyed here and in chapter 6 are only referred to by their proper first names. That this variability is allowed only for these select Ištars in EGLs cannot be overstressed, nor can the ease by which we can reliably identify Ištar-of-Nineveh with Lady/Queen-of-Nineveh or Ištar-of-Arbela with Lady/Queen-of-Arbela be overstressed.

The final alternative formula for Ištar-associated goddesses in EGLs is the DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN formula. This formula appears in EGLs in state treaties, private votive donations, and legal documents:

Text:	Divine Name:	Cuneiform:
SAA 2 5 iv 1′	[Mullissu-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh]	^{d}[NIN.LIL$_{2}$ *a-ši-bat* ^{uru}NINA^{ki}]
and iv 2′	Ištar-o[f-Arbela]	^{d}*iš-tar* ⸢*a*⸣-[*ši-bat* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$]
SAA 2 6:457	Mullissu-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh	^{d}NIN.LIL$_{2}$ *a-ši-bat* ^{uru}NINA^{ki}
and 459	Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Arbela	^{d}*iš-tar a-ši-bat* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$
SAA 2 9 r. 24′	Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Arbela	^{d}INNIN *a-ši-bat arba-il*$_{3}$^{ki}
SAA 12 93:4	Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-[Arbela]	^{d}*iš-tar a-ši-bat* ^{uru}[*arba-il*$_{3}$]
SAA 12 97 r. 2	Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Arbela	^{d}*iš-tar a-šib-bat* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$

between the two nouns instead of the use of the construct state. For a discussion of the variant divine names used to indentify the Ištar-associated goddess in Uruk during the first millennium, see Beaulieu 2003, 123ff. This goddess is identified as Ištar//Lady-of-Uruk, on stamped bricks from the Eanna temple during Sargon II's reign: ^{1} ^{d}inana ^{2}nin unug^{ki}-ga-ta (RIMB 2 B.6.22.5:1-2; G. Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*: *From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination* [*1157-612 BC*] [RIMB 2; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995], 150).

SAA 14 204:8′	[Ištar-Who-Resid]es-(in)-Nineveh	[^{d}15 *a-ši*]-⸢*bat*⸣ ^{uru}NINA
SAA 14 294 r. 4	[Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)]-Nineveh	[^{d}15 *a-ši-bat*] ^{uru}NINA^{ki}
SAA 14 466:6′	[Ištar-Who-Resid]es-(in)-Arbela	⸢^{d}⸣[15 *a-ši*]-*bat* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$.

This formula could rightly be considered an epithet following a divine name, rather than a last name, since *āšibat*- is a participial form of the verb (*w*)*ašābu* ("to reside/live/have domicile").[39] Thus, the phrase can be translated as "DN, (the one) who resides (in) GN" as easily as "DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN." This is precisely how Parpola and Watanabe translate ^{d}NIN.LIL$_{2}$ *a-ši-bat* ^{uru}NINA^{ki} and ^{d}*iš-tar a-ši-bat* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$ (SAA 2 6:457 and 459): "Mullissu, who resides in Nineveh" and "Ištar, who resides in Arbela."[40] The fact that they placed a comma between the divine name and the participial phrase in each line indicates that the latter has been interpreted as an epithet, rather than the last part of a full name. In some situations, like SAA 2 6, the choice to translate *āšibat*-GN as an epithet rather than as a last name is reasonable. For instance, SAA 2 6:457 and 459 are part of the eighteen-member EGL that comprises the curse-list near the end of the treaty (see Table 6.2). Each curse in this EGL begins with a divine name that is followed by an epithet. Nergal and Gula, who appear in the curses immediately before and after this Mullissu and this Ištar, receive the respective epithets "hero of the gods" (*qar-rad* DINGIR, l. 455) and "the great physician" (*a-zu-gal-la-tu*$_{2}$ GAL-*tu*$_{2}$, l. 461). When considered in this context, Mullissu's "who resides (in) Nineveh" and Ištar's "who resides (in) Arbela" make sense interpreted as epithets, even if dwelling somewhere sounds significantly less impressive than being a great hero or physician.[41] That this formula serves as the equivalent of the standard full name formula is even more evident

[39] *CAD* A/2, *ašābu* mng. 2a1′.

[40] S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (SAA 2) (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988) 48.

[41] On the other hand, the Ištar who is identitied as "the one who resides in [Arbela]" (^{d}*iš-tar a-ši-bat* ^{uru}[*arba-il*$_{3}$], SAA 12 93 r. 4) in an EGL curse-list is one of only two divine names followed by an epithet: Ninurta/Gula/Adad//canal-inspector-of-heaven-and-earth/Nabû/Ištar//Who-Resides-(in)-[Arbela].

when Sîn-of-Ḫarrān is mentioned in royal inscriptions. In RIMA 3 A.0.104.2:12, Sîn-Who-Resides-(in)-Ḫarrān is the final divine name in a six-member EGL: **Aššur**/Adad/Bēr/Assyrian-Enlil/Assyrian-[Mullis]su/Sîn-Who-Resides-(in)-Ḫarrān.[42]

That the formula DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN is the equivalent to the standard DN-of-GN rather than simply a divine name followed by an epithet is most apparent in texts that typically lack EGLs: legal transactions of the royal court (SAA 6 and 14). Although each legal transaction deals with different issues and mentions a different deity, or occasionally two or three different deities, many of the legal transactions that mention deities adhere to a general structure:

I	Space for stamp seal or fingernail impressions.
II	The owner sells objects/persons/land to the buyer for a price.
III	Statement that the price has been paid completely.
IVa	"Should anyone in the future ever appear in court…"
IVb	"he shall place X mina of metal(s) in the lap of DN…"
IV(c)	The transgressor may be required to donate horses to other deities.
IVd	"shall pay ten times the price to the owner…"
IVe	"Should he initiate with legal proceedings, he shall not win."
IV(f)	Guarantee against seizures and fraud.
V	Witnesses.

Of particular interest are section IV and its subsections a-f, though not all six of the subsections appear in every legal text or in this order. In addition to suggesting that the threat of massive penalties reduced the number of broken contracts or future lawsuits during the Neo-Assyrian period, section IV provides several opportunities to compare how divine names are treated in these penalty clauses. Subsection IVb indicates where the offending party must pay his fine for contesting the contract, a separate penalty from his repayment to the other party. Usually, the offending party pays his fine to a local temple, as indicated by the regular statement that the payment shall be placed "in the lap of" (*ina bur-ki*) a particular deity, which is undoubtedly a reference to the deity's cult-

[42] Sîn-Who-Resides-(in)-Ḫarrān appears in EGLs in two other royal inscriptions: RIMA 3 A.0.104.2:17 and A.0.105.1:20.

statue at the temple. The local temple receiving the fine was designated by the deity in whose lap the gold and silver were placed. By designating the deity as the god-Who-Resides-(in)-GN (or as DN-of-GN), potential confusion over which temple to deliver the fine was avoided.

Of those late eighth- and seventh-century texts collected in SAA 6 and 14 that require the offending party to pay a fine, the deity most commonly mentioned is Ištar-of-Nineveh (see Table 9.3). Ištar-of-Arbela, Ninurta-of-Calaḫ, and Sîn-of-Ḫarrān are also mentioned, as are numerous Adads (see Table 9.4). More often than not, these deities are identified by the DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN formula, but the standard DN-of-GN formula is also relatively common. Apart from the choice of formula for the divine name, the sentence that describes the fine is fairly stable. SAA 6 85 and 87 serve as examples for comparison because both involve “the governess of the central city Harem” as the purchaser:

SAA 6 85:14-r. 4	subsection	SAA 6 87:5′-r. 6
^{14}[*man*]-˹*nu*˺ *ša ina ur-kiš ina ma-te-ma* ^{15}[*i-zaq-qu-pa*]-˹*ni*˺	IVa	$^{5′}$*man-nu ša ina ur-kiš* $^{6′}$*ina ma-te-e-ma i-zaq-qu-pan-ni* $^{7′}$*lu-u* PN$_1$ *lu-u* DUMU^{meš}-šu$_2$ $^{8′}$*lu-u* ˹DUMU˺ DUMU^{meš}-*šu*$_2$ *lu-u* ŠEŠ^{meš}-*šu*$_2$ *lu-u* DUMU^{meš} ŠEŠ^{meš}-*šu*$_2$ $^{9′}$*ša* TA$^{!}$ ^{f}*ša*$_2$-*kin*$_2$-*tu*$_2$ DUMU^{meš}-*šu*$_2$ DUMU DUMU^{meš}-*šu*$_2$ $^{10′}$*de*-˹*e*˺-*nu* DUG$_4$.DUG$_4$ *ub-ta-ʾu-u-ni*
4 MA.NA KUG.UD ^{16}[LUḪ-*u* x MA.NA KUG].GI *sak-ru* $^{r. 1}$*ina bur-ki* ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}NINA GAR-*an*	IVb	$^{r. 1}$10 ˹MA˺.NA KUG.UD LUḪ-*u* 1 MA.NA KUG.GI *sak-ru* ^{2}*ina bur-ki* ^{d}*iš-tar a-ši-bat* ^{uru}NINA *i-šak-kan*
	IVc	^{3}2 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{meš} BABBAR^{meš} *ina* GIR$_3$.^{II} *aš-šur i-rak-kas* ^{4}4 ANŠE-*ḫur-ba-kan-ni ina* KI.TA ^{d}ŠEŠ.GAL *u*$_2$-*še-rab*
^{2}*kas*-˹*pu*˺ [*a-na* 10].MEŠ-*te a-na* EN-*šu*$_2$ ^{3}GUR-˹*ra*˺	IVd	^{5}*kas-pu a-na* 10.MEŠ-*te a-na* EN^{meš}-*šu*$_2$ GUR-*ra*
[*ina de*]-*ni-šu*$_2$ DUG$_4$.DUG$_4$-*ma* ^{4}*la i-laq-qi*$_2$	IVe	^{6}*ina de-ni-šu*$_2$ DUG$_4$.DUG$_4$-*ma la i-laq-qi*

Should [anyo]ne in the future ever appear in court,	IVa	Should anyone in the future ever appear in court – be it PN_1, his sons, grandsons, brothers, or nephews – and attempts to initiate legal proceedings against the governess, her[!] sons, or grandsons,
he shall place 4 minas of [pure] gold [and x mina of] refined [silv]er in the lap of Ištar-of-Nineveh.	IVb	he shall place 10 minas of pure gold and 1 mina of refined silver in the lap of Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh,
	IVc	shall tie 2 white horses at Aššur's feet, and shall bring 4 donkeys[?] into Nergal('s temple).
He shall pay ten times the price to the owner.	IVd	He shall pay ten times the price to the owner.
Should he initiate [with legal pr]oceedings, he shall not win.	IVe	Should he initiate with legal proceedings, he shall not win.

While SAA 6 87:5´-r. 6 explicitly states who should not challenge whom over this purchase and contains stronger deterrents than does SAA 6 85:14-r. 4, the role that the deity who receives the gold and silver plays in both texts is identical. In fact, in most of the texts listed in Table 9.3, there is no discernable difference between the choice DN-of-GN and DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN; in most instances they are interchangeable. Pragmatically, the first name and subsequent epithet functions in the same manner as the standard full name. This is true not only when Ištar-of-Nineveh is the deity but also when other deities are mentioned. The only discernable difference between a given text's use of either formula is that legal transactions containing subsection IVc, in which horses are delivered to (usually) Aššur and Nergal, always identify the deity in subsection IVb with the DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN formula. Why this difference exists is unclear, but this includes fewer than ten percent of the legal texts.

In addition to these full name formulas, Ištar-associated goddesses who are recognized as the patron deity of their local city are often said to be indentified by a feminized derivative form of the city name. For instance, instead of referring to the

patron goddess of Arbela as Ištar-of-Arbela, she was known as Arbilītu, literally, "the one (female) from Arbela."[43] Likewise, Ištar-of-Nineveh appears to be identified as Ninuaˀītu by Šalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I (^{d}*ni-nu-a-it-ti*, RIMA 1 A.0.77.7:7; ^{d}*nu-na-i-te*, RIMA 1 A.0.78.17:5), and the Assyrian Ištar is identified as Aššurītu (^{d}15-*šu* ^{d}*aš*$_{2}$-*šu-ri-tu*$_{4}$, "his goddess Aššurītu," King, *BMS*, no. 2 n. 8; cf. plate 5 n. 4) in one copy of a "Prayer to Ninurta," in which the divine name Aššurītu replaces the generic term *annannītu* (King, *BMS*, 17:26: ^{d}15-*šu* NENNI-*tu*$_{4}$, "his goddess So-and-so").[44] These are not the only divine names that scholars have identified as local Ištar-associated goddesses because they are derived from city names. Other Ištar-associated goddesses who have been indentified by these city-based nicknames include, but are not limited to: Lagabītum, Kītītu, Kišītu, Ḫišamītu, and Ulmašītu, whose name is derived from the temple name in Akkad rather than the city name itself.[45]

As would be expected, the divine name Ištar-of-Nineveh is interchangeable with the first name with an epithet Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh. Pragmatically, Ištar-Who-

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[43] In chapter 4, Scurlock's interpretation of *ur*$_{2}$*-bi-li-ti* (DPS III A 15-16; Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 159) as an equivalent of Ištar-of-Arbela is presented. Were this feminized derivative of Arbela normalized like other cities are, the expected word would be Arbilītu, not the Urbilītu the cuneiform suggests. Indeed, *PNA* 1/1 identifies two personal names that include a feminized derivative of Arbela, and in each name the sign *arba*/LIMMU$_{2}$ indicates a preference for Arbilītu over Urbilītu: $^{\text{f.uru}}$*arba-il*$_{3}$*-i-tu*$_{2}$, ^{f}*arba-il*$_{3}$*-i-tu*$_{2}$, ^{f}*arba-il*$_{3}$*-tu*$_{2}$, and $^{(f)}$*arba-il*$_{3}$*-tu*$_{2}$(-EN-*tu*$_{2}$*-ni*; p. 127).

[44] Meinhold 2009, 170-171 and 51. This feminized derivative method of renaming an Ištar-associated deity is not limited to Assyria. According to *An = Anum* IV, the tablet in the series that identifies the numerous alternative names and epithets for Inana/Ištar, Ištar-of-Uruk is identified with Aš[kaˀītu] (or Urkayītu, ^{d}INANA UNUG^{ki} = *aš*-[*ka-i-tu*], l. 117), and Ištar-of-Kiš is identified as Kiš[ītu] ($^{d⌜}$INANA KIŠ$^{⌝ki}$ = *kiš*-[*i-tu*], l. 119).

In 1923, F. Böhl recognized the divine name Aškaˀītu (for Urkyaītu) as an alternative name for Ištar-of-Uruk (F. Böhl, "Älteste keilinschriftliche Erwähnungen der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer Göttin?" *Acta Orientalia* 1 [1923]: 76-79). He also noted that *An = Anum* IV 128-133 equates other local Ištar manifestations with goddesses whose names are feminized derivatives of the local city. Most notable of Böhl's observations is that the Ištar who resides in the city of Silim (i.e., Jerusalem) was Šulmanītu (^{d}INANA ^{uru}SILIM.MA = *šul-ma-ni-tu*, l. 132).

[45] Leemans 1953, 35; M. Ellis, "The Archive of the Old Babylonian Kītītum Temple and other Texts from Ishchali," *JAOS* 106 (1986): 759 n. 9 and 762; D. O. Edzard, "Pantheon und Kult im Mari," in *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale XVe*: *La Civilisation de Mari*: *Colloque international tenu à l'Univerité de Liège dy 4 au 8 juillet 1966* (ed. J. R. Kupper; Paris: Belles letters, 1967), 61; K. B. Gödecken, "Bermerkungen zure Göttin Annuītum," *UF* 5 (1973): 146.

Resides-(in)-Nineveh can be interpreted as a full divine name in a way analogous to DN//title-of-GN, title-of-GN, and DN-of-GN because it was often treated by the scribes as a full divine name. Moreover, like the standard formula DN-of-GN and the other two alternative formulas, the geographic information provided in these names was indispensible to that deity's identity, whether the deity was being explicitly contrasted with another deity with the same first name in an EGL or implicitly contrasted by designating to which temple payments should be delivered. Whether indentified as Ištar-of-Nineveh, Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh, Lady-of-Nineveh, or Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh, this goddess is intentionally being distinguished from the Ištar-associated goddess in Arbela, the one at the Kidmuri temple, and all the others.

C. Theological Speculations about Ištar-associated Goddesses

Having surveyed the main variations by which the Ištar-associated goddesses were indentified in EGLs and in legal transactions of the royal court, three additional formula have been revealed as ways to name the goddess most often identified as Ištar-of-Nineveh – Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh, Lady-of-Nineveh, and Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh – and all of these stress the goddess's geographic identity. Moreover, whichever formula is used, this goddess is regularly contrasted in EGLs with Ištar-of-Arbela, who can also be indentified by any of these alternative formulas. We may now turn from the EGLs contained in state treaties, administrative documents, letters, royal inscriptions, and cultic documents that reflect the writings and theological concerns of the non-elite (less educated) scribes and examine "compositions exemplifying and expressing a creative effort" that are the products of the scholarly elite and are not intended to follow the "day

to day religious literature."[46] In addition to "Assurbanipal's Hymn to the Ištars of Nineveh and Arbela" (SAA 3 3) discussed in the introduction, these texts include the "Psalm in Praise of Uruk" (SAA 3 9), the "Mystical Miscellanea" (SAA 3 39), and the various collections of oracles and prophecies delivered to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal in the name of Ištar-of-Arbela and Mullissu (SAA 9 1, 2, 5, 7, and 9). Each text has a different theological purpose behind it, and each text reveals a unique aspect of the still salient distinction between Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela, despite the syncretistic tendencies often attributed to these texts.

In his hymn to the two Ištar-associated goddesses, Ashurbanipal calls each of them "Lady" (*be*-*let*), using the title-of-GN formula (SAA 3 3:1-2 and r. 14 and 16), and he then declares his praise for them because of their continued support throughout his life. As Porter noted in 2004, Ashurbanipal peppers his hymn to the goddesses with feminine plural verbs, pronominal suffixes, and nouns to indicate that he is addressing two distinct goddesses.[47] Indeed, his double entendre in r. 5 removes any lingering doubt about his theological take on the multiplicity of these Ištars. Whether one prefers to interpret ^{d}*iš*$_{8}$-*tar*$_{2}$^{meš}-*ia* as a proper or a common noun, Ashurbanipal gladly honors the ladies of Nineveh and Arbela as "my Ištars/*ištar*s" (i.e., "goddesses," r. 5) and proclaims that "their names are more precious than (other) 'Ištars/*ištar*s'" (*šu*-*qur zi*-*kir*-*ši*-*na a*-*na* ^{d}IŠ.TAR^{meš}, l. 4).[48]

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[46] Livingstone 1989, XVI.
[47] Porter 2004, 41.
[48] Interpreting *ištar* as the common noun for goddess is most reliably done when the word appears parallel to *ilu* ("god") in a sentence or when a possessive suffix follows the word. For example, one Old Babylonian omen does both: *ilšu u ištaršu ul sanqūšu* ("his god and his goddess are not next to him," F. Köcher and A. L. Oppenheim, "The Old Babylonian Omen Text VAT 7525," *AfO* 18 [1957]: 64, l. 38). Other examples of *ištaru* provided in *CAD* as a common noun are less convincing because they lack these cues found in *AfO* 18 64, l. 38. Examples of ^{d}15/*iš*-*tar*^{meš}-*šu*$_{2}$ following DINGIR^{meš}-*šu*$_{2}$ meaning "his gods and his goddesses" can be found in several of Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions (e.g., *BIWA* 55 A vi 64 and 168 T v 3).

A close reading of the hymn indicates that Ashurbanipal not only refuses to equate the two goddesses, but he also refuses to acknowledge their equal status. Ištar-of-Nineveh is his favored Ištar-assocated goddess in this hymn. This is made most obvious in the tablet’s colophon where he requests a blessing from Ištar-of-Nineveh alone: “May Lady-of-Nineveh, lady of the song, exalt (my) kingship forever” (^{d}*be-let* ^{uru}NINA *be-let za-ma-ri* LUGAL-⸢*tu*$_2$ *li*$^{!}$-*šar*$^{?}$⸣-*bi a-na da-ra-a-ti*, SAA 3 3 r. 19-20). Moreover, although he considers himself a “creation” (*bi-nu-ut*) of both Emašmaš and Egašankalamma (l. 10), which are the goddesses’ temples in Nineveh and Arbela, respectively,[49] he precedes this by referring to himself as “the great seed of Aššur (and) the offspring of Nineveh” (NUMUN$^{!}$ BAL$^{!}$.TIL$^{ki!}$ *ra*$^{!}$⸢*bu*$^{!}$⸣-[*u i-li*]*t*$^{!}$-*ti* ^{uru}*ni-na-a*, l. 9). This statement does not explicitly name any deities, but it does implicitly proclaim the king as the scion of Aššur and Ištar-of-Nineveh.[50] This interpretation is reinforced later in the hymn when the king praises Ištar-of-Nineveh as his birthmother (^{d}*be-let* ^{uru}*ni-na*$_2$-*a um-mu a-lit-ti-ia*, “Lady-of-Nineveh, the mother who bore me,” r. 14), whereas he refers to Ištar-of-Arbela as his creator (^{d}*be-let* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$ ⸢*ba*$^{!}$⸣-[*ni*]-⸢*ti*⸣-*ia*, “Lady-of-Arbela who created me,” r. 16). The participle (*bānītu*) used here to describe Ištar-of-Arbela’s role connotes creation, but it lacks the intimacy of the title “mother” (*ummu*) that is given to Ištar-of-Nineveh.[51]

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[49] George 1993, 121 (no. 742) and 90 (no. 351).

[50] This consort role that Ištar-of-Nineveh plays with Aššur is discussed further below.

[51] *CAD* B, *banû* A mng. 3a1′ and 2′. Ea, Aruru, Narru, Marduk, Ahura Mazda, Nintu, and Erua are all identified as gods who created mankind or individual people.

Though the goddess’s divine name does not appear in the oracle, SAA 9 2.1 refers to a goddess, presumably Ištar-of-Arbela given her predominance in the prophetic literature, as the king’s creator ([*x x a-na-ku*$^{?}$] ⸢^{d}⸣*ba-ni-tu*, “[I am] Creator,” SAA 9 2.1:5′).

Despite her secondary role as the wet nurse in Ashurbanipal's upbringing,[52] Ištar-of-Arbela is called a mother while Ištar-of-Nineveh is referred to as a wet nurse in the esoteric or mystical texts from Nineveh.[53] Indeed, the so-called "Mystical Miscellanea" (SAA 3 39) refers to Ištar-of-Arbela as the mother of the great god Bēl (l. 22) and calls Ištar-of-Nineveh his wet nurse (l. 19).[54] "Mystical Miscellanea" is a decidedly and self-proclaimed esoteric text with syncretistic tendencies that only the initiated are permitted to see.[55] In addition to explicitly identifying Marduk with Meslamtaea (r. 7), over the course of five lines it identifies various goddesses as aspects of each other:

> ^{19}[^{d}]⸢15⸣ *ša* ^{uru}*dur-na ti-amat ši-i-ma* UM.ME.GA.LA$_2$ *ša*$_2$ ^{d}EN *ši*$^{!}$-*i*$^{!}$-*ma*$^{!}$
> ^{20}[4 IGI.II.^{m}]^{eš}-*ša* 4 PI.^{IImeš}-*ša*
> ^{21}A[N.T]A^{meš}-*ša* ^{d}EN KI.TA^{meš}-*ša* ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$

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[52] Ištar-of-Arbela identifies herself as Esarhaddon's midwife and wet nurse: $^{15'}$*sa-ab-su-ub-ta-k*[*a*] $^{16'}$*ra-bi-tu a-na-ku* $^{17'}$*mu-še-ni*[*q*$^{!}$]-*ta-ka* $^{18'}$*de-iq-tu*$_2$ *a-na-ku* ("I am your great midwife; I am your capable wet nurse," SAA 9 1.6:15´-18´). She is also identified as Ashurbanipal's wet nurse after Mullissu is identified as his mother: *ša*$_2$ GAŠAN *arba-il*$_3$ *ta-ri-su-ni la ta-pal-laḫ*$_3$ (Do not fear, you whose wet nurse is Lady-of-Arbela.

[53] Indeed, Ištar-of-Arbela plays an important role in the "Hymn to the City of Arbela" (SAA 3 8), which begins with praise for the city itself, but, as the hymn progresses, the goddess takes an increasingly present role. The goddess is never explicitly identified as Ištar-of-Arbela in the hymn, but she is first identified as Ištar (l. 20), her temple Egašankalamma (E$_2$.GAŠAN.KALAM.⸢MA⸣, l. 27) is mentioned by name, and the city name Arbela appears throughout the hymn – 16 times on the obverse and 5 times on the reverse. When she first appears, she is introduced as residing within the city ("Ištar resides in the heart (of the city)," ^{d}15 *ina* ŠA$_3$ *uš-bat*, SAA 3 8:20). This clause conceptually resembles the DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN formula discussed above, but the differences are grammatically and syntactically significant. The form of the verb *wašābu* is stative rather than participial; the clause includes the preposition *ina*; and, finally, the name of the city is not mentioned. Another instance in which the hymn approximates one of the name formulas examined above is r. 22´, which identifies the goddess as Lady-of-the-House/Temple-of-Arblea (^{d}GAŠAN *ša* E$_2$$^{!!}$ *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$). This may be described as an expanded variant of the title-of-GN formula: title-of-TN-of-GN (of course, in this text, TN represents the common noun temple rather than a specific temple name). The goddess is also described as sitting on a lion, an animal linked with Ištar-associated goddesses (Black and Green 2000, 119; Zsolnay 2009, 48, 97, and 221-222; see also RIMA 2 A.0.101.28 and 32, which were inscribed on stone monumental lions outside the Ištar-associated goddess Šarrat-Nipḫi's [^{d}GAŠAN KUR] temple in ninth-century Calaḫ). So, though her name is not explicitly called Ištar-of-Arbela in this text, it seems reasonable to accept that this hymn praises Ištar-of-Arbela specifically, and not another goddess.

Notably, this hymn never attempts to indentify this Ištar-associated goddess from Arbela with any goddess residing in Nineveh – neither an Ištar nor a Mullissu – but she is identified with Nanaya (^{d}*na-na-a*, ll. 20 and 22) and Irnina (^{d}*ir-ni-na*, l. 21). This text may have syncretistic tendencies like those found in the Sumero-Akkadian Hymn of Nanaya (see Table 5.12), but this does not include the identification between Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela.

[54] See Livingstone's translation in SAA 3 39:19-22 for the identification of Durna with Nineveh (Livingstone 1986, 233; VAT 13815 r. 17-18).

[55] See chapter 2 for a discussion of secret texts that the initiate may see but the uninitiated may not.

22 ^{d}NIN ^{uru}LI.BUR.NA *um-m*[*a*$^{?}$] *ša* ^{d}EN *ši-i-ma*
23 [S]AR$^{?-meš}$ *iš-ru-ka-ši an-tum ši-i-ma kis-pa a-na* ^{d}*a-num i-kas-si-pu*

Ištar-of-Nineveh is Tiāmat; she is Bēl's wet nurse.
She has [four pairs of eye]s; she has four pairs of ears.
Her upper portions are Bēl; her lower portions are Mullissu.
Lady-of-Arbela is Bēl's mother.
He gave her [ga]rdens. She is Antu; they offer funerary offerings to Anu (SAA 3 39:19-23).

Ištar-of-Nineveh is acknowledged as Bēl's wet nurse, but she is first identified with Tiāmat, the primordial seawaters and (multi-)great-grandmother of all the gods, who serves as Marduk's primary antagonist in *Enūma eliš*.[56] According to Livingstone, as Marduk's wet nurse, Ištar-of-Nineveh unites Marduk's characteristics with Mullissu, with whom she is also identified.[57] By equating Ištar-of-Nineveh with Tiāmat (l. 19) and her "lower portions" with Mullissu, SAA 3 39 presents Mullissu, the consort of the Assyrian chief deity Aššur, as the primordial goddess in order to prove that she outranks Marduk. Likewise, Aššur's name is spelled *an-šar* in order to identify him with the god Anšar, who is Anu's father in the epic (*Enūma eliš* I 12-15) and Marduk's divine ancestor. Establishing Aššur and Mullissu's genealogical priority over Marduk in the epic also establishes Assur and Nineveh's priority over Babylon, even though the epic explicitly states that Anu's offspring Ea (Nudimmud) surpassed Anšar (*gu-uš-šur ma-a*$^{?}$*-diš a-na a-lid* AD-*šu*$_{2}$ *an-šar*$_{3}$, "more powerful than Anšar, his father's begetter," l. 19).[58]

[56] According to *Enūma eliš* I 84-86, Marduk's mother is Damkina, Ea's consort, and Marduk suckled at the teats of the *ištars* (^{d}EŠ$_{4}$.TAR$_{2}$^{meš}, "goddesses," l. 85), who are also described as his "wet nurses who nursed him" (*ta-ri-tu it-tar-ru-šu*, l. 86). Damkina and these other goddesses are quite distinct in the epic from Tiāmat, whose introduction and progeny appear in I 4ff.

Like Ištar-of-Nineveh in SAA 3 39:20, Marduk is described as having four pairs of eyes and ears in *Enūma eliš* I 95.

[57] Livingstone 1986, 234. Livingstone notes that Ištar's celestial aspect (i.e., Venus) as the morning star was identified with the goddess Išḫara and the constellation Scorpio, the latter of which was equated with Tiāmat's serpentine imagery in SAA 3 39 r. 13-16 and *Enūma eliš* I.

[58] Livingstone 1986, 234; P.-A. Beaulieu, "The Cult of AN.ŠÁR/Aššur in Babylonia after the Fall of the Assyrian Empire," SAAB 11 (1997): 64.

While Ištar-of-Nineveh is explicitly identified as one of Marduk's progenitors via her identification with Tiāmat, Ištar-of-Arbela is only implicitly and incorrectly identified as one when she is described as Bēl's mother. In SAA 3 39:22-23, Ištar-of-Arbela is identified with Antu, but Antu is never actually mentioned in *Enūma eliš*. Anu is listed as the son of Anšar and Kišar and again as the father of Ea (Nudimmud; *Enūma eliš* I 12 and 16), but unlike previous and subsequent divine generations, Ea is described as the offspring of only one divine parent: "And Anu begot Nudimmud in his (own) image (*u*$_3$ ^{d}*a-num tam-ši-la-šu*$_2$ *u*$_2$*-lid* ^{d}*nu-dim*$_2$*-mud*," l. 16). Given Antu's ancient association as Anu's consort, the scribe responsible for identifying Ištar-of-Arbela with Antu in SAA 3 39 undoubtedly credited these two deities as Ea's birth parents in the epic.

Ištar-of-Arbela is recognized as Bēl's mother and identified with Antu in this esoteric text that paints the world in terms of Marduk and identifies Ištar-of-Nineveh as his nemesis Tiāmat; however, nothing in this text hints at the possibility that Ištar-of-Arbela *is* Ištar-of-Nineveh (or that Antu *is* Tiāmat). "Mystical Miscellanea" simply recognizes one goddess as a mother and the other as a wet nurse. According to M. Stol, in ancient Mesopotamia the wet nurse was typically a woman from the lower classes or a slave who was selected to feed the child for the birth mother and who was paid with rations of barley, oil, and wool.[59] Alternatively, a wet nurse could be the adopting mother if the birth mother was too poor to provide for her own child. There was also a class of priestesses (*qadištu*) who performed this task.[60] Stol notes that texts from the Old Babylonian period at Mari indicate that a "wet nurse" (*tārītu*) could be described as a "mother" (*ummu*), especially if she had a close relationship with the princess that she

[59] M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible*: *its Mediterranean Setting* (Cuneiform Monographs 14; Gröningen; Styx, 2000), 182.
[60] Stol 2000, 183 and 186; see also *CAD* Q, *qadištu*, discussion section at end of entry.

worked for at the royal court.[61] Even though the terms “wet nurse” and “mother” could sometimes be used interchangeably at Mari, this does not diminish the probably that the two goddessses are distinct in SAA 3 39 and SAA 9 7 since these terms are only interchangeable in reference to the wet nurse. One can call a wet nurse “mother” as a sign of honor, but no one would refer to the birth mother herself as a child’s “wet nurse.”

The two terms have been selected for use in SAA 3 39 (and SAA 9 7) because of their parallel meanings and the intimacy that they invoke between the king and each goddess. Nothing necessitates that the two roles be considered identical. Indeed, since Ashurbanipal was a prince at the Assyrian royal court, he would have been reared as an infant by both his mother and a wet nurse. The fact that the king and Bēl were envisioned by the scribes responsible for SAA 3 39 (and SAA 9 7) as having both a divine mother and a divine wet nurse is nothing more than imagining the divine world as reflecting the king’s daily reality as a child. SAA 3 3 and 39 both attest to the independent existence of Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela. Each goddess performs a slightly different role for the infant, which is exactly the point of the hymns.

D. Who is Mullissu, and when is she Mullissu?

As has been observed several times already “Ištar” is not the only first name for a goddess associated with Nineveh. The divine name Mullissu is explicitly tied with Nineveh in the curse-list in Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty as Mullissu-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh (^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$ *a-ši-bat* ^{uru}NINA^{ki}, SAA 2 6:457; see Table 6.2; see also the proposed reconstruction in SAA 2 5 iv 1´), a name which reappears in a the purchase document when Šumma-ilāni, the royal chariot driver, buys slaves (^{d}NIN.[LIL$_2$] ⸢*a*⸣-*ši-*

[61] Stol 2000, 189.

bat ^{uru}*ni-nu-a*, SAA 6 53:14-15).[62] “Assurbanipal’s Hymn to Ištar of Nineveh” (SAA 3 7) identifies Ištar-of-Nineveh as the queen of the city, but it also refers to a “Queen Mullissu,” and the scribe responsible for the “Psalm in Praise of Uruk” declares, “I love Nineveh, along with Mullissu!” (AG$_2$ ^{uru}*ni-nu-a a-*⸢*di* ^{d}NIN⸣.LIL$_2$, SAA 3 9:14). Finally, “Mystical Miscellanea” (SAA 3 39:19-21) mentions a Mullissu and identifies her with Ištar-of-Nineveh/Tiāmat; however, Mullissu is only identified with the lower portions of Ištar-of-Nineveh’s body in that text (KI.TA^{meš}-*ša* ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$, l. 21). Each of these texts represents the gradual identification of Ištar-of-Nineveh with Mullissu, which began when the Assyrian capital moved to Nineveh.[63]

In “Assurbanipal’s Hymn to Ištar of Nineveh” (SAA 3 7), Ištar-of-Nineveh is called by each of the divine name formulas. Using the DN//title-of-GN formula, she is “Ištar, Quee[n of Nineveh]” (^{d}*iš-tar šar-r*[*a-at* NINA^{ki}], l. 5); using the DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN formula, she is “Queen Mullissu-Who-Resides-(in)-GN” (^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$ *ša*[*r-r*]*a-tu*$_2$ *a-ši*$^{!}$*-bat* [*x*], l. 11; the GN is presumably Nineveh, but it could be the temple name Emašmaš); using the title-of-GN formula, she is Lady-of-Nineveh (^{d}*be-let* NINA^{ki}, l. 12). She is also called the “daughter of Nineveh” (*bi-nat* NINA^{k}[^{i}], l. 1), and though she is never explicitly referred to as Aššur’s consort, the fact that she is identified as “Queen Mullissu-Who-Resides-(in)-GN” is more than suggestive of this role.

The goddess Mullissu, who was recognized as Enlil’s consort in Sumer and Babylonia, makes her first appearance as an Assyrian deity in a thirteenth-century Assyrian royal inscription from Šalmaneser I’s reign, where she is paired with Aššur: ^{d}*aš-šur u*$_3$ ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$ *ik-ri-bi-šu i-še-mu-u*$_2$ (“May Aššur and Mullissu listen to his prayers,”

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[62] For an explanation how the name “Ninlil” came to be pronounced “Mullissu” in the late third millennium, see Meinhold 2009, 192.
[63] Meinhold 2009. 203.

RIMA 1 A.0.77.1:163).[64] Meinhold notes that this pairing does not necessarily imply that Mullissu had yet been recognized as Aššur's consort. Therefore, Tukultī-Ninurta I was the first Assyrian king to explicitly link Mullissu and Aššur as a divine couple as when he proclaimed, "May Mullissu, the great wife, your (Aššur's) beloved, calm you" (^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$ *ḫi-ir-tu* GAL-*tu na-ra-am-ta-ka li-ni-iḫ-ka*, *MVAG* 23/1 66 r. 29) in his "Psalm to Aššur for Tukultī-Ninurta I."[65] According to Meinhold, identifying Mullissu as Aššur's wife was possible because Aššur had been identified with Enlil; however, numerous EGLs demonstrate that Aššur was not identified with Enlil throughout most of Assyrian history. Aššur may have been equated with Enlil during Tukultī-Ninurta's reign in the thirteenth century, but the two deities are consistently listed as distinct deities throughout the Neo-Assyrian period, as several Sargonid period EGLs demonstrate (see Tables 6.2, 6.3, 6.5, 6.6, and 6.11). Interestingly, Mullissu is not consistently recognized as the Assyrian chief deity's consort during the Neo-Assyrian period. Moreover, not all of the texts that recognize Mullissu as Enlil's consort are from Babylonia[66]; Šalmaneser III's "Black Obelisk," an inscription discovered at Calaḫ, provides Mullissu with the epithet "the spouse of Enlil" (^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$ *ḫi-ir-ti* ^{d}BAD, RIMA 3 A.102.14:12). Truly complicating these relationships, Aššur-nērārī V's treaty with Matiˀ-ilu of Arpad pairs Mullissu with Enlil, leaving Aššur without a consort (SAA 2 2 vi 6-7), but Matiˀ-ilu's treaty with Bargaˀyah of KYK (*KAI* 222:7-8) – if Barré's proposed restoration is accepted – recognizes Mullissu as Aššur's consort without invoking Enlil at all.[67]

[64] Meinhold 2009, 192.
[65] Meinhold 2009, 193.
[66] The EGL in SAA 10 286:3-7 is a text from Babylonia that pairs Mullissu with Enlil. Notably, both deities appear before Aššur in this blessing EGL (see Table 6.11).
[67] Barré 1985, 210.

Mullissu and (the unspecified) Ištar are recognized as distinct goddesses from the thirteenth century into the eighth century, but Mullissu's characteristics come to resemble those of Ištar's warrior aspect, as evidenced by the "weapons of Mullissu" that are mentioned in a Middle Assyrian ceremony ($^{\text{giš}}$TUKUL$^{\text{meš}}$ *ša* $^{\text{d}}$NIN.LIL$_2$, *MVAG* 41/3 10 ii 15-16).[68] However, it was during Sennacherib's reign that Mullissu was first officially and undeniably equated with Ištar.[69] Meinhold notes that the divine names Mullissu and Ištar were practically synonymous during the reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, which is why either Mullissu or Ištar could be indentified as Aššur's consort in the seventh century. For example, "Mullissu" and "Ištar" are interchangeable in two of Sennacherib's royal inscriptions: *i-na qi*$_2$*-bit* $^{\text{d}}$*aš-šur* AD DINGIR$^{\text{meš}}$ *u*$_3$ $^{\text{d}}$NIN.LIL$_2$ *šar*-[*ra*]-*ti* ("by the command of Aššur, father of the gods, and Mullissu, the queen," Frahm 128 T61) and *i-na qi*$_2$*-bit* $^{\text{d}}$*aš-šur a-bu* DINGIR$^{\text{meš}}$ *u*$_3$ $^{\text{d}}$*iš-tar šar-ra-ti* ("by the command of Aššur, father of the gods, and Ištar, the queen," Frahm 121 T36).[70] Similarly, either Mullissu or Ištar can appear alongside Aššur and tell Ashurbanipal to defeat Elam, the Arabs, or Šamaš-šumu-ukīn's Arab allies: *ina qi*$_2^{!}$*-bit* AN.ŠAR$_2$ $^{\text{d}}$NIN.LIL$_2$ ("by the command of Aššur [and] Mullissu," *BIWA* 45 A iv 101) and *ina qi*$_2$*-bit* AN.ŠAR$_2$ $^{\text{d}}$15 ("by the command of Aššur [and] Ištar," *BIWA* 49 A v 63).[71]

A letter from Iddin-Ea, a priest of Ninurta in Calaḫ, to the king also identifies Ištar with Mullissu. In his blessing, Iddin-Ea invokes Aššur, Ištar, Nabû, and Marduk (SAA 13 126:4). As Tables 6.13 and 9.2 indicate, Ištar-associated goddesses typically

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[68] Meinhold 2009, 199.
[69] Meinhold 2009, 200.
[70] Meinhold 2009, 200 n. 1190-1191; E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften* (AfOB 26; Vienna: Institut fur Orientalistik, 1997) 128 T61 and 121 T36. Meinhold also cites SAA 13 32 and 36 as evidence that the divine names Mullissu and Ištar are interchangeable since both are paired with Aššur in a blessing.
[71] See Meinhold 2009, 200 n. 1196 and 201 n. 1197 for a full list of the relevant "by the command of Aššur and Mullissu/Ištar" passages.

appear near the end of EGLs in letters, whereas Mullissu often appears after her consort Aššur at the beginning. The fact that (an unspecified) Ištar has been promoted in this blessing above the Babylonian chief deities Nabû and Marduk is, in itself, evidence of Ištar's identification with Mullissu.[72] Moreover, the fact that SAA 13 126 is from a priest in Calaḫ indicates that Mullissu's identification with Ištar had moved beyond official court religion in the capital and spread, at least, to the priestly class in nearby Calaḫ.

Just as SAA 13 126 invokes an unspecified Ištar, so too do most of the texts reflecting Ištar's identification with Mullissu. However, according to Meinhold, this unspecified Ištar is really the goddess Ištar-of-Nineveh.[73] She bases her claim, in part, on those instances where the first name Mullissu is paired with Ištar-of-Arbela (regardless of whether this pairing is in an EGL or not). For example, Mullissu and Ištar-of-Arbela appear together twice in SAA 3 22. First, they appear alone by themselves (^{d}NIN.LIL$_{2}$ *u*$_{2}$ ^{d}*be*-*lat* ^{uru}*arba*-[*il*$_{3}$], r. 11), and then at the end of a five-member EGL: **Aššur**/**Bēl**/**Nabû**/ Mullissu/Lady-of-Arbela (r. 15-16).[74] Other evidence for this identification mentioned by Meinhold includes inscriptions where the first name Mullissu is associated with the city of Nineveh or the temple Emašmaš: "August Nineveh is the beloved city of Mullissu"

[72] Ištar also appears after Aššur and before Marduk/Bēl and Nabû in SAA 13 138:4; *144*:*5-6*; and 150:3-4, all of which are from Arbela.
[73] Meinhold 2009, 202.
[74] As stated above, the placement of an unspecified Ištar immediately after Aššur in an EGL indicates she has been identified as Aššur's consort. In SAA 3 22, Mullissu appears fourth in a five-member EGL. This does not mean, however, that this Mullissu has been demoted and no longer considered Aššur's consort. In the witness EGL in SAA 2 6:16-20, Mullissu is separated from Aššur by eleven deities, but she is the first goddess in the EGL, positioned like the queen of the goddesses. Likewise, Bēl and Nabû appear between Aššur and Mullissu in SAA 3 22, but Mullissu is the first of two goddesses in the EGL, which could be suggestive of her role as Aššur's consort.

(NINA[ki] URU *ṣi-i-ru na-ram* [d]NIN.LIL$_2$, *BIWA* 72 A x 51-52) and "Emašmaš, the temple of Mullissu" (*e$_2$-maš-maš* E$_2$ [d]NIN.LIL$_2$, *BIWA* 268 30).[75]

Despite this wealth of evidence firmly placing Mullissu in Nineveh as another name for the Ištar-associated goddess who had long been associated with the city and her temple the Emašmaš, as well as the numerous inscriptions that implicitly or explicitly identify Ištar(-of-Nineveh) as Aššur's consort, the identification between Mullissu and Ištar-of-Nineveh is never any more complete than Enlil's identification with Aššur. Meinhold recognizes this and offers BM 121206 ix as evidence of the distinction between Mullissu and Ištar-of-Nineveh in the cult during Sennacherib's reign (see Table 6.5) along with other texts dating from Esarhaddon's reign to Sîn-šarra-iškun's reign.[76] In each instance, Mullissu appears alongside her consort Aššur at the beginning of the EGL, while Ištar-of-Nineveh appears near the end with Ištar-of-Arbela.

This seemingly contradictory existence of Ištar-of-Nineveh who is and is not Mullissu can be easily explained, according to Meinhold.[77] By the time Sennacherib moved the Assyrian capital to Nineveh at the start of his reign, Aššur's primary temple had been located in the city of Assur for over one thousand years.[78] When the Assyrian capital was moved to Calaḫ and then to Dūr-Šarrukīn in the ninth and eighth centuries, Aššur's primary residence remained in Assur. Even though Sargon II did not build Aššur a temple in Dūr-Šarrukīn, during Sargon's reign Aššur became a primary actor in the

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[75] Meinhold 2009, 202. Other types of evidence include associating Ištar-of-Nineveh with Mullissu's consort since Meinhold argues for the identification of Aššur with Enlil: NINA[ki] URU *na-ram* [d]*iš-tar ḫi-rat* [d]EN.LIL$_2$ ("Nineveh, beloved city of Ištar, the wife of Enlil," *BIWA* 64 A viii 91-92).
[76] Meinhold 2009, 203 and n. 1214.
[77] Meinhold 2009, 204.
[78] J. M. Russell, *Sennacherib's Palace without Rival at Nineveh* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1 and 266 and Frame 1999, 12. Frame notes that an Aššur temple existed in northern Syria around 1900 and that Tukultī-Ninurta I built Aššur a temple in his newly built capital city Kūr-Tukultī-Ninurta in the thirteenth century. Little is known about this temple's success or how long it was in service to the god.

Akītu-festival at Nineveh alongside the local Ištar,[79] which provided a cultic foundation upon which Aššur's cultic presence in the festival could be built up in Nineveh over the course of the seventh century. Rather than relocate the king back to the city of Assur, the god Aššur was brought to the king in Nineveh and provided a local temple. As the patron goddess of Nineveh, it was only natural that Ištar-of-Nineveh should be recognized as the Assyrian chief deity's consort while his divine presence grew there. At Ištar's temple in Nineveh, Ištar-of-Nineveh was Aššur's consort; however, Mullissu remained his consort at Aššur's temple in Assur.[80]

Given this history and cultic development, Meinhold suggests that the identification of Mullissu with Ištar-of-Nineveh was only a localized phenomenon.[81] Most texts that dealt with the national pantheon continue to distinguish between Mullissu as Aššur's consort and Ištar-of-Nineveh. This is accomplished either by an explicit epithet identifying Mullissu as Aššur's consort or by placing her after him in EGLs and by placing the divine name Ištar-of-Nineveh alongside Ištar-of-Arbela in EGLs. Other texts reflect a Ninevite pantheon and refer to Ištar(-of-Nineveh) as Aššur's consort.[82] Since this identification between Mullissu and Ištar-of-Nineveh was incomplete, Meinhold argues that the divine name Mullissu could exist as the first name of two

[79] Menzel 1981, 1:120. Menzel also proposes that Aššurnāṣirpal II had already built Aššur a temple in Nineveh, based on her reading of *VS* 1 66 (1:1 and 120 and 2:118* n. 1639), but a newer edition of this text suggests that the signs ^{d}AŠ at the end of l. 2 should be corrected to ^{d}INANA (A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I* [*1114-859*] [RIMA 2; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991], 384; RIMA 2 A.0.101.136:2).

[80] Meinhold 2009, 204. That rival consorts for one god could survive in local traditions is reminiscent of the various local traditions that recognized Ištar as a daughter of Ea, Sîn, Anu, or another patron deity of a city.

[81] Meinhold 2009, 205.

[82] Meinhold's proposal to disentangle Mullissu from Ištar-of-Nineveh in seventh-century texts according to their provenance is reminiscent of Barton's methodology (see the discussion in chapter 4). Whereas Barton used the texts' provenance and the king's capital city to determine a local Ištar manifestation's characteristics and attributes (and ultimately determined that the various Neo-Assyrian Ištars were the same goddess), Meinhold proposes that a text's (local or imperial) scope can be determined based on its treatment of Mullissu and Ištar-of-Nineveh as the same or distinct goddesses.

distinct goddesses – one who is the wife of the Assyrian chief deity, and one who is linked with Nineveh and Ištar-associated goddesses. This is exactly what happens in Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (SAA 2 6), where an unspecified Mullissu is the second deity in the curse-list and is identified as "his (Aššur's) beloved wife" (^{d}NIN.LIL$_{2}$ *hi-ir-tu na-ram-ta-šu*$_{2}$, l. 417), while a Mullissu-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh (^{d}NIN.LIL$_{2}$ *a-ši-bat* ^{uru}NINA^{ki}, l. 457) appears much later in the text immediately before Ištar-of-Arbela (see Table 6.2). Elsewhere in this same treaty (ll. 19-20 and 29-30), an unspecified Mullissu is the first goddess in the witness list and adjuration EGLs, whereas Ištar-of-Nineveh (^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}NINA^{ki}, ll. 20 and 30) is the fourth of the five goddesses listed (see Table 6.3). By contrasting these two sets of EGLs in SAA 2 6, we can see that Ištar-of-Nineveh is *a* Mullissu, but Mullissu is not *an* Ištar-associated goddess on the national level but rather the consort of the chief deity (see Table 9.5).

This localized identification of an Ištar-associated goddess with Mullissu is not limited to Nineveh. Multiple texts reveal that Ištar-of-Arbela is also identified with Mullissu. While most of these are prophetic texts, one non-prophetic text that identifies Ištar-of-Arbela is the "Psalm in Praise of Uruk" (SAA 3 9). SAA 3 9 actually identifies both Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela as Mullissu (ll. 14-15), but the psalm's structure indicates that the Mullissu in Nineveh is not the same goddess as the Mullissu in Arbela. In ll. 7-17, with the exception of l. 11, the scribe responsible for this psalm praises Uruk by a KI.MIN placed at the beginning of each line, and he then proclaims his love (AG$_{2}$) for a city along with (*adi*) the deity residing there. The psalm's regular structure creates an EGL with the deities arranged geographically, moving away from Uruk (see Table 9.6). In ll. 14-15, Nineveh and Arbela are both praised "along with"

(*adi*) Mullissu, but no other deity is listed twice, including Aššur, who himself had a significant divine presence in Nineveh by the time this psalm was composed. In the context of an EGL, this double attestation of the divine name Mullissu indicates that these two goddesses are distinct. Either Ishtar-of-Nineveh and Ishtar-of-Arbela have each been locally syncretized with Mullissu while retaining their individual identity, or the first name Mullissu could function as a divine nickname, like "Lady" (*bēlet-*) or "Queen" (*šarrat-*), for Ištar-associated goddesses.

No texts explicitly reveal the divine name Mullissu-of-Arbela as with her Ninevite counterpart, but Meinhold claims that several letters in SAA 13 demonstrate the identification of the national goddess Mullissu with the local city's patron deity Ištar(-of-Arbela).[83] She admits that none of these texts explicitly identify Ištar-of-Arbela as Mullissu, but she follows Barton's methodology in which a text's origin indicates which Ištar-associated goddess the unspecified Ištar is. Since SAA 13 138-146 and 150-153 are all from seventh-century Arbela, which is when Mullissu's identification with local Ištar-associated goddesses occurs, Meinhold suggests that any Ištar who is closely associated with Aššur is assumed to be his consort. Of these letters, only three definitively identify (the unspecified) Ištar as Aššur's consort: SAA 13 138, 144, and 150.[84] In each letter, (the unspecified) Ištar appears after Aššur in an EGL but before Marduk and Nabû, who typically precede Ištar-associated goddesses in EGLs. However, while these three letters identify *an* Ištar with Mullissu, only in SAA 13 138 is the unspecified Ištar likely Ištar-

[83] Meinhold 2009, 206 n. 1228. She also notes that Ištar-of-Arbela is closely associated with Aššur in VAT 8005 r. 9 (Menzel 1981, 2:T112) but that in a line referencing the city of Arbela Aššur-Ištar (*aš-šur* ^{d}15) could be interpreted as a esoteric double name rather than indicating a consort relationship between Aššur and the local Ištar (see also Porter 2000, 235ff.).
[84] *A priori*, nothing in SAA 13 140-143, 145-146, and 151-153 indicates Mullissu has been identified with Ištar-of-Arbela. SAA 13 140 even lists Ištar-of-Arbela in an EGL after Ištar-of-Nineveh, which is counter to any possible identification with Mullissu.

of-Arbela. In this letter, Aššur-ḫamātūʾa complains to the king that Nabû-ēpuš, a priest of Ea, stole a golden object off a table "that is in front of Ištar" in the temple (*ša ina* IGI ^{d}15, SAA 13 138:6-11). If this unnamed temple were specified as Ištar-of-Arbela's Egašankalamma, then the identification of Mullissu with specifically Ištar-of-Arbela would be more secure. As the prophetic texts demonstrate, just because a prophet who resides in Arbela invokes an unspecified Ištar in Arbela, that prophet does not necessarily identify the local deity with the Assyrian chief deity's consort Mullissu. Likewise, just because an unspecified Ištar is invoked in a text from Arbela, it does not necessarily imply that Ištar-of-Arbela is the intended referent or Aššur's consort. The unspecified Ištar in SAA 13 138 is probably Ištar-of-Arbela and her position in the EGL suggests she is Aššur's consort in this letter, but conclusions should be drawn on a case-by-case basis dependent upon a letter's internal evidence rather than applied over a corpus of texts from a particular location. Indeed, of the other letters Meinhold offers as evidence of a local identification of Mullissu and Ištar-of-Arbela, SAA 13 139 uses the divine name Mullissu and refers to her as one who raised the king (l. 4), which may be a reference to the goddess's role as mother or wet nurse,[85] but nothing links this Mullissu with the Ištar who appears with Aššur in a blessing at the end of the letter. As with SAA 13 141-143, 145-146, 151, and 153, Aššur and Ištar may appear together as the national patron deity and the local patron deity rather than as an indication of a consort relationship, a point Meinhold makes elsewhere about the Assyrian Ištar (^{d}15 *aš-šu-ri-tu*) and Aššur in the

[85] ⸢*ša*⸣ *tu*$_2$*-ra-bi-i*⸢*ni*⸣, "whom she raised," SAA 13 139:4; compare with SAA 3 3 r. 14-16; and SAA 9 1.6 iii 15′-18′ and 7 r. 6

centuries prior to the identification of Mullissu with any Ištar-associated goddess.[86] Simply, a god and a goddess can be "just friends."

Ištar-of-Arbela is also mentioned in several prophetic texts, and many prophets are themselves from Arbela,[87] but not all prophets who identify Ištar-of-Arbela with Mullissu are from Arbela. For example, Urkittu-Šarrat, a woman from Calaḫ (SAA 9 2.4 iii 18′), begins her message to Esarhaddon with two synonymous phrases, "the word of Ištar-of-Arbela, the word of the queen Mullissu" (*a-bat* ^{d}15$^{!}$ *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$ *a-bat šar-ra-ti* ^{d}NIN$^{!}$.LIL$_2$, ii 30′). If the subsequent statements are interpreted as quotes, then Ištar-of-Arbela is Mullissu: *a-da*$^{!}$*-gal* ("I will see," l. 31′), *as-sa-nam-me* ("I will listen carefully," l. 31′), *u*$_2$*-ḫa-a-a-a-ṭa*$^{!}$ ("I will investigate," l. 32′), *a-ša*$_2$*-kan* ("I will set," l. 33′), *a-da*$^{!}$*-ab-ub* ("I will speak," l. 34′), and *a-*⸢*ba*$^{!}$⸣*-an-ni* ("I will create," l. 37′). This prophecy is delivered with first person singular verbs, indicating that the prophet is speaking for only one goddess, and this one goddess is Ištar-of-Arbela, whom the prophet from Calaḫ identifies with Mullissu. Another text in which the prophet seems to identify Ištar-of-Arbela with Mullissu is an oracle to the queen mother (SAA 9 5). Like SAA 9 2.4, this text begins with "the word of Ištar-of-Arbela" (*a-bat* ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$, SAA 9 5:1). The name Mullissu appears twice in this oracle, and while the name is not definitively tied to Ištar-of-Arbela in either line, it does appear to refer to her rather than another goddess. In the first instance, the prophet reports that "Mullissu [listened] to the cry [of her young animal]" (^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$ *a-na kil-li* [*ša mu-ri-ša*$_2$ *ta-se-me*], l. 3), and in the second instance, the prophet commands that Mullissu be glorified (^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$ ⸢*dul*$^{!}$⸣*-la* [*x x x x x x*],

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[86] Meinhold 2009, 191.

[87] Prophets from Arbela who invoke Ištar-of-Arbela in their pronouncements but do not indicate either an equation with or contrast from Mullissu include Issār-lā-tašīat (SAA 9 1.1), Sinqīša-āmur (SAA 9 1.2), Bayâ (SAA 9 1.4; Bayâ claims to speak for Bēl, Ištar-of-Arbela, and Nabû in a single oracle in ll. 17′, 30′, and 38′), Aḫāt-Abīša (SAA 9 1.8), Lā-dāgil-ili (SAA 9 1.10, 2.3, and 3.4), and Tašmētu-ēreš (SAA 9 6).

"Glorify […] Mullissu […]," r. 6). However, since Ninurta is mentioned elsewhere in the text (l. 6) and the deity speaks in the first person singular,[88] these third person invocations of Mullissu near the beginning and end of the oracle could, potentially, refer to a second goddess. This seems less likely, but it is possible.

Other prophets distinguish Ištar-of-Arbela from Mullissu in varying degrees of explicit statements. For example, Dunnaša-āmur, a woman from Arbela, invokes both goddesses by name and uses feminine-plural verbs and possessive suffixes in her "Words of Encouragement to Assurbanipal":

> ^{1}[*ki-din*]-*nu ša*$_2$ ^{d}N[I]N.LIL$_2$ ^{2}[(*x*) *x x*] *ša* ^{d}GAŠAN ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$ ^{3}[*ši-na-m*]*a ina* DINGIR.DINGIR *dan-na*…^{4}[*i-ra-*$^{?}$]*a*$^{!}$*-a-ma u* AG$_2$-*ši*$^{!!}$*-na* ^{5}[*a-na*] $^{m!}$AN.ŠAR$_2$-*ba-an*-A DU$_3$-*ut* ŠU.^{II}-*ši-na* ^{6}[*il-t*]*a-nap-pa-ra ša*$_2$ TI.LA-*šu*$_2$ ^{7}[*u*$_2$-*ša*$_2$-*a*]*š*$_2$-*ka-na-šu* ŠA$_3$-*bu*
>
> [Proté]gé of Mullissu, […] of Lady-of-Arbela, [they] are the strongest among the gods; they [lo]ve and they continually send their love to Ashurbanipal, the creation of their hands, they [enco]urage him about his life (SAA 9 9:1-7).[89]

Furthermore, Dunnaša-āmur places a copula (*u*) between the two names to stress their distinction: $^{r. 1'}$[*x*] ^{d}[NIN].⸢LIL$_2$⸣ *u* ⸢^{d}⸣GAŠAN *arba-il*$_3$^{ki} $^{2'}$[*a-na*] ^{m}AN.ŠAR$_2$–DU$_3$–A ⸢DU$_3$⸣-*ut* ŠU.^{IImeš}-⸢*ši-na* $^{3'}$⸢*lu*$^{!}$⸣-*u*$_2$-*bal-liṭ-ṭa a-na* [*d*]*a-*⸢*a*⸣*-r*[*i*] ("May [Mul]lissu and Lady-of-Arbela keep Ashurbanipal, the creation of their hands, alive for[e]ve[r]," r. 1′-3′). Parpola notes that this note of encouragement was written during the middle of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn's rebellion against the king (April 16, 650), so the kind words from these two

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[88] Parpola's reconstruction and translation include first-person singular verbs in ll. 8 (*u*$_2$-[*ṣa*], "I will g[o out]"), e. 10 ([*a*]*d-dan*, "I will give"), and r. 2 (*u*$_2$-⸢*ba*⸣-[*x x x*], "I will […]") and a possessive pronoun in r. 7 (AD$^{!}$-*u-a*, "my father").
[89] See *CAD* Š/1, *šakānu* mng. 5a *libbu*.

goddesses must have been welcomed by Ashurbanipal who praised both of them in SAA 3 3 and Ištar-of-Nineveh as Mullissu in SAA 3 7.[90]

A second text that distinguishes Ištar-of-Arbela from Mullissu is written by Mullissu-kabtat, a woman from Nineveh and possibly associated with Ištar-of-Nineveh's temple the Emašmaš.[91] As mentioned above, this report to the crown prince Ashurbanipal identifies Mullissu as his mother and Lady-of-Arbela as his wet nurse: *ša*$_2$ ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$ AMA-*šu*$_2$*-ni la ta-pal-laḫ*$_3$ *ša*$_2$ GAŠAN *arba-il*$_3$ *ta-ri-su-ni la ta-pal-laḫ*$_3$ ("Do not fear, you whose mother is Mullissu! Do not fear, you whose wet nurse is Lady-of-Arbela," SAA 9 7 r. 6). As may be expected of an oracle written from Nineveh by a prophet whose name includes Mullissu as its theophoric element, this text twice declares that the message comes from Mullissu rather than Ištar-of-Arbela (*a-bat* ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$, "the word of Mullissu, l. 2; [^{d}NIN.L]IL$_2$ *taq-ṭi-bi*, "[Mull]issu says," l. 12).

A final prophetic text, by an unknown prophet from an unknown city, seems to distinguish Mullissu from Ištar-of-Arbela.[92] After opening with "I am Ištar-of-[Arbela]" (*a-na-ku* ^{d}15 *ša* ^{ur}[^{u}*arba-il*$_3$], SAA 9 1.6 iii 7´), in a way reminiscent of SAA 9 7 r. 6, the goddess refers to herself as the king's wet nurse: $^{15'}$*sa-ab-su-ub-ta-k*[*a*] $^{16'}$*ra-bi-tu a-na-ku* $^{17'}$*mu-še-ni*[*q*$^{!}$]*-ta-ka* $^{18'}$*de-iq-tu*$_2$ *a-na-ku* ("I am your great midwife; I am your capable wet nurse," SAA 9 1.6 iii 15´-18´). However, unlike SAA 9 7, this text does not explicitly

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[90] Parpola 1997a, LXXI. Parpola suggests that "Assurbanipal's Hymn to the Ištars of Nineveh and Arbela" (SAA 3 3) was written in response to the words of encouragement in SAA 9 9. He also links the "Dialogue Between Aššurbanipal and Nabû" and the "Righteous Sufferer's Prayer to Nabû" (SAA 3 13 and 12) with this historical moment.

[91] Parpola 1997a, LI. A prophet from the Inner City (Assur), probably in the name of Mullissu (*a-na-ku* ^{d}N[IN.LIL$_2$], "I am Mu[llissu]," SAA 9 1.5 iii 4´), but this oracle is too broken to know if this goddess was equated or contrasted with any Ištar-associated goddesses.

[92] The oracle mentions the Inner City, Nineveh, Calaḫ, and Arbela in its greeting. In the body of the text, the goddess promises, "[I] am your capable shield (in) Arbela" (^{uru}*arba-*⌜*il*$_3$⌝ *a-ri-it-ka de-iq-tu*$_2$ *a-*[*na-ku*], SAA 9 1.6 iv 18-19), but this follows a blessing to the Inner City (iv 15-17), so it is not necessarily indicative of Arbela as its place of origin. Since the goddess speaking throughout this text is Ištar-of-Arbela, the fact that she would have a special relationship with Arbela is not surprising.

contrast the "wet nurse" who is Ištar-of-Arbela with the "mother" who is Mullissu since the word "mother" (*ummu*) does not appear in the text. This text does, however, twice refer to Esarhaddon as the "true heir, the son of Mullissu" (^{m}*aš-šur*-PAB-AŠ *ap-lu ke-e-nu* DUMU ^{d}NIN.LIL$_{2}$, SAA 9 1.6 iv 5-6; ^{m}*aš-šur*-PAB-AŠ DUMU.UŠ *k*[*e-e-nu*] DUMU ^{d}NIN.[LIL$_{2}$], iv 20-21). As the "son of Mullissu," Esarhaddon has the same relationship with Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela as does Ashurbanipal in SAA 3 3 – the former is the king's divine mother and the latter is his divine wet nurse. The fact that this inscription identifies Mullissu with Ištar-of-Nineveh is not indicated by the text itself but by both the numerous other texts that pair Ištar-of-Nineveh with Ištar-of-Arbela and those texts that specifically locate the divine name Mullissu in Nineveh.

No extant text names a Mullissu-of-Arbela alongside an Ištar-of-Nineveh, and no text contrasts an Assyrian Mullissu with another Ištar-associated goddess. Though Mullissu and Ištar-of-Nineveh are not universally identified in the seventh-century, more texts identify Mullissu with Ištar-of-Nineveh than they do Ištar-of-Arbela, and they do so more explicitly, even outside of Nineveh itself. This is likely because Nineveh was the Assyrian capital in the seventh century, so its patron deity received more attention and was closer to the interests of the national pantheon than was Ištar-of-Arbela, despite the apparent dominance of the city of Arbela and its patron goddess in prophecy. The same is true for the Assyrian Ištar who is not indentified with Mullissu despite their long history in the capital city at Assur. The fact that numerous texts – including those with EGLs, as well as literary and prophetic texts – replace Ištar-of-Nineveh with Mullissu (or Mullissu-of-Nineveh) and pair this Mullissu with Ištar-of-Arbela reinforces the distinction between these two Ištars through the seventh century. Moreover, since Mullissu/Ištar-of-Nineveh

regularly precedes Ištar-of-Arbela, we see that Ištar-of-Nineveh outranks Ištar-of-Arbela regardless which first name she is given.

E. The Assyrian Ištar

While Ištar-of-Nineveh was often identified with Mullissu in some fashion by some scribes and prophets, and Ištar-of-Arbela was occasionally but much less often identified with Mullissu, nothing indicates that the Assyrian Ištar (^{d}15 *aš-šu-ri-tu*) was identified with Mullissu, even though she resided near Aššur in his capital for hundreds of years.[93] The goddess's full name first appears in the Old Assyrian period on two votive offerings from the reign of Sargon I of Assur (ca. 1920-1881) and in a treaty between the king of Apum Till-Abnû and the city of Assur.[94] The treaty, which dates to about 1750, contains an oath by which the two parties swear (*tamû*) by the Assyrian Ištar ([^{d}*eš*$_{4}$]-˹*tar*$_{2}$˺ *a-šu-ri-tam*, Eidem *Fs*. *Garelli* 195 i 11), Lady-of-Apu, Lady-of-Nineveh ([^{d}]*be*-[*l*]*a-at ni-nu-wa*, 1. 13), Ninkarrak, and Išḫara. This five-member EGL plainly indicates that the Assyrian Ištar was treated as a goddess distinct from Ištar-of-Nineveh already in the early second millennium.[95] This distinction between the Assyrian Ištar and other Ištar-

[93] Meinhold 2009, 206-207 and 190-191. The full name Assyrian Ištar is grammatically different from the names Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela because the word *aššurītu*, which follows the first name, is a feminine adjective rather than a city name. Rather than following the full name formula DN-of-GN or one of its alternatives, *aššurītu* is a feminized derived form of Assur. Meinhold argues that *aššurītu* is a reference to the city Assur and not the Assyrian chief deity Aššur since Aššur and the goddess never had a close relationship (Meinhold 2009, 51-52).

[94] Meinhold 2009, 52 and nn. 205-206. This Sargon is not to be confused with Sargon of Akkad (ca. 2340-2284).

[95] Meinhold 2009, 53; J. Eidem, "An Old Assyrian Treaty from Tell Leilan," in *Marchands*, *Diplomates et Empereurs*: *Études sur la Civilisation Mésopotamienne Offertes à Paul Garelli* (eds. D. Charpin and F. Joannès; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991), 195. Meinhold discusses other texts from the Old Assyrian period that refer to the Assyrian Ištar by her full name and by her first name (Meinhold 2009, 53). As stated elsewhere, Meinhold readily equates an unspecified Ištar from a text found in or relating to the Ištar temple in Assur or the city of Assur itself with the Assyrian Ištar, a methodology first proposed by Barton (see chapter 4). The fact that Ištar-of-Nineveh is the goddess identified in Eidem, *Fs. Garelli*, 195 i 13 as Lady-of-Nineveh is reinforced by a slightly earlier royal inscription from Šamšī-Adad I

associated goddesses continues into the Middle Assyrian period, as evidenced by an offering-list from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta. In MARV 4 95, the king makes offering to the goddess by her full name (^{d}˹*iš*$_8$-*tar*$_2$ *aš*$_2$-*šu*˺-*re-ti*, i 9′), contrasts her with Ištar-of-Heaven (^{d}˹*iš*$_8$-*tar*$_2$ *ša* AN-*e*˺, l. 10′), and then summarizes the offerings "to the gods" (*a-na* DINGIR^{meš}-*ni*, l. 11′) "and the goddesses/*ištars*/Ištars" (*u*$_3$ ^{d}INANA^{meš}, l. 12′).[96]

In the first millennium, the Assyrian Ištar's role diminishes as Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela, as well as Mullissu, take on greater roles in the Assyrian national pantheon.[97] This is, in part, the result of the movement of the imperial capital away from Assur and, eventually, to Nineveh.[98] Despite this shift away from the city of Assur and the Assyrian Ištar's correspondingly reduced importance, the goddess continues to play an important role in the cult at Assur.[99] The reason that the Assyrian Ištar was never identified with Mullissu – whereas she was locally identified with both Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela – is that the Assyrian Ištar was worshiped in the Ištar temple at Assur while Mullissu was worshiped in the Aššur temple.[100] Meinhold also notes that the Assyrian Ištar never had a close relationship with Aššur, which would reinforce the

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wherein he boasts about rebuilding the Emašmaš in Nineveh and calls upon Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh in a curse (^{d}INANA NIN *ni-nu-wa-a*$^{˹ki˺}$, RIMA 1 A.0.39.2 iv 21).

The earliest invocation of the goddess by her full name in a royal inscription does not appear until Puzur-Aššur III's reign in the early fifteenth century in an inscription linking the full name with Ilu-šumma's temple (^{5}E$_2$ ^{d}INANA ^{6}*aš-šu-ri-tim ša* DINGIR-*šum-ma* ^{7}*ru-ba-u*$_2$ *e-pu-šu*, "temple of the Assyrian Ištar, which Ilu-šumma the prince built," RIMA 1 A.0.61.2:5-7).

[96] Ištar-of-Nineveh (^{d}*iš*$_8$-*tar*$_2$ *ša* ^{uru}*ni-nu-a*) is contrasted with Ištar-of-Heaven (^{d}*iš*$_8$-*tar*$_2$ *ša* AN-*e*) in an offering-list from Tukultī-Ninurta's reign (MARV 3 75:1-2). Each goddess receives a male sheep as an offering. In a later section of the tablet, an unspecified Ištar and Šamaš each receive a sheep (ll. 5-6), and the unspecified Ištar is mentioned again in l. 14.

[97] Meinhold 2009, 58-59.

[98] In a royal inscription from Nineveh from the mid-eleventh cenutry, Šamšī-Adad IV claims that he rebuilt the towers of the Assyrian Ištar's temple ([*bīt ištar*] *aš*$_2$-*šu-ri-te*, RIMA 2 A.0.91.1:4). Meinhold argues that this temple [*bīt*] should be interpreted as a shrine within the Emašmaš at Nineveh, which was the temple of the goddess Ištar-of-Nineveh (Meinhold 2009, 64).

[99] Meinhold 2009, 59-62. For a full discussion of the Assyrian Ištar, see Meinhold 2009, 51-64.

[100] Meinhold also suggests that the lack of evidence connecting the Assyrian Ištar with Mullissu may have resulted from the various connections Mullissu had established with the other Ištar-associated goddesses in Nineveh and Arbela (Meinhold 2009, 207).

reluctance to equate her with his consort.[101] That the Assyrian Ištar was not identified with Mullissu, even locally in Assur, is demonstrated by the ritual text BM 121206 from Sennacherib's reign. According to this text, Mullissu's statue is placed next to the Aššur statue (ix 27´), whereas the Assyrian Ištar's statue is placed alongside other Ištar-associated goddesses (xi 30´-31´; see Table 6.5). This distinction between Mullissu and the Assyrian Ištar is likely also maintained in Sennacherib's Succession Treaty (SAA 2 3:7´-10´ and r. 2´-5´), a contemporary text. Just as the Assyrian Ištar was listed along with the other Ištar-associated goddesses in BM 121206 ix, she also follows Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela in SAA 2 3's two curse formulae.[102]

F. Two Ištar-Associated Goddesses Who are Not Ištar

In chapter 7, our examination of Ištar/Šaušga-associated goddesses suggested that the name Ištar could have represented a goddess class within the official Hittite pantheon and that some of the goddesses who were counted within this class had non-Ištar first names. The same seems to hold true for Mesopotamia. Indeed, many Assyriologists identify goddesses who lack Ištar as a first name with (the unspecified) Ištar. Much of this willingness to identify goddesses whose names lack any Ištar element, such as Nanaya, results from privileging theologically speculative texts as *the* primary documents

[101] Meinhold 2009, 51-52. An Assyrian Mullissu is named in an EGL from one of Adad-nērārī II's royal inscriptions, but nothing identifies this goddess as Aššur's consort. In addition to predating the period when Mullissu was identified with Ištar-associated goddesses, this goddess should be identified as the Assyrian Enlil's consort because she appears after him in the EGL that resembles those from Assyrian administrative documents (see Table 6.6): **Aššur**/Adad/Bēr/Assyrian-Enlil/Assyrian-Mullissu/name-of-Sîn-Who-Resides-(in)-Ḫarrān ([12][NIN.LI]L$_2$ *aš-šur-tu*$_2$, RIMA 3 A.0.104.2:11-12). Since the Assyrian Enlil and Aššur appear as distinct deities in this and other EGLs, this Assyrian Mullissu should not be identified with the unspecified Mullissu who is Aššur's consort in other inscriptions. Rather, like the Mullissu listed on the "Black Obelisk" (RIMA 3 A.0.102.14:12), whose epithet associates her with Enlil and not Aššur, this Assyrian Mullissu is associated with the Assyrian Enlil and not Aššur.

[102] Though Mullissu's name is not extant in either curse, assuming that she was placed after Aššur, the late placement of the Assyrian Ištar in this EGL indicates that she is not to be associated with the Assyrian chief deity.

par excellence. For example, *An* = *Anum* IV from the lexical god-list tradition identifies Ištar/Inana with the goddesses Lady-of-Eanna, Lady-of-Ešarra, Queen-of-Nippur, Queen-of-Nineveh, and Išḫara (*An* = *Anum* IV 13, 15-16, 19, and 276), and the Sumero-Akkadian hymn to Nanaya identifies Nanaya with the goddesses Ištar, Damkina, Gula, Išhara, Anunītu, and several other goddesses (see Table 5.12).[103] Another reason these goddesses are identified with (the unspecified) Ištar is because she has so many characteristics and aspects that can be found among other goddesses. Traditionally, (the unspecified) Ištar is said to have three primary aspects that define her character: she is a warrior goddess, she is a love goddess, and she is the celestial Venus.[104] Her celestial aspect as Venus is considered unique to her, but she is also a mother goddess, either because of the various seventh-century texts that praise Ištar/Mullissu-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela as mother and wet nurse or because of personal names that call the goddess mother.[105] A final reason some goddesses are identified with (the unspecified) Ištar is because they were associated at one time or another with the name Ištar, in much the same way as Mullissu was associated with the name Ištar in the seventh century

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[103] Previous scholarship from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reinforced this trend towards the identification of goddesses with each other and, specifically, with Ištar. In addition to Barton's suggestion that Ištar, as Lady-of-Babylon, could be identified with Ṣarpānītu (Barton 1894, 22), Tallqvist lists several alternative names for Ištar in his *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, some of which are still identified with Ištar today by most scholars while others are recognized as independent goddesses: Agušaya, Anunītu, Antu, Bēlet-māti, Bēlet-ilī, Inana, Innin, Irnini, Išḫara, Nanaya, Bēlet-ekallim, Venus/Dilbat, etc. (Tallqvist 1938, 330-331).

[104] Jacobsen proposed that Inana/Ištar's various aspects were the result of the syncretization/identification of up to five different goddesses, which in addition to her warrior, love (or harlotry), and Venus (as the morning and evening star) aspects also included date-growing (and marriage) and thunderstorms aspects (Jacobsen 1976, 135-143). More recently, T. Abusch has also concluded that Inana/Ištar was a conflation of distinct goddesses originating throughout the Mesopotamian world (T. Abusch, "Ishtar," in *DDD* [1999], 853).

[105] Leemans notes the personal name Ištar-ummu-alīti ("Ištar is my exalted mother") from the Old Babylonian period (Leemans 1953, 34).

In a Sumerian tradition from an Ur III building inscription, Inana is identified as the mother of the god Šara, the local god of Umma: ^{1}[^{d}šara$_{2}$ ^{2}nir.gal$_{2}$.an.na] ^{3}⌜dumu⌝.ki.ag$_{3}$ ^{d}i[nana] ^{4}lugal.a.n[i], "(For) [Šara, distinguished of An], beloved son of I[nana], h[is] king," RIME 3 E3/2.1.2.2044:1-4).

Not all Ištar-associated goddesses from Mesopotamia have the first name Ištar and fit into one of the four name formulas described above. Rather, some goddesses, like Anunītu and Dīrītu, have one-word names that describe some aspect of the goddess. They are referred to here as Ištar-associated goddesses because their divine names once functioned as epithets for (the unspecified) Ištar but eventually began to function as names independent of any goddess explicitly named Ištar. For some scholars, if a divine name once served as an epithet or last name for (the unspecified) Ištar, that divine name remains an epithet, regardless of whether or not it is explicitly identified with the first name Ištar in later periods. For others, when a divine name appears in contrast to an Ištar-associated goddess, that divine name is recognized as an independent and distinct deity.

A warrior goddess often associated with (the unspecified) Ištar and worshiped throughout Mesopotamia is Anunītu. According to Roberts, the compound name ^{d}INANA-*an-nu-ni-tum* should be read as the Akkadian name Eštar-annunītum ("Eštar-the-Skirmisher)."[106] The name Anunītu ("she-who-continually-skirmishes" or "the-Skirmisher") began as an epithet for Ištar in the Old Akkadian period, but by Šar-kali-šarri's reign (ca. 2175-2150) Anunītu could be used independently.[107] According to J. Westenholz, texts from Narām-Sîn's reign often alternate *an-nu-ni-tum* with INANA when invoking the goddess, and more than once the two names are separated by the

[106] Roberts 1972, 147. Jacobsen had previously proposed that both the name/epithet Anunītu and the name Innin were derived from the Akkadian root ˁ*nn*, "skirmish," reflecting their warrior goddess aspects (T. Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz and other essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture* [ed. W. Moran; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970], 323-324 n. 6). I. J. Gelb, on the other hand, claims that the meaning of *anūnum* cannot be determined, but he admits that Jacobsen's interpretation is "as good as any" (I. J. Gelb, "Compound Divine Names in the Ur III Period," in *Language*, *Literature*, *and History*: *Philological and Historical Studies presented to Erica Reiner* (ed. F. Rochberg-Halton; New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1987], 132).
Roberts identifies this goddess with the city goddess of Akkad whose temple was the Eulmaš.
[107] Narām-Sîn's boast that he is "the husband of Ištar-Anunītu" (*mu-ut* ^{d}INANA *an-nu-ni-tim*, AO 5474 ii 7´-8´) is the most commonly cited example of the first name Ištar paired with the epithet Anunītu (F. Thureau-Dangin, "Rois de Kiš et rois d'Agadé," *RA* 9 [1912]: 34-35)

copula u_3: [10]*i-na di*-[*i*]*n iš$_8$-tar$_2$ u_3 an-nu-ni-ti*[*m*] [11][*i-na ta*]-*ḫa-zi-tim iš*-Ḫ A-*ar-šu-nu-t*[*i*] u_2-[Ḫ]A-*ab-bi-ta$^?$-am*-[*ma*] ("By the judgment of Ištar and Anunītu, he defeated them in battle [and] triumphed," A 1252:10-11), suggesting a distinction between the goddesses slightly earlier than Roberts argues.[108] Westenholz's argument is supported by Narām-Sîn period texts (ca. 2284-2275) containing EGLs in which several deities appear along with the names Ištar and Anunītu, which are separated by more than one other deity: Ištar/[Ila]aba/ Zababa/Anunītu/Šul[lat/Haniš]/Šamaš.[109]

According to most scholars, by the end of the third millennium, Anunītu is recognized as a goddess in her right, retaining her warrior aspect. I. J. Gelb notes that the name Anunītu first appears with a divine determinative in the Old Babylonian period, which is consistent with our interpretation of potential epithets treated as divine names.[110] At Mari, Anunītu's name is already attested in the Ur III period, and by the Old Babylonian period she has become a prominent goddess who has her own temple (E_2-Anunītim) and who is listed as receiving a larger sheep offering than most other deities in the so-called Pantheon Tablet from Mari (see Table 9.7).[111] Another indicator of this goddess's rise to prominence during the Old Babylonian period is the increase in usage of

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[108] J. G. Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*: *The Texts* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 7; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 189 and 234; see also Kutscher 1989, 47.

[109] Westenholz 1997, 316 and 320. The so-called "Narām-Sîn and the Enemy Hordes": The "Cuthean Legen" (the Standard Babylonian Recension) includes a seven-member EGL near the beginning of the text – [12][Ištar/Ilaba]/Zababa/ Anunītu/[13][Šullat/Ḫaniš/Šamaš] – which appears again in the middle of the legend during the omen consultation that identifies these deities as great gods – [76]Ištar/[Ila]ba/Zababa/Anunītu/ [77]Šul[lat/Ḫaniš]/Šamaš.

At the Sargonic capital Akkad, Anunītu was closely associated with another Ištar-associated goddess Ulmašītu, the goddess of the temple Eulmaš (K 13228 identifies Ištar with the divine name formula Ištar, Queen of Eulmaš ([^{d}]*iš-tar šar-rat e_2-ul-maš*) in l. 7′ [Westenholz 1997, 139]). Several scholars have suggested indentifying Anunītu with the Ištar at Akkad/Eulmaš (Roberts 1972, 147; Kutscher 1989, 47-48; contra Myers 2002, 98 and F. Joannès, "Les temples de Sippar et leurs trésors a l'Époque néo-Babylonienne," *RA* 86 [1992]: 172, who note that Anunītu is distinguished from Ištar-Ulmašītu, an unspecified Ištar, and Ninigizibara).

[110] Gelb 1987, 131.

[111] Nakata 1974, 27; Gödecken 1973, 145; George 1993, 162-163 (nos. 1283-1284).

her name as a theophoric element in personal names. Myers notes that near the end of the Old Babylonian period, the name Anunītu appears in 6.1% of personal names containing theophoric elements at Sippar, whereas it had appeared as the theophoric element in fewer than 1% of the personal names prior to Ḫammurapi's reign.[112] Moreover, the city quarter of Sippar that contained her temple and its complex administrative apparatus in Sippar is referred to as Sippar-Anunītu (ZIMBIR^{ki} *ša an-nu-ni-tum*, *PBS* 7 100:15) in her honor, and Tiglath-pileser I later refers to Tell ed-Dēr as Sippar-Anunītu, suggesting that the goddess still maintained a major cult in Sippar into the late twelfth century.[113] The prominence gained by this goddess eventually wanes in Sippar by the Neo-Babylonian period as evidenced by her final position in offering-lists from Nabopolassar's reign, but in these offering-list EGLs the divine name Anunītu still appears distinct from and in contrast to (the unspecified) Ištar, as well as to a goddess known as Queen-of-Sippar.[114] In Nebuchadnezzar's reign, Anunītu regains some of her ancient status in offering-lists, appearing as the first of the third-tier deities instead of the final deity, and she maintains this slightly elevated status into the Achaemenid period.[115]

According to Meinhold, Anunītu is identified with Ištar-of-Nineveh in several Assyrian texts, including the Neo-Assyrian *Götteradressbuch* (^{d}15 N[INA]^{ki} ^{d}*a-nu*$^{!}$*-n*[*i-tu*$_{4}$], GAB l. 94, edition B), a Neo-Assyrian prayer (K 20+:1-2), and various royal

[112] Myers 2002, 166. The divine name Ištar was used in approximately 4% of personal names with theophoric elements before Ḫammurapi's reign and about 5.2% afterwards.
[113] R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar*: *A Demographic Study of an Old-Babylonian City* (*1894-1959*) (Utigaven van net Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 36; Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1975), 150; Myers 2002, 94 and 179.
[114] Myers 2002, 266. Harris notes that Queen-of-Sippar was an epithet of Ištar during the Old Babylonian period but could also be used as an epithet for Anunītu (Harris 1975, 150 and 151; Myers 2002, 113-116).
[115] Myers 2002, 319-320 and 355. Beaulieu notes that after the Ur III period, the goddess Anunītu is not mentioned locally at Uruk until the first millennium, when she is named along with [Kururnn]ītu and *Palil* in a Neo-Assyrian period letter (Beaulieu 2003, 311). Elsewhere, in a discussion of the goddess Innin, Beaulieu identifies Anunītu and Innin as other forms of Ištar (p. 122).

inscriptions from the Middle Assyrian period.[116] However, nothing in these texts compels the equitation of Anunītu with Ištar-of-Nineveh. According to Meinhold, GAB ll. 94-98 likely refer to different names of the goddess Ištar-of-Nineveh, but a better interpretation is that these lines refer to the eight deities who are worshiped in the temple. These deities include Ištar-of-Nineveh, Anunītu, Kubalê, Bēlet-ilī, Nīrītu, Mārat-bīti, Lady-of-Eqi, and Dumuzi.[117] Each of these divine names may be associated with the goddess Ištar-of-Nineveh, in some fashion, but Dumuzi's presence in this EGL argues against the identification of each divine name with Ištar-of-Nineveh and, instead, for the possibility that these lines represent a roster of the deities worshipped in Ištar-of-Nineveh's temple.[118] A second Neo-Assyrian text that Meinhold offers as evidence for the identification of Ištar-of-Nineveh with Anunītu is K 20+:1-8, a prayer to Ištar-of-Nineveh that is sandwiched between a prayer to the Sebittu and a prayer to Ištar-of-Arbela.[119] In this brief prayer, Ištar-of-Nineveh is first called by her first name, with her last name appearing after several intermediate epithets, and then she is called Anunītu in the next line:

> 1 ^{d}*iš-tar* GAŠAN GAL-*ti a-ši-bat e*$_2$*-m*[*aš-maš ša*$_2$ *qi*$_2$*-ri*]*b* NINA^{ki}
> 2 ^{d}*a-nu-ni-tu*$_4$ *ša*$_2$ ME$_3$^{meš}*-tu* AŠ^{a}[^{t} *ṭ*]*uḫ-di u meš-re-e*
>
> Ištar, great lady, who resides (in) Em[ašmaš in] Nineveh
> Anunītu of battles, who gives abundance and wealth (K 20+:1-2).

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[116] Meinhold 2009, 177. See RIMA 1 A.0.77.7:7 (^{d}*ni-nu-a-it-ti*) and RIMA 1 A.0.78.17:5 (^{d}*nu-na-i-te*), where the goddess in Assur is identified as Ninuaʾītu, which is a feminized derivative of the city name Nineveh, a pattern that scholars have long considered alterative names for local Ištar-associated goddesses (below). Meinhold argues that Ninaʾītu is the Middle Assyrian form of the divine name Anunītu, as evidenced by the Middle Assyrian ritual text *KAR* 135+ iii 17-20 and the Neo-Assyrian ritual text no. 13 (Meinhold 2009, 172 n. 997 and 177).

[117] Menzel 1981, 2:T152, no. 64:94-98. The names listed here are based on text B, VAT 9932.

[118] PAP 8 DINGIR^{meš} *ša*$_2$ E$_2$ ^{d}15 NINA^{ki} ("Total: 8 deities who (reside in) the temple of Ištar-of-Nineveh," GAB l. 98). See BM 121206 v 4´-11´ for a similar tally of deities included in the total (Menzel 1981, 2:T59).

[119] W. G. Lambert, "Ištar of Nineveh," *Iraq* 66 (2004): 37-38.

The prayer then ends by invoking the goddess using the standard full name formula DN-of-GN, ^{d}*iš-tar ša*$_{2}$ NINA^{ki} (l. 8). The name Anunītu does appear to function as an epithet for Ištar-of-Nineveh, but Lambert suggests that this is a ritual text about which we have no historical or geographic context, and he further lauds the text for its informative and unique nature.[120] Though this text treats Ištar-of-Nineveh as distinct from Ištar-of-Arbela and treats both of these goddesses as distinct from the Sebittu, the prayers' unique nature – and, according to Lambert, the general lack of Neo-Assyrian prayers[121] – could be suggestive of an esoteric or theologically speculative background that would not be familiar to most of the local Ninevite population. As ritual texts, K 20+ and GAB ll. 94-98 are representative of the official state religion in Nineveh and the empire, but as the products of the scribal elite for non-bureaucratic and non-legalistic purposes, there is little reason to conclude Ištar-of-Nineveh was identified with Anunītu in the minds of local Ninevites during the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods and even less reason to generalize this identification beyond Nineveh.

P. Y. Hoskisson, who agrees that Anunītu was treated as an independent and distinct goddess after the Old Akkadian period, argues that the goddess known as Dīrītu – a divine name derived from the city name Dīr/Dēr located six miles south of Mari – serves as another example of a goddess who was once a local manifestation of (the unspecified) Ištar but who "established her own identity distinct from other Ištar *Erscheinungsformen* [local manifestations] at Mari, and rose to prominence, perhaps even

[120] Lambert 2004, 38.
[121] Lambert 2004, 39.

preeminence, in the pantheon of Mari."[122] By arguing for the independent and distinct existence of the goddess Dīrītu, Hoskisson rejects the idea that a goddess whose name is simply the feminized derivative of her patron city is nothing more than a local manifestation of (the unspecified) Ištar. Just as others argue for Anunītu's independence based on the divine name's invariable separation from the first name Ištar after the end of the Old Akkadian period, Hoskisson bases his argument on the fact that, with one notable exception, the name Dīrītu appears without the name Ištar preceding it in the Old Babylonian period.[123] The one exception is ARM 24 263, which begins with a five-member EGL:

$^{1\,d}$*eš$_4$-tar$_2$* $^{2\,d}$*eš$_4$-tar$_2$ di-ri-tum* $^{3\,d}$*an-nu-ni-tum* $^{4\,d}$*da-gan* ^{5}*be-el ma-tim*

Ištar, Ištar-Dīrītu, Anunītu, Dagan, Lord-of-the-Land (ARM 24 263:1-5).[124]

Hoskisson notes that Ištar-Dīrītu cannot be interpreted literally as "Ištar-of-Dīr" because Dīrītu is in the nominative case rather than the genitive.[125] Instead, he prefers the translation "Ištar, the one of Dīr," which indicates that Dīrītu serves as an epithet for this second Ištar-associated goddess in the EGL. Even though he argues for the distinctness of this goddess from the preceding unspecified Ištar, the combination of the first name Ištar and the epithet Dīrītu indicates to Hoskisson that Dīrītu was once a local manifestation of

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[122] P. Y. Hoskisson, "The Scission and Ascendancy of a Goddess: *Dīrītum* at Mari," *Go to the Land I will show you*: *Studies in Honor of Dwight W. Young* (eds. J. Coleson and V. Matthews; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 261.
[123] Hiskisson 1996, 263.
[124] That Ištar-Dīrītu is distinct from the unspecified Ištar in this text is clear when these lines are examined as an EGL. The fact that the first name Ištar appears twice in succession argues against the possibility that the full name Ištar-Dīrītu is an appositive of the first Ištar.
[125] Hoskisson 1996, 262. Compare this epithet-based interpretation with Roberts's interpretation wherein the divine name ^{d}INANA-*an-nu-ni-tum* acts as a compound name so that the first and last names both exhibit the same case ending.

Ištar.[126] However, this local manifestation quickly grew in stature, and letters from Baḫdi-Lim to Zimri-Lim discussing the offerings she received at Mari (ARMT 10 142:25-31) indicate that Dīrītu was even worshiped outside of Dīr at Mari and Zurubbān.[127] Furthermore, Dīrītu is listed as having received seven sheep in l. 10 of the so-called Pantheon Tablet from Mari, whereas the unspecified Ištar only receives two sheep (l. 18), and Ištar-of-the-Palace only receives one sheep (l. 4; see Table 9.7). Because the goddess Dīrītu is listed before the unspecified Ištar and receives significantly more sheep than her in this text, this leads Hoskisson to consider the possibility that during Zimri-Lim's reign Dīrītu eclipsed the unspecified Ištar, who was otherwise "the most honored deity of Mari."[128]

Because Anunītu and Dīrītu have distinct names that lack an Ištar element, scholars more readily recognize them as distinct deities and not merely as two more Ištar-associated goddesses whose first names are not Ištar. Historically, Anunītu and Dīrītu were closely associated with the first name Ištar and served as epithets or last names for Ištar; however, in time, both of these epithets invariably appeared without the Ištar first name. Moreover, both of these divine names were separated from the unspecified Ištar and even contrasted with the unspecified Ištar in EGLs by the eighteenth century, allowing over one thousand years of Mesopotamian history and theological speculation for each of these goddesses to demonstrate her staying power within the pantheon alongside Ištar. In contrast, the various Ištar-associated goddesses Ištar-of-Nineveh and

[126] Hoskisson notes that given the antiquity of Ištar worship at Mari, the worship of local Ištar manifestations is not surprising (Hoskisson 1996, 263). However, no evidence exists for this local manifestation of Ištar at Dīr prior to the Old Babylonian period (p. 262).
[127] Hoskisson 1996, 264.
[128] The unspecified Ištar does not appear in ARM 23 264, which may reflect the cults at Terqa rather than at Mari, but Dīrītu, Ḫišamītu, and Anunītu do (Hoskisson 1996, 266 and n. 27).

Ištar-of-Arbela retain the first name Ištar as an integral aspect of their character, which allows scholars to dismiss them as simply localized versions of a singular Ištar. Additionally, the full names Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela may have been used prior to the Neo-Assyrian period (e.g., Ištar-of-Nineveh in EA 23:13, ^{d}INANA *ša* ^{uru}*ni-i-na-a*), but it is only during the Neo-Assyrian period that these two full names appear regularly together in Akkadian inscriptions. While these two Neo-Assyrian goddesses often appear in contrast with an unspecified Mullissu or even with other Ištar-associated goddesses, they do not appear in contrast with an unspecified Ištar. Despite these differences, Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela appear in numerous EGLs in the Neo-Assyrian period in much the same way that Anunītu and Dīrītu appear in EGLs – be they in letters or offering-lists – as distinct from each other and other deities. To deny that Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela are distinct goddesses from a singular Ištar necessarily denies that they are distinct from each other, which simply was not the case in the mind of so many Assyrian scribes, priests, and kings during the ninth through seventh centuries.

G. Conclusions

Ištar-associated goddesses are a special class of deity in the Neo-Assyrian pantheon, especially when the pantheon is examined in light of EGLs. Compared to other deities in EGLs, Ištar-associated goddesses are the only ones who share common first names; they are the only ones whose geographic information is indispensible to their identities; and, in many instances, they are the only ones whose epithets function as last names. (The only exception to these rules is found in Aššur-nērārī V's treaty with Matiʾ-

ilu of Arpad, SAA 2 2 vi 6-20, where Adad-of-Kurbail and Hadad-of-Aleppo appear near the end of the EGL; see Table 6.4.) Some scholars might argue that Aššur was identified with Enlil in Assyria or that Ninurta or Marduk had been identified with several other gods over the course of Mesopotamian history in order to make the case that EGLs actually list several different gods more than once. But Aššur and Enlil have different first names, as do Ninurta and Marduk and their other supposed names, whereas the Ištar-associated goddesses do not. The name Ištar is itself repeated in the EGLs, marking this divine name as unique.

It is precisely this unique treatment that the divine name Ištar receives in Neo-Assyrian EGLs that guides our investigation of the different deities. Ištar-of-Nineveh invariably precedes Ištar-of-Arbela when both appear in the same EGL, and the only divine names that interrupt the Ištar-of-Ninveh/Ištar-of-Arbela sequence are other Ištar-associated goddesses, like Ištar-of-Kidmuri. Because these Ištar-associated goddesses appear together in a regular and predictable arrangement and because they typically appear near the end of EGLs, we can confidently and securely conclude that the various formulas by which these goddesses are known refer to distinct goddesses. Excepting only Marduk as Bēl and his consort Ṣarpānītu as Bēltīya, Ištar-associated goddesses are the only deities who are invoked in EGLs by alternative name formulas, nicknames, or epithets that lack their first name altogether . Ištar-of-Nineveh can be called Ištar-of-Nineveh, Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh, Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh, or even Lady/Queen-of-Nineveh, which lacks her first name altogether. Some argue that a feminized noun derived of a city name can serve in non-EGL settings as yet another way to name these Ištar-associated goddesses (e.g., Ninuaʾītu is Ištar-of-Nineveh). Likewise, Ištar-of-Arbela

is Ištar-of-Arbela, Ištar//Lady-of-Arbela, Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Arbela, and Lady/Queen-of-Arbela (or even Arbilītu).

Knowing that these goddesses were known by several alternative names in everyday texts, such as administrative documents, loan and purchase documents, and letters, permits us to examine several theologically speculative texts, including hymns of praise, esoteric writings, or oracles, with regard to the status and distinctiveness of these Ištar-associated goddesses. Even in these texts, Ištar-of-Nineveh is distinct from and contrasted to Ištar-of-Arbela. "Assurbanipal's Hymn to the Ištars of Nineveh and Arbela" (SAA 3 3), the hymn that caught Porter's attention and serves as our introduction into this phenomenon of Ištar-multiplicity is by no means the only theologically speculative text that distinguishes these goddesses from one another. This distinction also appears in several prophetic oracles (e.g., SAA 9) and in esoteric texts that were written as Assyrian propaganda in response to *Enūma eliš* (e.g., SAA 3 39).

A close examination of the EGLs, of the different ways Ištar-associated goddesses can be addressed, and of the attestations of the divine name Mullissu indicates that Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela could be locally identified with Mullissu, Aššur's consort. Even though each goddess could be identified with Mullissu in treaties, hymns, or oracles, the two are still distinct from each other. Indeed, they can even be treated as distinct from the goddess Mullissu herself, indicating that in the seventh century Mullissu became, in some aspects, another nickname by which these two Ištar-associated goddesses could be called, just like Lady or Queen.

As indicated by texts representing several genres – from loan and purchase documents, state treaties, and letters to ritual texts and mystical texts – Ištar-of-Nineveh

and Ištar-of-Arbela are two distinct goddesses. The two goddesses share a first name, characteristics, the same low status in the pantheon compared to other major deities, and, in the seventh century, the ability to be identified as the consort of the Assyrian chief deity in their patron cities, but these goddesses were routinely conceived of as distinct and separate goddesses throughout the Neo-Assyrian world. To argue otherwise ignores evidence from hundreds of texts.

In contrast to these distinct and independent Ištar-associated goddesses, no inscriptions, be they EGLs or other documents, contrast one Yahweh-named deity with another Yahweh-named deity in an individual text. Although the methodology followed in chapter 6 and used again throughout this chapter cannot be used to determine whether the ancient Israelites distinguished between individual Yahweh-named deities, the study of divine full name structures in the Neo-Assyrian pantheon provides a template for evaluating the proposed Yahwistic full names and determining the likelihood of their representing potentially independent and distinct Yahweh-named deities.

CHAPTER 10: HOW MANY NAMES FOR YAHWEH?

The first name Baal is relatively common for deities throughout theLevant and Mediterranean, and it typically serves as an alternative name, or nickname, for storm-gods, for whom Hadad/Adad is their primary first name. There are exceptions, however, including Baal-Ḫarrān, which is a nickname for Sîn-of-Ḫarrān, and Baal-Ḥamān, whom Cross identifies with El.[1] The fact that *baal* simply means "lord" or "master" is the reason that so many deities were known by that nickname. Similarly, the first name Ištar is relatively common among Mesopotamian goddesses, and it can also function as a common noun in Akkadian literature, used to mean "goddess" as early as the Old Babylonian period.[2] Unlike the name Baal, however, the name Ištar serves as each goddess's primary name rather than her nickname. As discussed in chapter 9, the nicknames (represented by "title"in name formulas) by which Ištar-associated goddesses go include "Lady" (*bēlet*-) and "Queen" (*šarrat*-). Nothing is hiding behind the name Ištar in the way that Hadad/Adad (typically) hides behind Baal.

In contrast to the names Baal and Ištar, nothing about the divine name Yahweh suggests that it should be interpreted as a common noun. Indeed, because the origin and meaning of the name Yahweh elude scholarly consensus, making an appeal to *yahweh* as a common noun would be difficult – whether the appeal considered the possibility that a divine first name had become a common noun, as with *Ištar*/*ištar*, or the possibility that a common noun had become a title and divine nickname, as with *baal*/*Baal*.[3] Also in contrast to the names Baal and Ištar, no inscriptions, be they EGLs or other documents,

[1] Cross 1973, 28.
[2] *CAD* I/J, *ištaru*.
[3] For a recent discussion of possible meanings of the name Yahweh and its extra-biblical attestations, see K. van der Toorn, "Yahweh," in *DDD* (1999), 913-915.

contrast one Yahweh-named deity with another Yahweh-named deity in an individual text, which is why the methodology followed in chapter 6 cannot be used to determine whether the ancient Israelites distinguished one Yahweh associated with a particular location with another Yahweh from another location. However, our study of divine full name structures in the various Western and in the Neo-Assyria pantheons (chapters 8 and 9) does provide a template for evaluating the proposed Yahwistic names and determining the likelihood of their representing potentially independent and distinct Yahweh-named deities.[4]

Prior to the discovery of the inscriptions at Kuntillet ʿAjrûd in the 1970s, no compelling reason existed for considering Yahweh as the first name of more than one deity. Within the Hebrew Bible, Yahweh had numerous epithets that were attributed to him, including God-of-Israel (e.g., Psalm 68:36) and God-of-Heaven (e.g., 136:26). With the discovery of the inscriptions at Kuntillet ʿAjrûd, new evidence brought up the possibility that the name Yahweh might not just be one of the several names ascribed to the Israelites' God but that Yahweh might have been the first name of different locally manifest deities. A Yahweh-of-Samaria was invoked at the same archaeological site as a Yahweh-of-Teman. Since then, a handful of other phrases have been reinterpreted as full names of various local Yahwehs, including Yahweh-in-Hebron and Yahweh-in-Zion. This final chapter examines these full Yahwistic names and explains why they are not indicative of multiple independent and distinct Yahweh-named deities in the same way that Northwest Semitic and Akkadian sources indicate the existence of multiple distinct and independent Baal-named deities and Ištar-associated goddesses.

[4] "Yahweh-named deities/deity" should be understood as a neutral phrase indicating that the first name Yahweh has been paired with a specific last name. It is not intended to suggest that each Yahweh-of-GN is necessarily a distinct and independent manifestation of the Israelite god.

A. "Hear, O Israel, Yahweh Our God…"

The question of whether there were multiple locally manifest deities named Yahweh requires that we examine the meaning of Deuteronomy 6:4, commonly known by its incipit as "the Shema": שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד. As we shall see momentarily, this verse has several possible translations. One, going back to the Septuagint and Vulgate, is "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord" (Ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν Κύριος εἷς ἐστι, LXX; and *audi Israhel Dominus Deus noster Dominus unus est*, Vulgate) that is: Yahweh our God is one Yahweh. This understanding of the verse was advocated by W. Bade in his article of 1910, "Monojawhismus des Deuteronomiums." Bade argued that the verse was meant as a polemical warning against a poly-Yahwism that had taken hold in ancient Israel.[5] Writing 65 years prior to the discovery of Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman at Kuntillet ʿAjrûd, Bade had no extra-biblical evidence to prompt this discussion. His argument revolved around the issue of centralization of Yahwistic worship in Jerusalem and the identification of Yahweh with Baal as Israelite and Canaanite religious traditions syncretized.[6]

Bade viewed the Canaanite religious communities as localized Baal fertility cults that tied the people to their land.[7] As the Israelites encountered the Canaanites, they adopted the local practices and began worshiping Yahweh at cults that had been dedicated to Baal. Since each Baal was its own local deity, and since, in Bade's view, Yahweh had been locally syncretized with each Baal, Bade argued that poly-Yahwism grew among the Israelites and threatened not only the oneness of their deity but also the

[5] Bade's translation (W. F. Bade, "Der Monojahwismus des Deuteronomiums," *ZAW* 30 [1910]: 81).
[6] Bade 1910, 88 and 83.
[7] Bade 1910, 82.

oneness of their peoplehood. Distinct local Yahwehs promoted a tribalism that undermined the monarchy of the Israelite state.

In response to this threat, according to Bade, the Deuteronomist aimed to strengthen the Israelites as a people by getting them to focus their worship on a central cult with one national Yahweh. This was accomplished by the advent of pilgrimages to the central cult (Deuteronomy 16:16), which was now considered the only legitimate place of worship.[8] In order to further sever the Israelites' ties with the local Baal cults where they worshiped their local Yahwehs, the Deuteronomist told the Israelites that they were a unique people with a unique relationship with God (4:7-8). Whereas the Canaanites and other nations of the world could worship their allotted gods (4:19) wherever they wanted (cf. 12:8-16),[9] the Israelites were only permitted to worship at the national cult, a place chosen specifically by Yahweh (12:5). Bade noted that this sentiment was also espoused by Hosea and Amos, who condemned the worship of Baal by the Israelites at the illegitimate cult sites.[10] For example, Amos denounced worship at Dan and Beer-sheba:

> הנשבעים באשמת שמרון ואמרו חי אלהיך דן וחי דרך באר־שבע ונפלו ולא־יקומו עוד
>
> The ones who swear by the guilt of Samaria and say, "By the life of your God, O Dan," and "By the life of the way of Beer-sheba." They shall fall and not get up again (Amos 8:14).

Whereas Amos and Hosea blatantly condemned Baal worship at illegitimate cult sites because it undermined Israelite Yahwism, the Deuteronomist formulated a positive statement to inspire the Israelites to worship the singular Yahweh at his only legitimate

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[8] Bade 1910, 87.
[9] Bade 1910, 90.
[10] Bade 1910, 85.

cult site. This statement is Deuteronomy 6:4 which Bade translated as "(Hear, O Israel,) Yahweh our God is one Yahweh."

In the century since Bade's article, the meaning of the Shema has been reexamined. While the possibility of multiple local Yahwehs has been noted by scholars, the focus on the role that Baal plays in the Shema's creation has diminished.[11] Comprising six simple words, the verse has no certain interpretation. The first two words, "Hear, O Israel," prepare the audience for the rest of the sentence, of which there are several possible translations and interpretations. The present discussion limits the interpretations to the three most often adopted[12]:

i) Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone.
ii) Yahweh our God is one Yahweh.
iii) Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one.

Because three of the four words are nouns, and the last is an adjective, the Shema's translation depends on where the linking verb (the copula) is placed. Option i stresses the relationship between Yahweh and the people of Israel, whereas options ii and iii stress Yahweh's nature.[13]

By stressing the relationship between Yahweh and the Israelites, option i is in keeping with a main Deuteronomic theme, namely, that Yahweh is to be Israel's only deity. This theme is already expressed in Deuteronomy 5 as one of the Ten

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[11] G. von Rad viewed Deuteronomy 6:4 as a confession that distinguished Yahwistic Israelite worship from the Canaanite cult(s) devoted to Baal and also as a proclamation meant to undermine divergent Yahwistic shrines and traditions (G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy*: *A Commentary* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966], 63). Likewise, G. Fohrer suggested the centralization of the Yahweh cult at the single sanctuary in Jerusalem occurred in response to the fear that "the conception of Yahweh might split up and finally produce several Yahwehs" (G. Fohrer, *Introduction to Israelite Religion* [Nashville: Abingdon, 1992], 297).

[12] R. Moberly, "'Yahweh is One': The Translation of the Shema," in *Studies in the Pentateuch* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 41; Leiden: Brill, 1990), 210; J. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*: *The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (JPS Torah Commentary 5; Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 76 and 440. Moberly mentions a fourth option, "Yahweh is our God, Yahweh is one," but gives it no independent consideration since it differs little from option iii.

[13] Moberly 1990, 210; Tigay 1996, 439.

Commandments: “You shall not have other gods besides me” (לא־יהיה לך אלהים אחרים על־פני, 5:7). Likewise, the verses following the Shema reinforce this interpretation. According to the charge in 6:5, each Israelite must love Yahweh with all his heart, soul and might (בכל־לבבך ובכל־נפשך בכל־מאדך), and vv. 13-14 remind each Israelite that he may revere, serve, and swear only by Yahweh and that he may not follow any other gods; after all, Yahweh is a jealous God (אל קנא, v. 15). This thematic unity between the Shema proclamation and the rest of Deuteronomy 6 is the strongest argument in favor of option i, “Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone.”[14]

Nevertheless, there are problems with option i. First, nowhere else in Deuteronomy are the words Yahweh (יהוה) and my/our/your-God (אלהי־) juxtaposed with the latter functioning predicatively (i.e., meaning “Yahweh is my/our/your God”).[15] The Deuteronomist pairs these two words as a unit nearly 300 times, and, according to Moberly, it seems unlikely that Deuteronomy 6:4 is the only instance in which these two words would have to be split by a linking verb in translation. Moreover, option i requires a special nuance of the Shema’s final word אחד, which normally means “one” rather than “alone.” The usual biblical Hebrew word for “alone” is לבד־, as it is used, for example, in 2 Kings 19:15: יהוה אלהי ישראל ישב הכרבים אתה־הוא האלהים לבדך (“Yahweh, God of Israel who sits [on] the cherubim [throne], you alone are God”).[16] There are a few passages in which אחד can take on the meaning “alone” elsewhere.[17] For example, 1 Chronicles 29:1

[14] Tigay 1996, 76 and 440; cf. Moberly 1990, 211.
[15] Moberly 1990, 213-214.
[16] This “alone” (-לבד) appears again in 2 Kings 19:19; Psalm 86:10; and Isaiah 2:11 and 17.
[17] Tigay 1996, 358 n. 10. Tigay also suggests that אחד “possibly” means “alone” in Joshua 22:20 (see also Job 23:13) and compares the use of ʾ*aḥdy* in Ugaritic as “I alone” (*KTU*[2] 1.4 vii 49). Likewise, M. Weinfeld notes that a Sumerian dedicatory inscription says, “Enlil is the lord of Heaven and Earth, he is king alone (literally: his oneness)” (^{d}en.lil$_2$ an.ki.šu lugal.am$_2$ aš.ni lugal.am$_2$, RIME 4 E4.1.4.6:1-3), and he also notes that some Greek inscriptions that contain the phrase Εἷς Θεός that might be better translated as “God alone” than “one god” (M. Weinfeld, “The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East,” *UF* 8 [1976]: 409 n. 266).

makes sense when “alone” is used in place of “one”: שלמה בני אחד בחר בו אלהים (“Solomon, my son, God chose him *alone*”). *Only* Solomon, or Solomon *alone*, is Yahweh’s choice as the next king. In this vein, *only* Yahweh, or Yahweh *alone*, is Israel’s God.[18] Likewise, Zechariah 14:9 uses אחד to indicate that Yahweh alone is God – not just the only God for Israel but the only God for all mankind: והיה יהוה למלך על־כל־הארץ ביום ההוא יהיה יהוה אחד ושמו אחד (“Yahweh will become king over all the earth. On that day, it will be Yahweh alone and his name alone”).[19] Tigay argues that the wording of Zechariah 14:9 is based upon the Shema, which means that option i is the only one of the three interpretations of the Shema listed above that is documented within the Bible itself.[20] Still, invoking a rare meaning of אחד and breaking up the fixed pair “Yahweh our-God” with a linking verb – make option i a less than ideal translation.

This brings us to option ii, the option favored by Bade: “Yahweh our God is one Yahweh.” This option seems more plausible today in light of the Kuntillet ʿAjrûd

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Other classical deities that he mentions who appear with “one” when “alone” might be a preferred translation include Isis (*omnia*), Hermes (*omnia solus et unus*), and Zeus (Εἷς), and W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich include the definitions “single, only one” (mng. 2b) and “alone” (mng. 2c) in their discussion of “εἷς, μία, ἕν” (W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957] 230). They parenthetically cite Deuteronomy 6:4 in mng. 2c.

[18] J. Kraut notes, however, that while an “alone” translation value for אחד makes sense in 1 Chronicles 29:1, neither in this verse nor elsewhere does אחד mean “alone” indisputably; “one” makes just as much sense (J. Kraut, “Deciphering the Shema: Staircase Parallelism and the Syntax of Deuteronomy 6:4” [Seminar paper, University of Pennsylvania, 2010], 4 n. 9). For instance, 1 Chronicles 29:1 makes sense as “Solomon my son is (the) *one* whom God chose.” Because “one” is the normal and expected meaning of the word, it should be preferred to “alone” as a translation value. The simpler possibility is the better possibility. Kraut also considers this “one”/“alone” possibility in Joshua 22:20, Isaiah 51:2; Ezekiel 33:24 and 37:22; and Zechariah 14:9, and he concludes, “none of these examples represents an unequivocal precedent in which *eḥad* must be translated as ‘alone’” (p. 4 n. 9).

Similarly, Moberly rejects the value of אחד as “alone” rather than “one” in 1 Chronicles 29:1, arguing that such an interpretation introduces a contrast between Solomon and David’s other sons which is not addressed elsewhere in the passage (Moberly 1990, 212). He also argues that this interpretation ignores the idiomatic nature of the Hebrew verb בחר (“to chose”), which needs the relative clause marker אשר (“that”) rather than בו (literally, “on him”) to mark “him” as the direct object.

[19] Literally, the last five words of Zechariah 14:9 translate “Yahweh will be one, and his name, one.” The NRSV and NJPS translations reflect this idea: “the Lord will be one and his name one” (NRSV) and “there shall be one Lord with one name” (NJPS). NJPS adds a footnote, however, that the verse really means “the Lord alone shall be worshiped and shall be invoked by His true name” (Zechariah 14:9 n. *f*).

[20] Tigay 1996, 76 and 439.

inscriptions that invoke Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman, which raise the possibility that the Shema was meant as a reaction to Israelites who understood Yahweh-of-Samaria to be a different deity than Yahweh-of-Teman, much as contemporary Neo-Assyrians understood Ištar-of-Nineveh to be a distinct goddess from Ištar-of-Arbela and the Assyrian Ištar.[21] Tigay rejects this option because the concepts of multiple Yahwehs and Yahweh's non-singular nature are not addressed elsewhere in the Bible. No other Biblical writers show concern about such a possibility: no prophets protest against poly-Yahwism, nor does the Deuteronomistic Historian list it among the many sins of the Israelite or Judahite kings, and Deuteronomy itself mentions it nowhere else.[22] Surely, the Deuteronomist would not have included the Shema to address an issue like the potential multiplicity of Yahweh that was not a threat to his original audience.

Moberly does not address this poly-Yahwism issue, but he finds option ii less than ideal because of Zechariah 14:9's introduction of a verb before "Yahweh" and "one" (יהיה יהוה אחד), which he would translate as "Yahweh will become one."[23] This indicates that Zechariah interpreted the final two words of the Shema as a nominal sentence ("Yahweh is one"). Therefore, Moberly argues, we should also prefer option iii, according to which the Shema is a statement about Yahweh's nature rather than one about Israel's relationship with him.

Option iii, however, seems to encounter a syntactic problem in that it makes the second Yahweh superfluous. If the point of the verse were to declare that Yahweh is one,

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[21] Tigay 1996, 439. This is slightly different than Bade's suggestion, since multiple Yahweh-named deities would not necessarily have resulted from syncretistic interactions between the Israelites and Canaanite Baal devotees.
[22] McCarter, who agrees that Deuteronomy 6 is primarily concerned with Israel's exclusive relationship with Yahweh, notes that Deuteronomy 12's discussion of cult centralization never hints at the possibility that local Yahwistic shrines were a threat to Yahweh's unity (McCarter 1987, 142-143).
[23] Moberly 1990, 215

it could have said simply "Yahweh our God is one."[24] This problem is addressed by J. Kraut, who proposes a solution to deal with the seeming redundancy. He suggests that the Shema be read as an instance of staircase parallelism which satisfactorily explains the second Yahweh's superfluity.[25] Unlike synonymous (or antithetic) parallelism where the second colon restates (or negates) the first, staircase parallelism involves the repetition of one element in both cola, and the full thought is not completed without reading both cola as one idea.[26] Structurally, staircase parallelism follows an AB//AC pattern, which is a rhetorical flourish for ABC. This pattern fits the Shema perfectly[27]:

A	B	//	A	C
Yahweh (יהוה)	our-God (אלהינו)		Yahweh (יהוה)	one (אחד)

equals, or can be interpreted to mean:

A	B			C
Yahweh (יהוה)	our-God (אלהינו)	(is)		one (אחד).

In Deuteronomy 6:4, the second attestation of the word "Yahweh" is the repeated element that can be ignored in order to clarify the verse's underlying meaning. Effectively

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[24] Tigay 1996, 439. Moberly also notes this "resumptive use of *yhwh*" but accepts it because he considers it possible that the phrase "Yahweh is one" (יהוה אחד) belongs to a pre-Deuteronomistic cultic formula (Moberly 1990, 214). According to Moberly, if there was a pre-Deuteronomist cult formula, it was surely simply the two words "Yahweh" (יהוה) and "one" (אחד), which the Deuteronomist expanded to יהוה אלהינו אחד (because the phrase "Yahweh our-God" [יהוה אלהינו] is the Deuteronomist's "customary idiomatic way" to refer to the Israelite deity, and he could not leave out this "intrusive use" of the epithet), which then necessitated the resumptive use of יהוה.

[25] Kraut 2010, 27.

[26] Kraut notes that staircase parallelism is restricted to direct speech and usually appears at the beginning of a spoken address (Kraut 2010, 22-23). Significantly, Tigay notes that "as the first paragraph of the Instruction that God gave Moses on Mount Sinai [the Shema] is, in a sense, the beginning of Deuteronomy proper," and Kraut argues that given the significance of Moses's speech to the Israelites this seems like the perfect place to employ staircase parallelism (Tigay 1996, 76; Kraut 2010, 24).

[27] This staircase parallelism that Kraut observes in the Shema is present in two other verses that praise Yahweh (Kraut 2010, 22):

	MT with staircase parallelism:	without staircase element:
Exodus 15:3	יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו→ Yahweh-man-of-war, Yahweh is his name.	יהוה איש מלחמה שמו Yahweh-man-of-war is his name.
Hosea 12:6	יהוה אלהי הצבאות יהוה זכרו→ Yahweh, God of Hosts, Yahweh is his name.	יהוה אלהי הצבאות זכרו Yahweh, God of Hosts is his name.

reducing the Shema to three words also simplifies the interpretative possibilities. Given the frequent pairing of the divine name Yahweh (יהוה) with the epithet my/our/your-God (אלהי־) in Deuteronomy, the only reasonable place for a linking verb among these nouns is between "our-God" and "one." Kraut's interpretation, "Yahweh our God is one," which neutralizes the seeming redundancy of the second Yahweh, seems to be the best way to understand these three words and supports option iii.

However, option iii also raises a further question, namely: what does "Yahweh is one" mean?" Moberly, who advocates this option, merely promises to explore this question in a future essay:

> I conclude, therefore, that the Shema cannot legitimately be rendered "Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone", but should best be translated "Hear, O Israel: Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one". It is not, therefore, a statement about Israel's exclusive relationship with Yahweh, although that exclusive relationship is indeed presupposed by the words "Yahweh our God". Rather, it is a statement about Yahweh; though precisely what it means to say that Yahweh is "one" is an issue to which I hope to return on another occasion.[28]

This conclusion is an admission that there no persuasive answer to this question has been found.[29]

This review of the options shows that option i entails syntactic and lexical difficulties, option ii entails historical difficulties, and option iii entails a conceptual difficulty. Still, option ii is consistent with the syntax and lexicography of the Shema. Its main difficulty is essentially an argument from silence. Perhaps the epigraphic references to Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman do show that there was a certain amount of poly-Yahwism that the Deuteronomist wished to counter. This is a possibility that we must now explore. We shall begin by examining Yahweh-of-Teman and Yahweh-of-

[28] Moberly 1990, 215.
[29] The solutions proposed by later philosophers are beyond the purview of this study.

Samaria. Then we will consider a known Yahwistic cult site, Jerusalem, and look for a geographic last name related to that site. Finally, other Yahwistic full names are considered.

B. The Geographic Origin of Yahweh: Teman

Whereas the Deuteronomist placed the Shema on Moses's lips at the beginning of his final speech to the Israelites before they entered into the Promised Land, the Hebrew Bible contains indications that Yahweh is not native to the land of Israel. Recently J. Blenkinsopp revisited the possibility that both Yahweh's and the people of Judah's origins can be located in the land of Edom, and van der Toorn suggests that Yahweh was not even originally a West Semitic deity.[30] Rather, a handful of biblical verses and other ancient texts suggest that Yahweh's origins can be traced to somewhere southeast of ancient Israel in the Arabah.

Despite M. Dahood's desire to include the divine name Yahweh among the theophoric elements common to personal names from third-millennium Ebla, the earliest known attestations of the name Yahweh are actually in geographic rather than divine names.[31] Of these texts, the most notable is the thirteenth-century text from Ramses II's reign that associates the name Yahweh with the cities *sʿrr* (Seir), *rbn* (Laban), *pyspys* (no

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[30] J. Blenkinsopp, "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," *JSOT* 33 (2008) 131-153; van der Toorn 1999, 910-911; see also Smith 2002, 25 and 81. For a full discussion of the so-called Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis and the history of scholarship behind it, see Blenkinsopp 2008, 131-153.

Along the same lines as van der Toorn's proposal that the divine name Yahweh is proto-Arabic in origin, M. Rose removes Yahweh's early existence away from the Israelites and entertains that possibility that he was a member of an early Edomite pantheon, which he claims would explain the "religious cohesion" of the Israelites, Judahites, and Edomites (M. Rose, "Yahweh in Israel – Quas in Edom?" *JSOT* 4 [1977]: 31).

[31] M. Dahood, "Afterword: Ebla, Ugarit, and the Bible," in *The Archives of Ebla*: *An Empire Inscribed in Clay* (G. Pettinato; New York: Doubleday, 1981), 277; Van der Toorn 1999, 911. R. Giveon notes that the earliest text dates to the 11th Dynasty in Egypt but lacks a specific geographic context (R. Giveon, "'The Cities of our God' [II Sam 10 12]," *JBL* 83 [1964]: 415).

modern identification), *smt* (Samath), and *<t>wrbr* (Turbil/r, or Wadi Hasa) in the land of the Shasu.[32] Because Seir and Laban are known to have been located in the southern Transjordan region – a region that is generally identified with the land of Edom – R. Giveon and numerous other scholars conclude that the location listed as Yahweh was located in this region in the second millennium.[33] These texts, however, associate Yahweh not with the ancient Israelites but rather with the Shasu – a second-millennium

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[32] D. B. Redford, *Egypt*, *Canaan*, *and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 272; R. Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou des documents Égyptiens* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 76. This Ramesside inscription, which Kitchen refers to as "Amarah West, Temple: Syrian List II" (p. 56), provides six geographic names in the land of the Shasu (K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*: *Translated & Annotated*: *Translations* [Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996], 2:75):

line:	Transcription:	Translation:
92	*t3-šs sˁrr*	Shasu-land: Seir
93	(*t3-šs*) *rbn*	Shasu-land: Laban
94	*t3-šs pyspys*	Shasu-land: Payaspayas
95	*t3-šs smt*	Shasu-land: Samata
96	*t3-šs yhw*	Shasu-land: Yahwe
97	(*t3-šs*) *<t>wrbr*	Shasu-land: <T>urbil/r
…	...	…
103	*knˁn*(ˁ)	Canaan
104	*rḥb*	Reḥob

("Amara West, Temple: Syrian List II," Kitchen's translation). This thirteenth-century Ramesside inscription is a copy of a fourteenth-century text that dates to Amenhotep III's reign and was found at Soleb in Nubia. Note that the corresponding lines have been reversed:

line:	Transcription:	Translation:
B 1	*bt* ˁ[*nt*]	Beth A[nat]
A 1	*t3-šs trbr*	Shashu-land: Turbil/r
2	*t3-šs yhw*	Shasu-land: Yahwe
3	*t3-šs smt*	Shasu-land: Samata

(doc 6 [Giveon 1971, 27]). Redford notes that the doubled *r* in Seir (*sˁrr*) in the Ramesside inscription reflects late Egyptian orthography (Redford 1992, 272 n. 67), so its identification with Edom is secure. He notes that Laban can probably be identified with Libona, which is south of Amman, whereas K. A. Kitchen suggests identifying it with the Libna that is mentioned in Numbers 33:20-21 (and Laban in Deuteronomy 1:1; Redford 1992, 272; K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*: *Translated & Annotated*: *Notes and Comments* [Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999], 2:129). Samata can be identified with the Kenite family the Shimeathites, who are mentioned in 1 Chronicles 2:55 (שמעתים), which Kitchen locates in the Arabah Valley, south of the Dead Sea (Kitchen 1999, 129). The location of Payaspayas is uncertain, while the identification of the final name Turibaru is more problematic. K. A. Kitchen notes that the *wrbr* that appears in l. 97 is a mistake for Turbil/r, which is how the name appears in the earlier version of this text from (Kitchen 1999, 129). He locates Turbil/r in either the Beqaˁ or north Lebanon. Redford, however, interprets *wrbr* as a variant of *ybr*, which is the transliteratin of the Canaanite word "dry wadi bed" (*ʾubal*), and he identifies *ybr* with Wadi Hasa, one of the major east-west wadis that lead into the Jordan rift (Redford 1992, 272 n. 69).

[33] Giveon 1984, 415; Tigay 1996, 4, 319, and 421; van der Toorn 1999, 911; Redford 1992, 273; Kitchen 1999, 129; M. Weinfeld, "The Tribal League at Sinai," in *AIR* (1987), 304.

Egyptian designation for Bedouin-like peoples associated with lawlessness, plundering, raiding, and cattle herding who lived in the plains of Moab and northern Edom.[34]

M. Weinfeld notes that Seir and Laban are associated with the Midianites and Kenites and should not be located in the area near Edom.[35] He argues instead that Seir and Laban denote a range of mountains west of the Arabah and south of the Dead Sea, which is a region much larger than the limited area known as Edom in the south. Regardless of exactly where Weinfeld (and others) locates Seir within the Transjordan, his analysis of Seir and other regional geographic names still aligns with the so-called Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis, which maintains that the deity Yahweh was worshiped by the Midianite and Kenites tribes in the Transjordan region and was introduced to the Israelites by Moses and his father-in-law Jethro, who was a Midianite priest (Exodus 2:16).[36]

Yahweh's association with Seir and the Transjordan region in these Egyptian texts offers extra-biblical evidence that corresponds well with the biblical evidence that locate Yahweh in the region south and east of Israel. Of particular interest among these passages are Deuteronomy 33:2 and Judges 5:4, which describe Yahweh as coming from

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34 Redford 1992, 271-272 and 278.

35 Weinfeld 1987, 304 and 310. Weinfeld notes that EA 288:26 mentions the "lands of Seir" (KUR_2. KUR_2 *še-e-ri*[ki]; see also Joshua 11:17 and 12:7) and locates Seir near the southern border of the Jerusalemite kingdom during the Amarna Period and afterward (p. 304). More recently, Blenkinsopp has argued that Seir is synonymous with Edom and designates the area west of the Arabah, whereas "[t]he original Edomite homeland was east of the Arabah" (Blenkinsopp 2008, 136-137), so he too argues against limiting Seir and the potential location of the place Yahweh to the land east of the Arabah. As noted above, Redford considers the land of the Shasu as encompassing both northern Edom and the land of Moab (Redford 1992, 273). Even further expanding what the realm of the Shasu could have been, Kitchen includes northern Syria and Lebanon in the "land of the Shasu" (Kitchen 1999, 128-129); however, he agrees with everyone else that the place Yahweh was most likely located around the Sinai, Negeb, Edom, or even southern Syria.

36 Weinfeld 1987, 310; van der Toorn 1999, 912; K. Koch, "Jahwäs Übersiedlung vom Wüstenberg nach Kanaan: Zur Herkunft von Israels Gottesverständnis," in "*Und Mose Schreib dieses Lied auf*": *Studien zum Alten Testament und zum alten Orient*: *Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70*. *Lebensjahres mit Beitralgen von Freunden*, *Schüllern*, *und Kollegen* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 441; Blenkinsopp 2008, 133-136.

Seir.[37] Judges 5:4 associates Yahweh with Seir and the land of Edom: יהוה בצאתך משעיר בצעדך משדה אדום ("O Yahweh, when you came out from Seir, when you marched out from the field of Edom…"). Deuteronomy 33:2 identifies Yahweh as the one who "shone from Seir" (וזרח משעיר) and also proclaims Yahweh as the one from Sinai, Mount Paran, and Ribeboth-kodesh:

יהוה מסיני בא וזרח משעיר למו הופיע מהר פארן ואתא מרבבת קדש מימינו אשדת למו

> Yahweh came from Sinai; He shone from Seir upon them; the shone forth from Mount Paran; and he came from Ribeboth-kodesh, from the south (literally, "his right") of them the slope (Deuteronomy 33:2).[38]

In this verse, just as in Judges 5:4, Yahweh is not associated with the Sinai and these other locations because of the covenant with Israel, but because he is coming from Sinai and/or these other places to help Israel against its enemies.[39] The thrust of these two verses is that Yahweh has left his home-base to assist Israel, before and after they enter Canaan in Deuteronomy and Judges. Though the Egyptian texts identify Yahweh as a place and the biblical texts identify Yahweh as a god, both groups of texts locate the name in the same general area, the mountains south or southeast of Israel, in the same general period, the late second millennium.

Biblical and extra-biblical texts from the early first millennium also locate Yahweh in the Transjordan. The ninth-century Mēšaʿ Inscription (*KAI* 181) is the earliest extra-biblical text to mention the deity Yahweh and associate him with Israel, suggesting that he was their God.[40] Though the inscription relates events that took place in the

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[37] F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman date both Deuteronomy 33:2 and Judges 5:4 to the late second millennium (F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* [Livonia: Dove Booksellers, 1997], 3-4).
[38] Tigay 1996, 320; BDB אשדה; Deuteronomy 3:17 and 4:49.
[39] Tigay 1996, 319; Weinfeld 1987, 306.
[40] Van der Toorn 1999, 911.

Transjordan, nothing in this text associates Yahweh with the region as far south as Edom. Instead, it places an Israelite Yahwistic cult in the same larger area that Weinfeld associates with the Shasu people since the land of the Moabites is located just east of the Dead Sea. The inscription itself commemorates Mēšaˁ's military victory over Israel at Nebo, a border town in north-western Moab, during the reign of King Ahab and mentions Yahweh in the course of reporting on Mēšaˁ's capture of the "[ves]sels of Yahweh" (א]ת כ[לי יהוה, *KAI* 181:17-18) as part of the booty that he took from Israel and presented to his god Chemosh.[41]

Another body of extra-biblical evidence from the early first millennium actually does link Yahweh with the southern Transjordan – the collection of inscriptions from Kuntillet ˁAjrûd that have been mentioned several times previously. The site, which is about forty miles south of Kadesh-barnea on a road that connects Kadesh-barnea with the Gulf of Aqaba, is located in the eastern Sinai and has served as a water source for travelers since antiquity.[42] Z. Meshel, who was the primary excavator of the digs in the mid-1970s, suggests that Kuntillet ˁAjrûd was a religious center or "wayside shrine" – despite the obvious lack of a temple layout and objects for ritual sacrifice at the site – that served as a stop for travelers.[43]

[41] Jackson notes that the proposed restoration "vessels" ([כ]לי) fits the context but is still uncertain (K. P. Jackson, "The Language of the Mesha Inscription," in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* [ed. A. Dearman; SBLABS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 116). Van der Toorn, however, prefers ˀ[*r*ˀ]*ly*, which he leaves untranslated, but has been elsewhere proposed to mean "military term denoting more than one person," "altar hearth," "lion figure," "certain type of priest," or "cherub" (van der Toorn 1999, 911; *DNWSI*, ˀ*r*ˀ*l* mngs. 1 and 2).

[42] Z. Meshel, "Did Yahweh Have a Consort? The New Religious Inscriptions from the Sinai," *BAR* 5 (1979): 27-28; Z. Meshel, "Kuntillet ˁAjrud," in *ABD* (1992) 4:103.

[43] Meshel 1979, 34; Meshel 1992, 108. In contrast to Meshel's proposed links between Kuntillet ˁAjrûd and the northern state of Israel, which is an idea that McCarter considers (McCarter 1987, 140), J. Holladay notes that the shrine at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd lacks any major architectural structures resembling the cultic architecture at state-run shrines in Israel and Judah, such as Megiddo, Dan, or Lachish, and he concludes that neither Israel nor Judah were responsible for the shrine at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd (J. Holladay, "Religion in

Of the many separate inscriptions uncovered at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd, three explicitly associate Yahweh with the southern Transjordan near Edom, an area which is also known as Teman.[44] In each of these inscriptions, two of which were found on Pithos 2 (*KAjr* 19A and 20) and the third on a plaster inscription in the bench room (*KAjr* 14), Yahweh is invoked with the geographic last names "of-Teman" and "of-the-Teman":

[1][---]א֯רכ.ימם.וישבע֯[---]יתנו.ל[י]הוה.ת֯ימנ ולשאשרת[ה] [2][ו]היטב.יהוה.התי[מנ]

> [...] length of days, and may they be satisfied […] may they be given by [Ya]hweh-of-Teman by [his] ašerah/Ašerah [and] may Yahweh-of-the-Teman deal well (*KAjr* 14:1-2).[45]

[5]ברכתכ ל[י][6]הוה תמ֯נ֯ [7]ולאשרתה

> I bless you by [Ya]hweh-of-Teman and by his ašerah/Ašerah (*KAjr* 19A:5-7).

[1]ליהוה התמ֯נ.ולאשרתה [2]כל אשר.ישאל.מאל֯.חנ֯נ ונתנ לה יהו [3]כלבבה

> By Yahweh-of-the-Teman and by his ašerah/Ašerah all that he asks from the gracious God and may Yahwe(h) give to him like according to his heart (*KAjr* 20:1-3).

Notably, the divine name Yahweh-of-Teman is not the only Yahweh-named deity that was uncovered at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd. Yahweh-of-Samaria also appears in one inscription:

Israel and Judah under the Monarchy: an Explicitly Archaeological Approach," in *AIR* [1987], 259 and 272).

J. M. Hadley, however, argues against the interpretation that there was a shrine at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd, be it an official, state-run one or not (J. M. Hadley, "Kuntillet 'Ajrud: Religious Centre or Desert Way Station?" *PEQ* 125 [1993]: 117). She views the site as a "way station" that provided water for travelers and their animals from the nearby wells and offered housing for those passing by (p. 122). Some of these travelers left inscriptions and blessings behind as a thanksgiving for their shelter from the surrounding wilderness. Moreover, the lack of local pottery – most of the pottery found at the site was from the coastal region of Judah and the north of Israel (p. 119) – and lack of cultic vessels suggest to her that the site did not support a permanent priestly population (though long-term residents, such as a "hostel-keeper" should not be ruled out entirely, p. 120). According to Meshel, the fine linen fabrics found at the site and the 400-pound bowl found in the bench room, inscribed with a blessing that invokes an unspecified Yahweh (*KAjr* 9), are more indicative of a priestly population living there than of a lay population (Meshel 1979, 32-34).

[44] Both Amos 1:11-12 and Ezekiel 25:13 link the nation of Edom with the city or region known as Teman. S. Paul notes that the city of Teman is a "common metonymic appellation for the entire country" of Edom (see Jeremiah 49:7 and 20; Obadiah 9; and Habakkuk 3:3; S. Paul, *Amos*: *A Commentary on the Book of Amos* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 67).

[45] Functionally, Yahweh-of-Teman and Yahweh-of-the-Teman seem to be equivalent, only the latter includes a definite article "the" (-ה) prefixed to the geographic name.

[1]ברכת אתכמ [2]ליהוה.שמרנ.ולאשרתה

I bless you by Yahweh-of-Samaria and by his ašerah/Ašerah (*KAjr* 18:1-2).[46] For paleographic reasons and because of the style of pottery upon which many inscriptions were written, these inscriptions have been dated to roughly 800.[47] Meshel suggests that the occupation of Kuntillet ʿAjrûd probably took place during King Joash of Israel's reign (ca. 801-786).[48] Because this Israelite king exerted control over Judah after capturing King Amaziah of Judah, tearing down the city walls of Jerusalem, and seizing temple and palace treasuries (2 Kings 14:13-16), he had the opportunity to exert his control farther south, down to Kuntillet ʿAjrûd. Perhaps, Meshel contends, King Joash had the site built in order to provide Israelite travelers a stop on their way to the Red Sea.[49] This, he argues, would explain why a Yahweh-of-Samaria was named in a blessing inscribed on pithos 1 and why Israelite personal names – as indicated by the spelling of the Yahwistic theophoric element that matches the spelling in the Samaria Ostraca – were found at the site.[50]

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[46] Meshel originally rejected the possibility that שמרנ in this text referred to the geographic name Samaria, preferring instead to translate the word as the epithet "(the one who) protect us" since the divine name Yahweh never appears in the Hebrew Bible as part of a construct chain with a geographic name (Meshel 1979, 31).

[47] Smith 2002, 118; Hadley 1993, 119. For an epigraphic analysis of the inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrûd compared to the Samaria Ostraca, see C. Rollston, "Scribal Education in Ancient Israel: The Old Hebrew Epigraphic Evidence," *BASOR* 344 (2006): 55-60.

[48] Meshel 1979, 34; Meshel 1992, 109.

[49] Meshel also entertains the possibility that Kuntillet ʿAjrûd dates to the reigns of Jehoram, Ahaziah, or Athaliah in Judah during the mid-ninth centuries (Meshel 1979, 34; Meshel 1992, 109). If the site were a product of Athaliah's reign, then her ties to the northern kingdom of Israel as the daughter of Ahab could explain why Yahweh-of-Samaria is invoked at the site whereas no Yahweh-of-Jerusalem, -of-Judah, -of-Zion, or -of-Hosts is invoked at the shrine. Her northern influence could also explain the presence of personal names with Yahwistic theophoric elements that conform to Israelite spellings (i.e., יוה, which was likely pronounced "yau") rather than contemporary Judahite spellings (i.e., יהו, which was likely pronounced "yahu").

[50] Meshel 1979, 32; see also the discussion of the Yahwistic theophoric elements and citations in Dobbs-Allsopp, et. al 2005, 283-298.

While it is possible that the Kuntillet ˁAjrûd site dates to Joash's reign, the fact that the site was occupied for only one generation may be significant.[51] Because all the inscriptions date to roughly the same period, those worshiping Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman at the Kuntillet ˁAjrûd shrine could potentially represent people from two concurrent communities who felt the need to invoke their deity by a geographically explicit divine name.[52] If these inscriptions do reflect divergent communities, those communities might never have interacted with each other or even known about each other; however, we cannot know this since we cannot date the inscriptions relative to one another and determine when members of each community would have been present at the site. Then again, these inscriptions could represent a single community who simultaneously revered multiple Yahweh-named deities in much the same way that Ashurbanipal revered both Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela (and even Ištar-of-Kidmuri). However, because no inscription names both the Yahweh-of-Samaria and the Yahweh-of-Teman, as is the case in numerous Ashurbanipal royal inscriptions with regard to the Ištar-associated goddesses, it would be methodologically unsound to conclude that any Israelite thought of these two divine names as representing two distinct and independent Yahweh-named deities.

While no inscription simultaneously lists both Yahweh-of-Teman and Yahweh-of-Samaria, all four inscriptions of interest were found in the so-called bench room on the

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[51] Meshel 1979, 28.

[52] Meshel, J. Holladay, and M. Coogan each envision Kuntillet ˁAjrûd as a site representing various different cultural and ethnic strands, including Judahite, Israelite, and Phoenician ones (Meshel 1979, 34; J. Holladay 1987, 258; M. Coogan, "Canaanite Origins and Lineage: Reflections on the Religion of Ancient Israel," in *AIR* [1987], 118). Though Coogan suggests that Kuntillet ˁAjrûd represents different ethnicities and their religious practices, he warns against concluding that the site was a syncretistic cult (Coogan 1987, 119). The religious views may be concurrent but they are not all necessarily espoused by each worshiper. Likewise, Hadley espouses the view that travelers – and even a few pilgrims – of "any ethnic background" stayed at and left the blessings behind at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd (Hadley 1993, 122).

eastern side of the shrine, assuming it was a shrine.[53] If – and this is an admittedly big "if" – the two pithoi were inscribed in the bench room, then the scribes responsible for the later inscriptions might have seen the earlier one. For example, if *KAjr* 14, which was written on the plastered wall and invoked Yahweh-of-Teman, was written first, the later scribe who invokes Yahweh-of-Samaria in *KAjr* 18 would have likely seen this on the wall. If he wrote the inscription in the bench room or had previously visited the bench room and seen the earlier inscription, then he was consciously contrasting his Yahweh-of-Samaria with Yahweh-of-Teman when he wrote his inscription. Alternatively, if *KAjr* 18 was written on Pithos 1 and deposited in the bench room before any other inscriptions were written, the scribe or scribes who wrote *KAjr* 14 on the wall and *KAjr* 19A and 20 on Pithos 2 might have seen the full name Yahweh-of-Samaria. Of course, a third alternative is also plausible: that earlier inscriptions had already been destroyed by the time the later inscriptions were written, meaning that neither community was aware of the inscriptions invoking a different Yahweh-named deity. Though it is impossible to know if any one scribe responsible for *KAjr* 18 noticed *KAjr* 14, 19A, or 20 while preparing his inscription (or *vice-versa*), there is the *possibility* that a scribe invoking one divine name was aware of the other divine full name.[54] If so, then a Yahweh-of-Samaria was at one point distinguished from a Yahweh-of-Teman (or *vice-versa*). Admittedly, this possibility should not be overstressed since the evidence is not as concrete as the evidence for multiple Ištar-associated goddesses listed within the same EGLs.

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[53] Meshel 1979, 30.

[54] This possibility would be greatly reduced if Kuntillet ˁAjrûd had been occupied for several generations or centuries and the relative dates of the inscriptions spread out over time, increasing the possibility that any inscription would have been destroyed or buried before a new inscription was created.

Regardless of any role the northern state of Israel may have had in the formation or occupation at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd, those who left the inscriptions at the site were probably Israelites rather than Judahites. In addition to the Northern styled personal names, *KAjr* 18 invokes a Yahweh-of-Samaria. It seems unlikely, though possible, that a Judahite scribe would have used a divine name so closely associated with the northern capital. The scribes responsible for *KAjr* 14, 19A, and 20, which invoke a Yahweh-of-Teman, may also have been Israelites since the personal name in *KAjr* 19A:2 (אמריו, Amaryaw) reflects an Israelite, as opposed to Judahite, spelling of the Yahwistic theophoric element. McCarter notes that the scribe who invoked Yahweh-of-Teman in *KAjr* 19 might have specifically invoked Yahweh-of-Teman because he had come from "farther south" where he might have worshiped at a cult site devoted to Yahweh-of-Teman on his way up to Kuntillet ˁAjrûd, or because a Yahwistic shrine was located within the larger Teman region at this time.[55] If the former, Yahweh-of-Teman could rightly be considered the scribe's (or Amaryaw's) local Yahweh-named deity in much the same way that Yahweh-of-Samaria was the local Yahweh-named deity for the scribe of *KAjr* 14. If the latter, then Yahweh-of-Teman's cult site might actually have been Kuntillet ˁAjrûd itself.[56] A third alternative should also be considered: Teman is associated with the divine name Yahweh

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[55] McCarter 1987, 140. McCarter notes that the geographic name Samaria in Yahweh-of-Samaria's full name could designate the capital city of Israel or the larger region containing that city (p. 139). However, given his preference for Teman as a region rather than a specific site or mountain in Transjordan (or even further south), if he envisions the two different Yahwistic full names as reflecting parallel information, he should prefer to interpret Samaria as the region rather than the capital city. However, since the GN in most other DN-of-GN full names examined in chapters 8 and 9 represents a specific place (e.g., a particular city or mountain), the Samaria in *KAjr* 18 seems more likely to designate the capital city than the region. Similarly, the Teman in *KAjr* 14, 19A, and 20 should probably be understood as a particular mountain or place rather than a region.

[56] Hadley rejects the possibility that Kuntillet ˁAjrûd could have been a shrine to Yahweh-of-Teman both because she rejects the idea that there was any shrine at the site at all (as evidenced by a total lack of cultic vessels [Hadley 1993, 120], unless the 400-pound bowl had a cultic function as Meshel suggests [Meshel 1979, 32-33]) and because Teman was not local to the site: "Yahweh is not a local god of Teman, but rather comes from Teman (or Samaria) to grant the traveller's request at this wayside outpost (p. 119).

in these inscriptions, not because the scribe or cult originated in Teman, but because Yahweh's mythical home is Teman. Just as Baal-of-Ṣapān represents a Baal-named deity located at his mythical home on the mountain (cf. *KTU*^{2} 1.1-6) and could be venerated by a scribe, priest, or king from Ugarit, Tyre, or even as far away as Egypt,[57] so, too, Yahweh-of-Teman represents a Yahweh-named deity located at his mythical home who could be venerated by anyone, regardless of their geographic proximity.

In addition to *KAjr* 14, 19A, and 20, Habakkuk 3:3 links the God of Israel with Teman: אלוה מתימן יבא וקדוש מהר־פארן ("God comes from Teman; the Holy One from Mount Paran").[58] Notably, this verse mentions Mount Paran, which is also mentioned in Deuteronomy 33:2 along with Seir and other names for mountains/cities in the southern Transjordan region. Though Yahweh eventually makes his home at the temple in Jerusalem during the monarchic period in Judah and elsewhere in the northern kingdom of Israel, multiple ancient traditions come together to suggest that a Yahweh lived somewhere among the mountains south and east of the Dead Sea in Edom – perhaps a particular mountain known as Teman.[59]

[57] The name Baal-of-Ṣapān (בעל צפן) appears in Exodus 14:2 as a geographic name in Egypt near Pi-hahiroth, Migdol, and the Mediterranean Sea (see Maps 47 and 48 in Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas* [3d ed.; New York: Macmillan. 1993], 45); see Table 8.4 for another Egyptian reference to Baal-of-Ṣapān).
[58] Cross considers this reference to Teman in Habakkuk 3:3 an "archaic tradition preserved in part of the hymn" (Cross 1973, 70-71). He also translates "pestilence" and "plague" as the ancient Canaanite deities Dabr and Rašp, respectively, in order to highlight Habakkuk 3's association with the polytheistic Canaanite pantheon. He capitalizes Deep, Sun, and Moon for the same purpose.
[59] Weinfeld suggests that there were, in fact, several mountains rather than one with multiple names that various nomadic groups considered holy to Yahweh: Paran, Edom, Midian, Kushan, Horab, and Sinai (Weinfeld 1987, 306).

C. Yahweh and the Northern Kingdom of Israel: Samaria

Whereas three texts at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd explicitly link Yahweh with Teman, only one text links Yahweh with Samaria:

[1]ברכת אתכמ [2]ליהוה.שמרנ.ולאשרתה

I bless you by Yahweh-of-Samaria and by his ašerah/Ašerah (*KAjr* 18:1-2).

Yahweh's associations with Samaria likely began in the ninth century when King Omri of Israel established his capital at Samaria (1 Kings 16:24).[60] However, the Bible never claims that Omri built a temple to Yahweh at Samaria, insisting instead that he erected an altar and temple to Baal (v. 32) and installed an ašerah pole (v. 33).[61]

a. Yahweh-of-Samaria at Samaria?

Despite this lack of biblical and archaeological evidence, several scholars have argued that there was a temple, or at least a cult presence, to Yahweh in Samaria during the Omride dynasty. Some base their argument upon the inscription from Kuntillet ˁAjrûd,[62] and others argue for a Yahwistic cult presence or temple in response to the peculiarities that they find in 1 Kings 16-18. T. Frymer-Kensky, for example, finds it

[60] L. Stager suggests that Omri's ancestral ties as a member of the tribe of Issachar made his purchase of Shemer's estate possible (L. Stager, "Shemer's Estate," *BASOR* 277/278 [1990]: 103-104). The history of the estate itself goes back no further than the eleventh century.

[61] This ašerah (אשרה) at the temple in Samaria may be referenced in a pun in Amos 8:14, where the prophet accuses some of being "ones who swear by the sin (אשמת) of Samaria" (הנשבעים באשמת שמרון; D. N. Freedman, "Yahweh of Samaria and His Asherah," *BiAr* 50 [1987]: 248).

[62] S. Olyan's suggestion that there was a shrine devoted to Yahweh in Samaria is based on the Yahweh-of-Samaria invoked at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd (S. Olyan, *Asherah and the Cult of Yahweh in Israel* [SBLMS 34; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988], 35). McCarter, on the other hand, notes that the last name Samaria in *KAjr* 18:2 could be a reference to either Samaria the capital city of Israel or the general region surrounding Samaria (McCarter 1987, 139). If Samaria is understood as a region rather than a city, then its usage is parallel with Teman in *KAjr* 14, 19, and 20, which he argues "seems to have always been a region designation" (p. 139; contra. Paul 1991, 67).

improbable that an altar to Baal would be built in Samaria alongside an ašerah pole.[63] Because the ašerah pole accompanies Yahweh's cult in the official cult at Bethel (2 Kings 23:15), she expects that the same pairing in what was surely an official cult in the capital city Samaria. Given the association of Yahweh-of-Samaria with his ašerah/Ašerah in *KAjr* 18, as well as the general lack of connections between Baal and Ašerah as consorts in Ugaritic and Phoenician religious traditions,[64] her expectation seems quite reasonable.

Similarly, Niehr argues for a Yahwistic cult in the capital city of Samaria.[65] Niehr offers several arguments and forms of evidence, but his most convincing argument for a

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[63] T. Frymer-Kensky, *In the Wake of the Goddesses*: *Women*, *Culture and the Biblical Transformation of Pagan Myth* (New York: Fawcette Columbine, 1992), 157. Frymer-Kensky appeals to the battle between Elijah and the prophets of Baal in 1 King 18 as evidence for the lack of a rivalry between Yahweh and ašerah/Ašerah, noting that the latter's prophets are not killed at the end of the story like Baal's prophets are. Moreover, she mentions that the goddess Ašerah is not mentioned in Tyrian or other Phoenician texts whereas Baal is still important in Phoenician first-millennium texts.

[64] Smith 2002, 126-133. Smith notes, "Asherah is not attested anywhere in coastal Phoenicia during the Iron Age" (p. 126). Since Ahab's wife Jezebel was from Tyre, she would not have promoted the cult of Ašerah as part of her worship of Tyrian deities because Ašerah was not a Tyrian deity. Smith suggests that when the name Ašerah in 1 Kings 18 (and elsewhere) is associated with Baal, the Phoenician goddess Astarte was the goddess lying behind these references. At Ugarit, Ašerah was El's consort, not Baal's (Smith 2001, 47-49 and 55).

[65] H. Niehr, "The Rise of YHWH in Judahite and Israelite Religion," in *The Triumph of Elohim*: *From Yahwisms to Judaisms* (ed. D. V. Edelman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 56. Niehr presents a twofold argument that Yahweh was worshiped in the Omride capital city of Samaria. He first argues that the state's primary deity would surely have been worshiped in royal city, "especially in the royal court," and he then suggests that dedicating an altar to a deity within his own temple is religiously incomprehensible (p. 56). Neither argument is convincing. While the first argument seems reasonable in light of Yahweh's worship in Jerusalem (the capital of Judah) and Aššur's worship in Assur and Nineveh (each a Neo-Assyrian capital), it is not wholly compelling; after all, there is no evidence that Aššur had a temple in Kalaḫ or Dūr-Šarrukīn when the Assyrian capital was moved from Assur in the ninth century and before it was moved to Nineveh at the end of the eighth century (Frame 1999, 12). Simply, a chief deity need not have a temple in a capital city.

Y. Yadin, however, argues that an altar (re)dedicated to the primary deity of a temple seems perfectly normal – "Obviously, if Ahab built a temple for Baʿal it comprised an altar" – even though he then notes that 1 Kings 16:32 originally indicated that the altar was dedicated to Ašerah (Y. Yadin, "The 'House of Baʿal of Ahab and Jezebel in Samaria, and that of Athalia in Judah," in *Archaeology in the Levant*: *Essays for Kathleen Kenyon* [eds. R. Moorey and P. Parr; Warminster: Aris & Phillips LTD, 1978], 129). Niehr's argument is based on more than redundancy, however. Here, he appeals to the supposed *Vorlage* for the LXX to 1 Kings 16:32, where the Greek has "the house of his abominations" (οἴκῳ τῶν προσοχθισμάτων) in place of the Hebrew's "the house of Baal" (בית הבעל). Rather than accept this change as a deliberate interpretation by the translator, he believes that this difference between the LXX and MT indicates that the temple in Samaria was known as "the house of Elohim" (בית אלהים), in keeping with the Psalms and Pentateuchal sources that refer to the Israelite national deity as "Elohim" rather than "Yahweh" (Niehr 1995, 56). This argument is not compelling either.

Yahwistic cult in Samaria is based upon Sargon II's so-called Nimrud Prism.[66] In this inscription, Sargon claims to have removed "gods" from Samaria, but he does not explicitly state that he took a statue of a Yahweh-named deity or his ašerah/Ašerah: "I counted the gods, their helpers, as booty" (DINGIR^{meš} *ti-ik-li-šu*$_2$*-un šal-la-*[*ti-iš*] *am-nu*, *Iraq* 16 179, iv 32-33, my translation).[67] While Niehr is interested in this inscription in his search for a Yahwistic cult presence in Samaria, several other scholars are more interested in the nature or number of the statues as evidence of Israelite polytheism.[68]

Both N. Na'aman and Tigay, however, caution against using Sargon's Nimrud Prism as evidence for Israelite polytheism in the eighth century, as far as either the nature of or the number of cult statues carried away from Samaria is concerned.[69] Whereas B. Becking had previously suggested that Sargon's claim of despoiling Samaria of its gods was *not* merely a "literary topos" that the scribes had added as a literary flourish but was a real event, Na'aman argues that the Nimrud Prism's account is a "literary embellishment" and denies the inscription's historical reliability.[70] The destruction of Samaria took place ca. 720, but the Nimrud Prism was not written until ca. 706, long after

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[66] Niehr 1995, 57. Niehr also appeals to the ninth-century Mēšaʿ Inscription's presentation of Yahweh as the supreme Israelite God, *KAjr* 18's invocation of a Yahweh-of-Samaria, and fifth-century papyri from Elephantine that supposedly venerate Yahweh as Beth-El in Samaria (p. 58) as evidence of a Yahwistic cultic presence in the Omride capital of Samaria.

[67] C. J. Gadd, "Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud," *Iraq* 16 (1954): 179.

[68] C. Uehlinger says, "it seems plausible" that Yahweh and Ašerah would be among the anthropomorphic statues that Sargon took with him back to Assyria (C. Uehlinger, "Anthropomorphic Cult Statuary in Iron Age Palestine and the Search for Yahweh's Cult Image," in *The Image and the Book*: *Iconic Cults*, *Aniconism*, *and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. K. van der Toorn; CBET 21; Leuven: Peeters, 1997], 125). In contrast to Uehlinger, who is focused on the nature of the statues, Niehr is more interested in Gadd's suggestion that this text is evidence of polytheism in Samaria, while B. Becking is equally interested in both the iconic nature of the statues and the polytheism they represent (Niehr 1995, 59; B. Becking, "Assyrian Evidence for Iconic Polytheism in Ancient Israel?" in *The Image and the Book*: *Iconic Cults*, *Aniconism*, *and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East* [ed. K. van der Toorn; Leuven: Peeters, 1997], 161).

[69] J. Tigay, *You Shall Have No Other Gods*: *Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions* (HSS 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 35; N. Na'aman, "No Anthropomorphic Graven Image: Notes on the Assumed Anthropomorphic Cult Statues in the Temples of *YHWH* in the Pre-Exilic Period," *UF* 31 (1999): 395-398.

[70] Becking 1997, 165; Na'aman 1999, 398.

most of Sargon's other inscriptions, giving the scribe time to "improve" the narrative.[71] Weighing data from Sargon's Nimrud Prism against the earlier inscriptions, Na'aman notes that prism inflates the numbers of horses, cavalry, and deportees mentioned two- to fourfold. If the scribe responsible for the Nimrud Prism had the freedom to manipulate numerical data, as well as chronological and other data, then he could have easily added the despoiling of the Samarian gods – a detail not found in earlier accounts about Samaria – with a similar lack of concern for modern historical accuracy. Throughout his treatment of the Nimrud Prism, Na'aman is primarily concerned with Sargon's taking anthropomorphic "gods" (DINGIR$^{\text{meš}}$) as booty. He readily concedes that cultic vessels and theriomorphic or aniconic objects could have been taken from Samaria in 720, which seems to undermine his objection to the historical reliability of the inscription. He notes that Yahweh's calf pedestals might have been looted at this time and that they might even have been considered gods by local Israelites.[72] The fact that he speculates at length about the form of the objects that could have been taken from the cult at Samaria and the Israelites' interpretation of those objects and simultaneously argues that Sargon's Nimrud Prism inscription is not historically reliable is puzzling. If the claims about Sargon's taking booty from Samaria in this inscription are not historically reliable, then why bother speculating what exactly was taken as booty?

In his discussion of the Nimrud Prism, Tigay does not question the statement that cult objects were taken as booty, but he argues that while the objects that were carried away are characterized as gods (DINGIR$^{\text{meš}}$) by the undoubtedly polytheistic Assyrian scribe who wrote the text, we should not necessarily assume that this outsider correctly

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[71] Na'aman 1999, 396-398.
[72] Na'aman 1999, 413.

understood what the Israelites thought they were.[73] Following Tigay's warning about the Nimrud Prism – which is part of his larger argument that most Israelites were exclusively Yahwistic during the monarchic period, as evidenced by the almost exclusive use of Yahweh as the theophoric element in biblical and inscriptional Israelite personal names and by the almost exclusively Yahwistic character of other Israelite inscriptions, such as the greetings in letters[74] – we can only say that some objects that could be characterized as gods were removed from the state cult at Samaria.[75] These objects could have been iconic or aniconic Yahwistic cult objects that had been promoted by the Israelite kings and their cult in the capital,[76] or they could have been cult statues or other objects that were used in the state's service of non-Yahwistic deities, like Baal or Ašerah.

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[73] Whatever the objects that Sargon took actually were, they may have been thought to be gods when seen through Assyrian eyes since both anthropomorphic statues and non-anthropomorphic objects like crowns, drums, or chariots could be worshiped in Mesopotamia as divine beings (see chapter 1). For instance, the divine objects from Samaria could have resembled the calves that Jeroboam I placed at Bethel and Dan (1 Kings 12:25-33). The local devotee of Yahweh in Samaria may have envisioned the calves as Yahweh's pedestal rather than as Yahweh himself, a possibility Na'aman entertains because he recognizes that the distinction between a cult image and an invisible deity's pedestal is a modern differentiation (Na'aman 1999, 413), but the Assyrians would be ignorant of the local and interpret the objects according to what they knew about their cults at home.

[74] Tigay 1986, 19-20. Tigay observes that Yahweh is the only deity mentioned in the greeting formulas of Israelite letters from Lachish and Arad (pp. 21-23).

[75] Tigay reminds us that several biblical texts refer to idols in Samaria: Isaiah 10:10-11; Hosea 4:17; 10:5-6; 13:2; Amos 5:26; and Micah 1:7; and 5:12 (Tigay 1986, 35 n. 71). Of these, Isaiah 10:10-11(פסיליהם, "their images," v. 10; אליליה, "her worthless (images)," and עצביה, "her idols" v. 11) and Hosea 10:5-6 (עגלות בית און, "calves of Beth-aven") most closely resemble Sargon's Nimrud Prism in that they discuss sending Israelite idols from Samaria to Assyria. Similarly, Micah 1:7 (כל-פסיליה, "all her images") and 5:12 (פסיליך, "your images," and מצבותיך, "your sacred pillars") refer to the destruction of cult objects in Samaria. Hosea 4:17 (עצבים, "idols") and 13:2 (מסכה, "molten image," and עצבים, "idols"), on the other hand, refer to the local devotion to the objects in Ephraim rather than their removal from Samaria, with Baal in 13:1.

Accusing Israelites of idolatry or fetishism may be a polemic that the prophets use against those worshiping in Samaria (or, on occasion, Jerusalem) to denigrate their devotion to an aniconic Yahweh cult in light of other moral failings. Alternatively, it may actually reflect the frustrations of the prophets who are members of a Yahweh-alone minority party as they condemn those in Samaria of worshiping either an iconic Yahweh or any other deities, including the goddess Ašerah.

[76] While no definitive inscriptional, pictorial, or archaeological evidence has turned up indicative of an iconic Yahwistic cult image, Na'aman notes that several Yahwistic shrines have yielded aniconic images or cultic vessels (Na'aman 1999, 405-408). For example, the Lachish Reliefs depicting Sennacherib's campaign to Judah in 701 indicate show no graven images, but they do show cultic objects, including bronze incense burners (p. 405). Likewise, in the Mēšaˁ Inscription (*KAI* 181:17-18), the Moabite king boasts of his despoiling the vessels of Yahweh from Nebo but does not mention any cult statues. In the

Regardless of our interpretation of the objects that Sargon took in the late eighth century, their presence in Samaria probably points to the veneration of a Yahweh in the capital city Samaria.[77] On the one hand, if the ancient Israelites were predominatly monolatrists/monotheists, as Tigay contends, then the objects may well have been Yahwistic in nature since Yahweh was the only deity of concern to most Israelites. On the other hand, if the ancient Israelites were polytheists, then we would expect that at least one of the despoiled objects was Yahwistic in nature (or that there would have been at least one Yahwistic object in Samaria to take as booty). Polytheists are religiously tolerant, so surely a Yahwistic deity would have been venerated even in Samaria where they had a temple devoted to Baal.[78] This tolerance for a Yahweh in Samaria – or the Yahweh-of-Samaria – is all the more to be expected since even Ahab, whom the Deuteronomistic Historian blames for the Baal Temple in Samaria (1 Kings 16:32), was a Yahwist himself, having given his two sons (his successors) and his daughter (who ruled as queen mother in Jerusalem) names containing Yahwistic theophoric elements: Ahaziah (אחזיה, "Yahweh holds," 2 Kings 1:2), Jehoram (יהורם, "Yahweh is exalted," 2 Kings 1:17), and Athaliah (עתליהו, "Yahweh has manifest his glory" or "Yahweh is just", 2

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destruction layer at the fortress in Arad, which Na'aman tentatively dates to Sennacherib's campaign, one *maṣṣebah* (standing stone) was found (p. 408). The *maṣṣebah* could have been a physical object representing Yahweh's presence, but as a blank stone it is considered aniconic by scholars.

[77] Y. Yadin would disagree with this conclusion primarily because he disagrees with the basic premise that there was a temple of Baal in the capital city of Samaria (Yadin 1978, 129). Instead, because no archaeological evidence of a temple in Samaria has been discovered, Yadin suggests that Baal's temple and its "huge *temenos*" were built in either the *region* of Samaria, Jezreel, or even Mount Carmel (see 1 Kings 18). Wherever the exact location of this temple was, Yadin surmises that it was called "the *city* of the house of Ba'al" (עיר בית-הבעל, 2 Kings 10:25).

[78] Y. Kaufman, *The Religion of Israel*: *from its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile* (trans. and abrid. M. Greenberg; New York: Schocken Books, 1972), 140. Kaufman notes that the deadly rivalry between the Baal and Yahweh devotees in 1 Kings 18 must have begun in response to the Yahwistic and monotheistic Israelites who would not tolerate Baal devotees.

Note also that Marduk is venerated alongside Aššur in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions and EGLs even when kings like Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal had major political difficulties with Babylon.

Kings 8:26).[79] Likewise, several post-Omride Israelite kings had Yahwistic theophoric elements in their names, including Pekahiah (פקחיה, "Yahweh has opened [his eyes]," 2 Kings 15:23), whose reign was only a few decades before the destruction of Samaria. Unless one of the final two kings of Israel, Pekah or Hoshea, was an ardent anti-Yahwist, which seems highly unlikely since the Yahwistic cult at Bethel survived into Josiah's late seventh-century reign (see 2 Kings 23:15), then Sargon almost certainly took some kind of Yahwistic object(s) from Samaria as booty.

b. Considering Yahweh-of-Samaria as a Divine Name

While, Sargon's Nimrud Prism may give us reason to assume there was a Yahwistic cult at Samaria, an appeal to the invocation of Yahweh-of-Samaria in *KAjr* 18 as evidence must be evaluated under an entirely different set of circumstances. Rather than considering the religious continuum between an official monolatry devoted to Yahweh and an official and tolerant polytheism, the *KAjr* 18 evidence should be compared to other texts that identify a deity by the name formula DN-of-GN. As discussed in chapter 9, Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela are each venerated with an official cult in the city that bears their last names, and these cities are politically or militarily significant in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The same is true of Hadad-of-Aleppo and Adad-of-Kurbail and their home cities. Most of the Neo-Assyrian texts with these DN-of-GN names are state treaties, administrative documents, and letters to the court,

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[79] Athaliah is listed as the daughter of Omri in 2 Kings 8:26 but as the daughter of Ahab in v. 22.

Athaliah is the first woman documented with the theophoric element Yahweh in her name (W. Thiel, "Athaliah," in *ABD* [1992] 1:511). W. Thiel notes that the non-theophoric element of Athaliah's name is not a Hebrew verbal root. The meaning "Yahweh has manifest his glory" depends upon the Akkadian root for a solution, and the meaning "Yahweh is just" is based upon an Aramaic root. Finally, the meaning "Yahweh is abundant" is based upon an Arabic root.

whereas *KAjr* 18 is likely a non-official inscription that would not necessarily reflect the political and military concerns of the state. However, during the mid-ninth century, Samaria was a military and political stronghold from which Ahab led his military campaigns against Damascus and coalitions against Assyria.[80] If an Israelite DN-of-GN formulation is in any way comparable to its Neo-Assyrian counterparts, then it is not surprising that Samaria, of all places, would be home to a local Yahweh-named deity; however, it is somewhat surprising that *KAjr* 18 is the only inscription providing such a formula for Samaria.

If *KAjr* 18 is a non-official inscription, its DN-of-GN name should be compared with the DN-of-GN names from other non-official or non-state sponsored inscriptions. Unfortunately, none of the first-millennium inscriptions that list Baal-named deities are clearly non-official, as *KAjr* 18 might be, since they either were produced by state scribes or commissioned by state officials for cultic use (see Table 8.4).[81] Despite this difference, these West Semitic inscriptions are the closest analogies to *KAjr* 18 available, so they should be considered anyway. Some of these Baal-named deities reside in a cult in a (politically) important city that houses a cult to the deity, like Baal-Ṣidon and Baal-Tyre, and others are associated with a deity's mythical home, like Baal-of-Ṣapān.[82]

The significance of other geographic names, such as Peʿor and Meʿon, in Baal-named deities is less obvious. If the tradition remembered in Numbers 25:1-2 and elsewhere can be trusted, then Baal-Peʿor is a Moabite deity whose sacrificial feasts were

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[80] M. Cogan, *I Kings* (AB 10; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 498.

[81] Perhaps personal names containing Bēl-Ḫarrān as the theophoric element (e.g., Bēl-Ḫarrān-issēʾa, a dependent farmer from Que, *PNA* 1/2, 303) could be used as evidence for the DN-of-GN formula in non-official usage, where the divine name is intimately associated with a place containing a cult to that deity.

[82] Likewise, the goddesses with geographic last names in Northwest Semitic texts provide an analogy for our interpretation of Yahweh-of-Samaria in *KAjr* 18. Again, the cities named in the DN-of-GN formula are largely important Phoenician cities with established cults, including Ṣapān, Ṣidon, and Tyre (see Table 8.8).

performed in Peˁor, an unidentified mountain in the Abarim range.[83] Numbers 25 retells the episode in which Moabite women seduced Israelite men into worshiping the deity by feasting and sleeping with them. Yahweh's wrath is stirred up by this massive idolatrous misdeed, and Yahweh responds by killing 24,000 people with a plague (v. 9). Phinehas stops the plague by killing the Simeonite Zimri and his Midianite paramour Cozbi, whom he caught *in flagrante*, by throwing a spear through them (vv. 7-8 and 13-15).[84] In a previous episode, the Moabite king Balak hires the prophet Balaam to curse the Israelites. Balaam builds seven altars and sacrifices seven bulls and rams on "the top of (Mount) Peˁor" (ראש הפעור, 23:28) in order to effect his curse against Israel (vv. 28-30).[85] The fact that Peˁor is identified as an active cult site in each episode – with Moabites engaging in a raucous feast to Baal-Peˁor and Balaam offering sacrifices there – cannot be overlooked.[86] Baal-Peˁor is the locally important god whose cult is in Peˁor.

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[83] J. Milgrom, *Numbers*: *The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (JPS Torah Commentary 4; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990) 201 and 480.

[84] According to Blenkinsopp, this episode between Zimri and Cozbi – who are both high status individuals – is indicative of an early Midianite-Israelite marriage alliance (Bleckinsopp 2008, 145), which is one of the many pieces he suggests that Judah was included as a member of the "Proto-Arabian Tribal League," along with Edom and Midian (pp. 144-150).

[85] Balak had previously taken Balaam to other sites. He first took him to Bamoth-baal (במות בעל, Numbers 22:41), which Milgrom notes is probably a shrine as evidenced by the singular noun stele in the LXX: τὴν στήλην τοῦ Βαάλ ("the cultic platform of Baal," which would be *bamat-baal*/במת בעל in Hebrew; Milgrom 1990, 193). The next site was "Sedehzophim, on the top of (Mount) Pisgah" (23:14).

[86] Numbers 22-24 never actually says to whom Balaam offers the sacrifices, but Yahweh does speak with him directly on more than on occasion (e.g., 23:12 and 16-18).

Another Peˁor based geographic name is Beth-Peˁor (בית פעור, Deuteronomy 3:29) which is where the Israelites camped when Moses was denied entrance into Canaan and Joshua was appointed his successor. Cross identifies Beth-Peˁor with Baal-Peˁor and suggests that the full name of this place was Beth-Baal-Peˁor, meaning "the temple of Baal-of-Peˁor" (F. M. Cross, "Reuben, First-Born of Jacob," *ZAW* 100 [1988]: suppl. 50). Furthermore, Cross proposes that the location of Peˁor was a "Reubenite shrine beneath Mount Nebo, over against Mount Baˁl Pĕˁōr" (pp. 51-52); however, a later Aaronid prohibition against the Transjordan tribes, including the Reubenites, treated this shrine to Yahweh as one to Baal, which is why only the divine name Baal is associated directly with Peˁor in biblical tradition (p. 57). Because the priestly tradition replaced the divine Yahweh with Baal at the Peˁor cult site, Cross would contend, no evidence of a Yahweh-of-Peˁor has survived. Notably, this theoretical replacing of a Yahweh-named deity with a Baal-named deity at a non-Jerusalem shrine resembles what some scholars have suggested occurred at the temple in Samaria, where Baal has been written in to replace Yahweh.

A second Baal-named deity to consider is Baal-Meˁon, though the name Baal-Meˁon never actually appears as a direct reference to a deity; it is regularly used as a geographic name (e.g., the Mēšaˁ Inscription [*KAI* 181:9] and Numbers 32:38). Like Peˁor, Baal-Meˁon is located within Moabite territory, and it even appears as a gentilic adjective in the Samaria Ostraca corpus: "Baala, the Baal-Meˁonite" (בעלא.בעלמעני, *Samr* 27:3).[87] Despite the lack of an actual deity who is known by this name, the fact that the area can be referred to as Beth-Baal-Meˁon (*KAI* 181:30; Joshua 13:17) or Beth-Meˁon (Jeremiah 48:23) is intriguing. Because Beth-Baal-Meˁon can be translated as "the house of Baal-Meˁon" or "the house of the (divine) lord of Meˁon," this suggests that the deity Baal-Meˁon had a cultic presence, or "house" or "temple," in the area of Meˁon. Similar arguments have also been proposed for the places Bethel and Pithom, whose names mean "house of El" and "house of Atum," respectively, with the idea being that El and Atum had originally been worshiped in those cities.[88] Other places with divine names following

[87] Baal-Meˁon is probably located near Khirbet Maˁin, which is southwest of Madaba, Jordan (Milgrom, 1990, 275).

The LXX of 2 Chronicles 20:1 and 26:8 has *Minaioi* where the MT has "the Ammonites" (העמונים), and E. Knauf notes that "the Ammonites" makes little sense in these passages – especially in 20:1, where "the sons of Ammon" have already been mentioned and are contrasted with the Minaioi/Ammonites (E. Knauf, "Meunim," in *ABD* [1992] 4:801-802; see also S. Japhet, who argues that the MT is "certainly corrupt" in reference to the former verse and problematic in the latter [S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*: *A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), 785 and 880]). Instead, these *Minaioi* should be identified with the inhabitants of the place Maˁon, which Knauf suggests is probably to be identified with Baal-Meˁon.

[88] B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*: *The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 167; van der Toorn 1992, 85; C. Redmount, "Bitter Lives: Israel in and out of Egypt," in *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, edited by M. Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 65. The fact that the place was known as Bethel ("the house of El") may have derived their names because of their cultic associations with the god El does not interfere with the fact that Bethel also served as a divine name. The divine name Bethel appears in the seventh-century treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre, along with Anat-Bethel (^{d}*ba-a-a-ti*-DINGIR^{meš} ^{d}*a-na-ti-ba-*˹*a*˺-[*a-ti*]-DINGIR^{meš}, SAA 2 5 iv 6´), and in the late sixth/early fifth-century letter from Memphis to Elephantine (שלמ בית בתאל ובית מלכת שמינ, "Peace [to] the temple of Bethel and the temple of the Queen of Heaven," *TAD* A2.1:1).

Genesis 28:10-22 also provides an etymology for the geographic name Bethel as the place where Jacob encountered God in a dream; however, the deity is named Elohim here rather than the El that the name Beth-El demands:

the word “house” include Beth-Anat (Joshua 19:38), Beth-Dagon (v. 27), Bethlehem, Beth-Peˁor (Deuteronomy 3:29), and even, as Y. Yadin proposed, Beth-habaal (2 Kings 10:25).[89]

Though not enough is known about each of the Baal-named deities that are listed in Table 8.4 and the goddesses that are listed in Table 8.8, as a general rule, it seems that the geographic last name places the deity somewhere with a cult devoted to that deity. At some places, the cult may have entailed an entire temple, as was the case for Baal-Ṣidon at Ṣidon, whose temple is mentioned explicitly (בת לבעל צדנ, *KAI* 14:18). Other places might only have had a cult statue in another deity’s temple in that city to maintain their divine presence, while others may have had a primarily mythological tie to a place, as was the case for Baal-of-Ṣapān at Mount Ṣapān. When considering the nature of Yahweh-of-Samaria’s relationship with the city (or, less likely, region) of Samaria, nothing suggests that Yahweh-of-Samaria had a mythological tie to Samaria. Also, no evidence explicitly claims that a Yahweh had a small yet significant presence in the temple at Samaria – a presence that Sargon II likely despoiled in the eighth century – but if there were cultic objects for Sargon to despoil, at least some of these objects must have belonged to a Yahwistic God. Likewise, no evidence explicitly places a major cult of

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[19]ויקרא את־ שם המקום ההוא בית־אל....[22]והאבן הזאת אשר־שמתי מצבה יהיה בית אלהים

> He named that place Bethel….“Now this stone that I set up as a pillar will be the house of God” (Genesis 28:19 and 22).

After Jacob awoke from his dream, he renames the place previously known as Luz (v. 19) to Bethel because “this place is nothing but the house of God” (המקום הזה אין זה כי אם־בית אלהים, v. 17). As in v. 22, Jacob uses the name Elohim instead of El. In another episode, however, God uses El in reference to the god of Bethel: “I am the god (El) of Bethel (אנכי האל בית־אל, 31:13).

[89] M. Lubetski, “Beth-Anath,” in *ABD* (1992) 1:680; W. Kotter, “Beth-Dagon,” in *ABD* (1992) 1:683; H. Cazelles, “Bethlehem,” in *ABD* (1992) 1:712; Cross 1988, 50-57, esp. 51-52; and Yadin 1978, 129. Lubetski says of Beth-Anat: “The adoration of the goddess Anath was already popular in Canaan prior to the Israelite conquest and settlement, and her sanctuary is the town’s focal point” (Lubetski 1992, 680).

Yahweh in Samaria, even though several scholars have suggested that the Baal temple mentioned in 1 Kings 12:32 was actually a temple dedicated to Yahweh.

Samaria was a powerful military capital during Ahab's reign. Perhaps the otherwise unknown divine name Yahweh-of-Samaria from *KAjr* 18 reflects a militaristic or national-identity association between the deity and the city in the same way that the divine name Ištar-of-Nineveh does. Apart from *KAjr* 18, no evidence directly links a Yahweh with Samaria, but indirect evidence – including, perhaps, the Deuteronomistic Historian's silence concerning a Yahwistic cult presence at Samaria while focusing on Baal at Samaria in 1 Kings 16:32 and on Yahweh at Dan and Bethel (12:29) – and the fact that Sargon carried off cultic objects(?) from Samaria hint that a Yahwistic deity had a cultic presence in Samaria. Indeed, Yahweh-of-Samaria could even have been the primary cultic presence in Samaria ca. 800 or throughout Samaria's tenure as a capital city.

D. Yahweh and the Southern Kingdom of Judah: Zion and the Hosts

In stark contrast to the Hebrew Bible's silence on any Yahwistic cult presence in Samaria, the Jerusalem cult in Judah plays a central role in biblical history and theology from David's conquest of the city (2 Samuel 5) to Ezra's supervision of the rebuilding of the temple (Ezra 7-8) several centuries later. After capturing the city from the Jebusites (2 Samuel 5:8-9), David relocates the ark of Yahweh to Jerusalem (6:15) but leaves the building of a permanent temple to his son Solomon (7:13). Once Solomon builds Yahweh a temple in Jerusalem (1 Kings 6), the Davidic dynasty and the Yahwistic cult become so intertwined that the fate of one rests on the fate of the other: Yahweh promises David that

his line would rule forever (2 Samuel 7:16) – presumably, but not explicitly stated, from Jerusalem – but the wickedness during Manasseh's reign becomes so great that Yahweh is forced to reject Jerusalem (2 Kings 23:26-27) two generations later during Zedekiah's reign (25:1-17). From David to his (multi-)great-grandson Zedekiah, the Davidic dynasty rules from Jerusalem for more than four hundred years. With the force of the official state religion of Judah behind this relocation of Yahweh's cult from Shiloh to Jerusalem (see 1 Samuel 4; 2 Samuel 6; and Jeremiah 7:12-20), the royal Yahwistic cult in the capital city becomes the only shrine for legitimate Yahwistic worship as far as the Deuteronomistic Historian is concerned.

During the monarchic period, Jerusalem and Zion, the hilltop near the city of David (e.g., 2 Samuel 5:7), become to Yahweh what Ṣapān had been to Baal in the Ugaritic Baal Cycle, his holy mountain and his dwelling place:

[2]נודע ביהודה אלהים בישראל גדול שמו [3]ויהי בשלם סוכו ומעונתו בציון

> God is known in Judah; in Israel, his name is great. In (Jeru)Salem his tent came to be. And his dwelling is in Zion (Psalm 76:2-3).

Indeed, Zion is even literally presented as Yahweh's abode and called Ṣapān in Psalm 48:2-3:

[2]גדול יהוה ומהלל מאד בעיר אלהינו הר־קדשו [3]...הר־ציון ירכתי צפון קרית מלך רב

> Great is Yahweh, and he is very praiseworthy in the city of our God, his holy mountain…Mount Zion, the peak of Ṣapān, city of the great king.

Because Mount Ṣapān is located to the north of Israel, it becomes synonymous with the cardinal direction "north" in biblical Hebrew, which is why the phrase "the peak of Ṣapān" (ירכתי צפון) in this verse is often translated something along the lines of "the

extreme north."[90] But if we recognize צפון in v. 3 as (Mount) Ṣapān, Psalm 48 not only celebrates Mount Zion as Yahweh's beautiful abode but also praises Yahweh by associating him with Ṣapān and, thereby, appropriating Baal-of-Ṣapān's attributes.[91] Other Psalms, including 74:2 and 135:21, also praise Yahweh for having chosen Zion and Jerusalem as his dwelling place.[92]

Yahweh's association with Zion and Jerusalem become so strong that it far outlives the Davidic dynasty. In Ezra 1:3-4, Cyrus's decree twice refers to Yahweh as "the God who (is) in Jerusalem" (יהוה...האלהם אשר בירושלם), even though Yahweh's temple had been destroyed almost fifty years earlier during Nebuchadnezzar's reign (2 Kings 25:8-9).[93] Likewise, Artaxerxes's letter commissioning Ezra to rebuild the Jerusalem temple locates the deity in Jerusalem no less than four times in Ezra 7:12-26, though the divine name Yahweh never actually appears in the letter:

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[90] E. Lipiński, "צפון *ṣāp̱ôn*; צפוני *ṣ^{e}p̱ônî*," in *TDOT* (2003) 12:440-441. This phrase appears as "in the far north" in NRSV, and "*on* the sides of the north" in KJV, but as "summit of Zaphon" in NJPS.

[91] Smith 2002, 88-91. Smith notes that the descriptions of Yahweh getting ready for battle on Mount Zion in Isaiah 3:1; Zechariah 14:4; and 2 Esdras 13:35 (and elsewhere) is reminiscent of Baal's getting ready for battle against Yam (Sea) on Mount Ṣapān (p. 89).

[92] Psalm 74:2: הר־ציון זה שכנת בו ("Mount Zion, you dwelt upon it").
Psalm 135:21: ברוך יהוה מזיון שכן ירושלם ("Blessed be Yahweh from Zion, who resides [in] Jerusalem").

[93] The divine name Yahweh only appears in Ezra 1:3.

Graffiti found in a cave at Khirbet Beit Lei – which Cross dates to the early sixth century, but A. Lemaire dates to ca. 700 – also associates Yahweh with Jerusalem (F. M. Cross, "The Cave Inscriptions from Khirbet Beit Lei," in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*: *Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* [ed. J. Sanders; New York: Doubleday 1970], 304; A. Lamire, "Prières en temps de crise: Les inscriptions de Khirbet Beit Lei," *RB* 83 [1976]: 565). Though Cross, Naveh, and Lemaire offer different readings of the text, all agree that the name Yahweh appears in the first line and Jerusalem is the last word of the two-line inscription (Cross 1970, 301; Lemaire 1976, 559; and J. Naveh, "Old Hebrew Inscriptions in a Burial Cave," *IEJ* 13 [1963]: 84). In contrast to Cross, who interprets Jerusalem as the object of the sentence ("yea, I [Yahweh] will redeem Jerusalem," וג֯אל֯ת֯י . ירשלמ *BLei* 5), both Lemaire and Naveh interpret Jerusalem as the geographic element in an epithet that refers to Yahweh: "to God-of-Jerusalem" (לאלהי . ירשלמ, Lemaire 1976, 559; Naveh 1963, 84; cf. Cross 1970, 301. Dobbs-Allsopp, et al. follow Cross's reading, whereas S. Aḥituv does not indicate a preferred reading, and in 2001 Naveh maintained his reading [Dobbs-Allsopp, et al. 2005, 128; S. Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past*: *Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* (trans. A. F. Rainey; Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), 233-235; J. Naveh, "Hebrew Graffiti from the First Temple Period," *IEJ* 51 (2001): 197]).

v. 15	לאלה ישראל די בירושלם משכנה	to the-God-of-Israel whose dwelling (is) in-Jerusalem
v. 16	לבית אלההם די בירושלם	of the house of their-God who (is) in-Jerusalem
v. 17	די בית אלהכם די בירושלם	of the house of your-God who (is) in-Jerusalem
v. 19	קדם אלה ירושלם	before the-God-of-Jerusalem.

In addition to God-of-Israel and God-of-Jerusalem, the deity is also called God-of-Heaven (אלה שמיא, 7:12, 21, and twice in 23).

Although these passages locate Yahweh in Zion or Jerusalem, the first name Yahweh never appears in the formula DN-of-GN in which GN refers to Jerusalem. There is no Jerusalem counterpart (i.e., Yahweh-of-Jerusalem) to Yahweh-of-Samaria, which refers to the deity worshiped at the rival capital of the northern kingdom.[94] However, we have seen in chapter 9 that there are alternative formulas that express the connection of deities to specific cities, and we must, therefore, consider whether there are any such formulas connecting Yahweh with Jerusalem. Of the three alternative full name formulas used for the various Ištar-associated goddesses in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions (i.e., title-of-GN, DN//title-of-GN, and DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN), none of them can be found in the Bible as a potential Yahwistic full name. Only a combination of two formulas DN//title-of-GN, where "title" represents "God" (אלהי־), and DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN would resemble any pattern that could potentially be considered Yahwistic full names. However, as the following analysis and discussion demonstrates, there is no compelling instance of a Yahwistic full name that places the deity in Jerusalem.

In examining Yahwistic epithets that were used in the fifth-century Aramaic inscriptions from Elephantine (see Table 10.1), B. Porten noted several comparable epithets from the Bible. For example, the Yahwistic epithets Yahweh-of-Hosts, Yahweh-

[94] Meshel 1979, 31. If the Masoretic punctuation is ignored, Isaiah 60:14 could be translated as "they will call you, 'the city of Yahweh-of-Zion, the holy one of Israel'" (ויקראו לך עיר יהוה ציון קדש ישראל). Such an emendation should be rejected, however, since the Masoretic punctuation provides a more balanced bicolon with a city-deity pattern in each colon: City-of-Yahweh = Zion-of-the-holy-one-of-Israel.

God, and God-of-Heaven were common to both the Elephantine inscriptions and the Bible.[95] Other Yahwistic epithets from Elephantine – including those that locate the deity in the local Elephantine temple, such as "YHW, the-God in-the Elephantine Fortress" (יהו אלהא ביב בירתא) and "YHW, the-God-who-resides-(in)-the-Elephantine-Fortress" (יהו אלהא שכן יב ברתא) – inspired Porten to cite various biblical analogies: "Yahweh…who-resides-(in)-Jerusalem" (יהוה...שכן ירושלם, Psalm 135:21); "Yahweh-of-Hosts, the-one-who-resides in-Mount Zion" (יהוה צבאות השכן בהר ציון, Isaiah 8:18); and "Yahweh, your-God, who-resides in-Zion" (יהוה אלהיכם שכן בציון, Joel 4:17), among others.[96] It should be stressed that Porten was not proposing these as Yahwistic full names; he was only noting them as epithets because of their structural resemblance to those discovered at Elephantine.

Because these epithets somewhat resemble a combination of the full name formulas found in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, they should be considered as potential Yahwistic full names, if only for argument's sake. In particular, Joel 4:17 and 21 and Psalm 135:21 each contain the participial form of the verbal root ש-כ-ן ("to

[95] Porten 1968, 106-109.

[96] Porten 1968, 107. The epithet that Porten cites in Psalm 135:21 does not immediately follow the divine name Yahweh because the phrase "from-Zion" (מציון) separates them. Porten probably associates "from-Zion" with the phrase "blessed is" (ברוך) at the beginning of the verse, which he would then translate as something along the lines of "Blessed is Yahweh, (he) who resides (in) Jerusalem, from Zion" (ברוך יהוה מציון שכן ירושלם). This sentence structure (i.e., verb/subject/prepositional-phrase) is also found in Psalm 110:2; 128:5; and 134:3:

Verse:	Hebrew:	Literal Translation:	Idiomatic English Translation:
110:2	ישלח יהוה מציון	Will-send/Yahweh/from-Zion	Yahweh will send from Zion
128:5	יברכך יהוה מציון	May-bless-you/Yahweh/from-Zion	May Yahweh bless you from Zion
134:3	יברכך יהוה מציון עשה שמים וארץ	May-bless-you/Yahweh/from-Zion/maker-of-heaven-and-earth	May Yahweh maker of heaven and earth bless you from Zion
135:21	ברוך יהוה מציון שכן ירושלם	Blessed-is/Yahweh/from-Zion Who-resides-(in)-Jerusalem	Blessed from Zion is Yahweh who resides in Jerusalem.

Notably, like Psalm 135:21, 134:3 has an epithet after the "from-Zion" phrase that describes Yahweh. Regardless of how the syntax of Psalm 135:21 is parsed, however, the inclusion of the phrase "from-Zion" interrupts the potential full name formula DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN (i.e., "Yahweh-Who-Resides-(in)-Jerusalem") which would resemble the formulas used to name Ištar-associated goddesses in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions.

reside/dwell"), which corresponds to the Akkadian *āšib/āšibat-*.[97] Even allowing for the combined formula, none of these examples matches the Neo-Assyrian models exactly. In Joel 4:17, "your-God" is used as an additional epithet with a possessive suffix for Yahweh that separates the divine name from the geographic name: "Yahweh, your-God, who-resides in-Zion." A *bet*-locative interrupts the "who-resides" element from the geographic element in v. 21: "Yahweh who-resides in-Zion" (יהוה שכן בציון). Finally, in Psalm 135:21, the formula is again interrupted by another geographic element: "Yahweh from-Zion who-resides-(in)-Jerusalem." None of these three verses provides an exact correspondence to the Akkadian formula DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN. Two contain a *bet*-locative phrase that interrupts the potential full name, and the third is interrupted by yet another prepositional phrase.

Though the Yahweh whose cult site was in Jerusalem was not known by any full names that included the geographic last name Jerusalem or Zion, the full name Yahweh-of-Hosts was closely associated with the cult in Jerusalem and should be considered as a possible reference to a specific Yahweh-named deity. According to T. Mettinger, Yahweh-of-Hosts comprises two nouns in a construct chain, so it grammatically resembles the standard DN-of-GN pattern except that Hosts is not a geographic name.[98] This genitive relationship between the two nouns may be presupposed by the occasional Greek translation of the name in the LXX: Κυρίον τῶν δυνάμεων, "Lord of Hosts" (e.g.,

[97] According to T. Mettinger, ש-כ-ן does not limit or modify the divine presence of Yahweh (T. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*: *Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies* [trans. F. Cryer; Lund: Willin & Dalholm, 1982], 94). He does note that ש-כ-ן is more generalized in its usage with the divine name than is its synonym י-ש-ב ("to sit/dwell/reside"), which is used to designate Yahweh's sitting upon his cherubim throne.

[98] T. Mettinger, *In Search of God*: *the Meaning and Message of the Everlasting Names* (trans. F. Cryer; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 135. Mettinger claims that the Yahwistic DN-of-GN names at Kuntillet Ajrûd reinforce his interpretation of the grammatical relationship between Yahweh and Hosts.

2 Samuel 6:2).[99] Mettinger's interpretation of the full name Yahweh-of-Hosts (יהוה צבאות) is only one of several possibilities. Other proposed interpretations include treating the name as two nouns in apposition (i.e., "Yahweh, the Hosts"); as a nominal sentence (i.e., "Yahweh [is] Hosts"); and as a sentence in which Yahweh is interpreted as the verb (i.e., "He who creates the [heavenly] armies").[100] That Yahweh-of-Hosts is itself a full divine name is made explicit in Isaiah 47:4 (יהוה צבאות שמו, "Yahweh-of-Hosts is his name"),[101] and Amos 4:13 and 5:27 further suggest that the epithet "God" (אלהי־) can interrupt a full name without significantly altering the meaning (יהוה אלהי־צבאות שמו, "Yahweh//God-of-Hosts is his name"). With this addition of "God" (אלהי־), Yahweh//God-of-Hosts syntatically resembles the full name formula DN//title-of-GN.[102] If we compare the full name formula in Isaiah 8:18 with the Akkadian DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN formula, then like Joel 4:17, it would best be described as an anomalous full name formula:

DN-of-X	+	Who-Resides-(in)-GN	=	DN-of-X//Who-Resides-(in)-GN
יהוה צבאות	+	השכן בציון	=	יהוה צבאות השכן בציון
Yahweh-of-Hosts	+	Who-resides-in-Zion	=	Yahweh-of-Hosts//Who-Resides-in-Zion.

Despite this, Isaiah 8:18 should be interpreted as a full name followed by an epithet rather than an expanded full name because of the interruption by the *bet*-locative clause: "Yahweh-of-Hosts, the-one-who-resides on-Mount-Zion."

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[99] H.-J. Zobel, " ṣ^{e}ḇāʾôṯ," *TDOT* (2003) 12:219.

[100] M. Tsevat, "Studies in the Book of Samuel," *HUCA* 36 (1965): 55; Zobel 2003, 219; van der Toorn 1999, 914; and Cross 1973, 70. Cross rejects the possibility that Yahweh-of-Hosts could be a construct chain; nor can it be an adjective or participle since it is plural and does not agree with the singular Yahweh. As van der Toorn points out, there are several verbal roots from various difference languages that could be behind the name Yahweh (van der Toorn 1999, 915-916), which means that interpreting Yahweh-of-Hosts as a sentence has at least as many possible translation values as the meaning of the word Yahweh itself has.

[101] See also Isaiah 48:2; 51:15; 54:5; Jeremiah 10:16; 31:35; 32:18; 46:18; 48:15; 50:34; 51:57.

[102] Though I have treated Yahweh//God-of-Hosts as a lengthened form of the name Yahweh-of-Hosts, the name Yahweh-of-Hosts could also be viewed as an abbreviated form of Yahweh//God-of-Hosts.

By Mettinger's count, Yahweh-of-Hosts occurs 284 times in the Bible, and the full name is most commonly associated with the cults at Shiloh and Jerusalem.[103] The name Yahweh-of-Hosts is also attested in four extra-biblical inscriptions, one of which is in Hebrew, and the others in Aramaic.[104] When used as a common noun in Hebrew, צבא means "army, war, warfare," which is why צבאות has traditionally been translated as "Hosts" in reference to the heavenly armies accompanying Yahweh or to his earthly Israelite armies.[105] However, Mettinger, M. Ross, and Zobel agree that as a divine name Yahweh-of-Hosts acts more royally than militarily.[106] According to Ross, this royal

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[103] T. Mettinger, "Yahweh Zebaoth," in *DDD* (1999), 920. Tsevat and H.-J. Zobel's count 285 occurrances (Tsevat 1965, 49; Zobel 2003, 215). As a divine name Yahweh-of-Hosts occurs 56 times in Isaiah, 14 times in Haggai, 53 times in Zechariah, 24 times in Malachi, 15 times in Psalms, and only a few times in Ezekiel, the Deuteronomistic History, and the Torah (Mettinger 1999, 921). This suggests to Mettinger that Yahweh-of-Hosts was most popular in Jerusalem prior to the exile. Moreover, H.-J. Zobel notes that with the exception of Hosea 12:6, which he considers a later insertion into the text, northern prophets do not typically use the divine name Yahweh-of-Hosts (Zobel 2003, 227 and n. 94). Ross, however, notes that the northern pre-classical prophets Elijah and Elisha use Yahweh-of-Hosts four times (J. P. Ross, "Jahweh Ṣ^{E}B̲ĀʾÔT̲ in Samuel and Psalms," *VT* 17 [1967]: 82), so between this and his placement of Amos as a prophet to the north, Ross suggests that Yahweh was worshiped as Yahweh-of-Hosts in the Israel (p. 91).

Mettinger, Ross, and Zobel each locate Yahweh-of-Hosts's origins in the cult at Shiloh (Mettinger 1988, 149; Ross 1967, 80; and Zobel 2003, 222). Because 1 Samuel 1:4 is the first occurrence of Yahweh-of-Hosts in the Bible and places the deity at Shiloh, Ross suggests that the god Hosts was originally a Canaanite deity at the Shiloh cult (Ross 1967, 79).

[104] The Hebrew inscription is one of the so-called Naveh inscriptions, which is unprovenanced, but because the script of the graffito in this case resembles the script of the Khirbet el-Qôm inscription, it has been similarly dated to the first half of the seventh century (Dobbs-Allsopp, et al. 2005, 575). The inscription, a curse against Ḥarip, consists of two lines: [1]ארר חרֿפ בנ חגב [2]ליהוה צבאת ("Cursed be Ḥarip, the son of Ḥagab by Yahweh-of-Hosts," *Nav** 1:1-2; an unspecified Yahweh is used in another curse in *Nav** 2 and in blessings in *Nav** 4-8). The three Aramaic inscriptions are from the Elephantine ostraca dating to the fifth century; and Yahweh's first name is spelled YHH in each (Porten 1968, 106). In contrast to the strong relationship between Yahweh-of-Hosts and Jerusalem/Zion in the Bible, nothing from these three ostraca indicates that the Yahweh-of-Hosts should be disassociated from the Elephantine Fortress and the Yahweh temple (אגרא/בית) there.

[105] BDB, צבא mng. 1-2 and 4; T. Mettinger, "YHWH Sabaoth – The Heavenly King on the Cherubim Throne," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and other Essays*: *Papers Read at the International Symposium for Biblical Studies*, *Tokyo*, *5-7 December*, *1979* (ed. T. Ishida; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1979), 109-110.

[106] Mettinger 1982, 24; Ross 1967, 84; Zobel 2003, 224. Mettinger lists more than 20 instances in which Yahweh-of-Hosts is depicted as a king (Exodus 15:18; Isaiah 24:33; 33:22; 52:7; Jeremiah 8:19; Micah 4:7; Zephaniah 3:15; Zechariah 14:9, 16, 17; and Psalms 10:16; 48:3; 68:25; 74:12; 84:4; 93:1; 95:3; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1; 146:10; and 149:2), along with another dozen setting him on a throne with Zion-based theology (Isaiah 6:1; 66:1; Jeremiah 3:17; 17:12; Ezekiel 1:26; and Psalm 9:5 and 8; 47:9; 89:15; 93:2; and 103:19; p. 24).

aspect of the name Yahweh-of-Hosts is most apparent in Psalm 84, which praises the deity who dwells in Zion without any significant military language.[107] The psalm praises Yahweh-of-Hosts (vv. 2, 4, 9, and 13) as the one who is “my king and my God” (מלכי ואלהי, v. 4), who is “God in Zion” (אלהים בציון, v. 8), and in whose courts a day is a thousand times better than anywhere else (v. 11).[108] The closest the psalm comes to anything martial is the mention of shields (מגן) in vv. 10 and 12. Similarly, Isaiah’s vision of Yahweh-of-Hosts in the temple in Jerusalem pictures him as accompanied by a heavenly court:

> [1]בשנת־מות המלך עזיהו ואראה את־אדני ישב על־כסא רם ונשא ושוליו מלאים את־ההיכל [2]שרפים עמדים ממעל לו....[3]וקרא זה אל־זה ואמר קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא כל־הארץ כבודו
>
> In the year when the king Uzziah died, I saw my lord sitting upon a high and lofted throne, his robes’ filling the temple, (and) seraphim standing around him…each calling to one another, “Holy, holy, holy is Yahweh-of-Hosts. His glory fills the earth” (Isaiah 6:1-3).

Isaiah’s famous vision depicts Yahweh-of-Hosts decked out in royal robes that spill into the earthly temple and surrounded by a chorus of heavenly beings, praising the king (v. 3)

Ross claims that the strongest military connotations for Yahweh-of-Hosts is 1 Samuel 17:45 when David explains that “Yahweh-of-Hosts, the-God-of-the-ranks-of-Israel” (יהוה צבאות אלהי מערכות ישראל) is a superior weapon to Goliath’s sword, spear, and javelin (Ross 1967, 81), though he notes that this passage could be a later writer applying a popular etymology to the divine name. The most militaristic occurrence of Yahweh-of-Hosts in the Psalms is Psalm 24:8 where the deity is praised as “Yahweh, hero of battle” (יהוה גבור מלחמה; p. 88). The Deuteronomistic Historian prefers to present Yahweh as a divine king rather than a military general, which is why Yahweh-of-Hosts occurs relatively infrequently in Samuel and Kings and only in a non-royal context in 1 Samuel 17:45 (p. 83 and 89). Other verses that place Yahweh-of-Hosts in military contexts include Isaiah 1:24 and 21:10; and Zephaniah 2:9. Though Yahweh is not called Yahweh-of-Hosts in Numbers 10:24, this verse has been offered as a parallel to Yahweh-of-Hosts because of its earthly war associations (see, for example, Milgrom 1990, 81).

[107] Ross 1967, 87.

[108] Other so-called Zion psalms are Psalm 46 and 48. The name Zion is not used in the former psalm, but Yahweh-of-Hosts appears in vv. 8 and 12. Zion appears three times in the latter psalm (vv. 3, 12, and 13) and Yahweh-of-Hosts appears in v. 9 Both of these psalms describe the deity as a refuge for the troubled; Psalm 46:10 proclaims that Yahweh-of-Hosts will put an end to wars by breaking bows and shattering spears, whereas Psalm 48 drops military language in favor of a discussion of Zion’s defenses: citadels (vv. 3 and 14), towers (v.13), and ramparts (v. 14).

and helping visitors prepare for their audience with him (i.e., v. 6).[109] Moreover, by locating this vision in the temple in the capital city of Jerusalem, Isaiah presents the Jerusalem temple as an *axis mundi* that connects the heavens with earth.[110] Because Isaiah describes the temple as the place where Yahweh-of-Hosts's robes rest below his throne, the temple is no longer simply a building wherein a deity resides but a portal between the divine and human worlds.[111]

Conceivably it is because of this interconnectedness between the divine name Yahweh-of-Hosts and the temple in Zion/Jerusalem that the divine names Yahweh-of-Jerusalem and Yahweh-of-Zion never appear in the Bible or in extra-biblical inscriptions. Potential complex divine names that have been discussed *resemble* full names such as Yahweh-of-Zion in Joel 4:17 and 21 and Isaiah 8:18 and Yahweh-of-Jerusalem in Psalm 135:21; however, the complete absence of a simple DN-of-GN formulation for these potential Yahwistic full names suggests that, even though the divine name Yahweh appears in the Bible over 6000 times, the deity was never known as Yahweh-of-Jerusalem or Yahweh-of-Zion. Theoretically, later scribes could have excised these full names from the biblical tradition, but one might expect that at least one vestigial name would have been left behind or that the names would have eventually appeared among the extra-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions as the name Yahweh-of-Samaria does at Kuntillet ʿAjrûd.

[109] A similar description of the heavenly court is presented in 1 Kings 22:19, in which an unspecified Yahweh sits also sits on his throne with "all the Host-of-Heaven standing alongside him, on his right and left" (וכל־צבא שמים עמד עליו מימינו ומשאלו). Whereas those playing the part of attendants are named as seraphim in Isaiah 6:2 and as the Host-of-Heaven ("Host" is singular) in 1 Kings 22:19 (and "the spirit" [הרוח], who is among the Host-of-Heaven, answers Yahweh's question in v. 21), in both instances, the attendants are described as standing around or beside a Yahweh. For a fuller treatment of the holy beings who comprise the Hosts-of-Heaven and survey of scholarship on the topic, see Zobel 2003, 218-220.

[110] J. Levenson, *Sinai & Zion*: *An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1985), 122.

[111] Mettinger also identifies Amos 1:2 and Psalm 11; 14; and 24 as passages reinforcing this *axis mundi* aspect of the Zion/Jerusalem and Yahweh-of-Hosts complex (Mettinger 1999, 923).

Alternatively, this lack of geographic last names for Yahweh in the biblical texts might indicate the singularity of Yahweh in the mind of biblical authors, especially for those living after Jerusalem became the only legitimate Yahwistic cult site. If Yahweh only resides in the temple in Jerusalem, or if Yahweh's name or glory resides in the temple in Jerusalem while Yahweh himself resides in heaven,[112] then there is no need to distinguish this Yahwistic cult and its deity from others that do not legitimately exist as far as the official religion is concerned. Unlike the numerous Ištar-associated goddesses and Baal-named deities whose geographic last names are indispensible to their identification, a singular or incomparable Yahweh needs no geographic markings. Since the full name Yahweh-of-Hosts does not locate the deity but rather extols the character of the deity, often in heaven (e.g., Isaiah 6), the name reinforces neither the idea that the deity's sovereignty is geographically limited nor that the deity is confined to the earthly realm in the same way that the name Yahweh-of-Jerusalem or Yahweh-of-Zion could.

Those post-exilic biblical texts that explicitly locate Yahweh in Jerusalem or as the deity associated with Jerusalem are credited to the Persian kings Cyrus and Atraxerxes. Each king acknowledges that Yahweh is the God who is in heaven, but each also locates the deity specifically in Jerusalem in some fashion.[113] In Cyrus's decree, the deity is first mentioned as "Yahweh, God of Heaven" (Ezra 1:2), then as "Yahweh, God

[112] Weinfeld notes that the Deuteronomistic Historian does not envision Yahweh as dwelling in the temple in Jerusalem; rather, Yahweh is in heaven (e.g., 1 Kings 8:17-20, 30, 39, 43-44, and 48-49), while "Yahweh's name" is in the temple (שם יהוה, vv. 17 and 20; שמי, "my name," vv.18 and 19; שמך, "your name," vv. 44 and 48; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992], 193). Similarly, the Priestly scribes and Ezekiel express Yahweh's earthly presence with his glory's presence (e.g., Exodus 16:10; 29:43; Numbers 14:10; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6; and Ezekiel 8:4; 11:23; 43:4-5; and 44:4; Mettinger 1979, 137).

[113] J. Blenkinsopp notes that the epithet God-of-Heaven corresponds to an epithet used for the Zoroastrian deity Ahura Mazda in addition to that of Yahweh (J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*: *A Commentary* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988], 75). He further notes, however, that we do not know with certainty that Cyrus was a Zoroastrian.

of Israel" and "the-God-Who (is) in-Jerusalem" (v. 3). Because the pronouns, verbs, and pronominal suffixes in vv. 2-4 are all masculine singular referring to one divine entity, each of these three divine names or epithets can be interpreted as referring to the same deity: "Yahweh, the God of Heaven" is "Yahweh, the God of Israel," who is also "the-God-Who-(is)-in-Jerusalem." Likewise, in Axtraxerxes's letter, Ezra's deity – who is mentioned as the-God-of-Heaven at the beginning of the letter (7:12) and identified as Yahweh by the narrator in the previous verse (v. 11) – is the-God-of-Jerusalem (7:19; with variations in vv. 15, 16, and 17). In both instances, the deity's relationship with the to-be-built temple in Jerusalem is of primary importance.[114] Also common to both Cyrus's and Artaxerxes's texts is the use of the *bet*-locative to indicate where the deity is,

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[114] Similarly, the Jews living in fifth-century Elephantine at the first cataract of the Nile occasionally refer to their deity as God-of-Heaven and as the deity residing in the local temple. For instance, of the slightly more than three dozen occurrences of the divine name Yahweh in the Elephantine corpus (excluding the theophoric element in personal names), eight mention an unspecified Yahweh; sixteen mention Yahweh//the-God; two mention Yahweh//God-of-Heaven; three mention Yahweh-of-Hosts; and ten associate Yahweh with Elephantine (יב; see Table 10.1).

A handful of texts use more than one Yahwistic divine name, and none give us reason to assume that multiple Yahwehs are intended. For example, the late fifth-century text *TAD* A4.3 names Yahweh//the-God in l. 1 and God-of-Heaven in ll. 2-3. This alternation of divine names is quite reminiscent of those in Cyrus's decree and Artaxerxes's letter, especially since one divine name is the-God-of-Heaven and the other identifies the deity as Yahweh. A second letter, *TAD* A4.7, first refers to the deity as the-God-of-Heaven (l. 2), then as Yahweh//Lord-of-Heaven (l. 15), and finally as Yahweh//God-of-Heaven (ll. 27-28; A4.8, a duplicate of this text, contains more lacunae, and the divine names found within it are not included in the tallies above). Elsewhere in this text, the deity is identified as Yahweh//the-God three times (ll. 6, 24, and 26), one of which is immediately followed by "who (is) in the Elephantine Fortress" (יהו אלהא זי ביב בירתא, l. 6). That the clause "who (is) in the Elephantine Fortress" is not an epithet or last name for the deity Yahweh//the-God is demonstrated by the repetition of "in the Elephantine Fortress" on three other occasions that discuss the building of the temple (ll. 7-8, 13, and 25; see Table 10.2). On the first two occasions, "which (is) in the Elephantine Fortress" (זי ביב בירתא, ll. 7-8 and 13) follows "the temple/that temple" (אגורא, l. 7; אגורא זכ, l. 13), functioning in an ordinary locative sense. On the third occasion, the locative phrase follows the name of the deity and an infinitive with a pronominal suffix: "upon the temple of Yahweh//the-God to (re)build it in the Elephantine Fortress" (על אגורא זי יהו אלהא למבניה ביב בירתא, ll. 24-25). Had the locative phrase been part of the divine name, it would not have appeared separated from the divine name by the infinitive. Throughout the text, "in the Elephantine Fortress" locates the temple and the deity, but it does not function as an element in either the temple or divine name. The same is true in B2.2, B3.4, B3.5, B3.10, and B3.11, where the locative phrase locates the deity in the fortress, but it does not function as a part of his name.

There is one text that seems to include the geographic name the-Elephantine-Fortress within the Yahwistic full name, B3.12. The text begins by naming an unspecified Yahweh (l. 1) and later mentions Yahweh//the-God twice (ll. 10-11 and 33), but in l. 2, the text uses the name Yahweh//God-Who-Resides-(in)-the-Elephantine-Fortress. This full name resembles the elaborate full name formula considered for Isaiah 8:18 and Joel 4:17, as well as the shorter form common to Neo-Assyrian texts (see Tables 9.3-9.4).

a usage that also found in the Elephantine corpus (see Table 10.1), as well as in the Northwest Semitic inscriptions discussed in chapter 8 (see Tables 8.4 and 8.8).

E. Yahweh and the *bet*-Locative

Over the past thirty years, the role of the *bet*-locative has become a central issue in analyzing divine full names in West Semitic pantheons. In the wake of the discovery of the full names Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd, scholars began looking for other potential localized Yahweh-named deities, but because the divine name Yahweh never occurs in a construct chain with a geographic name in the Bible, alternative divine name formulas were sought. In addition to the standard name formula DN-of-GN examined in chapters 7-9,[115] the three alternative formulas introduced in chapter 9 include DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN, title-of-GN, and DN//title-of-GN. As already mentioned, the first of these has no exact correspondence in the Bible. If we designate "God" (either אל־ or אלהי־) as X, then the two remaining formulas title-of-GN and DN//title-of-GN are represented in both the Bible and at Elephantine, including Yahweh//God-of-Israel (e.g., 2 Chronicles 32:17) and the God-of-Jerusalem (i.e., v. 19).[116] However, scholars have not considered these as the names of Yahweh-named

[115] The formula DN-of-GN is a formula that comprises two related divine name constructions. In Akkadian sources, this is usually expressed as DN-*ša*-GN, literally, "the divine name of geographic name" or "the divine name, that of geographic name." In Northwest Semitic sources, this is usually expressed as DN-GN, literally, "divine name (of) geographic name."

[116] This attestation of God-of-Jerusalem in 2 Chronicles 32:19 belongs to a summary of the words spoken by Sennacherib's men meant to undermine the Jerusalemites confidence:

וידברו אל־אלהי ירושלם כעל אלהי עמי הארץ מעשה ידי האדם

> They spoke about God-of-Jerusalem like (they did) the gods of the peoples of the earth, the handiwork of mankind (2 Chronicles 32:19).

Because the deity is called "Yahweh//God-of-Israel" in v. 17, we can confidently interpret God-of-Jerusalem as an alternative name of Yahweh//God-of-Israel, who is the unspecified Yahweh.

For a fuller list of God-of-Israel and Yahweh//God-of-Israel in the Bible, see אלהי־ nos. 1254-1370, 1375-1404, 1426-1432, and 1569 (A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible*: *Thesaurus of the Language of the Bible*, *Hebrew and Aramaic*, *Roots*, *Words*, *Proper Names Phrases and Synonyms*

deities, perhaps because they understand the word "Israel" in God-of-Israel as an ethnic/national name rather than geographic one. Instead, scholars have explored the few instances in the Bible where the name Yahweh is followed by a geographic name contained in a *bet*-locative phrase.

In the endnotes of his study of EGLs in state treaties, Barré does consider the various alternatives to the standard DN-of-GN formula.[117] In addition to DN-of-GN, he proposes three alternatives: DN-in-GN (e.g., Tannit-in-Lebanon, *KAI* 81:1), DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN (e.g., Yahweh-Who-Resides-in-Zion, Joel 4:21), and DN//title-of-GN (e.g., Melqart//Lord/Baal-of-Tyre, *KAI* 47:1). Of Barré's three alternatives, the latter two are common ways of naming Ištar-associated goddesses and other deities in Neo-Assyrian texts, whereas the first alternative DN-in-GN is occasionally found in Northwest Semitic inscriptions.[118] However, as we shall see, in no instance is the DN-in-GN formula convincing as a divine full name in Hebrew or in Northwest Semitic inscriptions, nor does it ever contrast that deity with another full-named deity who shares that first name.

Of Barré's proposed alternatives, McCarter is especially attracted by the DN-in-GN option because, he says, "[i]n Biblical Hebrew the expression DN *b*-GN ('DN-in-GN') seems to be equivalent to DN GN at ˁAjrud."[119] Using the DN-in-GN formula,

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[Jerusalem: Kiryat-Sefer, 1998], 72). For Yahweh-of-Hosts//God-of-Israel, see אלהי־ nos. 1452-1488; for God-of-Heaven, see אלהי־ nos. 1180-1187. Psalm 68:36 and 136:26 use the element אל־ in the title-of-GN formula, producing God-of-Israel and God-of-Heaven.

[117] Barré 1983, 186 n. 473. He also includes DN-from-GN as a variant form of DN-of-GN, so that Psalm 135:21 is reinterpreted as naming Yahweh-from-Zion who is also the deity Who-Resides-(in)-Jerusalem.

[118] Barré also has a variant form of DN-in-GN, where the *bet*-locative is replaced by a locative *he* suffixed to the GN. Both variants mention a Milk-in-ˁAštart: *mlk b*ˁ*ṯtrt* (*KTU*[2] 1.107.42) and *mlk* ˁ*ṯtrth* (*KTU*[2] 1.100:41; Barré 1983, 186 n. 473).

[119] McCarter 1987, 140.

McCarter retranslates Psalm 99:2, a verse already noted by Barré, so that the verse praises the deity as Yahweh-in-Zion:

יהוה בציון גדול ורם הוא על־כל־העמים

> Yahweh-in-Zion is great! And he is exalted above all other gods! (Psalm 99:2, McCarter's translation).[120]

The words יהוה בציון גדול have traditionally been interpreted as a nominative sentence, and it makes perfect sense as one: "Yahweh is great in Zion." This is precisely how NJPS, NRSV, and KJV all interpret and translate the phrase (allowing, of course, for the traditional use of "the LORD" as a substitution for the divine name). As noted above, several psalms, prophetic, and historical passages link Yahweh with Mount Zion in Jerusalem. In Psalm 99:2, a Yahweh is praised as the one "in-Zion," but he is the same deity as the unspecified Yahweh in the previous verse, which is to say that the unspecified Yahweh in v. 1 is the same as the unspecified Yahweh in v. 2 who has been located "in-Zion."[121] This unspecified Yahweh is the king before whom the people tremble and the one who sits on a cherubim throne before whom the earth quakes (v. 1). In vv. 5, 8, and twice in 9, the deity is praised as "Yahweh, our-God," and throughout the psalm all the pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and suffixes are masculine singular (the person switches between third and second person in the psalm), indicating that these different divine name formula all refer to the same individual deity. Psalm 99, like numerous other psalms, locates Yahweh in Zion, but it makes no attempt to distinguish its Yahweh of interest from another Yahweh who is located outside of Zion.

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[120] McCarter 1987, 141.

[121] As discussed in chapter 8, *KTU*^{2} 1.119 consists of a sacrificial ritual (ll. 1-25) and a separate prayer to be recited by the supplicant (ll. 26-36). In the first section, the unspecified Baal seems to be interchangeable with Baal-of-Ugarit but contrasted with Baal-of-RʿKT, and the deity is only addressed as the unspecified Baal in the second section.

Furthermore, the syntax of Psalm 99:2 suggests that "Yahweh" and "in-Zion" should be interpreted as two distinct parts of the sentence rather than one. In other passages that contain similar elements (i.e., a divine name/epithet/attribute, a *bet*-locative phrase, and an adjective, specifically גדול), the *bet*-locative phrase cannot be interpreted as part of the divine name, even when it follows the divine name. In Malachi 1:11, in the phrase גדול שמי בגיום ("Great is my name among the nations"), the *bet*-locative phrase does not follow the divine name, which does not appear in this clause, but rather follows the attribute "my-name" (שמי) that takes the place of the divine name. The deity twice declares in this verse that his name is great: great(-is)/my-name/among-the-nations. "Among the nations" is where the name is great; it is not an element within the name itself. In Psalm 76:2, in the phrase בישראל גדול שמו ("in Israel, great is his name"), the *bet*-locative phrase "in-Israel" appears before "great" and "his-name," completely separated from the subject of the clause. Similarly, in Esther 9:4, in the phrase גדול מרדכי בבית המלך ("Mordecai was great in the king's house"), the person Mordecai is said to be an important figure within the palace administration. He is not named Mordecai-in-the-house-of-the-king who was great.

Malachi 1:11, Psalm 76:2, and Esther 9:4 are structurally different from Psalm 99:2 since the subject of each clause appears in a different place. In Psalm 99:2, the subject and *bet*-locative phrase precede the adjective, whereas in the other verses, the adjective precedes the subject. In Psalm 76:2, the *bet*-locative phrase begins the clause. The name Yahweh is followed by "in-Zion" in two verses where the *bet* in the sentence is not a *bet*-locative but the direct object marker for the verb: בחר יהוה בציון ("Yahweh chose Zion," Psalm 132:13), and שכח יהוה בציון ("Yahweh forgot Zion," Lamentations 2:6). In

both verses, if “in-Zion” were interpreted as an element in a Yahwistic full name, the sentence would be incomplete. Reading Psalm 99:2 in light of its own internal contexts and compared to the syntax of similar verses makes accepting the proposed “Yahweh-in-Zion” as a Yahwistic full name highly problematic. Like all other proposed *bet*-locative full names found in Northwest Semitic texts, “Yahweh in Zion” does not function like a full name. Yahweh’s devotees at the Jerusalem cult did not know this deity by the name “Yahweh-in-Zion.”

McCarter also suggests the possible divine name “Yahweh-in-Hebron,” which is invoked by Absalom in 2 Samuel 15:7. After his four-year house arrest, David’s son asks his father for permission to return to Hebron so that he may fulfill that he had had made to a Yahweh-named deity:

[7]אלכה נא ואשלם את־נדרי אשר נדרתי ליהוה בחברון [8]כי־נדר נדר עבדך
בשבתי בגשור בארם לאמר אם־ישיב ישיבני יהוה ירושלם ועבדתי את־יהוה

> “Let me go fulfill the vow I made to Yahweh-in-Hebron, for your servant made a vow when I was living in Aram-geshur, as follows: ‘If Yahweh will bring me back to Jerusalem, I shall serve Yahweh!’ ” (2 Samuel 15:7-8, McCarter’s translation).[122]

McCarter correctly argues that “in-Hebron” cannot refer to the place where the vow had been made because that took place in Aram-geshur, which is in the opposite direction from Jerusalem than Hebron. Neither can “in-Hebron” refer to where Absalom wants to go and fulfill his vow because, as McCarter argues, “it is most awkward as a modifier of ‘Let me go.’ ”[123] The *bet*-locative phrase “in-Hebron” in v. 7 is, indeed, an awkward modifier for “Let me go” since we might expect “to-Hebron” (ל/אל־חברון) to accompany

[122] McCarter 1987, 141. McCarter does *not* entertain the possibility that Absalom named Yahweh-of-Jerusalem in 2 Samuel 15:8, in other words, that the verse might be translated, “If Yahweh-of-Jerusalem will bring me back, I will serve Yahweh.”
[123] McCarter 1987, 141.

"go," but it makes more sense if we understand the phrase as modifying "and I will fulfill" (ואשלם): "and I will fulfill my vow…in Hebron." Because McCarter incorrectly associates "in-Hebron" with the wrong verb, his interpretation becomes awkward, so the only option remaining for "in-Hebron" is that it modifies Yahweh: "Although Yahweh is worshiped in Jerusalem, Absalom has to go to Hebron to fulfill his vow, because it was to the Hebronite Yahweh (*yhwh bḥbrwn*) that the vow was made."[124]

Since Absalom's vow predates the cultic reformations of Hezekiah and Josiah, there are no restrictions preventing where he can worship Yahweh legitimately. Absalom's decision to worship Yahweh in Hebron, where David had reigned for several years before relocating his capital to Jerusalem (2 Samuel 5:5), is likely due to his familial ties to that local cult. McCarter is undoubtedly correct that Absalom's vow was cult specific in much the same way that the fines imposed in Neo-Assyrian legal transactions were paid to deities who were explicitly connected to a city or temple cult (see Tables 9.3-9.4). His treatment of "in-Hebron" as a geographic last name for the deity Yahweh, however, is not the best or easiest solution. Absalom makes his vow to a Yahweh who is worshiped in Hebron, whom he mentions three times in these two verses as the unspecified Yahweh, but he did not know this deity by the name "Yahweh-in-Hebron."

Even if we momentarily consider the possibility that Absalom does identify the twice unspecified Yahweh in 2 Samuel 15:8 with a deity he knew as "Yahweh-in-Hebron" in v. 7, this identification is still problematic in light of our examination in chapters 8 and 9 of the various Baal-named deities and Ištar-associated goddesses. In order to consider a local Baal-named deity or Ištar-associated goddess to be an

[124] McCarter 1987, 141.

independent and distinct deity, the deity's geographic last name must serve as an integral aspect of the deity's identity. Ištar-of-Nineveh is considered an independent and distinct goddess from Ištar-of-Arbela and other Ištar-associated goddesses precisely because her geographic last name is indispensable to her identity. Likewise, Ištar-of-Arbela's full name is used even when she is the only goddess whose first name is Ištar in an EGL or a prophetic oracle (e.g., *BIWA* 278 104; 286 148 and 152; and 288 164; and SAA 9 7 and 9); indeed, she is often called Ištar-of-Arbela when she is the only goddess mentioned (e.g., SAA 9 2.3). As demonstrated throughout chapters 6 and 9, both Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela retain their last names in EGLs in which no other deities have last names, and if another deity has a last name, that deity is generally another Ištar-associated goddess, such as Ištar-of-Kidmuri. Likewise, Baal-of-Ugarit is considered distinct from both Baal-of-Ṣapān and Baal-of-Aleppo because he is treated as though he is distinct from and independent of these other Baal-named deities. As has been shown in chapter 8, Baal-of-Ṣapān and Baal-of-Ugarit each receive their own offerings in *KTU*[2] 1.109:32-34, and Baal-of-Ugarit and Baal-of-Aleppo each receive their own offerings in an earlier section of the tablet (l. 16). The fact that Yahweh-in-Hebron is not treated distinctly from the unspecified Yahweh or any other potential local Yahweh-named deity by Absalom prevents us from declaring this an independent Yahweh. Had Absalom vowed to make a sacrifice to Yahweh-in-Hebron (though Yahweh-of-Hebron would be preferred), whom he would have worshiped while David ruled in Hebron, *and* to Yahweh-of-Hosts (or -of-Jerusalem or -of-Zion), whom he would have worshiped while living in Jerusalem, then we could argue for localized Yahweh-named deities.

For McCarter, the fact that Absalom would identify the unspecified Yahweh with Yahweh-in-Hebron is not a problem because McCarter is really only arguing for the semi-independence of local Yahwehs, "almost as if they were distinct deities."[125] This is to say that McCarter does not consider the local Yahwehs as distinct and independent deities. His search for locally specific Yahweh-named deities is a search for once autonomous local cults dedicated to a singular Yahweh prior to the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah in Jerusalem and Judah, which may be likened to the official Catholic stance that all local Madonnine shrines and images – even when they are called Madonna-of-GN – represent one and the same Madonna (see chapter 3 D). Absalom's vow in 2 Samuel 15:7-8 suggests that Hebron was home to a local Yahwistic cult, perhaps the same place where the elders of Israel made their covenant with David before Yahweh (5:3), but it does not indicate that there was a independent and distinct Yahweh in Hebron.[126]

Other divine names with the DN-in-GN formula that Barré and/or McCarter mentions are Tannit-in-Lebanon (*KAI* 81:1), Astarte-in-Sidon (*KAI* 14:16), and Dagan-in-Ashdod (1 Samuel 5:5).[127] The proposed divine name Tannit-in-Lebanon has already been discussed in chapter 8. This full name has been rejected as a divine name for several reasons. Neither *KAI* 81 nor other texts contrast a Tannit-in-Lebanon with any other Tannit-named goddess. Moreover, this Punic inscription from Carthage only names two deities, and the Tannit-named goddess is the second of the two, so it is impossible to determine whether the *bet*-locative governs just Tannit or both goddesses. "To the ladies, to Astarte and to Tannit who are in Lebanon: new temples," is just as reasonable a

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[125] McCarter 1987, 142.
[126] Note that the name Yahweh-of-Hosts does not appear during David's covenant with the elders of Israel (2 Samuel 5:1-5) but instead enters the story after David conquers and occupies Jerusalem/Zion (v. 10).
[127] McCarter 1987, 141.

translation of לרבת לעשתרת ולתנת בלבננ מקדשמ חדשמ as is “to the ladies, to Astarte and to Tannit, who is in Lebanon: new temples.”[128]

Likewise, the proposed Astarte-in-Ṣidon from WSS 876:2 and *KAI* 14:16 is discussed in chapter 8. There is no doubt that that an Astarte-named goddess had a cultic presence in Ṣidon. In addition to *KAI* 14:16, which mentions that Ešmunazar and his mother Amotastarte (re)built her temple there, the Deuteronomistic Historian notes that the Ṣidonians worshiped an Astarte and that Solomon also worshiped her along with other foreign deities on account of his foreign wives (1 Kings 11:5 and 33; and 2 Kings 23:13). As with Tannit’s cultic presence in Lebanon, Astarte’s cultic presence in Ṣidon is not in doubt, but the idea that the goddess was known as Astarte-in-Ṣidon is.

The final divine name with a *bet*-locative element that McCarter proposes is “Dagan-in-Ashdod.” Aside from the attestation that McCarter cites in 1 Samuel 5:5, an unspecified Dagan appears nine other times in vv. 1-5, three of which indicate that the deity had a cultic presence in Ashdod; “the temple of Dagan” (בית־דגון, vv. 2 and 5) is mentioned twice, and “the priests of Dagan” (כהני דגון, v. 5) are mentioned once. As with the other proposed full names, nothing in this passage suggests that these first nine unspecified attestations should be contrasted with the proposed “Dagan-in-Ashdod” at the end of the passage. Moreover, be`cause the passage serves as an etiology for a priestly custom in the Dagan temple that is practiced “to this day” (עד היום הזה, v. 5), the placement of “in-Ashdod” as the final thought in the legend makes more sense as a reminder of the story’s setting than as the final element in a full name. The

[128] If the inscription listed a third or fourth deity, then an EGL could be derived from the text and help determine how similar or dissimilar Tannit’s treatment is compared to the others. Had Tannit been the second of four deities and the only deity with a *bet*-locative, this unique aspect would favor Tannit-in-Lebanon as a full name. With only two goddesses, concluding that the goddess was known as Tannit-in-Lebanon is, at best, tentative, and more likely very questionable.

Deuteronomistic Historian indicates that this custom is unique to the Dagan cult "in Ashdod," but he does not indicate that this Dagan is unique to Ashdod.

Finally, two potential full names with a *bet*-locative element that McCarter did not propose are Chemosh-in-Qarḥō (כמש.בקרחה, *KAI* 181:3) and Chemosh-in-Kerioth (כמש.בקרית, l. 13), which appear in the Mēšaˁ Inscription.[129] Near the beginning of the inscription, Mēšaˁ claims that he built a "high place" (במת, l. 3) for Chemosh-in-Qarḥō (ואעש.הבמת.זאת.לכמש.בקרחה, l. 3) because the deity saved him from his enemies. Then, after he defeated and slew the Israelites living in Ataroth (l. 11), Mēšaˁ claims, "I brought the cult object(?) from there and I dragged it before Chemosh-in-Kerioth" ([12]ואשב.משמ.את.אראל. דודה.וא[ס][13]חבה.לפני.כמש.בקרית).[130] If *bet*-locative phrases were elements found in divine names in Northwest Semitic inscriptions, then Mēšaˁ could be considered to have contrasted these two Chemosh-named deities with an unspecified Chemosh (ll. 5, 9, 12, 14, 18, 19, 32, and 33).[131] Chemosh-in-Qarḥō and Chemosh-in-

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[129] The city Kerioth is mentioned in Amos 2:2 and Jeremiah 48:24 in oracles delivered against the Moabites.

[130] As noted above in chapter 10, section B, concerning the "vessels(?) of Yahweh" ([כ]לי.יהוה, ll. 17-18), the meaning of אראל is uncertain. The meaning of דודה is also uncertain in l. 12, though possibilities along the lines of "noun denoting deity or comparable divine being," "defeat," and "champion" have all been offered (*DNWSI*, dwd_3 mngs. 1-4). For this reason, the phrase אראל.דודה has simply been translated "cult object(?)" here.

[131] Gibson suggests that Qarḥō was possibly a city quarter within Diban rather than a distinct town (J. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscirptions* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1971], 1:78). Dearman, on the other hand, finds it more likely that Qarḥō was a suburb of Diban with a royal administrative center (J. Dearman, "Historical Reconstruction and the Mesha Inscription,"in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* [ed. A. Dearman; SBLABS 2;Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 173). If Qarḥō were a royal administrative center, then it makes sense that the king would build a shrine (במת, "high place," l. 3) to Chemosh there. In another inscription, Mēšaˁ mentions a "temple of Chemosh" (בת.כ[מש], R. Murphy and O. Carm, "A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Dibon," *BASOR* 125 [1952]: 22; [ב]ת.כמש, *TSSI* 1 17.2), which Dearman places in Diban as a separate structure from the high place in the adjacent suburb of Qarḥō (Dearman 1989, 229).

A final attestation of the divine name Chemosh appears as the second element in what looks to be a compound divine name Aštar-Chemosh (עשתר.כמש, l. 17). G. Mattingly notes that two general theories have been posited for the compound name Aštar-Chemosh. The first is that Aštar-Chemosh is an Ištar-associated goddess who is Chemosh's consort (G. Mattingly, "Moabite Religion and the Meshaˁ Inscription," in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* (ed. A. Dearman; SBLABS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 219). The alternative is that this compound name is indicative of the assimilation of the West

Kerioth could be thought of as independent deities and distinct from the unspecified Chemosh, and each could be thought of as having his own cult site.

The preferred alternative is that the unspecified Chemosh was venerated at both Qarḥō and Kerioth. First, Mēšaˁ built Chemosh a high place in Qarḥō, and later he brought offerings to the same deity at the cult site at Kerioth, which was several miles from Diban, nearer the Israelite city of Ataroth.[132] Next, Mēšaˁ slew the Israelites as an "offering/spectacle for Chemosh" (רית.כמש, l. 12) and brought the cult-object (אראל.דודה, l. 12) to Chemosh at Kerioth, at which point Chemosh commanded the king to attack Nebo (l. 14).[133] Moreoever, "in Kerioth" makes sense in the story as the place to which Mēšaˁ dragged (וא[ס]חבה, ll. 12-13) the offering.[134] If either of these potential Chemosh-named deities had lacked the *bet* so that the first name Chemosh was part of a construct chain with either Qarḥō or Kerioth, arguing for their distinctness from the unspecified

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Semitic male deity Aštar and the national Moabite deity Chemosh (p. 221). Since the compound name only appears in *KAI* 181:17, neither theory is certain.

Other West Semitic divine compound names include Anat-Bethel (^{d}*a-na-ti-ba-*⸢*a*⸣-[*a-ti*]-⸢DINGIR⸣^{meš}), who appears after Bethel in King Baal of Tyre's treaty with Esarhaddon (SAA 2 5 iv 6). If Aštar-Chemosh is a female deity, then Anat-Bethel's presence after Bethel would suggest a consort relationship for Aštar-Chemosh and Chemosh. A second compound divine name, which also begins with the name Anat, is Anat-Yahu, who appears in the late fifth-century Elephantine papyrus inscription B7.3:3 after a deified Ḥerem and a "place of prostration" (בח[רמ.אלה]א.במסגדא.ובענתיוה, "(PN swore) by "Ḥe[rem], the[-god]," by the place of prostration, and by Anat-Yahu"). McCarter, however, prefers the restoratation בי[וה. אלה]א to בח[רמ.אלה]א in this text, which makes Yahweh the first deity in this EGL (McCarter 1987, 154 n. 60). If McCarter is correct, then the divine name Anat-Yahu would serve as further evidence to interpret Aštar-Chemosh as Chemosh's consort if Aštar was, in fact, a goddess. (If Porten's reading is preferred over McCarter's, this does not necessarily alter the relationship between Anat-Yahu and Yahu at Elephantine since all the Jews at Elephantine might not have been strict monotheists. If the Jews at Elephantine are strict monotheists, then the compound name Anat-Yahu is not a helpful tool for interpreting the meaning of Aštar-Chemosh. Furthermore, if McCarter's restoration is correct, this would be the only EGL I have encountered that includes the divine name Yahweh. Other texts may list Yahweh with a second deity, like the early fifth-century ostracon *TAD* D7.21:3, which invokes the Egyptian deity Khnum [ברכתכ ליהה ולחנ̇ו̇מ, "I bless you by Yahweh and Khn^{u}m"], but with only two members this is not considered an EGL.)

[132] Dearman 1989, 179.

[133] Jackson note that there is no consensus for the meaning of רית in l. 12 (Jackson 1989, 111-112).

[134] This is in contrast to McCarter's evaluation of 2 Samuel 15:7-8, where he argues that "in-Hebron" makes sense neither as the place where Absalom made his vow nor as the place where he was requesting to go (McCarter 1987, 140-141).

Chemosh would be more tempting.[135] The switch between the unspecified Chemosh and Chemosh-Kerioth and back in ll. 11-14, however, would still be suggestive of the identification of these two divine names with each other. Regardless, the *bet*-locative in both instances makes more sense as a general locative phrase that indicates where these events happened than as a geographic element in a particular Chemosh-named deity's full name.

Furthermore, if we consider the syntax of the *bet*-locative phrases in relation to the divine name Chemosh in the Mēšaʿ Inscription (*KAI* 181:3 and 13), we find that they appear at the end of their respective verbal clauses. The divine name Chemosh precedes the *bet*-locatives because it is the indirect object of the verb not because he is being defined in relation to the place. Given the typical sentence structure Verb/Subject/Direct-Object/Indirect-Object common to Northwest Semitic languages, the structural patterns we find in *KAI* 181:3 and 13 are exactly what we should expect.[136] The same holds true for "in-Ṣidon" in WSS 876:2, the various *bet*-locative phrases in *KAI* 14:15-18, and the "in-Hebron" in 2 Samuel 15:7[137]:

[3]ואעש.הבמת.זאת.לכמש.בקרחה

> I built this high place for Chemosh in-Qarḥō (*KAI* 181:3).

[12]ואשב.משמ.את.אראל. דודה.וא[ס][13]חבה.לפני.כמש.בקרית

> I brought from there the cult object[?], and I dragged it before Chemosh in-Kerioth (ll. 12-13).

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[135] The theoretical Chemosh-Qarḥō: [3]ואעש.הבמת.זאת.לכמש.קרחה ("I built this high place for Chemosh-Qarḥō"). The theoretical Chemosh-Kerioth: [12]ואשב.משמ.את.אראל.דודה.וא[ס][13]חבה.לפני.כמש.קרית ("I brought from there the cult object[?], and I dragged it before Chemosh-Kerioth," ll. 11-12).

[136] Note also that the six examples of *bet* used in the spatial sense (11.2.5b) in Waltke and O'Connor's Biblical Hebrew Syntax have the *bet*-locative phrase at the end (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 196).

[137] In 1 Samuel 5:5, the divine name Dagan that precedes "in-Ashdod" is genitive as part of the construct chain "threshold of Dagan" (מפתן דגן).

[1]ש נד[2]ר לעשת בצדנ

That (Abinadab) vowed to Astarte[!] in-Ṣidon (*WWS* 876:1-2).

[15]בננ אית בת [16]אלנמ אית [בת עשתר]ת בצדנ ארצ ימ... [17]ואנחנ אש בננ בתמ [18]לאלנ צדנמ בצדנ ארצ ימ

We built the house of the gods, the [house of Astar]te in-Ṣidon//Land-by-the-Sea…and we (are the ones) who built houses for the gods of the Ṣidonians in-Ṣidon//Land-by-the-Sea (*KAI* 14:15-18).

[7]אלכה נא ואשלם את-נדרי אשר נדרתי ליהוה בחברון

Let me go fulfill my vow that I vowed to Yahweh in-Hebron (2 Samuel 15:7).

This sentence structure that is similar to 2 Samuel 15:7 is also used in 1 Samuel 1:3 and 2 Kings 23:23:

[3]ועלה האיש ההוא...להשתחות ולזבח ליהוה צבאות בשלה

That man went up…to prostrate himself and offer sacrifices to Yahweh-of-Hosts in-Shilo (1 Samuel 1:3).

[23]נעשה הפסח הזה ליהוה בירושלם

This Passover was made to Yahweh in-Jerusalem (2 Kings 23:23).

When there is no verb, the *bet*-locative still appears at the end of the thought, such as "in-Lebanon" in *KAI* 81:1 and "on-Hawk-Island" in *KAI* 64:1:

לרבת לעשתרת ולתנת בלבננ מקדשמ חדשמ

To the ladies, to Astarte and to Tannit, (who are/is) in-Lebanon: new temples (*KAI* 81:1).

לאדנ לבע<ל>שממ באינצמ נצבמ וחנוטמ שנמ 2 אש נדר בע[2]לחנא

To the/my lord, to Baa<l>-Šamêm on-Hawk-Island: (these are) the stele and the 2 ḥnwṭ that Baalḥana vowed…(*KAI* 64:1-2).

Bet-locative phrases follow divine names not because they are elements in those divine names in these situations but because the scribes placed the phrases at the end of their respective clause or phrase in accordance with the customary syntax of Northwest Semitic languages.

Just because a deity is worshiped in or associated with one or more temples in a city, that deity is not necessarily known by that location. For example, GAB §4 indicates that Nabû had a cultic presence at both Nineveh and Assur (see Table 6.16), including the temples Ezida, Eurur, and Ešuniginšudu (ll. 161-163). Despite this plethora of cultic presences in Assur, the deity is not called Nabû-of-Assur in Neo-Assyrian texts; he is simply Nabû.[138] Similarly, l. 171 indicates that Ištar-of-Nineveh also had a cultic presence in Assur at the temple Egišḫurankia, but no goddess is identified as Ištar-of-Nineveh-of-Assur.[139] Likewise, just because Dagan has a cultic presence in Ashdod, Tannit in Lebanon, and Yahweh in Hebron, we should not necessarily expect that these deities had full names indicating those cultic presences. Attestations of DN-of-GN full names for non-Baal-named deities are relatively rare in Northwest Semitic inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible, and none of the proposed DN-in-GN names are convincing as actual divine names. (For a list of divine names with geographic last names discussed in this dissertation which are recognized as full names, see Table 10.4).

[138] Another shrine devoted to Nabû in GAB §4 is Egidrukalammasummu (l. 158), which is described as "the temple of Nabû-of-the-*ḫarû*." This Nabû-temple is differentiated from the Nabû-temples in ll. 160-163, but *ḫarû* is not a geographic name (see *CAD* H, 118 sub *ḫarû* E).

[139] Note that Ištar-of-Nineveh, who appears in GAB §4 as Lady-of-Nineveh (l. 171), is distinct from the Assyrian Ištar (l. 164).

F. Conclusions

Unlike the Baal-named deities and the Ištar-associated goddesses discussed in chapters 6, 8, and 9, the Yahweh-named deities discussed in this chapter are never contrasted with each other. Inscriptions invoking a Yahweh-of-Teman and a Yahweh-of-Samaria have been found in the same room at the Kuntillet ˁAjrûd shrine, but we cannot know what the travelers who left these inscriptions at this desert site thought about any Yahweh-named deity with a last name that differed from the one they venerated. It is certainly possible that a devotee of Yahweh-of-Teman saw the inscription on Pithos 1 that invoked Yahweh-of-Samaria; that a devotee of Yahweh-of-Samaria saw the inscriptions on Pithos 2 or the plaster on the walls invoking Yahweh-of-the-Teman; or even that both full names were revered by the same Israelite community. However, these are only possibilities, and because no inscription bears more than one Yahwistic full name, no positive conclusions about the distinctness of Yahweh-named deities can be drawn, aside from the fact that *KAjr* 20:1-2 seems to identify Yahweh-of-the-Teman with the unspecified Yahweh. Instead, three of these inscriptions could indicate that Teman represents the biblical Yahweh's mythical (mountain) home just as the Baal of the so-called Baal Cycle was at home on Mount Ṣapān, while the fourth inscription strengthens the probability that Yahweh had some sort of cultic presence in Samaria.

Potentially both Yahweh-of-Teman and Yahweh-of-Samaria were revered by Israelites from the northern kingdom since the personal names uncovered at Kuntillet ˁAjrûd conform to northern Israelite spelling traditions, but this is impossible to confirm. Judahite Yahwists probably revered a Yahweh-named deity known as Yahweh-of-Hosts, who was the deity worshiped at the Jerusalemite temple on Mount Zion. Like Yahweh-

of-the-Teman, Yahweh-of-Hosts could be identified with the unspecified Yahweh (e.g., Psalm 99), which is also true of the Yahweh revered by the Jews in Elephantine (see Table 10.2). Yahweh-of-Hosts may have a history that precedes his placement in Jerusalem, but his associations with Jerusalem and the Davidic Dynasty there become so strong during the monarchic period that Jerusalem becomes his new mythical home and the *axis mundi* between heaven and earth. The fact that Yahweh-of-Teman, the Yahweh-of-Hosts, and the Yahweh who was revered at the temple in Elephantine could all be referred to as the unspecified Yahweh suggests that all three Yahweh-named deities were identified with the unspecified Yahweh mentioned throughout the Bible whom the Israelites and Judahites were supposed to worship exclusively.

The focus of this chapter has been on Yahwistic full names and not on possible additional members of a pantheon – such as his Ašerah (e.g., *KAjr* 14:1; 18:2; 19A:7; and 20:1; and 2 Kings 16:33) or Baal (e.g., 1 Kings 16:32) – whether an official or non-official pantheon of the Israelite or Judahite populations. For this reason, conclusions about whether Israelites or Judahites, whether in official or non-official circles, worshiped other deities cannot and should not be drawn from this study. However, on the one hand, we can conclude that because Yahwistic full names do not appear together, there is no evidence that any individual revered more than one Yahweh-named deity in the same way Assyrians could and would revere more than one Ištar-associated goddess or others could and would revere more than one Baal-named deity. On the other hand, we may also conclude that any Assyrian or Phoenician who encountered the names Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman would, by anaology, have expected that they were two distinct Yahweh-named deities.

CONCLUSIONS:

The question "What is a god?" has been asked several times in studies of ancient Near Eastern religions. In 2009, Porter edited a volume of essays by that very title that explored the nature of Mesopotamian non-anthropomorphic deities, which included a discussion by Rochberg on the relationship between the gods and celestial bodies and a discussion by Porter that looked at the role of deified cult objects that received their own offerings in temple ritual texts. Similarly, in his book *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism*, Smith retells how Hurowitz's question "what is an *ilu*?" (*ilu* being the Akaddian word for "god"), served as springboard for his treatment of the divine at Ugarit and Israel. Answers to this question can involve defining what it means to be divine in a particular culture, determining what qualities divine beings possess that set them apart from the rest of the universe, understanding the relationship between a god and humanity, or even contemplating what shape or form a god's body takes, which are all issues that Rochberg, Porter, and Smith consider. These issues are important, which is why we examined them in chapter 1, and the question "What is a god?" served as a foundational question as this dissertation examined various ancient Near Eastern, as well as other religious traditions from Vedic India to modern Italy. As important as the question "What is a god?" has been to this study, the question that this dissertation attempts to answer is "Who is a god?" or, more precisely, "Who is a distinct god?" Rather than define what it means to be a god according to any set theological criteria in a given religious tradition, this dissertation approached each tradition by identifying the major gods and determining how they were treated by the official and non-official religious communities as well as how they have been treated by modern scholars. Then it compared how those undisputed

gods were treated in ancient sources with the way that deities who share first names but have different geographic last names (whose individuality is often denied by modern scholars) were treated.

A. Summary

No Assyriologist would deny the fact that Aššur, Enlil, Marduk, and Ištar were considered gods by the ancient Assyrians. However, they might deny that Aššur and Enlil were distinct, separate deities in the official Middle and Neo-Assyrian pantheons. Likewise, they might deny that deities who share first names were considered to be distinct from each other in official and non-official religious thought. Specifically, many argue that the deity known as "Ištar of Nineveh" or "Ištar, the one of Nineveh" by her devotees is the same goddess as the deity called "Ištar of Arbela" or "Ištar, the one of Arbela." Furthermore, they may argue that Baal-of-Ṣapān is really Baal-Šamêm, which is to say, that the Baal who was associated with Mount Ṣapān is also known as the Baal who resides in Heaven. Likewise, the scribe who called upon the deity "Yahweh of Samaria" is thought by many biblical scholars to be invoking the same deity as was the scribe who called upon "Yahweh of Teman" in his blessing(s).

In Mesopotamia, these issues are not dealt with in the scholarly lexical god-lists, but some royal or esoteric hymns do address them. The author of the Middle Assyrian "Psalm to Aššur for Tukultī-Ninurta I" identified Aššur with Enlil. A Neo-Assyrian scribe wrote in the bilingual "Sumero-Akkadian Hymn of Nanâ" that the goddess Nanaya identified herself with the goddesses Ištar and Anunītu, as well as with Aššur's consort Šerūʾa, Adad's consort Šala, Marduk's consort Ṣarpānītu, and numerous other goddesses.

Likewise, there are no scholarly scribal texts from Ugarit, the Phoenician city-states, Moab, or elsewhere in Western Asia that discuss whether Baal-of-Ṣapān was identified with Baal-of-Ugarit or with Baal-Šamêm, but the six tablets of the Baal Cycle leave the impression that there was only one Baal found along the Levantine coast in the mid-second millennium. And, of course, while the Bible associates Yahweh with Teman on a handful of occasions, no verse would have caused biblical scholars to surmise that the deity could have been invoked as Yahweh-of-Teman in a blessing. Nor would they have guessed that a Yahweh-of-Samaria was worshiped by that name since the Bible never associates the Israelite deity with a cult in the north Israelite capital city.

In Assyria, Aššur, Marduk, and Enlil were recognized as gods, and various myths and hymns attest to their treatment as gods by their devotees. They could receive praise and offerings, control aspects of the physical world, and interact with other gods, as well as with humans. More common than these myths and hymns are the numerous royal inscriptions, state treaties and administrative documents, personal letters, and ritual texts that indicate that Aššur, Marduk, and Enlil received praise and offerings, assisted kings and nations in war, served as witnesses in human affairs, and effected blessings and curses. As shown throughout chapter 6, Neo-Assyrian kings and scribes called upon Aššur, Enlil, Marduk, and numerous other deities in blessings and curses, and priests made arrangements for them in cultic rituals and other ceremonies. Moreover, scribes often called upon these deities in an orderly and regular fashion, in which the more important deities appeared first in these inscriptions, and the lesser deities later. Throughout this dissertation, we have referred to these lists of deities as “embedded god-

lists" or EGLs because we derived them from existing texts whose primary functions were to do something besides list gods.

The ideal embedded god-list, which is based upon the list of thirty-seven Assyrian deities by whom Matiʾ-ilu swear in his treaty with Aššur-nērārī V (SAA 2 2 vi 6-26; see Table 6.4), includes the Assyrian chief deity Aššur, the ancient high gods Anu, Enlil, and Ea, and their consorts, the Babylonian chief deity Marduk and his consort and family, warrior (and other male) gods, and goddesses. All but a handful of the deities in this list are identified by a single name, such as Aššur, Sîn, Marduk, and Nergal, but the handful that are identified by more than a single name are treated in the same way. Moreover, they have the same expectations thrust upon them by Aššur-nērārī and Matiʾ-ilu as do the rest of the deities. Among this handful are two goddesses cited near the end of the list who are identified by the name Ištar plus a geographic epithet: Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh and Ištar//Lady-of-Arbela (^{d}15 NIN ^{uru}*ni-na-a* and ^{d}INNIN NIN ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$, ll. 15-16). That the text means to distinguish them from each other – rather than identify them with each other as two forms of a single Ištar goddess – is made clear from the context of the EGL. The great gods Aššur, Sîn, Marduk, and Nergal only appear once in this list, and they appear significantly earlier in the list. It is unlikely that the Assyrian and Babylonian chief deities would only be mentioned once while a singular Ištar would be mentioned twice near the bottom of the list. If we are to interpret this list of gods consistently, then we are forced to recognize that Aššur-nērārī recognized and expected Matiʾ-ilu to recognize that Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh was distinct from Ištar//Lady-of-Arbela. Otherwise, he would have only included the name Ištar in his oath.

Similarly, the ritual text BM 121206 describes the physical arrangement in which several cult statues are to be placed (see Table 6.5). More than two dozen statues of Assyrian gods are listed in ix 27´-34´, and all but four of these are indentified by one name. The four who are identified by more than a single name all have the first name Ištar, and all of them appear in the middle of the list: Ištar-of-Heaven (^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ AN-*e*), Ištar-of-Nineveh (^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ NINA^{ki}), Ištar-of-Arbela (^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ *arba*-*il*$_{3}$), and the Assyrian Ištar (^{d}15 *aš*-*šu*-*ri*-*tu*). Again, if we are to interpret this list of gods consistently, then we are forced to recognize that the priests in Assur distinguished these four Ištar-associated goddesses from one another. If these four names were supposed to refer to a singular Ištar who was so important that she could be mentioned by name more often than Aššur and his consort Mullissu or any other deity, then we would expect her to play a more central role in the ritual or at least expect that her names would appear earlier in the list. As chapters 6 and 9 demonstrate, this treatment of each of the individual Ištar-associated goddesses like any other individual deity is not unique to state treaties like SAA 2 2 or ritual texts like BM 121206. This phenomenon is also common to state administrative documents and personal letters. The goddess Ištar-of-Nineveh was treated as distinct from Ištar-of-Arbela and the other Ištar-associated goddesses by Neo-Assyrian scribes as she was from Šerūˀa, Ṣarpānītu, and Gula, or most any other god or goddess with a different name. Because the Neo-Assyrian scribes treated Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela the same way that they treated other deities, the question "Who is a god?" includes an answer that indicates Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela were each considered independent and distinct goddesses. The same can also be said of Ištar-of-

Kidmuri and various other Ištar-associated goddesses, regardless of exactly how their name is written out as long as the geographic name is present.

A similar survey of Ugaritic and other Northwest Semitic texts reveals that more than one deity was named (or nicknamed) Baal. The EGLs in which many of these Baal-named deities appear are significantly shorter than those from Neo-Assyrian texts, but several texts still indicate that more than one deity was known by the first name Baal in several local pantheons. At Ugarit, Baal-of-Aleppo and Baal-of-Ṣapān are listed together in the offering-list *KTU*^{2} 1.148:23-45 that also includes the deities God-of-the-Father, El, Dagan, Ašerah, and Šapaš, among others (see Table 8.2). In this and other offering-lists, if each individual name in the list received its own offerings, then each individual divine name was treated as an individual god by the ancient priests, and each individual name should be considered an individual deity by scholars today. Likewise, EGLs appear in Aramaic royal inscriptions and Akkadian treaties from the early first millennium (e.g., *KAI* 24 and SAA 2 5) and in Punic votive inscriptions from the third century (i.e., *KAI* 78). When inscriptions include more than one Baal-named deity and do not treat those divine names any differently than they do other divine names – aside from the fact that they include his geographic last name – we should accept that the scribes responsible for these inscriptions viewed these Baal-named deities as individual and distinct gods. Moreover, in many instances the geographic last name was indispensible to their identity and included in the inscription even though only one individual deity appeared in an inscription (e.g., *KAI* 50). Because the scribes treated each Baal-named deity like they would any other independent and distinct god and because they expected the same thing from each Baal-named deity as they would from other independent and distinct gods, we

should consider each one an independent and distinct god. Just as each Ištar-associated goddess is an answer to the question "Who is a god?" as are Aššur and Marduk, so is each Baal-named deity another answer. Each Baal-named deity was a separate and distinct god.

Whereas both the various Ištar-associated goddesses and the several Baal-named deities could be explored against the background of their divine peers with whom they shared a first name, the few Yahwistic divine names that we examined do not appear in EGLs and cannot be explored in a similar way.[1] There are no EGLs that include a Yahweh-named deity, and no inscriptions distinguish one Yahweh-named deity from another. Moreover, because the name Yahweh-of-Samaria appears in only one inscription and the city of Samaria is not known to have been a Yahwistic cult site, we cannot determine how indispensible the place Samaria was to this Yahweh-named deity's identity. Yahweh-of-Teman appears in three different inscriptions (all found in the same room), and Yahweh is associated with Teman in Habakkuk 3:3, so this geographic name is at least pertinent to the deity's identity, but it is not necessarily indispensible since he is simply called (the unspecified) Yahweh in *KAjr* 20:2. Similarly, the divine name Yahweh-of-Hosts, which appears about 300 times in the Bible, is often identified with (the unspecified) Yahweh (e.g., Psalm 84), but the last name "of-Hosts" is admittedly not a geographic last name. Because these Yahwistic full names lack the context used to determine the individuality and distinctness of other deities with full names, we cannot confidently respond to the question "Who is a god?" with an answer that says Yahweh-of-Teman and Yahweh-of-Samaria are each a distinct god. If we accept the possibility

[1] Barré defined (embedded) god-lists as requiring a minimum of three divine names (Barré 1983, 6), a characteristic which has been applied to the EGLs examined in chapters 5 through 9.

that, as most scholars believe, the Israelites were not monotheists during the monarchic period, then we may suppose, by analogy, that any Israelite who was familiar with both Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman would have considered them to be distinct and independent deities, just as their Neo-Assyrian counterparts considered Ištar-of-Nineveh distinct from Ištar-of-Arbela or as the Phoenicians considered Baal-Ṣidon distinct from Baal-of-Ṣapān. Indeed, we can confidently suppose that Neo-Assyrian or Phoenician polytheists who might have encountered the divine names Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman would have considered these names as representing two distinct Yahweh-named deities based on their understanding of Ištar-associated goddesses and Baal-named deities.

B. Implications

Despite this lack of context for determining whether any ancient Israelites distinguished between Yahweh-named deities, the origins of each Yahwistic full name can still be sought. In Assyria, the two major Ištar-associated goddesses were Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela. Each goddess's city was a military and political stronghold in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Likewise, the Assyrian Ištar played a greater role in state administrative documents when Assur was still the capital, and Ištar-of-Kidmuri became more relevant when the capital moved to Nineveh, where one Kidmuri temple was located. Likewise, Baal-of-Aleppo was the patron deity of the politically important city of Aleppo in the west, and Baal-of-Ṣapān was the deity associated with the mythical home of the unspecified Baal in the so-called Baal Cycle. Each geographic last name located its deity in a significant location.

In the case of the Yahweh-named deities, the significance of the location is probably equally significant, but there is not enough evidence to be certain of this. As the capital city of the northern state of Israel, Samaria was a political powerhouse, especially during the Omride dynasty in the mid-ninth century. *KAjr* 18 is the only piece of textual or archaeological evidence that explicitly links Yahweh with Samaria, but despite the Bible's silence on the subject, the deity likely had some sort of cultic presence in the capital city. According to the Deuteronomistic Historian, King Jeroboam I of Israel established shrines at the northern and southern extremes of his kingdom, at Dan and Bethel (1 Kings 12:29-30). He built these and other cult sites in order to prevent the Israelites from worshiping Yahweh in Jerusalem and, as a result, then politically returning to the kingdom of Judah (vv. 26-27 and 31).[2] The Historian also accused Jeroboam of using inappropriate cult imagery for a Yahwistic cult (i.e., calves, not cherubim; v. 28) and imposing a new religious calendar on the Israelites (vv. 32-33). According to 1 and 2 Kings, there was a political rivalry between Israel and Judah throughout most of their history, and 1 Kings 12 indicates that there was also a religious rivalry. While neither these cultic innovations nor any other evidence explicitly places a Yahwistic cult in Samaria, if a religious rivalry existed between Israel and Judah before and after Samaria was the Israelite capital city, then either the Omride kings or some other Israelite king might have fueled this political and religious rivalry by honoring Yahweh there or by invoking him specifically as Yahweh-of-Samaria throughout the kingdom and the lands that it controlled. This is admittedly speculative, but it is not contrary to any known evidence.

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[2] Jeroboam's capital probably contained one of the "high places" (בית־במות) with a commissioned priesthood that are mentioned in 1 Kings 12:31. It should be stressed, however, that his capital was Shechem, not Samaria.

As some scholars have suggested, the area of Kuntillet ʿAjrud might have been under Samaria's political control and not too far from Teman, but the name Yahweh-of-Teman was hardly coined for the benefit of the northern state. Unlike Yahweh's (supposed) associations with Samaria, his associations with Teman are textually based. Teman was no political stronghold, but it was probably important for cultic reasons. In Habakkuk 3:3, God is described as coming from Teman (אלוה מתימן יבוא). Other verses locate the deity in the southern Transjordan, and second-millennium Egyptian texts also associate the geographic name Yahweh with this region. If Yahweh were known as Yahweh-of-Teman by more than just the scribes responsible for *KAjr* 14, 19A, and 20 and their immediate communities, then this name should be interpreted along the lines as the name Baal-of-Ṣapān, a divine name with mythic associations.

The third Yahweh-named deity of interest, Yahweh-of-Hosts, lacks a geographic last name, but he was intimately associated with the Judahite capital Jerusalem. As at Teman, with its mythical associations with Yahweh, the cult site at Jerusalem develops its own mythical associations and even reinterprets Mount Zion as Yahweh's own Mount Ṣapān in the city of David. Despite the political and religious center that Jerusalem became, and the fact that Yahweh could be referred to as the God-of-Jerusalem in the post-exilic period (i.e., 2 Chronicles 32:17 and Ezra 7:19), the local Yahwistic cult never referred to Yahweh as the Yahweh-of-Jerusalem or the Yahweh-of-Zion.

If the Israelites had been polytheists, then they presumably would have composed texts from which EGLs could be derived, just as their Assyrian, Aramaic, Phoenician, and other neighbors did in their treaties, royal inscriptions, and the greetings in letters. It is true that we have no extant Israelite treaties or royal inscriptions in which to look for

potential EGLs, but the greetings in the letters are suggestive of an Israelite Yahwistic monolatry (or monotheism).[3] As mentioned in chapter 10, the concept of multiple Yahweh-named deities or distinct and independent local Yahwehs is not a topic that was addressed by the Deuteronomistic Historian, the prophets, or any other biblical authors. Their lack of concern about the topic suggests that they were aware of few, if any, Israelites who recognized the Yahweh-named deities that they encountered as distinct and independent deities. They may have known the names Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman, but there nothing to suggest from the inscriptional or biblical evidence that they thought of these as different Yahwehs.

The presence of multiple Yahweh-named deities with geographic last names is not necessarily evidence of polytheism or poly-Yahwism among Israelites, nor is the absence of multiple Aššur-named deities with geographic last names evidence of monolatry or monotheism among the Assyrians, though it could be evidence that Aššur never splintered into multiple Aššur-named deities. The contexts in which these names appear matter. They guide how we should interpret the names and determine whether we can confidently respond to the question "Who is a (distinct) god?" by answering Ištar-of-Nineveh, Ištar-of-Arbela, Baal-of-Ṣapān, and Baal-Šamêm, answers with which ancient Assyrians, Arameans, and Phoenicians would surely have agreed.

[3] In contrast, the EGLs in the Assyrian letters SAA 10 197:7-14 and 286:3-7 (see Tables 6.11-6.12) name multiple deities, including multiple Ištar-associated goddesses.

APPENDICES: TABLES 2.1-10.4

Table 2.1: Gods of the *anāku*-sequence of LH in the order that they appear (i 50-v 13).

	DIVINE NAME	CITY NAME	TEMPLE NAME
1	Enlil	Nippur	Ekur
2	(Ea)	Eridu	Eabzu
3	**Marduk**	Babylon	Esagil
4	Sîn	Ur	Egišnugal
5	Šamaš	Sippar	Ebabbar
6	Aya		
7	Šamaš	Larsa	Ebabbar
8	Anu	Uruk	Eanna
9	Ištar	(Uruk)	
10	(Ninisina)	Isin	Egalmah
11	Zababa	Kiš	Emeteursag
12	Ištar	(Kiš)	Hursagkalamma
13	Erra	Kutha	Emeslam
14	Tutu	Borsippa	Ezida
15	Uraš	Dilbat	
16	Mama	Keš	
17	Nintu	(Keš)	
18a	(Ningirsu)	Lagaš	
18b	(Ningirsu)	Girsu	Eninnu
19	Ištar	Zabala	
20	Adad (2x)	Karkara	Eudgalgal
21	(Ninmah)	Adab	Emah
22	(Nergal)	Maškan-šapir	Emeslam
23	Ea	Malgium	
24	Damkina	(Malgium)	
25a	Dagan	Mari	
25b		Tuttul	
26	Tišpak	(Ešnunna)	
27	Ninazu	(Ešnunna)	
28	Ištar	Akkad	Eulmaš
29	*Lamassišu*	Assur	
30	Ištar	Nineveh	Emesmes
31	Ištar	Babylon	

Table 2.2 EGL from the Curses in the LH Epilogue (xlix 18-li 83).

1	Anu
2	Enlil
3	Mullissu
4	Ea
5	Šamaš
6	Sîn
7	Adad
8	Zababa
9	Ištar
10	Nergal
11	Nintu
12	Ninkarrak
13	The Great gods

Table 2.3 God-Lists from Hammurapi's Royal Inscriptions (RIME 4 E4.3.6.).

2	3	10	11	14	16	17	1001
			Lugalgudua				
		Anu	Anu	Anu	Anu	Anu	
	Enlil	Enlil	Enlil	Enlil	Enlil	Enlil	
	Mullissu						
Šamaš	Šamaš	Šamaš			Šamaš	Šamaš	Šamaš
Aya							Aya
		Adad					
			Meslamtea				
Marduk	Marduk	Marduk		Marduk	Marduk	Marduk	Marduk
					Ištar		

Table 5.1 Nippur God-List (J. Peterson, *Godlists from Old Babylonian Nippur in the University Museum*, *Philadelphia* [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2009] 14).[1]

1	AN	42	^{d}NIN.ISIN$_{2}^{si-na}$
2	*an-tum*	43	^{d}GU.LA
3	^{d}URAŠ	44	^{d}NIN.KAR.RA.AK
4	^{d}EN.LIL$_{2}$	45	^{d}MAR.TU
5	^{d}NU.NAM.NIR	46	^{d}SU.ḪI.NUN
6	^{d}NIN.LIL$_{2}$	47	^{d}DINGIR.MAR.TU
7	^{d}ŠUL.PA.E$_{3}$	48	^{d}DA.GAN
8	^{d}NIN.ḪUR.SAĜ-ĜA$_{2}$	49	^{d}NIN.MA.DA
9	^{d}NIN.DINGIR.RE.NE	50	^{d}DUMU.ZI
10	^{d}NIN.MAḪ	51	^{d}AMA.UŠUMGAL.AN.NA
11	^{d}NIN.TUD	52	^{d}UŠUMGAL
12	^{d}NIN.MEN.NA	53	^{d}EN.NIĜIR.SI
13	^{d}A.RU.RU	54	^{d}INANA
14	^{d}DINGIR.MAḪ	55	^{d}INANA AN.ZA.GAR$_{3}$
15	^{d}MA.MA	56	^{d}INANA MAR.TU
16	^{d}*be$_{2}$-li-it-i$_{3}$-li$_{2}$*	57	^{d}INANA *i$_{3}$-lip*^{ki}
17	^{d}NANNA	58	^{d}INANA KIŠ^{KI}
18	^{d}SUEN	59	^{d}INANA UNUG^{KI}
19	^{d}DIL.IM$_{2}$.BABBAR	60	^{d}INANA ZABALAM^{KI}
20	^{d}NIN.GAL	61	^{d}INANA E$_{2}$.AN.NA
21	^{d}NIN.GUBLAGA	62	^{d}INANA E$_{2}$.SAĜ.RIG$_{8}$
22	^{d}EN.KI	63	^{d}*na-na-a-a*
23	^{d}NU.DIM$_{2}$.MUD	64	^{d}***ṣar-pa-ni-tum***
24	^{d}AM.AN.KI	65	^{d}NIN.IGI.ZID.BAR.RA
25	^{d}ARA	66	^{d}AD.GI$_{4}$.GI$_{4}$
26	^{d}DAM.GAL.NUN.NA	67	^{d}NIR.ĜAL$_{2}$
27	^{d}IŠKUR	68	^{d}KIN.ĜAL$_{2}$
28	^{d}U$_{4}$.GU$_{3}$.DI	69	^{d}BE$_{2}$.ZI.LA
29	^{d}*ša-la*	70	^{d}*na-bi-tum*
30	^{d}ME.DIM$_{2}$.ŠA$_{4}$	71	^{d}*an-nu-ni-tum*
31	^{d}UTU	72	^{d}*ul-maš-ir-tum*
32	^{d}*a-a*	73	^{d}GIBIL$_{6}$
33	^{d}ŠE$_{3}$.IR$_{5}$.DA	74	^{d}IŠTARAN
34	^{d}NIN.URTA	75	^{d}QUDMAŠ
35	^{d}NIN.ĜIR$_{2}$.SU	76	^{d}SAG$_{4}$.TAR
36	^{d}U$_{4}$.TA.U$_{18}$.LU	77	^{d}IG.ALIM.MA
37	^{d}URAŠ	78	^{d}NERGAL
38	^{d}ZA.BA$_{4}$.BA$_{4}$	79	^{d}*ma-mi*
39	^{d}LA.GA.MA.AL	80	^{d}*šu-bu-la*
40	^{d}PA.BIL.SAĜ	81	^{d}***na-bu-um***
41	^{d}BA.U$_{2}$	82	^{d}*we-du-um*

Table 5.2 The Weidner Lexical God-List (E. Weidener, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten," *AfK* 2 [1924-1925] 9-18).

	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
1	Anu	Tišpak	**Marduk**
2	Antu	Ninazu	**Ṣarpānītu**
(2a)		(Ninaḫakuddu)	
3	Enlil	Šamaš	**Nabû**
4	Mullissu	Aya	**Tašmētu**
(4a)		(Papnuna)	
5	Nusku	Bunene	Mamie
(5a)		(Mamud)	
(5b)		(Ninug)	
6	Sadaranunanna	Ninurta	Araḫtum
7	Gibil	Uraš	Miuššar
8	Negun	Bēlet-ekalli	…
(8a)			(…)
9	Ninella	Lagamal	Kurgal
(9a-c)			(Madānu)
10	Nanna	Zababa	Šeraḫ
11	EN.ZU	Ilba	Isarmatisu
(11a)		(Alba)	
(11b)		(Ilbaba)	
12	Ningal	Papsukkal	Isarkidisu
(12a)	(Zibta)		
13	Lal	Ningiršu	Isarberisu
14	Ninšer	Sakkud	Isarlisu
(14a)	Amarraḫe		(Isarpadda)
15	Amaraḫea	Pisangunuqu	Nergal
16	Amarazu	Bau	Erra
17	Ninni	Lugalbanda	Erragal
(17a)	(Zaninni)		(Errakal)
18	Dumuzi	Ninšuna	Mami
19	Ninšubur	Lugalmardu	Mama
20	Nanaya	Imzuanna	Malik
21	Nezilla	Šuzuanna	Urmašum
22	Kanisurra	Kununna	Laṣ
23	Lulal	Enki	Šubula
24	Latarak	Ea	Išum
25	Šara	Damgalnunna	Ninmug
26		Damkina	Ninmaš
(26a)		(Ara)	
27		Id/Nāru	Ḫur
(27a)		(Idlurugu)	
28		Kišag	Pa (Šamaš)
29		**Asalluḫi**	Lugal (Adad)
30			Enti (Adad)

Table 5.2a A Portion of the Weidner Lexical God-List organized to reflect subunits.[2]

line:	Deity:	Reason for ranking/placement:
i 1	Anu	Triad 1
2	Antu	Consort
3	Enlil	Triad 1
4	Mullissu	Consort
	(Enlil's entourage)	
5	Nusku	Enlil's vizier
6	Sadaranunanna	Enlil's vizier's consort
10-11	Sîn	Triad 2/Enlil's son
12	Ningal	Consort
	(Sîn's entourage)	
13	Lal	Sîn's vizier
14	Ninšer	Sîn's vizier's consort
15	Amaraḫea	Sîn's daughter
16	Amarazu	Sîn's daughter
17	Ninni	Ištar/Sîn's daughter
18	Dumuzi	Ninni's consort
ii 3	Šamaš	Triad 2/Sîn's son
4	Aya	Šamaš' consort
	(Šamaš' entourage)	
5	Bunene	Šamaš' vizier
…	…	
23-24	Ea	Triad 1
25-26	Damkina	Consort
…	(Ea's entourage)	
iii 1	**Marduk**	Ea's son
2	**Ṣarpānītu**	Consort
	(Marduk's entourage)	
3	**Nabû**	Marduk's son
4	**Tašmētu**	Consort

Table 5.3 The Genouillac God-List.[3]

Enki	i 1-29
Anu	i 30-36
Enlil	i 37–ii 12
Ninurta	ii 13-25
Enki/Ea's court	ii 27-39
Marduk	ii 40-iii 12
Nabû	iii 13-14
[Bēlet-ilī]	iii 15-33
Nusku	iii 34-iv 4
Nanna/Sîn	iv 5-22
Utu/Šamaš	iv 23-46
Iškur/Adad	iv 47-V 4
Inana/Ištar	v 5-44
servants	v 45ff.
paramours	vi 26ff.
Dumuzi	vii 10ff.
Nisaba	vii 20
Nergal	ix 18

Table 5.4a *An = Anum*.

(Litke 1998, 20-227)	
I 1[4]	Anu
I 33	Papsukkal
I 148	Enlil
I 176	Mullissu
I 205	Ninurta
I 294	Nisaba
I 357	Nergal
II 3	Ninḫursaĝa
II 129	Ea
II 173	Damkina
II 185	**Marduk**
II 236	**Ṣarpānītu**
II 242	**Nabû**
II 247	**Tašmētu**
III 1	Sîn
III 27	Ningal
III 97	Šamaš
III 126	Aya
III 206	Adad
III 240	Šala
IV 1	Ištar
V 192	Manungal

Table 5.4b *An = Anu ša amēli*.

(Litke 1998, 228-241)	
1	Anu
13	Enlil
22	Mullissu
24	Sîn
39	Ningal
40	Šamaš
45	Aya
48	Adad
59	Šala
61	Papsukkal
70	Ninurta
76	Nergal
86	Ištar
97	Nisaba
100	Sumuqan
107	**Marduk**
113	**Nabû**
119	Ea
149	Manugal

Table 5.5 Divine Numeric Values in *An* = *Anum* and in Parpola's Mystic Numbers.[5]

	An = *Anum* tradition	Parpola's "The Gods as Numbers"
Aššur		
Anu	60 (CT 25 50:6)	1
Enlil	50 (An = *Anum* I 150)	
Ea	40 (An = *Anum* II 171)	60
Sîn	30 (An = *Anum* III 3)	30
Šamaš		20
Adad		10
Marduk		**50**
Nabû		**40**
Ištar		15
Nergal		14

Table 5.6 Šurpu II reduced to an EGL (Reiner 1958, 17-18).

141	**EN** and **GAŠAN**
142	Anu and Antu
143	Enlil
144	Mullissu
145	Ekiur
146	Enki
146	Ninki
147	Enšar
147	Ninšar
148	Ea
149	Apsu
150	Eridu
150	Ešapsu
151	**Marduk**
152	**Ṣarpānītu**
153	Esagil and Babylon
155	**Nabû** and Nanaya
156	**Tašmētu**
157	Madānu
158	Iqbi-dumqi
159	Dēr and Edimgalkalama
160	GAL and Dīrītu
161	Inšušinak and Lahyratuk
163	Jabru, Humba[n], [Nap]rušu
166	the Seven Winds
168	Ištar
169	Bēlet-Eanna
170	Anunītu
171	[A]gade^{ki}
172	Išhara
173	Šiduri
175	Erra, Erra-GAL, Erra, KAL.KAL
176	Laṣ, Haya, Luhušû
177	Lugaledina, Latarak, Šarrahu
179	ŠUL, Šamaš
180	TI.BAL, SAG.KUD, Kayamānu, Immeriya
182	Bow-Star, the Sebittu, Sirius, Mars, Narudu
184	Hendursag, MUL.SIB$_2$.ZI.AN.NA

Table 5.7 Šurpu III reduced to two EGLs (Reiner 1958, 22-24).

104	Sîn
105	Šamaš
106	Ninurta
107	Ningi[rsu]
108	Nusku
109	[Igigū]
110	Anuna
111	Gods of the Night
112	Ea
113	Heaven and Earth
151	Anu and Antu
152	Enlil and Mullissu
153	Ea and Damkina
154	Sîn and Ningal
155	Šamaš and Aya
156	Adad and Šala
157	**Marduk** and **Ṣarpānītu**
158	**Nabû** and **Tašmētu**
159	Ninurta and Bēlet-Nippur
160	[Dam]u and Gula
161	[Ningirsu] and Bau
162	[Birdu] and [R]ebi
163	[Nusku and] Sadarnunna
164-169	Broken
170	Nin[…]
171	Papsukka[l…]
172	the Sebittu […]
173	Day [and night]
174	gods [and goddesses?]

Table 5.8 Šurpu IV 60-67 (translation and transliteration) and 89-108 (reduced to an EGL; Reiner 1958, 27-29).

60	First, may Šamaš release	1-*en lip-ṭur* ^{d}UTU *qu-ra-du*
61	Second, may Sîn and Nergal release	2 *lip-ṭu-ru* ^{d}30 *u* ^{d}U.GUR
62	Third, may Ištar, Bau, Anunītu, release	3 *lip-ṭu-ru* ^{d}15 ^{d}*ba*-U$_{2}$ ^{d}*a-nu-ni-tu*$_{4}$
63	Fourth, may Anum, Enlil, Ea, (and) Nintu release	4 *lip-ṭu-ru* ^{d}*a-num* ^{d}EN.LIL$_{2}$ ^{d}*e*$_{2}$*-a* ^{d}NIN.TU
64	Fifth, may Adad, Ninurta, Zababa, Tišpak, (and) Ningirsu release	5 *lip-ṭu-ru* ^{d}IŠKUR ^{d}MAŠ ^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$ ^{d}*tišpak* ^{d}*nin-gir*$_{2}$*-su*
65	Sixth, may Uraš, **Marduk**, **Asari**, **Asalluhi**, **GAL**, (and) **Tutu**	6 *lip-ṭu-ru* ^{d}*uraš* ^{d}AMAR.UTU ^{d}ASAR.RI ^{d}*asal-lu*$_{2}$*-ḫi* ^{d}GAL ^{d}*tu-tu*
66	Seventh, may the Sebittu, the great gods, release	7 *lip-ṭu-ru* ^{d}7.BI DINGIR^{meš} GAL^{meš}
67	May the gods of ḪA.A release…	DINGIR^{meš} *šu-ut* ḪA.A ’*i-il-ti lip-ṭu-ru*
89	Anu and Antu	^{d}*a-num u an-tum*
90	Enlil	^{d}EN.LIL$_{2}$
91	Ea	^{d}DIŠ
92	Sîn	^{d}30
93	Šamaš	^{d}UTU
94	Adad	^{d}IŠKUR
95	Tišpak	^{d}*tišpak*
96	Ninurta	^{d}MAŠ
97	Papsukkal	^{d}PAP.SUKKAL
98	**Marduk**	^{d}AMAR.UTU
99	**Asalluḫi**	^{d}*asal-lu*$_{2}$*-ḫi*
100	Nergal	^{d}U.GUR
101	Ningirsu	^{d}*nin-gir*$_{2}$*-su*
102	Zababa	^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$
103	Ennugi	^{d}*en-nu-gi*
104	Nusku	^{d}*nusku*
105	Girru	^{d}BIL.GI
106	Ištar	^{d}15
107	Ninkarrak	^{d}*nin-kar-ra-ak*
108	Bau	^{d}*ba*-U$_{2}$

Table 5.9 BM 47406:1-14 (S. Parpola 1995, 399; based on Parpola's translation).[6]

line:	Deity:		attribute:
1	Uraš (is)	Marduk of	Planting
2	Lugalakida (is)	Marduk of	the Ground Water
3	Ninurta (is)	Marduk of	the Hoe
4	Nergal (is)	Marduk of	War
5	Zababa (is)	Marduk of	Battle
6	Enlil (is)	Marduk of	Lordship and Deliberation
7	**Nabû** (is)	Marduk of	Accounting
8	Sîn (is)	Marduk of	Illuminator of the Night
9	Šamaš (is)	Marduk of	Justice
10	Adad (is)	Marduk of	Rain
11	Tišpak (is)	Marduk of	Hosts
12	Ištarān (is)	Marduk of	…
13	Šuqamuna (is)	Marduk of	The container
14	[Ma]mi (is)	Marduk of	[the Potte]r's clay.

Table 5.10 "Syncretic Hymn to Marduk" (E. Ebeling, *KAR* 25 ii 3-16).[7]

line:	Deity:	attribute:
3	Sîn	your divinity
	Anu	your royalty
4	Dagan	your lordship
	Enlil	your kingship
5	Adad	your supremacy
	Ea	your wisdom[8]
6	**Nabû**	your ability
7	Ninurta	your pre-eminence
	Nergal	your strength
8	Nus[ku]	your august advice
9	Šamaš	your judgeship
10	**Marduk**	your important name
11	a merci[less li]on	your terrible arrow
13	the Sebittu	those who walk at your sides
15	the Igigū	your greatness
	Irnini	your leadership(?)[9]
16	the depths (Apsu)	your (plural) cave
17	the netherworld	your …

Table 5.11 “Syncretic Hymn to Ninurta” (E. Ebeling, *KAR* 102:10-26).[10]

line:	God:	Body Part:
10	Šamaš	Face
	[Nisaba]	Locks (Shape)
11	Enlil and [Mullissu]	Eyes
12	Gula and Bēlet-ilī	Eyeballs (Pupils)
13	Sîn [and Šamaš]	Eyelids (Green of eyes = Iris)
14	corona of the sun (rays of Šamaš)	Eyebrows (Eyelashes)
15	Ištar-kakkabi	Mouth’s shape (Appearance of mouth)
16	Anu and Antu	Lips
	[Nusku]	Speech
17	Pabilsag	Tongue
18	Circumference of heaven and earth	Roof of Mouth
19	the Sebittu	Teeth
20	Rising of bri[lliant] stars	Cheeks
21	Ea and Damkina	Ears
22	Adad	Head
23	Šala	Brow (Forehead)
24	**Marduk**	Neck
25	**Ṣarpānītu**	Throat
26	Šullat (**Nabû**)	Chest
27	Haniš	Upper Back
28	Uta’ulu	Right Side
29	Ninpanigarra	Left Side
30	[ ]	Fingers
31	Dagan	[ ]
32	[ ]	Navel
33	Zababa	[ ]

Table 5.12 A Sumero-Akkadian Hymn of Nanaya (K 3933; Reiner 1974, 232).[11]

Strophe:	Goddess:	Spouse:
I-II	(Ištar)	
III	Irnina, Damkianna	Ea
IV	Šuluḫḫītu	Enzag and Meskilak
V	Gula/Ninkarrak, Bau	[ ]
VI	Ungal-Nibru	[ ]
VII	Išḫara, Bau	Zababa
VIII	[ ]	[ ]
IX	Ṣarpānītu	**Marduk**
X	Nanaya	**Nabû**
XI	Nanaya	---
XII	Anunītu	---
XIII	Šala	Adad
XIV	Manzat ?	[Ištarān]
XV	[Nisaba]	Ḫ[aya]
XVI	Mammītu	Meslamtaea
XVII	A[…]	[ ]
….		
ε	Šimalia	---
ζ	Pirigal	---
η	Šerūʾa	**Aššur**
θ	Ištar	[ ]

Table 6.1 EGLs from Royal Inscriptions.

Tiglath-pileser III[12]:	Sargon[13]:	Sennacherib[14]:	Esarhaddon[15]:	Ashurbanipal[16]:
Aššur	**Aššur**[17]	**Aššur**	**Aššur**	**Aššur**
		[Mullissu][18]	**Mullissu**[19]	**Mullissu**[20]
Šerūʾa		**Šerūʾa**	**Šerūʾa**[21]	
	Anu	Anu	Anu[22]	
		Antu[23]	Antu	
Enlil[24]	Enlil	Enlil	Enlil	
			(Mullissu)[25]	
	Ea	Ea[26]	Ea[27]	Ea[28]
	Ninšiku[29]		Bēlet-ilī	Bēlet-ilī
	Dagan			
	Sîn	Sîn	Sîn	Sîn[30]
	Ningal	Ningal	Ningal	
	Šamaš	Šamaš	Šamaš[31]	Šamaš
		Aya	Aya	
	Adad[32]	Adad	Adad	Adad
		Šala		
	Nabû[33]			
Marduk[34]	**Marduk**	**Marduk** (Šamaš)[35]	**Bēl**[36]	**Marduk/Bēl**[37]
Ṣarpānītu	**Ṣarpānītu**		**Bēltiya**	**Ṣarpānītu**
Nabû		**Nabû**	**Nabû**[38]	**Nabû**
Tašmētu	**Tašmētu**		**Tašmētu**	**Tašmētu**
Nanaya			Nanaya[39]	Nanaya
Lady-of-Babylon[40]				
	Ninurta	Ninurta	Ninurta[41]	
			Gula	
Nergal[42]		Nergal[43]	Nergal	
Laṣ				
	Ištar[44]	<Ištar>[45]	<Ištar>[46]	<Ištar>[47]
		I-o-N[48]	I-o-N[49]	I-o-N
		I-o-K[50]		I-o-K
		I-o-A	I-o-A	I-o-A
	Consorts[51]	Bēlet-ilī	Gušea/Agušāya[52]	Assyrian Ištar[53]
Šamaš[54]		Kakka[55]		
Sîn[56]		Ḫaya		Ninurta
Adad		Kusu		Nergal
Ea		Lumḫa	Nusku	Nusku[57]
Ištar		Dunga		Išum[58]
		Egalkiba		
the Sebittu		the Sebittu	the Sebittu	
Amurru[59]				

Legend:

I-o-N	Ištar-of-Nineveh
I-o-K	Ištar-of-Kidmuri
I-o-A	Ištar-of-Arbela
< >	the unspecified DN does not appear in EGLs with other DN-named deities

Table 6.2 Curse-Lists from the Epilogue of the Laws of Ḫammurapi, Neo-Assyrian Treaties, and a Private Votive Offering Inscription (SAA 12 93).

LH xlix 18-li 83	SAA 2 1:16´-r. 16	SAA 2 6:414-465	SAA 2 9 r. 5´-25´	SAA 2 14 i 28´-ii 2´, ii 16´, and 19´-25´[60]	SAA 12 93 r. 6-7 and 15-r. 5[61]
		Aššur	**Aššur**	**Aššur**	**Aššur**
		Mullissu		**Šerūʾa**	
				the gods of Ešarra	
	Marduk		**Marduk**		
	Nabû		**Nabû**		
				(Lord) Crown[62]	
Anu	[Anu]	Anu		Anu	
				Antu	
Enlil	Enlil			Enlil	
Mullissu	Mullissu			Mullissu	
Ea	Ea				
Šamaš	Šamaš	Sîn	Šamaš		[Sîn]
Sîn	[Sîn]	Šamaš	Sîn		[Šamaš]
			Ea		**Bēl**
Adad	[Adad]		Adad		
		Ninurta	Ninurta		[Nergal]
			Nergal		Ninurta
Zababa	[Zababa]		Zababa		
			Palil		
Ištar		Venus			Gula
Nergal		Jupiter			
		Marduk		**Bēl/Marduk**	
		Ṣarpānītu		**Bēltīya**/[**Ṣarpānītu**]	
		Bēlet-ilī			
		Adad			Adad
		Ištar//Lady-of-Battle	Ṣarpānītu		
		Nergal	Nanaya		**Nabû**
Nintu		Mullissu-of-Nineveh			
Ninkarrak		I-o-A	I-o-A		I-o-[A]
		Gula			
		the Sebittu		the Sebittu	

Table 6.3 SAA 2 6. Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty – God-List 1, the Witness List.

line:	God:	cuneiform:
13	Jupiter	(*ina* IGI) ^{mul}SAG.ME.GAR
	Venus	^{mul}*dil-bat*
14	Saturn	^{mul}UDU.IDIM.SAG.UŠ
	Mercury	^{mul}UDU.IDIM.GUD.UD
15	Mars	^{mul}*ṣal-bat-a-nu*
	Sirius	^{mul}GAG.SI.SA$_2$
16	**Aššur**	(*ina* IGI) ^{d}*aš-šur*
	Anu	^{d}*a-num*
	Enlil	^{d}EN.L[IL$_2$]
	Ea	^{d}*e$_2$.a*
17	Sîn	^{d}30
	Šamaš	^{d}*ša$_2$-maš*
	Adad	^{d}IŠKUR
	Marduk	^{d}AMAR.UTU
18	**Nabû**	^{d}PA
	Nusku	^{d}*nuska*
	Uraš	^{d}*uraš*
	Nergal	^{d}U.GUR
19	Mullissu	^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$
	Šerūʾa	^{d}*še-ru-u-a*
	Bēlet-ilī	^{d}*be-let*-DINGIR^{meš}
20	Ištar-of-Nineveh	^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}NINA^{ki}
	Ištar-of-Arbela	^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il$_3$*
21	Gods dwelling in heaven and earth	DINGIR^{meš} *a-ši-bu-ti* AN-*e* KI.TIM
22	Gods of Assyria	DINGIR^{meš} ^{kur}*aš-šur*
	Gods of Sumer and [Akka]d	DINGIR^{meš} ^{kur}*šu-me-ri u* [UR]I.[K]I
23	Gods of the Lands	DINGIR^{meš} KUR.KUR

Table 6.4 SAA 2 2. Aššur-nērārī V's treaty with Matiʾ-ilu of Arpad.[63]

vi 6	**Aššur**	^{d}*aš-sur* MAN AN KI *tum*$_{3}$*-ma-tu*$_{2}$*-nu*
7	Anu and Antu	^{d}*a-nu-um an-tu*$_{4}$ KI.MIN
	Enlil and Mullissu	^{d}BAD ^{d}NIN.LIL$_{2}$ KI.MIN
8	Ea and Damkina	^{d}DIŠ ^{d}*dam-ki-na* KI.MIN
	Sîn and Ningal	^{d}30 ^{d}NIN.GAL KI.MIN
9	Šamaš and Aya	^{d}UTU ^{d}*a-a* KI.MIN
	Adad and Šala	^{d}IM ^{d}*ša-la* KI.MIN
10	**Marduk** and **Ṣarpānītu**	^{d}AMAR.UTU ^{d}*ṣar-pa-ni-tu*$_{4}$ KI.MIN
	Nabû and **Tašmētu**	^{d}AG ^{d}LAL$_{2}$ KI.MIN
11	Ninurta and Gula	^{d}MAŠ ^{d}ME KI.MIN
	Uraš and Bēlet-ekalli	^{d}*uraš* ^{d}NIN.E$_{2}$.GAL KI.MIN
12	Zababa and Bau	^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$ ^{d}*ba*-U$_{2}$ KI.MIN
	Nergal and Laṣ	^{d}U.GUR ^{d}*la-aṣ* KI.MIN
13	Madānu and Ningirsu	^{d}DI.KUD ^{d}NIN.GIR$_{2}$.SU KI.MIN
14	Ḫumḫummu and Išum	^{d}*ḫum-ḫum-mu* ^{d}*i-šum* KI.MIN
15	Erra and Nusku	^{d}GIŠ.BAR ^{d}PA.TUG$_{2}$ KI.MIN
	Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh[64]	^{d}15 NIN ^{uru}*ni-na-a* KI.MIN
16	Ištar//Lady-of-Arbela	^{d}INNIN NIN ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$ KI.MIN
17	Adad-of-Kurbail	^{d}IŠKUR *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*kur-ba-il*$_{3}$ KI.MIN
18	Hadad-of-Aleppo	^{d}IŠKUR *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*ḫal-la-ba* KI.MIN
19	*Palil*, who marches in front	^{d}IGI.DU *a-lik maḫ-ri* KI.MIN
20	the heroic Sebittu	^{d}7.BI *qar-du-ti* KI.MIN
21	Dagan [and M]uṣuruna	^{d}[*d*]*a*-⸢*gan*⸣ ⸢^{d}⸣[*m*]*u*$^{?}$*-ṣur-u-na* KI.MIN
22	M[elqarth and Eš]mun	^{d}*m*[*i-il-qar-tu* ^{d}*ia-s*]*u*$^{!}$*-mu-na* KI.MIN
23	Kub[aba and Kar]ḫuḫa	^{d}*k*⸢*u*$_{2}$⸣$^{!}$*-b*[*a-ba* ^{d}*kar*]*-ḫu-ḫa* KI.MIN
24	Hadad, […], and Ramman-	^{d}IŠKUR ^{d}[*x*] ⸢*x* $^{d!}$*ra*$^{!}$*-ma*$^{!}$*-nu*$^{!}$⸣
25	of-[Damascus]	*ša* ^{ur}[^{u}*di-maš-qa* KI.MIN]
26	Za…	^{d}*za-*[*x x x x x x x x*]
	Rest broken away	

Table 6.5 SAA 2 3 (restored) and BM 121206 ix 27´-34´. Sennacherib period God-Lists.

SAA 2 3 r. 2´-5´ (and obv. 7´-11´):		BM 121206 ix 27´-34´:	
[**Aššur**]	[*aš-šur*]	**Aššur**	^{d}*aš-šur*
[**Mullisu**]	[^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$]	**Mullissu**	^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$
[**Šerūʾa**]	[^{d}*še-ru-u-a*]	**Šerūʾa**	^{d}*še-ru-u-a*
Sîn	⸢^{d}⸣30	Sîn	^{d}30
Ningal	^{d}NIN.GAL	Ningal	^{d}NIN.GAL
Šamaš	^{d}UTU	Šamaš	^{d}UTU
[Aya]	[^{d}*a-a*]	Aya	^{d}*a-a*
[Anu]	[^{d}*a-num*]	Anu	^{d}*a-nu*
[Antu]	[*an-tu*$_4$]	Antu	^{d}*an-tu*$_4$
		Kippat-māti	^{d}GAM.KUR
[E]nlil	[^{d}E]N.LIL$_2$	Enlil	^{d}EN.LIL$_2$
Aada	^{d}IŠKUR	Adad	^{d}IŠKUR
Šala	^{d}*ša-la*	Šala	^{d}*ša-la*
[Kippat-māti]	[^{d}GAM.KUR]		
[Ištar-of-Heaven]	[^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ AN-*e*]	Ištar-of-Heaven	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ AN-*e*
[Ištar-of-Nineveh]	[^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki}	Ištar-of-Nineveh	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki}
[Ištar-ofArb]ela	[^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ *arba*]-*il*$_3$^{ki}	Ištar-of-Arbela	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ *arba-il*$_3$
Assyrian Ištar	^{d}15 *aš-šur*-[*i-tu*$_2$]	Assyrian Ištar	^{d}15 *aš-šu-ri-tu*
[Zababa]	[^{d}*za-ba*$_4$*-ba*$_4$]	Zababa	^{d}*za- ba*$_4$*-ba*$_4$
[Bau]	[^{d}*ba*-U$_2$]	Bau	^{d}*ba*-U$_2$
[Ea]	[^{d}*e*$_2$*-a*]	Ea	^{d}DIŠ
[Bēlet-ilī][65]	[^{d}MAḪ]	Bēlet-ilī	^{d}MAḪ
[Damkina]	[^{d}*dam-ki-na*]	Damkina	⸢^{d}⸣[*dam*]-*ki-na*
---		Ninurta	^{d}MAŠ
[Kakk]a	[^{d}*ka*$_3$]-*ka*$_3$	Kakka	^{d}*ka*$_3$*-ka*$_3$
Nergal	^{d}U.GUR	Nergal	^{d}U.GUR
---		**Marduk**	^{d}AMAR.UTU

Table 6.6 EGLs from Land Grants and other Documents in SAA 12.[66]

i	ii	iii	iv	v
13 r. 8´-9´; 69 r. 28; 85:13-14	14 r. 7´-8´; 75 r. 11´?	10 r. 6´-8´	25 r.33-34 & 36-37; 26 r.33-34 & 36-37; 31 r.33-34 & 36-37; 34:6´-7´ & 9´-10´	35 r. 30; 36 r. 33´; 40 r. 12´-13´; 41 r. 3´
Aššur	**Aššur**	**Aššur**	**Aššur**	**Aššur**
		Šamaš		
		[Enlil]		Enlil
Adad	Adad		Adad	Adad
Bēr	Bēr		Bēr	Bēr
	Assyrian Enlil		Assyrian Enlil	
Assyrian Ištar	Assyrian Ištar	Assyrian Ištar	Assyrian Ištar	Assyrian Ištar
		Adad		
		Nergal		
		Ninurta		
		the Sebittu		

Table 6.7 Sefire i A 7-14 (*KAI* 222). Treaty between Bargaʾyah of KTK and Matiʾ-ilu of Arpad.

[before **Aššur**][67] and **Mullissu**	*[qdm ʼsr]* [8]*wmlš*
before **Marduk** and **Ṣarpānītu**	*wqdm mrdk wzrpnt*
before **Nabû** [and **Tašmētu**]	*wqdm nbʼ wt*[*šmt*
[before Erra and Nus]ku	*wqdm ʼr wnš*][9]*k*
before Nergal and Laṣ	*wqdm nrgl wlṣ*
before Šamaš and Nur (=Aya?)	*wqdm šmš wnr*
before Sîn [and Ningal]	*wqdm s*[*n wnkl*
[be]fore NKR and KD'H	*wq*][10]*dm nkr wkd'h*
before Gods of the open country and [cultivated] ground	*wqdmkl ʼlhy rḥbh wʼdm*[…
[before Hadad-of]-Aleppo	*wqdm hdd ḥ*][11]*lb*
before the Sebittu	*wqdm sbt*
before El and Elyon	*wqdm ʼl wʻlyn*
before Heaven [and Earth]	*wqdm šmy*[*n wʼrq*
[before Abyss] and Springs	*wqdm mṣ*][12]*lh wmʻynn*
before Day and Night	*wqdm ywm wlylh*

Table 6.8 Comparing SAA 2 2 (Table 6.4) and Sefire i A Witness-Lists (Table 6.7).

SAA 2 2 vi 6-26:	Sefire i A 7-14 (*KAI* 222):
Aššur	[**Aššur**] and **Mullissu**
Anu and Antu	
Enlil and Mullissu	
Ea and Damkina	
Sîn and Ningal	
Šamaš and Aya	
Adad and Šala	
Marduk and **Ṣarpānītu**	**Marduk** and **Ṣarpānītu**
Nabû and **Tašmētu**	**Nabû** [and **Tašmētu**]
Ninurta and Gula	
	[Erra and Nus]ku
Uraš and Ninegal	
Zababa and Bau	
Nergal and Laṣ	Nergal and Laṣ
Madanu and Ningirsu	
Ḫumḫummu and Išum	
Erra and Nusku	
	Šamaš and Nur (=Aya?)
	Sîn [and Ningal]
	NKR and KD'H
Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh	
Ištar//Lady-of-Arbela	
	Gods of the open country and [cultivated] ground
Adad-of-Kurbail	
Hadad-of-Aleppo	[Hadad-of]-Aleppo
Palil, who marches in front	
the heroic Sebittu	Sebittu
	El and Elyon
Dagan and [M]uṣuruna	
M[elqarth and Eš]mun	
Kub[aba and Kar]ḫuḫa	
Hadad, […], and Ramman-of-[Damascus]	
Za…	Heaven [and Earth]
	[Abyss] and Springs
	Day and Night

Table 6.9 Composite Divine Witness-List from SAA 2 2 and 6 and SAA 12 10 (Tables 6.4, 6.3, and 6.6 iii, respectively).[68]

Aššur[69]
Anu
  Antu
Enlil[70]
  (Mullissu)
Ea
  Damkina
Sîn
  Ningal
Šamaš
  Aya
Adad
  Šala
Marduk
  Ṣarpānītu
Nabû
  Tašmētu
Ninurta
  Gula
Uraš
  Ninegal
Zababa
  Bau
Nergal
  Laṣ
Madānu
Ningirsu
Ḫumḫummu
Išum
Erra
Nusku
Mullissu
Šerūʾa
Bēlet-ilī
Ištar-of-Nineveh
Ištar-of-Arbela
Assyrian Ištar[71]
Adad-of-Kurbail
Hadad-of-Aleppo
Palil
the Sebittu

Table 6.10 Neo-Babylonian Royal Judge Witness-Lists (chart 1).[72]

Text	Nabonidus's Regnal Year	Nabû-êṭir	Bēl-zēri mār Rīmût-DN	Esagil-šadûnu	Marduk-šuma-uṣur	Mušēzib-Marduk	Nabû-zēr-kitti	**Nergal-ušallim**	Bēl-uballiṭ	Bēl-zēri mār Eppeš-ilī	**Nergal-bānûnu**
Nbn. 13	0			1	2	3	4	**6**	5		
Nbn. 16	0					1		**2**			**3**
Nbn. 1128	1+x			1	2	3	4	**6**	5		
Nbn. 64	2	1				3		**4**	5	6	**7**
BM 32174	2+x	1	2					**3**	4	5	**6**
BM 34392	3	1	2			3		**4**	5	6	**7**
AJSL 27 216	[x?]	1	2					**3**	4	5	**6**
TCL 12 86	6	1						**2**	3	4	**5**
BM 32157	[x]	1						**2**	3	4	**5**
BM 31546	[9+x]							**1**	2		**3**
MM 363b	(x)							**?**			**1+**
BM 33056	[9]							**1**	2		**3**
BM 32166	[x]							**1**	2		**3**
BM 31961	[9]							**1**			**2**
Nbn. 355	9							**1**			
Nbn. 356	9										**1**
BM 31672	9							**1**			
BM 32023	[11]										**1**
Nbn. 495	11+							**1**			**2**
Nbn. 608	12							**1**			
BM 79049	12							**1**			**2**
Nbn. 668	12							**1**			
BM 34196	12							**1**			**2**
TCL 12 122	1[2]							**1**			**2**
BM 32846	[x]							**?**			**1+**
Nbn. 720	13							**1**			
BM 40263	[x]							**1**			
Nbn. 776	14							**1**			

Table 6.10 Neo-Babylonian Royal Judge Witness-Lists (chart 2).

Text	Nabonidus's Regnal Year	**Nergal-ušallim**	Bēl-uballiṭ	Bēl-zēri mār Eppeš-ilī	**Nergal-bānûnu**	Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin	Nabû-šuma-ukīn	Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin	Bēl-êṭir	**Nabû-balāssu-iqbi**	
Nbn. 13	0	**6**	5								
Nbn. 16	0	**2**			**3**	4					
Nbn. 1128	1+x	**6**	5								
Nbn. 64	2	**4**	5	6	**7**	8					
BM 32174	2+x	**3**	4	5	**6**	7					
BM 34392	3	**4**	5	6	**7**	8					
AJSL 27 216	[x?]	**3**	4	5	**6**						
TCL 12 86	6	**2**	3	4	**5**	6					
BM 32157	[x]	**2**	3	4	**5**						
BM 31546	[9+x]	**1**	2		**3**		4	5	6	**7**	
MM 363b	(x)	**?**			**1+**	2+	3+		4+	**5+**	
BM 33056	[9]	**1**	2		**3**		4	5	6	**7**	
BM 32166	[x]	**1**	2		**3**		[4?]	5	[6]	**7**	
BM 31961	[9]	**1**			**2**		3	4	5	**6**	
Nbn. 355	9	**1**					2	3	4	**5**	
Nbn. 356	9				**1**	2	3	4	5	**6**	
BM 31672	9	**1**				2	3	?	?	**5**	
BM 32023	[11]				**1**	2	3	4	5	**6**	
Nbn. 495	11+	**1**			**2**		3	4	5	**6**	
Nbn. 608	12	**1**					2	3	4		
BM 79049	12	**1**			**2**	3	4	5		**6**	
Nbn. 668	12	**1**				2	3		4	**5**	
BM 34196	12	**1**			**2**	3	4	5	6	**[7]**	
TCL 12 122	1[2]	**1**			**2**	3	4	5	6	**7**	
BM 32846	[x]	**?**			**1+**	2+					
Nbn. 720	13	**1**						2		**3**	…7
BM 40263	[x]	**1**						2		**3**	4…
Nbn. 776	14	**1**									…5
BM 42040	[x]									**1+**	…6+
BM 41785	17									**1?**	…5?
TBER 60	17									**1**	…6

Table 6.11 An EGL from a Blessing in SAA 10 286:3-7.

Enlil Mullissu	$^{3\ d}$BAD ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$
Ašš[**ur**]	^{d}*aš-šur*
[Sîn Ningal]	^{4}[^{d}30 ^{d}NIN.GAL]
[Šamaš] Aya	[^{d}UTU] ^{d}*a-a*
Adad [Šala]	^{d}IŠKUR ^{d}[*ša-la*]
[**Marduk Ṣarpānītu**]	^{5}[^{d}AMAR.UTU ^{d}*ṣar-pa-ni-tu*$_4$]
Nabû Tašmētu	^{d}AG ^{d}*taš-me-tu*$_4$
[Ištar-of-Nineveh Ištar-of]-Arbela	^{6}[^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$] ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$
Ninurta Gula	^{d}MAŠ ^{d}*gu-la*
[Nergal Laṣ]	^{7}[^{d}U.GUR ^{d}*la-aṣ*]
[the Great Gods] who dwell in Heaven and Earth	[DINGIR^{meš} GAL^{meš}] *a-šib* AN-*e u* KI.TIM…

Table 6.12 SAA 10 197. Blessing the King, by Adad-šumu-uṣur, the Exorcist.

7	**Aššur**	^{d}*aš-šur*
	Sîn	^{d}30
	Šamaš	^{d}UTU
	Adad	^{d}IŠKUR
	Nu[sku]	^{d}*n*[*usku*]
8	Jupiter	^{d}SAG.ME.GAR
	Venus	^{d}*dil-bat*
	Marduk	^{d}AMAR.UTU
	[**Ṣarpānītu**]	⸢^{d}⸣[*ṣar-pa-ni-tu*$_4$]
9	**Nabû**	^{d}AG
	Tašmētu	^{d}*taš-me-tu*$_4$
	Sa[turn]	^{d}UDU.[IDIM.SAG.UŠ]
10	Mercury	^{d}UDU.IDIM.GUD.DU
	Queen-[of-Nineveh]	^{d}*šar-ra*[*t* ^{uru}NINA^{ki}]
11	Queen-of-Kidmuri	^{d}*šar-rat kid-mu-ri*
12	[Queen]-of-Arbela	^{d}[*šar-rat*] ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$
	Ninurta	^{d}NIN.URTA
	[Gula]	⸢^{d}⸣[*gu-la*]
13	Nergal	^{d}U.GUR
	Laṣ	^{d}*la-aṣ*
14	The great gods of Heaven and Earth	DINGIR^{meš} GA[L^{meš}] *ša* AN-*e u* KI.TIM

Table 6.13 Composite God-Lists from Seventh-Century Letters.

SAA 13, 16, and 18[73]:	SAA 10[74]:
Aššur	Enlil[75]
Mullissu[76] (Ištar)[77]	Mullissu
Ešarra	
Anu[78]	
Enlil	**Aššur**
Mullissu	**Mullissu**[79]
Ea[80]	
Sîn	Sîn
Ningal	Ningal
Lord-Crown/Nusku[81]	
Šamaš[82]	Šamaš[83]
Aya	Aya
Adad[84]	Adad[85]
Šala[86] (with Šarrat-nakkanti)	Šala
	Nusku[87]
	Jupiter
	Venus
Marduk	**Marduk**[88]
Ṣarpānītu	**Ṣarpānītu**
Lady-of-Babylon	
Nabû[89]	**Nabû**
Tašmētu	**Tašmētu**
Nanaya[90]	
	Saturn
	Mercury
	Ištar-of-Nineveh
	Queen-of-Kidmuri
	Ištar-of-Arbela
Ninurta	Ninurta
Gula	Gula
Zababa	
Nergal	Nergal[91]
Laṣ	Laṣ
Madānu[92]	
Ištar-of-Nineveh[93]	
Ištar-of-Kidmuri	
Ištar-of-Arbela	

Table 6.14 Divine Rankings from Neo-Babylonian Offering-Lists at Uruk, Group A (Beaulieu 2003, 73).[94]

Symbol-of-**Bēl**[95]

Ištar-of-Uruk[96]

Symbol-of-**Nabû**

Nanaya

Bēltu-ša-Rēš

Temple-of-**Marduk**[97]

Uṣur-amāssu

Urkayītu

Gula

Palil[98]

Bēlet-Eanna

Palil-of-Udannu

Divine-Chariot[99]

bīt-ḫilṣi

Nergal[100]

Ninurta[101]

Nusku

Šamaš

Aya

Table 6.15 Comparative Offerings in PTS 2097 (Frame 1991, 51).[102]

	Barley		Dates (*mašīḫu*s)	
Bēltu-ša-Uruk	10 *mašīḫu*	100%	3 5/6 *mašīḫu*	100%
Nanaya	9 1/3 *mašīḫu*	93%	1 1/3 *mašīḫu*	100%
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	5 3/4 *mašīḫu*	53%	1 1/3 <…>	87%
Uṣur-amāssu	4 5/6 *mašīḫu*	48%	1 1/4 <…>	87%
	Emmer		Dilmun Dates	
Bēltu-ša-Uruk	1 5/6 *mašīḫu*	100%	3 *qû ina rabīti*	100%
Nanaya	1 1/3 <…>	73%	3 *qû ina rabīti*	100%
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	1 1/3 <…>	73%	1 1/2 *qû* <...>	50%
Uṣur-amāssu	1 1/4 <…>	68%	1 1/2 *qû* <...>	50%

Table 6.16 *Götteradressbuch* of Assur (GAB), §4 Assyrian Temple List.[103]

line:	Deity:	Temple of DN (col. iii):
146	**Aššur**	E$_2$ *pa-pa-ḫi* AN.ŠAR$_2$
147		E$_2$ *rim-ki*
148	**Mullissu**	E$_2$ ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$
149		E$_2$ ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$
150		E$_2$ ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$
151	Ea	E$_2$ ^{d}*e$_2$-a*
152	Ninurta	E$_2$ ^{d}NIN.URTA
153	Anu	E$_2$ ^{d}*a-num*
154	Adad[104]	E$_2$ ^{d}IŠKUR
155		E$_2$ ^{d}IŠKUR
156	Sîn	E$_2$ ^{d}30
157	Šamaš	E$_2$ ^{d}UTU
158	**Nabû-of-the-*ḫarû***[105]	E$_2$ ^{d}AG *ša$_2$ ḫa-ri-i*
159		E$_2$ URU
160		E$_2$ ^{d}AG
161		E$_2$ ^{d}AG
162		E$_2$ ^{d}AG
163		E$_2$ ^{d}AG
164	Assyrian Ištar	E$_2$ ^{d}*iš-tar aš$_2$-šu$_2$-ri-tu$_4$*
165	Bēlet-ekalli	E$_2$ ^{d}NIN.E$_2$.GAL
166		E$_2$ ^{d}NIN.E$_2$.GAL
167	Šarrat-Nipḫa	E$_2$ ^{d}GAŠAN KUR-*ḫa*
168		E$_2$ ^{d}GAŠAN KUR-[*ḫa*]
168(a)	(Aya)[106]	E$_2$ ^{d}*a-a*
169		E$_2$ ^{d}GAŠAN (KUR-*ḫa*)
170		E$_2$ ^{d}*iq-bi*-SIG$_5$
		E$_2$ ^{d}NIN.E$_2$.GAL
171	(Ištar-of-Nineveh)	(E$_2$ ^{d}GAŠAN-NINA^{ki})
172	Amurru	E$_2$ ^{d}MAR.˹TU˺
173	Gula	E$_2$ ^{d}*gu-la*
174		E$_2$ ^{d}*gu-la*
175		E$_2$ *na-ṣir qu-bu-ru*
176		E$_2$ ^{d}*gu-la*
177	Ninurta[107]	E$_2$ ^{d}MAŠ
178	Ištar-of-Arbela	E$_2$ ^{d}GAŠAN-*arba-il$_3$*
179	Adad-of-Kurbail	(E$_2$ ^{d}EN-*kur-ba-il$_3$*)
180		E$_2$ ^{d}EN-*kur-ba-il$_3$*
181	**Marduk**	E$_2$ ^{d}EN *ba-bi-li$_3$*
182	**Ṣarpānītu**	E$_2$ ^{d}*ṣar-pa-ni-tu$_4$*
183		(E$_2$ ^{d}EN *ša* ^{uru}*za-ban*)
184	Bēl-of-Zabban	(E$_2$.KUR *ša* ^{uru}*za-ban*)

Photo 7.1 The Bas-Reliefs at Firaktin. Photo by J. V. Canby (*BiAr* 52 [1998], 123).[108]

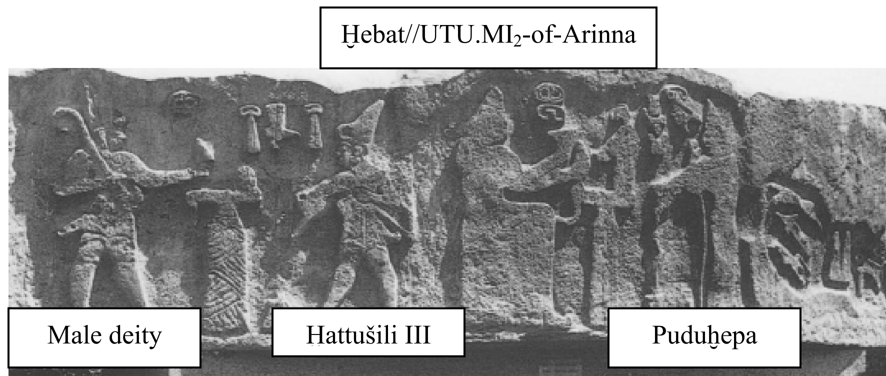


Photo 7.2 The Bas-Reliefs at Yazilikaya. Photo by J. V. Canby (*BiAr* 52 [1998], 98).[109]

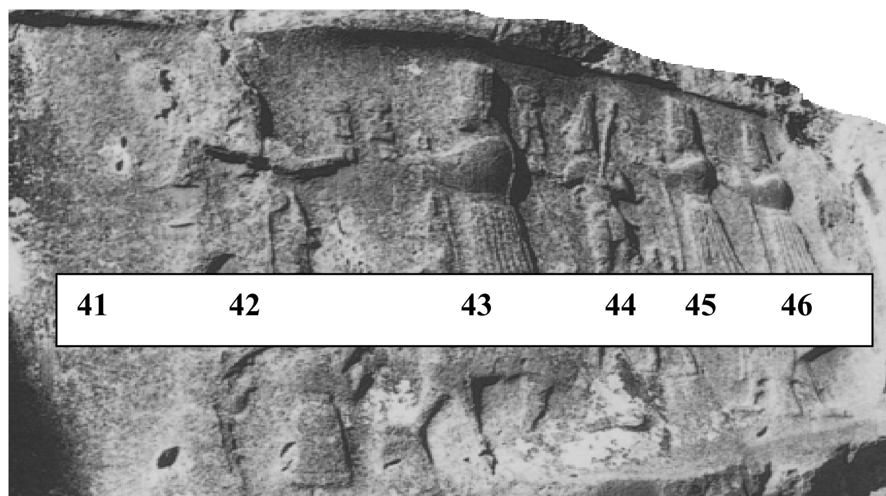


Table 7.1 The Syncretized Hittite-Hurrian Pantheon at Yazilikaya, according to Laroche (E. Laroche, "Le Panthéon De Yazilikaya," *JCS* 6 [1952]: 121).

line:	Hittite equivalent:	Cuneiform:
42	Tešub(-of-Heaven)	^{d}10 (AN)
	Nanni-Ḫazzi	KUR KUR
41	Tešub-of-Ḫattuša	^{d}10 *ḫa*^{ki}
40	Grain	NISABA = *ḫalki*
39	Ea	^{d}*A*
38	Šaušga	^{d}*sa+us-ga*
37	Ninatta	[*ni*??]-*na*?-*ta*
36	Kulitta	[*ku*]-*li*?-*ta*
35	Kušuh	^{d}NANNA
34	Šimegi	^{d}UTU AN
33	Aštabi	^{d}[*a*]*s-ta-pi*
32	LAMMA	^{d}LAMA
31	?	^{d}*tu+ta*??
30	Ḫešui??	^{d}U.GUR
	eše-	AN
29-28	Šerri -Ḫurri	GUD GUD
	ḫawur-ni	KI
43	Ḫebat	^{d}*ḫe-pa-tu*
44	Šarruma	^{d}LUGAL-*ma*
47	Ḫutena	[^{d}*ḫu*]-*ti*?-*na*
48	Ḫutellurra	^{d}*ḫu-ta-lx+ra*
49	Nabarbi	^{d}*na*?-*par*?-*pi*
56	Šaušga	? ^{d}*sa+us-ga*

Table 7.2 Divine Witness-List between Šuppiluliuma I and Ḫuqqana of Ḫayasa (treaty no. 3 in Beckman's *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, pp. 28-29).

§7 (A i 41-47)
UTU-of-Heaven
UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna
IŠKUR-of-Heaven
IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti
IŠKUR-of-Aleppo
IŠKUR-of-Arinna
IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda
IŠKUR-of-Sapinuwa
IŠKUR-of-Nerik
IŠKUR-of-Hisashapa
IŠKUR-of-Sahpina
IŠKUR-of-the-Army
IŠKUR-of-the-Market(?)
IŠKUR-of-Uda
IŠKUR-of-Kuzzuwatna
IŠKUR-of-Pittiyarik
IŠKUR-of-Šamuḫa
[IŠKUR]-of-Sarissa
IŠKUR-of-Ḫurma
IŠKUR-of-Lihzina
IŠKUR-of-Ruin-Mound
IŠKUR [of …]
IŠKUR-of-Hulasa
Ḫebat-of-Uda
Ḫebat-of-Kizzuwatna
§8 (A i 48-59)
LAMMA
LAMMA-of-Ḫatti
Zithariya
Karzi
Ḫapantaliya
LAMMA-of-Karaḫna
LAMMA-[of-the-Countryside]
LAMMA-of-the-Hunting-Bag
Aya

§8 (continued.)
Ištar
Ištar-of-the-Countryside
Ištar-of-Nineveh
[Ištar]-of-Ḫattarina
Ištar//Queen-of-Heaven
Ninatta
Kulitta
The War-God
War-God-of-Illaya
War-God-[of-Arziya]
All the Deities-of-the-Army
Marduk
Allatu
[UTU.MI$_2$]-of-the-Earth
Huwassanna-of-Hupisna
Ayabara-of-Šamuḫa
Hantitassu-[of-Hurma]
Katahha-of-Ankuwa
[Ammamma]-of-Tahurpa
Queen-of-Katapa
Hallara-of-Dunna
The [mountain-dweller] gods
The [mercenary] gods
All the deities-of-Ḫatti
The deities […] of the Land
The deities of Heaven
The deities of the Earth
The Mountains
[The Rivers]
[The Springs]
[The Clouds]
Heaven
The Earth
The Great Sea

Table 7.3 “The Festival for All the Tutelary Deities” (*KUB* 2 1 §§31´-33´).[110]

	The LAMMA-deities Invoked in *KUB* 2 1 §§31-32´´:
i 43	LAMMA-of-the Sky (Heaven)
	LAMMA-of-Karaḫna
44	Karši (variant Karzi)
	Ḫapantaliya
45	LAMMA-Alatarma
	LAMMA-of-Mount-Šaluwanda
46	LAMMA-of-Šarpa
47	LAMMA-of-Šulupašša
	LAMMA-of-Tuttuwa
48	LAMMA-of-Ḫarana
49	LAMMA-of-Šarišša
50	LAMMA-of-Mount-Šunnara
	LAMMA-of-the-River-Kummara
51	LAMMA-of-the-River-Šiḫiriya
	LAMMA-of-Ḫallatta
	(about 12 lines missing or largely broken)
ii 13	LAMMA-of-horses-[of-the-Labarna][111]
14	LAMMA-of-the spear-[of-the-Labarna]
15	LAMMA-of-[M]ount-Iškiša-[of-the-Labarna]
16	LAMMA-of-the-animals-[of-the-Labarna]
17	LAMMA-of-the-strengthening-[of-the-Labarna]
18	LAMMA-of-the-shoulder-[of-the-Labarna]
19	LAMMA-of-the-encircling(?)-[of-the-Labarna]
20	LAMMA-of-the-divine-power-[of-the-Labarn]a
21	LAMMA-of-the-life-[of-the-Labarn]a
22	LAMMA-of-the-heroism-[of-the-Labarn]a
23	LAMMA-of-the army-[of-the-Labar]na
24	LAMMA-of-battle-[of-the-Labar]na
25	LAMMA-of-running-in-front-[of-the-Labar]na
26	LAMMA-of-holding-up-the-hand-[of-the-Laba]rna
27	LAMMA-of-*ḫallašša*-[of-the-Lab]arna
28	LAMMA-of-the-fulfilling-of-the-wish-[of-the-Lab]arna
29	LAMMA-of-the-omen-giving-[of-the-Lab]arna
30	<LAMMA-of>-the-*ašta-wašta*-[of-the-La]barna
31	LAMMA-of-the-[-]*nanta*-of-the-Labarna
32	LAMMA-who-[f]ills-the-hunting-bag-of-the-Labarna
33	LAMMA-of-the-strong-of-the-Labarna
34	LAMMA-the-warrior-of-the-Labarna
35	The-Labarna’s-LAMMA
36	Fire-Tender-of-the-fire-(and)-hearth
37	LAMMA-of-watching-over-the-body-of-the-Labarna
38	LAMMA-of-Mount-Tudḫaliya
39	LAMMA-of-time
40	LAMMA-of-the-small-place(s)-(and)-(of[?])-setting-a-time-of-the-Labarna

Table 7.3 (continued).

41	LAMMA-of-the-*lapattali*(*ya*)-of-the-Labarna
42	LAMMA-getting-up-of-the-Labarna
43	LAMMA-of-the-field(?)-of-the-Labarna
44	LAMMA-of-the-L[ab]arna's-sitting-down-again(?)
45	LAMMA-of-the-decision-of-the-Labarna
46	LAMMA-of-the-lordliness-of-the-Lab[ar]na
47	LAMMA-of-the-*ḫantiyašša*-of-the-Labarna
48	LAMMA-of-the-*tarpatta*-of-the-Labarna
	<LAMMA>-of-the-*šalubat*[*ta*-]-of-the-same
49	LAMMA-of-the-swiftness-of-the-same (i.e., the Labarna)[112]
50	LAMMA-of-the-brining near-of-the-Laba[rn]a
51	LAMMA-of-the-*išmašuwala*-of-the-Laba[rn]a
52	LAMMA-of-the-*takšatar*-of-the-Laba[rn]a
iii 1	[L]AMMA-of-the-[ ]-of-the-Labarna
2	LAMMA-of-the-*annari*-and-*tarpi*-spirit-of-the-Labarna
3	LAMMA-of-all-the-lands-of-the-[Laba]rna
4	LAMMA-of-the-place-[of-the-L]abarna
5	˹LAMMA˺-of-the-*takkuwi*-of-the-Labarna
6	LAMMA-of-the-body-of-the-Labarna
7	[LAMMA-of]-the-righ[t]-should[er]-of-the-Labarna
8	LAMMA-[of]-the-le[f]t-shoulder-of-the-Labarna
9	[LAMMA-of]-Mount-Kitawa[nta]-of-the-Labarna
10-11	LAMMA-of-the-*piḫadda*-of-the-Labarna
11-12	LAMMA-of-praise-of-the-Labarna
13	LAMMA-of-the-weapon-of-the-L[aba]rna
14	LAMMA-of-the-awe-inspiring-ability(?)-of-the-Labarna
16	LAMMA-of-the-*kurraštarra*-of-the-Labarna
17-18	LAMMA-of-the-*paraštarra*-of-the-Labarna
19	LAMMA-of-the-propitious-day-of-the-Labarna
20	LAMMAof-the-Labarna's-*ḫuwapra*-building
21-22	LAMMA-of-the-Labarna's-"house-of-"Labarna"
22-23	The-Labarna's-LAMMA-of-His-Majesty-Tudḫaliya
	(The Ala-deities Invoked in *KUB* 2 1 §33´)
r. iv 28	Ala-of-Life
29	Ala-of-the-sky
30	Ala-of-the-animals
31	Ala-of-the-countryside
32	Ala-of-kindliness
33	Ala-of-favor
34	Ala-of-Ḫatti
35	Ala-of-the-army
36	Ala-of-the-city-Alatarma
37	Ala-[of]-Mo[unt]-Šarpa
38	Ala-of-Mount-Šakyw[anda]

Table 7.3 (continued).

39	Ala-of-T[u]ttu
40	Ala-of-Šulupašša
41	Ala-of-Ḫarana
42	Ala-of-the-enclosed(?)-countryside
43	Ala-of-*Warwantali*(*ya*)
44	Ala-of-*Aššatta*
45	Ala-of-encircling(?)
46	Ala-of-"setting-a-time"
47	Ala-of-forcefulness/power
48	Ala-of-[(-)]x-*kutiyatḫita*-
49	Ala-of-*ašta-wašta*-
iv 1	Ala-of-glory
2	Ala-of-praise
3	Ala-of-the-bow
4	Ala-of-the-quiver
4-5	Ala-of-x[…]-of-the-Labarna
6	Ala-of-the-[ ]x-*da*-of-the-Labarna
7-8	Ala-of-the-divine-power-of-the-Labarna
8-9	Ala-of-the-calling-up-of-the-Labarna
10-11	[Ala]-of-the-calling-[ ]x-[of-the-Laba]rna
11-13	Ala-of-holding-[u]p-[the-hand(?) …]-of-the-[Laba]rna
14	[Ala]-of-the-just
15	[Ala-of-(-)]x-*nugana*-
16-17	[Ala]-of-the-summer-pastures-[ ]-of-the-Labarna
18-19	[Ala]-of-the-x-*ra*-[of-the-Labarn]a
20	[Ala]-of-the-refuge
21	[Ala]-of-the-[…]x-*ātar*
22	[Ala-of-the …]-of-the-hunting-bag
	(ll. 23-26 are too broken to identify specific Ala deities)
27	[Ala]-of-running-[in-fr]ont
28	[Ala]-of-covering-the-[ ]-*nu*
	(ll. 29-30 only has traces-of-text)
31	[Al]a-of-all-the-mountains
32	[Al]a-of-the-rivers
33	[Al]a-of-all-the-*duwaduna*
34-35	Ala-of-all-the-springs(?)
35-36	x-*kušnuwanti*-Ala
37	Ala-of-Mount-Šarp[a]
38	[Al]a-of-abundance-of-fruit
39	[Al]a-of-the-propitious-day
40	[Ala-of-the-g]oo[d]-[sp]irit
v 1	Ala-of-the-palace-[of-Tudḫa]liya
2	[Ala(?)]-of-Tudḫ[aliya]

Table 7.4 The Festival of Individual Offerings (*KBo* 11 40 and other texts).[113]

KBo 11 40 i 4′	LAMMA-of-[Šul]upašša
7′	LAMMA-of-[Tu]ttuwa
9′	LAMMA-of-Ḫarana
12′	LAMMA-of-[Mount(?)-Š]arešša
15′	LAMMA-of-[Mount-Šu]nnara
18′	LAMMA-of-[the-river-Kummar]a
KUB 40 108 ii 20′	LAMMA-of-the-river-Kella
22′	LAMMA-of-Ḫallašša
24′	LAMMA-of-Tidanda
26′	LAMMA-of-Anza
KBo 11 40 i 28′	LAMMA-of-…[tablet breaks off]
	(traces only)
ii 3′	[LAMMA-of]-Mount-I[škiša]
5′	[LAMMA-of]-the-animals-[of-the-Labarna]
7′	[LAMMA-of]-the-strengthen[ing-of-the-Labarna]
9′	[LAMMA-of]-the-shoulder-[of-the-Labarna]
11′	[LAMMA-o]f-encircling(?)-[of-the-Labarna]
13′	[LAMMA-of]-the-divine-pow[er-of-the-Labarna]
15′	LAMMA-x-of-the-life-[of-the-Labarna]
17′	LAM[MA]-of-the-heroism-[of-the-Labarna]
19′	LAMMA-of-the army-[of-the-Labarna]
21′	LAMMA-of-x-of-battle-[of-the-Labarna]
23′	[LAMMA-of]-runnin[g-before-of-the-Labarna]
KBo 12 60 x+1	LAMMA-of-[x]
2′	[LAMMA-of]-Mount-Kidawanda-[of-the-Labarna]
4′	LAM[MA]-of-the-*piḫadda*-[of-the-Labarna]
6′	LA[MMA]-of-praise-[of-the-Labarna]
7′	[LAMMA-of-the-weapon-of-the-Labarna]
8′	[LAMMA-of-the-awe-inspiring-ability(?)-of-the-Labarna]
	(tablet breaks off)
KUB 55 25 4′	Ala
6′	Ala-of-x
8′	Ala-[of-the-countryside]
9′	[Ala-of]-kindliness
10′	A[la]-of-favor
11′	Ala-o[f-Ḫatti]
12′	[Al]a-of-the-arm[y]
	(tablet breaks off)
KUB 40 108 r. v 2	Ala-[of]-divine-power
4	Ala-[of]-calling-up
6	Ala-[of-x]
	(traces)
KUB 40 101 x+1	[Ala-of-Tud]ḫaliya
	Ala-[of-the-palace-of-T]udḫaliya

Table 7.5 Hittite Deity Categories from Selected Divine Witness-Lists (treaty nos. 3, 12, 13, 18B, 18C in Beckman's *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*; see Tables 7.6-10).[114]

Storm-Gods:[115]
Personal IŠKUR-of-Lightning-of-my-Majesty
The Powerful IŠKUR//[King-of-the Lands]
IŠKUR-of-Heaven
IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti//King-of-the Lands
IŠKUR-of-Lightning
IŠKUR-of-Market(?)
IŠKUR-of-the Army
IŠKUR-of-Ḫisašapa
IŠKUR-of-Arinna
IŠKUR-of-Pittiyarik
IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda
IŠKUR-of-Nerik
IŠKUR-of-Aleppo
IŠKUR-of-Uda
IŠKUR-of-Kizzuwatna
IŠKUR-of-Šamuḫa
IŠKUR-of-Sapinuwa
IŠKUR-of-Sahpina
IŠKUR-of-Ḫurma
IŠKUR-of-Sarissa
IŠKUR-of-Liḫzina
IŠKUR-of-Ruin Mound
IŠKUR-of-Hulasa
IŠKUR-of-Kummanni
IŠKUR-of-Help
The Piḫaimmi IŠKUR
IŠKUR-of-Lightning
Šeri
Ḫurri
(Mount Nanni)
(Mount Hazzi)

LAMMAs:
LAMMA
LAMMA-of-Ḫatti
Ayala
Zithariya
Karzi
Ḫapantaliya
LAMMA-of-Karaḫna
LAMMA-of-the-Countryside
LAMMA-of-the-Hunting-Bag

Ištars:
Ištar
Ištar-of-Šamuḫa
Ištar-of-the-Countryside
Ištar-of-Lawazantiya
Ištar-of-Nineveh
Ištar-of-Ḫattarina
Ištar//Queen-of-Heaven
(Ninatta)
(Kulitta)

War-Gods:
War-God
War-God-of-Ḫatti
War-God-of-Illaya
War-God-of-Arziya

Table 7.6 Divine Witness-List between Muršili II of Ḫatti and Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya (treaty no. 11 in Beckman's *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, pp. 81-82).

§29 (I iv 9´-15´)	UTU-of-Heaven [UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna] The Powerful IŠKUR IŠKUR-of-Heaven Šeri [Ḫurri] Mount Nanni Mount Ḫazzi […] IŠKUR-of-Market(?) IŠKUR-of-Army [IŠKUR-of-Aleppo] [IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda] IŠKUR-of-Nerik IŠKUR-of-[…] IŠKUR-of-Uda IŠKUR-of-[…] IŠKUR-of-Sapinuwa The [IŠKUR-of-…] The Proud IŠKUR IŠKUR-of-[…] (approximately ten line break)

Table 7.7 Divine Witness-List between Muršili II of Ḫatti and Manapa-Tarḫund of the Land of the Seḫa River (treaty no. 12 in Beckman's *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, pp. 85-86).

§14 (A iii 52´-54´; B iv 1-3)
[UTU-of-Heaven]
[UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna]
[IŠKUR]-of-Heaven
The Powerful IŠKUR
[…]
[Šeri]
[Ḫurri]
Mount Nanni
Mount Ḫazzi
[…]
IŠKUR-of-Market(?)
IŠKUR-of-Army
[IŠKUR-of-…]
[IŠKUR-of-Pittiyarik]
IŠKUR-of-Nerik
IŠKUR-of-the-Ruin-Mound
[IŠKUR-of-…]
[IŠKUR-of-Aleppo]
IŠKUR-of-Uda
IŠKUR-of-Kummanni
§15 (B iv 4-6)
[IŠKUR-of-…]
[IŠKUR-of-Ḫisashapa]
IŠKUR Šamuḫa
IŠKUR-of-Sapinuwa

[IŠKUR-of-…]
[IŠKUR]-of-Saḫpina
IŠKUR-of-Ḫurma
IŠKUR-of-Sarissa
IŠKUR-[of …]
IŠKUR-of-Help
IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda
§16 (B iv 7-13)
LAMMA
LAMMA-of-Ḫatti
Zithariya
Karzi
Ḫapantaliya
LAMMA-of-Karaḫna
LAMMA-of-the-Countryside
LAMMA-of-the-Hunting-Bag
Allatu
Enki
Telipinu
Pirwa
Moon-God//<Lord>-of-the Oath
Ḫebat//Great-Queen
[…]

§16 (B iv 7-13, continued)
Ištar
Ištar-of-the-Countryside
Ištar-of-Nineveh
[Ištar]-of-Ḫattarina
Ninatta
Kulitta
[Išhara]//Queen-of-the-Oath
§17 (B iv 14-20)
[War-God]
War-God-of-Ḫatti
War-God-of-Illaya
War-God-of-Arziya
Yarri
Zappana
Abara-of-Šamuḫa
Ḫantitassu-of-Ḫurma
Kataḫḫa-of-Ankuwa
Queen-of-Katapa
Ammamma-of-Taḫurpa
Ḫallara-of-Dunna
Ḫuwassanna-of-Ḫupisna
The Mountain-dweller Gods
All the Mercenary-Gods-of-Ḫatti
§18 (B iv 21-25)
[The Male Deities]
and Female Deities of Ḫatti
UTU.MI$_2$-of-the-Earth (i.e., Ereškigal)
all the Primeval Deities:
Nara
Namsara
Minki
Ammunki
[Tuḫusi]
Ammizzadu
Alalu
Kumarbi
Anu
Antu
Enlil
Ninlil
§19 (B i 26-27)
[The Mountains]
[The Rivers]
The Springs
The Great Sea
[Heaven]
[Earth]
The Winds
The Rivers
The Clouds

Table 7.8 Divine Witness-List between Wuwattalli II of Ḫatti and Alaksandu of Wilusa (treaty no. 13 in Beckman's *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 91-92).

§17 (A iv 1-9)
[UTU]-of-Heaven//King-of-the Lands//
Shepherd-of-Humankind
UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna, [Queen]-of-the-Lands
Personal IŠKUR-of-Lightning-of-my-Majesty
The Powerful IŠKUR//[King-of-the Lands]
[IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti]//King-of-the Lands
IŠKUR-of-Lightning
IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda
[IŠKUR-of-Nerik]
IŠKUR-of-Aleppo
IŠKUR-of-Market(?)
[IŠKUR-of…]
IŠKUR-of-Arinna
IŠKUR-of-Ḫisašapa
IŠKUR-of-[Sapinuwa]
IŠKUR-of-Šamuḫa
IŠKUR-of-Ḫurma
IŠKUR-of-Sarissa
IŠKUR-of-Liḫzina
IŠKUR-of-Uda
IŠKUR-of-Saḫpina
IŠKUR-of-Help
Šeri
Ḫurri
Mount Nanni
Mount Hazzi
Ḫebat//Queen-of-Heaven
§18 (A iv 10-16) LAMMA
LAMMA-of-Ḫatti
Karzi
Ḫapantaliya
LAMMA-of-Karaḫna
LAMMA-of-the-Hunting-Bag
Allatu
Moon-God//Lord-of-the Oath
Ištar
Ištar-of-the-Countryside
Ištar-of-Nineveh
Ištar-of-Ḫattarina
Ninatta
Kulitta
Išḫara//Queen-of-the Oath
War-God
War-God-of-Ḫatti
War-God-of-Illaya

§18 (continued)
War-God-of-Arziya
Yarri
Zappana
§19 (A iv 17-23) Abara-of-Šamuḫa
Ḫantitassu-of-Ḫurma
Kataḫḫa-of-Ankuwa
Queen-of-Katapa
Ammamma-of-Taḫurpa
Ḫallara-of-Dunna
Ḫuwassanna-of-Ḫupisna
The Mountain-dweller gods
The Mercenary gods
All The Male and Female Deities
All the Primeval Deities:
Nara
Namsara
Ammunki
Tuḫusi
Minki
Ammizzadu
Alalu
Kumarbi
Enlil
Ninlil
§20 (A iv 24-30) Mount Ḫulla
Mount Zaliyanu
Mount Taḫa
The Mountains
The Rivers
The Springs-of-Ḫatti
The Great Sea
Heaven
Earth
The Winds
The Clouds
All [the Deities]-of-the Land-of-Wilusa:
IŠKUR-of-Army
[…]appaliuma
The Male Deities
The Female Deities
The Mountains
[The Rivers]
[The Springs]
The Underground-Watercourse$^{?}$
-of-the-Land-of-Wilusa

Table 7.9 Divine Witness-List between Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti and Ulmi-Teššup of Tarḫund (treaty no. 18B in Beckman's *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 111-112).

§7 (obv. 48´-49´)	§8 (obv. 50´- r. 4, continued)
IŠKUR-of-Lightning	Ḫebat//Queen-of-Heaven
UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna	Ištar
IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti	Ištar-of-Nineveh
IŠKUR-of-Nerik	Ištar-of-Ḫattarina
Ištar-of-Šamuḫa	Ninatta
Ištar-of-Lawazantiya	Kulitta
The Thousand Gods-of-Ḫatti	Ningal
§8 (obv. 50´- r. 4)	[Išḫara]
The Thousand Gods:	Moon-God//Lord-of-the Oaths
UTU-of-Heaven	Deity-of-Arusna
UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna	War-God
IŠKUR-of-Heaven	War-God-of-Ḫatti
IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti	War-God-of-Illaya
IŠKUR-of-the-Army	War-God-of-Arziya
IŠKUR-of-Ḫisašapa	Yarri
IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda	Zappana
IŠKUR-of-Nerik	Abara-of-Šamuḫa
IŠKUR-of-Aleppo	Ḫantitassu-of-Ḫurma
IŠKUR-of-Uda	Kataḫḫa-of-Ankuwa
IŠKUR-of-Sapinuwa	The Queen-of-Katapa
The Powerful IŠKUR	Ammamma-of-Taḫurpa
The Piḫaimmi IŠKUR	Ḫallara-of-Dunna
IŠKUR-of-Lightning	Ḫuwassanna-of-Ḫupisna
Lulutassi	Lelwani
LAMMA	The Mountain-dweller Gods
LAMMA-of-Ḫatti	The Mercenary Gods
Ayala	The Male deities
Karzi	The Female Deities
Ḫapantaliya	The Great Sea
Šarrumma	The Mountains
Zithariya	The Rivers
	The Springs-of-Ḫatti and the land-of-Tarḫund

Table 7.10 Divine Witness-List between Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti and Kurunta of Tarḫund (treaty no. 18C in Beckman's *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 121-122).

§25 (iii 78-iv 15)	(cont.)
UTU-of-Heaven	Ištar-of-Nineveh
UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna	Ištar-of-Ḫattarina
IŠKUR-of-Heaven	Ninatta
IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti	Kulitta
IŠKUR-of-the-Army	Moon-God//King-of-the Oaths
IŠKUR-of-Ḫisašapa	Ningal//Queen-of-the Oaths
IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda	Išḫara
IŠKUR-of-Nerik	Deity-of-Arusna
IŠKUR-of-Aleppo	War-God
IŠKUR-of-Uda	War-God-of-Ḫatti
IŠKUR-of-Kizzuwatna	War-God-of-Illaya
IŠKUR-of-Šamuḫa	War-God-of-Arziya
IŠKUR-of-Sapinuwa	Yarri
The Powerful IŠKUR	Zappana
IŠKUR-of-Lightning	Ḫantitassu-of-Ḫurma
Lulutassi	Abara-of-Šamuḫa
LAMMA	Kataḫḫa-of-Ankuwa
LAMMA-of-Ḫatti	Ammamma-of-Taḫurpa
Ayala	Ḫuwassanna-of-Ḫupisna
Karzi	Ḫallara-of-Dunna
Ḫapantaliya	Lelwani
LAMMA-of-the-Countryside	The Mountain-dweller gods
LAMMA-of-the-Hunting-Bag	The Mercenary Gods
Zithariya	The Male deities
Šarrumma	The Female Deities
Ḫebat-of-Uda	Heaven
Ḫebat-of-Kizzuwatna	Earth
Ištar-of-Šamuḫa	The Great Sea
Ištar-of-the-Countryside	The Mountains, Rivers, and Springs-of-Ḫatti
Ištar-of-Lawazantiya	and the Land-of-Tarḫund

Table 7.11 A Parrallel Presentation of Tables 7.6-10 (Beckman 1999, Treaty nos. 3, 12, 13, 18B, and 18C).

no. 3, §§7-8 Šuppiluliuma I	no. 12, §§14-19 Muršili II	no. 13, §§17-20 Wuwattalli II	no. 18B, §§7-8 Ḫattušili III	no. 18C, §25 Tudḫaliya IV
		[UTU]-of-Heaven//		
		King-of-the Lands//		
UTU-of-Heaven	[UTU -of-Heaven]	Shepherd-of-Humankind	UTU-of-Heaven	UTU-of-Heaven
		UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna//		
UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna	[UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna]	[Queen]-of-the-Lands	UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna	UTU.MI$_2$-of-Arinna
------------------------	------------------------	------------------------	------------------------	------------------------
		The Personal IŠKUR-of-		
		Lightning-of-my-Majesty		
		The Powerful IŠKUR//		
		[King-of-the-Lands]		
IŠKUR-of-Heaven	[IŠKUR]-of-Heaven		IŠKUR-of-Heaven	IŠKUR-of-Heaven
		[IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti]//		
IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti		King-of-the-Lands	IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti	IŠKUR-of-Ḫatti
	The Powerful IŠKUR	IŠKUR-of-Lightning		
	[…]		IŠKUR-of-the-Army	IŠKUR-of-the-Army
			IŠKUR-of-Ḫisašapa	IŠKUR-of-Ḫisašapa
	[Šeri]			
	[Ḫurri]			
	Mount Nanni			
	Mount Ḫazzi			
	[…]			
		IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda	IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda	IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda
		[IŠKUR-of-Nerik]	IŠKUR-of-Nerik	IŠKUR-of-Nerik
IŠKUR-of-Aleppo		IŠKUR-of-Aleppo	IŠKUR-of-Aleppo	IŠKUR-of-Aleppo
	IŠKUR-of-Market(?)	IŠKUR-of-Market(?)		
	IŠKUR-of-Army	[IŠKUR of…]		
IŠKUR-of-Arinna	[IŠKUR-of-…]	IŠKUR-of-Arinna	IŠKUR-of-Uda	IŠKUR-of-Uda
IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda	[IŠKUR-of-Pittiyarik]	IŠKUR-of-Ḫisašapa		IŠKUR-of-Kizzuwatna
IŠKUR-of-Sapinuwa	IŠKUR-of-Nerik			IŠKUR-of-Šamuḫa
IŠKUR-of-Nerik	IŠKUR-of-the-Ruin-Mound	IŠKUR-of-[Sapinuwa]	IŠKUR-of-Sapinuwa	IŠKUR-of-Sapinuwa
IŠKUR-of-Hisašapa	[IŠKUR-of-…]	IŠKUR-of-Šamuḫa		
IŠKUR-of-Sahpina	[IŠKUR-of-Aleppo]			
IŠKUR-of-the-Army	IŠKUR-of-Uda	IŠKUR-of-Ḫurma		
IŠKUR-of-the-Market(?)	IŠKUR-of-Kummanni	IŠKUR-of-Sarissa		
IŠKUR-of-Uda	[IŠKUR-of-…]	IŠKUR-of-Liḫzina		
IŠKUR-of-Kuzzuwatna	[IŠKUR-of-Ḫisašapa]	IŠKUR-of-Uda		
IŠKUR-of-Pittiyarik	IŠKUR Šamuḫa	IŠKUR-of-Saḫpina		
IŠKUR-of-Šamuḫa	IŠKUR-of-Sapinuwa			
[IŠKUR]-of-Sarissa	[IŠKUR-of-…]	IŠKUR-of-Help		
IŠKUR-of-Ḫurma	[IŠKUR]-of-Saḫpina	Šeri	The Powerful IŠKUR	The Powerful IŠKUR

Table 7.11 (continued).

IŠKUR-of-Lihzina IŠKUR-of-Ruin-Mound IŠKUR [of …] IŠKUR-of-Hulasa	IŠKUR-of-Ḫurma IŠKUR-of-Sarissa IŠKUR [of …] IŠKUR-of-Help IŠKUR-of-Zippalanda	Ḫurri Mount Nanni Mount Hazzi	The Piḫaimmi IŠKUR IŠKUR-of-Lightning	IŠKUR-of-Lightning
Ḫebat-of-Uda Ḫebat-of-Kizzuwatna		Ḫebat//Queen-of-Heaven	Lulutassi	Lulutassi
LAMMA LAMMA-of-Ḫatti Zithariya Karzi Ḫapantaliya LAMMA-of-Karaḫna LAMMA-[of-the-Countryside] LAMMA-of-the-Hunting-Bag	LAMMA LAMMA-of-Ḫatti Zithariya Karzi Ḫapantaliya LAMMA-of-Karaḫna LAMMA-of-the-Countryside LAMMA-of-the-Hunting-Bag	LAMMA LAMMA-of-Ḫatti Karzi Ḫapantaliya LAMMA-of-Karaḫna LAMMA-of-the-Hunting-Bag	LAMMA LAMMA-of-Ḫatti Ayala Karzi Ḫapantaliya Zithariya	LAMMA LAMMA-of-Ḫatti Ayala Karzi Ḫapantaliya LAMMA-of-the-Countryside LAMMA-of-the-Hunting-Bag Zithariya
Aya	Allatu Enki Telipinu Pirwa <Lord>-of-the-Oath Ḫebat//Great-Queen […]	Allatu Lord-of-the-Oath	Šarrumma Ḫebat//Queen-of-Heaven	Šarrumma Ḫebat-of-Uda Ḫebat-of-Kizzuwatna
Ištar Ištar-of-the-Countryside Ištar-of-Nineveh [Ištar]-of-Ḫattarina Ištar//Queen-of-Heaven Ninatta Kulitta	Ištar Ištar-of-the-Countryside Ištar-of-Nineveh [Ištar]-of-Ḫattarina Ninatta Kulitta [Išhara]//Queen-of-the-Oath	Ištar Ištar-of-the-Countryside Ištar-of-Nineveh Ištar-of-Ḫattarina Ninatta Kulitta Išḫara//Queen-of-the-Oath	Ištar Ištar-of-Nineveh Ištar-of-Ḫattarina Ninatta Kulitta Ningal [Išḫara]	 Ištar-of-Šamuḫa Ištar-of-the-Countryside Ištar-of-Lawazantiya Ištar-of-Nineveh Ištar-of-Ḫattarina Ninatta Kulitta

Table 7.11 (continued).

			Moon-God//Lord-of-the-Oaths Deity-of-Arusna	Moon-God//King-of-the-Oaths Ningal//Queen-of-the Oaths Išḫara Deity-of-Arusna
War-God War-God-of-Illaya War-God [of Arziya] All the Deities-of-the-Army	[War-God] War-God-of-Ḫatti War-God-of-Illaya War-God-of-Arziya	War-God War-God-of-Ḫatti War-God-of-Illaya War-God-of-Arziya	War-God War-God-of-Ḫatti War-God-of-Illaya War-God-of-Arziya	War-God War-God-of-Ḫatti War-God-of-Illaya War-God-of-Arziya
Marduk Allatu [UTU-Goddess]-of-the Earth Huwassanna-of-Hupisna Ayabara-of-Šamuḫa Hantitassu-[of-Hurma] Katahha-of-Ankuwa [Ammamma]-of-Tahurpa Queen-of-Katapa Hallara-of-Dunna	Yarri Zappana Abara-of-Šamuḫa Ḫantitassu-of-Ḫurma Kataḫḫa-of-Ankuwa Queen-of-Katapa Ammamma-of-Taḫurpa Ḫallara-of-Dunna Ḫuwassanna-of-Ḫupisna	Yarri Zappana Abara-of-Šamuḫa Ḫantitassu-of-Ḫurma Kataḫḫa-of-Ankuwa Queen-of-Katapa Ammamma-of-Taḫurpa Ḫallara-of-Dunna Ḫuwassanna-of-Ḫupisna	Yarri Zappana Abara-of-Šamuḫa Ḫantitassu-of-Ḫurma Kataḫḫa-of-Ankuwa Queen-of-Katapa Ammamma-of-Taḫurpa Ḫallara-of-Dunna Ḫuwassanna-of-Ḫupisna Lelwani	Yarri Zappana Ḫantitassu-of-Ḫurma Abara-of-Šamuḫa Kataḫḫa-of-Ankuwa Ammamma-of-Taḫurpa Ḫuwassanna-of-Ḫupisna Ḫallara-of-Dunna Lelwani
The [mountain-dweller] gods The [mercenary] gods All the deities-of-Ḫatti The deities […]-of-the Land	The mountain-dweller gods All the mercenary-gods-of-Ḫatti [The male deities] and female deities-of-Ḫatti UTU.MI$_2$-of-the Earth (i.e., Ereškigal)	 The Mountain-dweller gods The Mercenary gods All the male and female deities	The Mountain-dweller Gods The Mercenary Gods The Male deities The Female Deities	 The Mountain-dweller gods The Mercenary Gods The Male deities The Female Deities

Table 7.11 (concluded).

	all the Primeval Deities:	all the primeval deities:		
	Nara	Nara		
	Namsara	Namsara		
	Minki			
	Ammunki	Ammunki		
	[Tuḫusi]	Tuḫusi		
		Minki		
	Ammizzadu	Ammizzadu		
	Alalu	Alalu		
	Kumarbi	Kumarbi		
	Anu			
	Antu			
	Enlil	Enlil		
	Ninlil	Ninlil		
The deities of Heaven		Mount Ḫulla		Heaven
The deities of the Earth		Mount Zaliyanu		Earth
		Mount Taḫa		
The Mountains	[the mountains]	The Mountains		
[The Rivers]	[the rivers]	The Rivers		
[The Springs]	the Springs	The Springs-of-Ḫatti		
[The Clouds]	the Great Sea	The Great Sea	The Great Sea	The Great Sea
Heaven	[Heaven and Earth]	Heaven and Earth	The Mountains	The Mountains,
The Earth	Winds	Winds	The Rivers	Rivers,
The Great Sea	The Rivers			
	The Clouds	The Clouds		
			The Springs-of-Ḫatti and the land-of-Tarḫund	and Springs-of-Ḫatti and the Land-of-Tarḫund

Table 8.1 *KTU*^{2} 1.47. The So-Called Deity List.[116]

1	*ˀil ṣpn*[117]	The Gods of Ṣapān
2	*ˀ⸢ilˀi⸣b*	God-of-the-Father
3	*ˀi⸢l⸣*	El
4	*dg⸢n⸣*	Dagan
5	*⸢b⸣ˁl ṣpn*	Baal-of-Ṣapān
6	*bˁlm*	Baalim
7	*bˁlm*	Baalim
8	*bˁlm*	Baalim
9	*⸢bˁ⸣lm*	Baalim
10	[b]⸢ˁ⸣*lm*	Baalim
11	[bˁl]*m*	Baalim
12	[ˀarṣ] *w šm⸢m⸣*	Earth-and-Heaven
13	[kṯr]⸢t⸣	Kôṯarātu (Goddess of Female Reproduction)
14	[yrḫ]	Yariḫu (Moon)
15	[ṣpn]	Mount Ṣapān
16	[kṯr]	Kôṯaru (Skillful)
17	[pdry]	Pidray (Fatty)
18	[ˁṯtr]	Aṯtaru
19	[ġrm w ˁmqt]	Mountains-and-the-Abyss
20	[ˀaṯrt]	Ašerah
21	[ˁnt]	Anat
22	[šp]⸢š⸣	Šapaš (Sun)
23	[ˀa]*rṣ⸢y⸣*	Arṣay (Earthy)
24	[ˀu]š*ḫr⸢y⸣*	Ušḫaraya
25	[ˁ]*ṯtrt*	Astarte
26	*ˀi*l *tˁḏr bˁl*	The Auxiliary Gods of Baal
27	*ršp*	Rašap
28	*ddmš*	Dadmiš
29	*pḫr ˀilm*	The Assembly of the Gods
30	*ym*	Yammu (Sea)
31	*ˀuṯḫt*	Uṯḫatu (Censer)
32	*knr*	Kinnāru (Lyre)
33	*mlkm*	(deceased) Kings
34	*šlm*	Šalimu

Table 8.2 The Main EGLs in *KTU*[2] 1.148.[118]

Section 1 (ll. 1-9)	Section 2a (ll. 10-12)	Section 3b (ll. 23-45)
The Gods of Mount Ṣapān:		
[1][God-of-the-Father]	[10]God-of-the-Father	[23]God-of-the-Father
		[24]Earth-and-Heaven
[2]El	El	[25]El
		Kôṯarātu
[Dagan]	Dagan	[26]Dagan
		Baal-of-Aleppo
[Baal-of-Ṣapān]	Baal[!]-of-Ṣapān (ˤ*bl-ṣpn*)	[27]Baal-of-Ṣapān
[3](another) Baal	[11]*b*ˤ*lm*	
[(another) Baal]	*b*ˤ*lm*	
[4](another) Baal	[*b*]ˤ*lm*	
(another) Baal[m]	*b*ˤ*lm*	
[(another) Baal]	[12]*b*ˤ*lm*	
	*b*ˤ*lm*	
[5]Earth-and-Heaven		
Kôṯarā[tu]		[28]Ṯarraṯiya
Yariḫu (Moon)		[29]Yariḫu
[Aṯta]ru		
[6]Mount Ṣapān		Mount Ṣapān
Kôṯaru		[30]Kôṯaru
Pidray		Aṯtaru
Mountains-and-the-Abyss		
[7]Ašerah		[31][A]šerah
Anat		Šaggar-wa-Iṯum
Šapaš		[32][Šap]aš
Arṣay		
Astarte		
[8]Ušḫaraya		
Auxiliary Gods of Baal		
Rašap		Rašap-Idrippi
		[33][----]ˊMṢˀR
Dadmiš		[34][Dadmiš]
[9]the Assembly of El		[-(-)]MT
		[35-42][mostly broken]
Yammu		
		[43][The Gods of Al]eppo ([d]d*m*)
		The Gods of Leba[no]n (*lb*[n]n)
		U[ṯḫatu]
Kinnāru		
		[44](another) Baal
		[(another) Baal]
		[45][(another) Baal]
		[(another) Baal]
		possible l. 46 broken

Table 8.3 *KTU*[2] 1.119:1-25 (Following Pardee's Divisions [Pardee 2002, 52-53).[119]

Section (line):	Day:	Deity:
IA (1)	7th	(a sheep for) Baal-RʿKT[138]
IB (3)		(the temple of) Baal-Ugarit
IIB (6)	17th	(the sanctuary of) El
		(a cow for) Baalim
(7)		(a cow for) Ġalmu
		(two ewes and a cow for) ĠLMTM
IIC (9-10)		(the temple of) Baal-of-Ugarit
IIIA (12)	18th	(a bull for) MDGL-of-Baal-of-Ugarit
IIIB (14)		(the temple of) El
		(a neck for) Baal-[of-xxx]
V (21-22)	5th	(birds and a liver and a sheep as a burnt offering for) Baal-of-Ugarit
VIA (25)	7th	(oil of well-being) Baal
		(libation-offering for the benefit of) the Malakūma

Table 8.4 Baal-of-GN epithets in West Semitic Texts.

DN-of-GN:	Spelled:	Text:	Language:	Date/Place:
Baal-of-Ṣapān[120]	*bˁl ṣpn*	*KTU*^{2} 1.109:[5], 9, 29, 32-33;	Ugaritic	2nd Millennium, Ugarit
	^{d}*ba-al-ṣa-pu-nu*	SAA 2 5 iv 10´;	Akkadian	7th Century, Assyria
	בעל צפנ	*KAI* 50:2-3;	Phoenician	6th Century, Saqqāra
	בעלצ̊פ̊נ̊	*KAI* 69:1	Punic	3rd Century, Marseilles
Baal-Šamêm[121]	בעל שממ	*KAI* 4:3;	Phoenician	10th Century, Byblos
	[בע]לשמינ	*KAI* 202 B 23;	Aramaic	8th Century, Afis (Ḥamath)
	בעל שממ	*KAI* 26 A iii 18;	Phoenician	8th Century, Karatepe
	^{d}*ba-al-sa-me-me*	SAA 2 5 iv 10´;	Akkadian	7th Century, Assyria
	bˁl-G *šmyn*-G	Papyrus Amherst 63 12:18	Aramaic	4th Century, Egypt
	בעל שממ	*KAI* 78:2;	Punic	3rd Century, Carthage
	בעלשמ(י)נ	*KAI* 245-248	Aramaic	1-2 Centuries C.E., Ḥatra
Baal$^!$-Šamêm on-Hawk-Island	לבעשממ באינצמ	*KAI* 64:1	Punic	3rd Century B.C.E., Sardinia
(Hadad-Sikan)	(הדד סכנ)	(*KAI* 309:1)	(Aramaic)	(9th Century, Tell Fekherye)
Baal-Meˁon (GN)[122]	בעלמענ	*KAI* 181:9;	Moabite	9th Century, Diban
	בית.בעלמענ	*KAI* 181:30; Joshua 13:17	Hebrew	
the Baal-Meˁonite	בעלמעני	*Samr* 27:3	Hebrew	8th Century, Samaria

Table 8.4 (continued).

DN-of-GN:	Spelled:	Text:	Language:	Date/Place:
Baal-Ḥamān[123]	בעל . חמנ	*KAI* 24:16	Phoenician	late 9th Century, Zenjirli
	בעלמנ	*KAI* 114:2;	Punic	3rd-1st Century B.C.E., Constantine (Algeria)
	ΒΑΛ ΑΜΟΥΝ	*KAI* 175:1;	Neo-Punic	uncertain date, Constantine
	BALAMONI	*CdB* 3 114, l. 1	Latin	1st/2nd Century C.E., Carthage
El-Ḥamān[124]	אל חמנ	*KAI* 19:4/*TSSI* 3 31:4 and *TSSI* 3 32:1	Phoenician	late 3rd Century B.C.E., Umm El-ʿAmed
Baal-KRNTRYŠ	בעל כרנתריש	*KAI* 26 A ii 19, iii 1, 4, C iii 16 17, 19, and iv 20	Phoenician	8th Century, Karatepe
Baal-Ḥarrān[125]	בעלחרנ	*KAI* 218:1;	Aramaic	8th Century, Zenjirli
Bēl-Ḫarrān[126]	$^{(d)}$EN.$^{(uru)}$KASKAL-*x*-*x*…	*PNA* 1/2 , 300-304;	Akkadian	9th-7th Century, Assyria
Sîn-of-Ḫarrān[127]	^{d}EN.ZU *ša ḫa-ar-ra-nim*^{ki}	*Mélanges syriens* 986, l. 12;	Akkadian	18th Century, Mari
	^{d}30 *a-šib* ^{uru}KASKAL(-*ni*)	RIMA 3 A.0.104.2:12 and 17;	Akkadian	8th Century, along the Orontes
	ס(י)נכשר	*TAD* B2.2:19 and B3.9:10;	Aramaic	5th Century, Elephantine

Table 8.4 (concluded).

DN-of-GN:	Spelled:	Text:	Language:	Date/Place:
Baal-Lebanon[128]	בעל לבנן	*KAI* 31:1 and 2	Phoenician	8th Century, Cyprus
Hadad-Lebanon[129]	θεῷ Ἀδάδῳ Λιβανεώτῃ	*Inscriptions Graecae urbis Romae 110*	Greek	4th Century C.E., Cyprus
Baal-Peʿor[130]	בעל פעור	Numbers 25:1-5; Deuteronomy 4:3; Hosea 9:10; and Psalm 106:28	Hebrew	8th-5th Century, Israel
Baal-Malagê[138]	d*ba-al ma-la-ge-e*	SAA 2 5 iv 10′	Akkadian	7th Century, Assyria
Baal-Ṣidon[131]	בעל צדן	*KAI* 14:18	Phoenician	5th Century, Ṣidon
Baal-Kition[132]	בעל כתי	*Fouilles de Kition* 3, D 37 (plate 16 3)	Phoenician	5th/4th Century, Cyprus
Baal-MRPʾK[133]	בעל מרפאכ	*CIS* 1 41:3	Phoenician	4th Century, Cyprus
Melqart Baal-Tyre	מלקרת בעל צר	*KAI* 47:1	Phoenician	2nd Century, Malta
Hercules	Ἡραχλεῖ ἀρχηέτει	*KAI* 47:3	Greek	
Baal-Marqod[134]	Βαλμαρκώς Βαλμαρκῶδι Balmarcodes	*CIG* 3 4536:6; *CIL* 3 6668; *CIL* 3 6673:2-3	Greek Latin Latin	2nd Century C.E., Beirut
Baal-Qart [135] (Baal-of-the-City)	ב[עלקרת] Βώνχαρ Boncar	*JA* 8 350, l. 1	Neo-Punic Greek Latin	3rd Century C.E., Carthage

Table 8.5 Baal-Šamêm in EGLs from the 10th Century B.C.E. to the 2nd Century C.E.

KAI 4:3-4 Yeḥimilk Inscription mid-10th Century B.C.E. Phoenician	*KAI* 202 B 23-26 Zakkur Inscription late 8th Century B.C.E. Aramaic	*KAI* 26 A iii 18-19 Azatiwada Inscription early 7th Century B.C.E. Phoenician	SAA 2 5 iv 6´-7´ and 10´-19´ Esarhaddon's Treaty with King Baal of Tyre mid-7th Century B.C.E. Akkadian	*KAI* 9 B 5 Son of Šipiṭbaˁal of Byblos Inscription ca. 500 Phoenician	*KAI* 78:2-4 votive inscription from Carthage 3rd Century B.C.E. Punic	*KAI* 247:1-4 = *KAI* 248:5-7 Ḥatra inscriptions 1-2 Centuries C.E. Aramaic
			Bethel			Our Lord (מרנ)
			Anat-Bethel[136]			Our Lady (מרתנ)
						Son of our Lord ([רב] מ[רינ])
						ŠḤRW
Baal-Šamêm	[Ba]al-Šamêm	Baal-Šamêm	Baal-Šamêm	[Baal-Šamê]m	Baal-Šamêm	Baal-Šam[êm]
Baalat-of-Byblos[137]					Tannit//Face-of-Baal	Atargatis
			Baal-Malagê[138]		Baal-Ḥamān	
			Baal-of-Ṣapān	Baal-ˀAddir[138]	Baal-Magnim[138]	
		El//Creator-of-Earth				
	Il[wer]					
	Šamaš	Šamaš				
			Melqart			
			Ešmun			
	ŠHR					
			Astarte	Baalat		
Holy Gods of Byblos	Gods of Heave[n]	Whole Generation of Gods		All the Go[ds of Byblos]		
	[God]s of Earth					
	Baal-of-[…].					

Table 8.6 EGLs in the Kilamuwa Inscription, the Hadad Inscription, and the Panamuwa Inscription.

Text: Period: Language:	*KAI* 24 ll. 15-16 Kulamuwa Inscription late 9th Century Phoenician	*KAI* 214 l. 2	ll. 2-3	l. 11 The Hadad Inscription late 8th Century Samalian (Aramaic)	l. 18	*KAI* 215a l. 22 The Panamuwa Inscription late 8th Century Samalian (Aramaic)
Deities:	Baal-Ṣemed[138] Baal-Ḥamān Rakib-El	Hadad El Rašap Rakib-El Šamaš	Hadad El Rakib-El Šamaš Rašap	Ha[dad El Rakib-El Šamaš ˀArqû-Rašap	Hadad El Rakib-El Šamaš	Hadad El Rakib-El//Lord-of-the-Dynasty[139] Šamaš All the Gods of YˀDY

Table 8.7 Baal-Ḥamān in EGLs from the 9th Century to the 1st Century B.C.E.

Text: Period: Language:	*KAI* 24:15-16 Kulamuwa Inscription late 9th Century Phoenician	*KAI* 78:2-4 votive inscription from Carthage 3rd Century B.C.E. Punic	*Studi Orientalistici*, vol. 2, 516[140] Dedicatory inscription from Palmyra 32 B.C.E. Palmyra (Aramaic)	*CIL* 3 7954:1-3[141] Temple Dedicatory Inscription from Syriacorum Latin
Deities:	Baal-Ṣemed[138] Baal-Ḥamān Rakib-El	Baal-Šamêm Tannit//Face-of-Baal Baal-Ḥamān Baal-Magnim[138]	Baal Baal-Ḥamān Manawāt	MALAGBEL BEBELLAHAMON BENEFAL[142] MANAVAT

Table 8.8 Goddess-of / in-GN epithets in West Semitic Texts.

DN-of-GN:	Spelled:	Text:	Language:	Date/Place:
Anat-of-Ṣapān	*ˁnt ṣpn*	*KTU*^{2} 1.109:13-14, 17, 34	Ugaritic	2nd Millennium, Ugarit
Anat-of-ḤLŠ	*ˁnt ḥlš*	*KTU*^{2} 1.109:25	Ugaritic	2nd Millennium, Ugarit
Ašerah-of-Tyre and Goddess-of-Ṣidon	*ˀaṯrt* [.] *ṣrm w ˀilt* . *ṣdynm*	*KTU*^{2} 1.14 iv 35-39 (Kirta Epic)	Ugaritic	2nd Millennium, Ugarit
Astarte[!] in-Ṣidon	עשת<רת> בצדנ	*WSS* 876:2	Ammonite	7th Century, unknown
[Astar]te in-Ṣidon//Land-by-the-Sea	[עשתר]ת בצדנ ארצ ימ	*KAI* 14:16	Phoenician	5th Century, Ṣidon
Astarte-of-the-Lofty-Heavens	עשתרת שממ אדרמ	*KAI* 14:16	Phoenician	5th Century, Ṣidon
(Astarte and) Tannit in-Lebanon	(לעשתרת) ולתנת בלבננ	*KAI* 81:1	Punic	uncertain date, Carthage
Astarte-Kition	עשתרת כת	*KAI* 37:5	Phoenician	4th/3rd Century, Cyprus

Table 9.1 The Positions of Ištar-associated Goddesses in EGLs in Esarhadon's Royal Inscriptions (RINAP 4, Esar.).[143]

Text:	DN(s):	position(s):	of total DNs:
1 i 6	^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*ni-nu-a* ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	5 and 6	6
1 i 10	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*ni-nu-a*^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	6 and 7	7
1 i 45	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	6 and 7	7
1 i 59	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	7 and 8	8
1 ii 16	^{d}*iš-tar šar-ra-ti*	7	7
1 ii 38	^{d}*iš-tar be-let* MURUB$_4$ *u* ME$_3$	6	6
1 ii 45-46	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} ^{46} ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	5 and 6	6
1 iv 78-79	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} ^{79} ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	6 and 7	7
1 v 34	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	5 and 6	6
1 vi 44	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	4 and 6	5
2 i 9	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	6 and 7	7
2 iv 22	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	5 and 6	6
3 iv 21′	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} ^{d}⌜15⌝ [*ša*$_2$] $^{⌜uru⌝}$*arba-il*$_3$	5 and 6	6
5 i 3′	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ *ni*-[*nu-a* ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$]	6 and 7	7
6 i 5′-6′	^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} $^{6′}$ [^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$]	7 and 8	8
8 ii′ 4′-5′	[^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki}] $^{5′}$ ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$ ^{d}⌜*gu-še*⌝-[*a*]	8 and 9	10
33 (tablet 2) iii 11′	^{d}INANA *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} ^{d}INANA *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}⌜*arba*⌝-*il*$_3$	8 and 9	10?
48: 25-26	^{d}*iš-tar ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*ni-na-a šar-ra-tu*$_2$ GAL-*tu*$_2$ [*hi*]-*šiḫ-tu ša*$_2$ ^{d}*iš-tar-a*-[*ti ša*$_2$ ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$] ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	3 and 4	4
70:3	^{d}15 ⌜*ša*$_2$⌝ NINA$^{⌜ki⌝}$ ^{d}15 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	6 and 7	7
71:3	^{d}INANA *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} ^{d}INANA *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	6 and 7	7
77:12	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	6 and 7	7
78:11	[^{d}15] *ša*$_2$ NINA^{ki} [^{d}]15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	6 and 7	7
79:11	[^{d}15 *ša* NINA]^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba*-⌜*il*$_3$⌝	6 and 7	7
79:6′	[^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$]	7 and 8	8
93:5	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	6 and 7	7
93:26	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_3$	7 and 8	8
98:9	^{d}INANA *be-let* MURUB$_4$ *u* ME$_3$	9	10
98:*22*	^{d}*iš-tar i-lat kal gim-ri*	6	6
101 r. *4′*	^{d}*iš-tar i-lat kal gim*-[*ri*]	6	6
133:10	^{d}15	11	11
133:14	^{d}15	4	4
1006:11′	⌜^{d}15⌝ *arba-il*$_3$	4	4

Table 9.2 The Positions of Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela in EGLs in Letters.

Text:		DN(s):	positions:	of total DNs:
SAA 10	82:6-7	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{7} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	6 and 7	7
	83:4-5	^{d}15 *ša* [NINA^{ki}] ^{5} [^{d}15] *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	3 and 4	4
	130:6-7	^{d}[15] *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{7} ^{d}[15] *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	3 and 4	4
	174:6	^{d}GAŠAN NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	5 and 6	6
	l. 18	^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	10 and 11	11
	227:5	^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	10 and 11	15
	228:4-5	^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}NINA^{ki} ^{5} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	9 and 10	15
	245:5-6	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{6} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	7 and 8	8
	249:2′-3′	[^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ NINA^{ki}] $^{3′}$ ^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ⸢*arba*⸣-[*il*$_{3}$]	7 and 8	8
	252:7-8	[^{d}]15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 ^{8} ⸢*ša*⸣ ^{uru}*arba*-[*il*$_{3}$]	7 and 8	8
	286:6	[^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$] ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	14 and 15	19
	293:4	[^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}NINA^{ki}] ^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	5 and 6	10
	294:3	[^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}NINA^{ki} ^{d}15] *ša* ^{uru}⸢*arba*⸣-[*il*$_{3}$]	5 and 6	10
SAA 13	9:7-8	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{8} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	6 and 7	7
	10:7-8	^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}NINA ^{8} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	6 and 7	7
	12:6	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	6 and 7	7
	15:7-8	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{8} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	6 and 7	7
	56:6	^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}NINA ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	8 and 9	9
	57:7-8	[^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}]⸢NINA⸣^{ki} ^{8} [^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba*]-⸢*il*$_{3}$⸣	8 and 9	9
	58:6-7	^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}NINA ^{7} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	8 and 9	9
	60:6	[^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}NINA ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$]	8 and 9	9
	61:6-7	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{7} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	7 and 8	8
	62:6-7	^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}NINA ^{7} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	8 and 9	9
	64:6-7	[^{d}15 *ša*] ^{7} ^{uru}[NINA ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$]	8 and 9	9
	65:6-7	^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ NINA^{ki} ^{7} ^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	7 and 8	8
	66:6	^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ NINA^{ki} [^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$]	8 and 9	9
	67:5-6	^{d}15 [*ša* NINA^{ki}] ^{6} ^{d}[15] ⸢*ša*⸣ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	7 and 8	8
	68:6	^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ NINA$^{⸢ki⸣}$ [^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$]	8 and 9	9
	140:5-7	^{d}15 ^{6} ⸢*ša*⸣ ^{uru}*ni-nu-a* ^{d}15 ^{7} [*ša*] ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	4 and 5	5
	156:6-7	^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*ni-nu-*[*a*] ^{7} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	4 and 5	5
SAA 16	1:10	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	6 and 7	7
	33:6-7	[^{d}15 *š*]*a* ^{uru}NINA^{ki} ^{7} [^{d}15 *š*]*a* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	6 and 7	7
	49:4-5	^{d}15 *ša* NINA^{ki} ^{5} ^{d}15 *ša* ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	6 and 7	7
	59:3	^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}NINA ^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$	5 and 6	6
	60:3	^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ [NINA^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$]	5 and 6	6
	61:3	[^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ ^{ur}]^{u}NINA ^{d}15 *ša*$_{2}$ [^{uru}*arba-il*$_{3}$]	5 and 6	6
	128:5	^{d}15 *ša* ⸢NINA⸣^{ki} ^{d}15 *ša* *arba-*⸢*il*$_{3}$⸣	6 and 7	7

Table 9.3 Lists of Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-GN and Ištar-of-GN in Legal Transactions from SAA 6 and 14.[144]

Deity:	Texts:
Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh	SAA 6 50 r. 8; 51 r. 6; 87 r. 2; 99 r. 2-3; 110 r. 2-3; 118 r. 1´-2´; 163 r. 4´; 201 r. 1; 202 r. 4; 211 r. 2´; 229 r. 1-2; 250 r. 4; **251:16´**; 253 r. 5; 278 r. 4; 301 r. 1; 309 r. 2-3; 314 r. 5; **325 r. 4´**; **326 r. 10**; 328 r. 4; 329 r. 4; **334 r. 16-17**; 335 r. 10; and 349 r. 4; and SAA 14 21:18´-r. 1; 24 r. 7-8; 35 r. 3; 40 r. 2; 42 r. 11; 46 r. 6; 49 r. 4; **64:4-5**; 85 r. 5´; 90:15´; 114:12-13; 116 r. 4-5; 154 r. 7; 178 r. 7-8; 198 r. 7-8; 204:8´; **215:11´**; 290:4´-5´; **294 r. 4**; 325:7´-8´; 337 r. 4´-5´; 424:5-6; 425 r. 10; 463 r. 5; and 467 r. 3
Ištar-of-Nineveh	SAA 6 31 r. 10; 52 r. 7; 85 r. 1; 165 r. 1; 185 r. 6-7; 254:10´; 310 r. 1; 341:17´; and 346 r. 6-7; and SAA 14 1 r. 3; 19 r. 7; 330:0-1´; 435 r. 5; 470 r. 8; and 472 b.e. 9´
Ištar-Nineveh	SAA 14 188 r. 2-3
Lady-of-Nineveh	SAA 6 319 r. 2
Mullissu-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh	SAA 6 53:14-e. 15
Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Arbela	SAA 6 7 b.e. 16-17; 179 r. 7-8; 210 r. 1; and 219 r. 8-9; and SAA 14 36 r. 6; and **466:6´**
Ištar-of-Arbela	SAA 6 3:13´; 34 r. 2; 184:2; and 291:2; and SAA 14 265 r.3´; and 443 r. 12
Ištar, Lady of Arbela	SAA 14 112 r. 4-5

Table 9.4 Other Divine Names Using the formula DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN (listed alphabetically by divine name and then geographic name).[2]

Deity:	Text:
Adad-Who-Resides-(in)-Anah	SAA 6 198:4´
Adad-Who-Resides-(in)-Dur-illil	SAA 14 197:10´
Adad-Who-Resides-(in)-GN(?)	SAA 14 223 r. 6´
Adad-Who-Resides-(in)-[Ḫarrān]	SAA 14 131 r. 4´
Adad-Who-Resides-(in)-Kalizi	SAA 6 289 r. 1
Adad-Who-Resides-(in)-Urraka	SAA 6 96:18
Aššur-Who-Resides-(in)-Ezida	SAA 6 200 r. 3´-4´; 283 r. 9; SAA 14 294 r. 2
Bēlanu-Who-Resides-(in)-Ḫirana	SAA 14 162 r. 6-7
DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN	SAA 6 16 r. 1; **20:5´**(?); 42:22; and 92 r. 4´-5´; and SAA 14 13 r. 2; 14 r. 2-3; 56 r. 2; 100 r. 2; 196 r. 1´-2´; 257:17´-18´; 302 r. 4´
Nabû-Who-Resides-(in)-Ezida	SAA 12 96:1 and r. 2; and SAA 14 397 r. 1´
Nabû-Who-Resi[des-(in)-GN]	SAA 14 306:3´
Ningal-[Who-Resides-(in)-Ḫarrān]	SAA 14 193 r. 7
Ninurta-Who-Resides-(in)-Calaḫ	SAA 6 6 r. 1-2; **11 r. 5´**; **32 r. 2**; 58 r. 4´ (GN?); 131 r. 2´; 220 r. 6´; 284 r. 4-5; 298 r. 1; and 299:13´; and SAA 14 63 r. 9-10; 219:7(?); 350 r. 5´; 406:2´; 464 r. 2; and 468 r. 13
Sîn-Who-Resides-(in)-Dur-šarruken	SAA 14 220 r. 3-4
Sîn-Who-Resides-(in)-Ḫarrān	SAA 6 98 r. 4; and 140:10´; and SAA 14 146 r. 1´-2´; 193 r. 8-9; 213:18´; and 344 r. 4´-5´. See also RIMA 3 A.0.104.2:12 and 17; A.0.104.3:23; and A.0.105.1:20
Sîn-of-Ḫarrān	SAA 6 334 r. 15; and SAA 12 48:6´

Table 9.5 Comparing the EGLs in Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty (SAA 2 6; see also Tables 6.3 and 6.2).

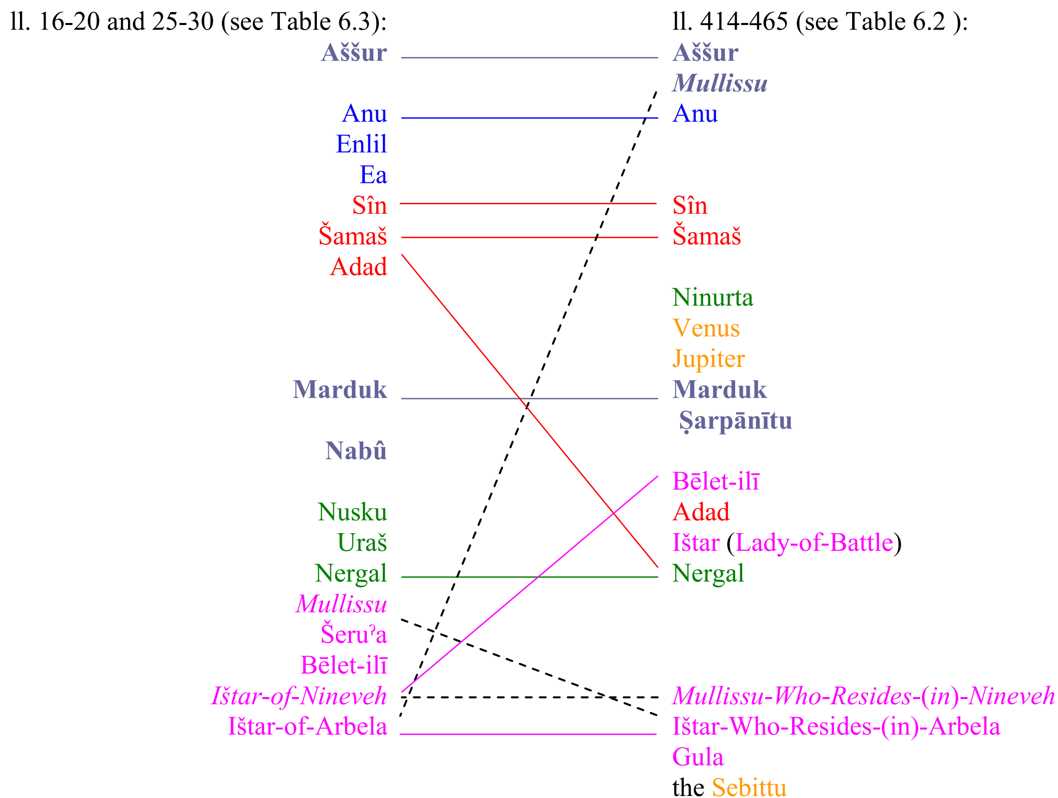


Table 9.6 “Psalm in Praise of Uruk” (SAA 3 9). AG_2 ^{uru}GN *a-di* DN (“I love GN, along with DN”).

line:	GN:	DN:	elsewhere in SAA 3 9:
1-2	Uruk		(ll. 19-23)
3-5	Babylon		[**Mardu**]**k** and Lady-of-Babylon (ll. 24-27)
6-7	Ezida (in Borsippa)	our-**Nabû**	our-**Nabû** (r. 1-4)
8	Šapazzu	Bēl-ṣarbi	Bēl-ṣarbi (r. 5-6)
9	Cutha	Nergal	Nergal and Laṣ (r. 7-8)
10	Dēr	Ištarān	Ištarān and Lady-of-Dēr (r. 11-12)
11	Kiš	Eḫursagkalamma (TN)	Zababa and Bau (r. 9-10)
12	Sippar	Šamaš	
13	the Inner City (Assur)	**Aššur**	
14	Nineveh	**Mullissu**	
15	Arbela	**Mullissu**	
16	Calaḫ	Ninurta	
17	Ḫarrān	Sîn	

Table 9.7 The So-Called "Pantheon Tablet" from Mari (G Dossin, "Le pantheon de Mari," in *Studia Mariana*: *Publiées sous la direction de Andreé Parrot* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950], 44).

line:	number of sheep (*immerātu*):	for (*ana*) deity:
1	6	*niqêm*
2		Bēlet-ekalli
3	2	Šamaš-of-Heaven
4	1	**Ištar-of-the-Palace**
5	6	Dagan
6	6	Ninḫursag
7	6	Šamaš
8	2	Sîn
9	6	Itūr-Mēr
10	7	Dīrītu
11	6	Anunītu
12	[2]	IGI-KUR
13	6	Adad
14	2	N[a]nni
r. 15	2	Ḫ[an]at
16	6	Nergal
17	6	Ea
18	2	**Ištar**
19	2	Bē[let]-Akkad
20	2	Numušda
21	2	Kīšītu
22	2	Ḫišamītu
23	2	Mārat-altim
24	1	Ninkarrak
25	1	Išḫara
26	1	Bēlet-hiṣāri

Table 10.1 Yahwistic Divine Names at Elephantine (From Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, vols. 1-4 = *TAD* A-D).[145]

Text:	Date:	Aramaic:	Translation:
			YHH/YHW
TAD D7.21:3	early 5th Century	ברכתכ ליהה ולחנ̇ו̇מ	I bless you by YHH and Khn^{u}m
TAD D7.16:3	early 5th Century	חיליהו	by the life of YHW
TAD D7.16:7	early 5th Century	חי ליהה	by the life of YHH
TAD D7.18:2-3	early 5th Century	[2]בית [3]יהה	the temple of YHH
TAD D4.9:1	early 5th Century	[בי]ת יהו	[the temp]le of YHW
TAD B2.2:6	Jan 2, 464	ביהו	(swear) by YHW
TAD B2.2:11	Jan 2, 464	ביהו	(swear) by YHW
TAD B3.12:1	Dec 13, 402	זי יהו	of YHW
			YHH/YHW, the-God
TAD B2.7:14	Nov 17, 446	זי יהה אלה	of YHH, the-God
TAD B3.4:3	Sept 14, 437	ליהו אלהא	to YHW, the-God
TAD B3.4:10	Sept 14, 437	יהו $^{\text{אלהא}}$	(of) YHW, $^{\text{the-God}}$
TAD B3.5:10	Oct 30, 434	זי יהו אלהא	of YHW, the-God
TAD B3.7:2	July 11, 420	זי יהו אלהא	of YHW, the-God
TAD B2.10:6	Dec 16, 416	זי יהו אלהא	of YHW, the-God
TAD B7.1:4	Sept, 413	ביהו אלהא	by YHW, the-God
TAD A4.5:15	ca. 410	ליהו א[להא]	to YHW, [the]-G[od]
TAD A4.7:24-25 (*TAD* A4.8:24)	Nov 25, 407	[24]על אגורא זי יהו אלהא[25] למבניה ביב בירתא	upon the temple of YHW, the-God to (re)build it in Elephantine the Fortress
TAD A4.7:26 (and *TAD* A4.8:25)	Nov 25, 407	מדבחא די יהו אלהא	the altar of YHW, the-God
TAD A4.10:8-9	after 407	[8]ואגורא זי יהו אלהא זילנ יתבנה [9]ביב בירתא	our temple of YHW, the-God will be rebuilt in Elephantine the Fortress
TAD B3.10:23	Nov 25, 404	זי יהו אלהא	of YHW, the-God
TAD B3.11:17	March 9, 402	זי יהו אלהא	of YHW, the-God
TAD B3.12:10-11	Dec 13, 402	[10]ליהו [11]אלהא	to YHW, the-God
TAD B3.12:33	Dec 13, 402	זי יהו אלהא	of YHW, the-God
TAD A4.3:1	late 5th Century	זי יהו אלהא	of YHW, the-God
			the-God-of-Heaven
TAD A3.6:1	late 5th Century	[אל]ה שמיא	[May the-Go]d-of-Heaven seek
TAD A4.3:2-3	late 5th Century	קדמ[3] אלה שמיא	before the-God-of-Heaven
TAD A4.7:2 (*TAD* A4.8:1)[146]	Nov 25, 407	אלה שמיא	the-God-of-Heaven
TAD A4.7:27-28	Nov 25, 407	קדמ יהו אלה[28] שמיא	before YHW, God of Heaven
TAD A4.7:15	Nov 25, 407	ליהו מרא שמיא	to YHW, Lord of Heaven

Table 10.1 (continued).

			YHW, the-God in the Elephantine Fortress
TAD B2.2:4	Jan 2, 464	ביהו אלהא ביב בירתא	(you swore) by YHW, the-God in the Elephantine Fortress
TAD B3.5:2	Oct 30, 434	זי יהו אלהא ביב בירתא	of YHW, the-God in the Elephantine Fortress
TAD B3.10:2	Nov 25, 404	ליהו אלהא ביב ברתא	to YHW, the-God in the Elephantine Fortress
TAD B3.11:1-2	March 9, 402	זי [2] יהו אלהא ביב ברתא	of YHW, the-God in the Elephantine Fortress
			YHH/YHW, the-God who (is) in the Elephantine Fortress
TAD B3.3:2	Aug 9, 449	זי יהה אלהא זי ביב בירתא	of YHH, the-God who (is) in the Elephantine Fortress
TAD A4.7:6 (*TAD* A4.8:6-7)	Nov 25, 407	אגורא זי יהו אלהא זי ביב בירתא	the temple of YHW, the-God who/that (is) in the Elephantine Fortress[147]
			YHW//the-God-Who-Resides-(in)-the-Elephantine-Fortress
TAD B3.12:2	Dec 13, 402	זי יהו אלהא שכן יב ברתא	(Tapamet, his wife, a servitor) of YHW//the-God-Who-Resides-(in)-the-Elephantine-Fortress
			YH(W) in Elephantine
TAD A3.3:1	mid-5th Century	[שלמ ב]ית יהו ביב	[Greetings] to the [T]emple of YHW in Elephantine
TAD B3.2:2	July 6, 451	ליהו ביב	to YHW in Elephantine
TAD B3.4:25	Sept 14, 437	ליה ביב	to YH in Elephantine
			Yahweh-of-Hosts
TAD D7.35:1-2 = *Lozachmeur* no. 168	early 5th Century	[1]שלמכ יהה [2][צבאת ישא]ל בכל עדנ	May Yahweh-of-[Hosts see]k your well-being at all times.
Lozachmeur no. 175:2 (= **J8**)		כבלכי יהה צבאת	Yahweh-of-Hosts bound you/made you sterile.[148]
Lozachmeur no. 167:1-2		[1][שלמ אחי יה]ה צבאת [2]ישא[ל בכל עדנ]	May [Yahwe]h-of-Hosts see[k] my brother's well-being [at all times].

Table 10.2 Equations of Yahwistic Divine Names within Individual Texts from Elephantine.

TAD A4.3:1	late 5th Century	זי יהו אלהא	of YHW, the-God
ll. 2-3		קדמ [3]אלה שמיא	before the-God-of-Heaven
TAD A4.7:2	Nov. 25, 407	אלה שמיא	the-God-of-Heaven
l. 6		אגורא זי יהו אלהא זי ביב בירתא	the temple of YHW, the-God who/that (is) in the Elephantine Fortress[3]
ll. 7-8		[7]אגורא זי ביב [8]בירתא	The temple that is in the Elephantine Fortress
l. 13		בנו אגורא זכ ביב בירתא	(they) built that temple in the Elephantine Fortress
l. 15		ליהו מרא שמיא	to YHW, Lord of Heaven
ll. 24		על אגורא זי יהו אלהא [25]למבניה ביב בירתא	upon the temple of YHW, the-God to (re)build it in the Elephantine Fortress
l. 26		מדבחא די יהו אלהא	the altar of YHW, the-God
ll. 27-28		קדמ יהו אלה [28]שמיא	before YHW, God of Heaven
TAD B2.2:4	Jan 2, 464	ביהו אלהא ביב בירתא	(you swore) by YHW, the-God in the Elephantine Fortress
l. 6		ביהו	(swear) by YHW
l. 11		ביהו	(swear) by YHW
TAD B3.4:3	Sept 14, 437	ליהו אלהא	to YHW, the-God
l. 10		יהו [אלהא]	(of) YHW, the-God
l. 25		ליה ביב	to YH in Elephantine
TAD B3.5:2	Oct 30, 434	זי יהו אלהא ביב בירתא	of YHW, the-God in the Elephantine Fortress
l. 10		זי יהו אלהא	of YHW the-God
TAD B3.10:2	Nov 25, 404	ליהו אלהא ביב ברתא	to YHW, the-God in the Elephantine Fortress
l. 23		זי יהו אלהא	of YHW, the-God
TAD B3.11:1-2	March 9, 402	זי [2] יהו אלהא ביב ברתא	of YHW, the-God in the Elephantine Fortress
l. 17		זי יהו אלהא	of YHW, the-God
TAD B3.12:1	Dec 13, 402	זי יהו	of YHW
l. 2		זי יהו אלהא שכנ יב ברתא	(Tapamet, his wife, a servitor) of YHW, the-God who-resides-(in)-the-Elephantine-Fortress
ll. 10-11		ליהו [11]אלהא	to YHW, the-God
l. 33		זי יהו אלהא	of YHW, the-God

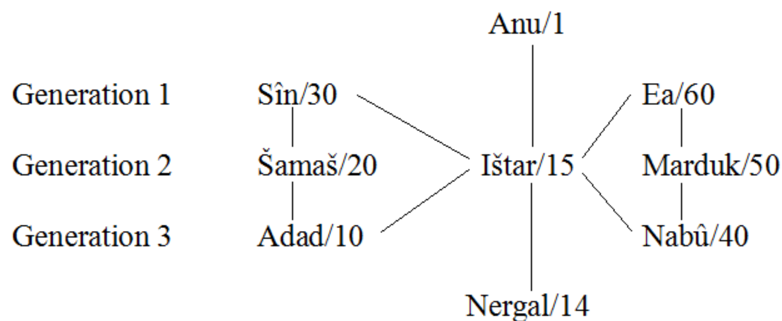
Table 10.3 Proposed Yahwistic Divine Names (see also the various units within Table 10.1).[149]

Text:	Hebrew:	Translation:
		-of-Teman:
KAjr 14:1	ל[י]הוה.˹ת˺ימנ	[Y]ahweh-of-Teman
l. 2	יהוה.התי[מנ	Yahweh-of-the-Teman
KAjr 19A:5-6	ל[י][6]הוה ת˹מנ˺	[Y]ahweh-of-Teman
KAjr 20:1	ליהוה הת˹מ˺נ	Yahweh-of-the-Teman
l. 2	יהו	Yahwe(h)
		-of-Samaria
KAjr 18:2	ליהוה.שמרנ	Yahweh-of-Samaria
		in-Zion
Joel 4:17	יהוה אלהיכם שכן בציון	Yahweh, your-God, who-resides in-Zion
v. 21	ויהוה שכן בציון	Yahweh who-resides in-Zion
Isaiah 8:18	יהוה צבאות השכן הר ציון	Yahweh-of-Hosts, who-resides in-Mount-Zion
*Nav** 1:2	ליהוה צבאות	Yahweh-of-Hosts[150]
Psalm 99:2	יהוה בציון	Yahweh in-Zion
135:21	יהוה מציון שכן ירושלם	Yahweh (from-Zion) who-resides-(in)-Jerusalem
		in-Hebron
2 Samuel 15:7	ליהוה בחברון	Yahweh in-Hebron

Table 10.4 An Alphabetic Listing of Plausible Divine First and Last Geographic Names of Deities Mentioned in Chapters 1-6 and 8-10. (Comparable Hittite Divine Names from Chapter 7 can be found in Tables 7.5 and 7.11. All divine names are written in DN-of-GN form, regardless of their treatment elsewhere. Mentioned or hinted indentifications are provided; rejected identifications are not provided.)[151]

Adad-of-Kurbail
Anat-of-Ṣapān
Astarte-of-Kition
Astarte-of-the-Lofty-Heavens
Ašerah-of-Tyre
Baalat-of-Byblos
Baal-of-Aleppo = Hadad-of-Aleppo
Baal-of-Byblos
Baal-of-Emar
Baal-of-Heaven = Baal-Šamêm
Baal-of-Ḥamān
Baal/Bēl-of-Ḫarrān = Sîn-of-Ḫarrān
Baal-of-Kition
Baal-of-KRNTRYŠ
Baal-of-Lebanon = Hadad-of-Lebanon(?)
Baal-of-Marqod
Baal-of-Meʿon (as Geographic name only)
Baal-of-MRPʾK
Baal-of-Peʿor
Baal-of-Qart
Baal-of-Ṣapān
Baal-of-Ṣidon
Baal-of-Tyre = Melqart(?)
Baal-of-Ugarit
Bēlet-Eanna
Bēlet-Eanna-of-Udannu
Bēl-of-Zabban
Enlil-of-Assyria = Assyrian Enlil
Hadad-of-Aleppo = Baal-of-Aleppo = ʾAdu-of-Aleppo = [Tešub-of-Aleppo] = [Tarḫund-of-Aleppo]
Hadad-of-Armi
Hadad-of-Atanni
Hadad-of-Dub
Hadad-of-Heavcen (not Baal-of-Šamêm)
Hadad-of-Kume
Hadad-of-Lub
Hadad-of-Luban
Hadad-of-Maḫānu
Hadad-of-Saza
Hadad-of-Sikan
Ištar-of-Akkad
Ištar-of-Arbela
[Ištar-of-Assur] = Assyrian Ištar
[Ištar-of-Babylon]
Ištar-of-Dīr
Ištar-of-Heaven
[Ištar-of-Ḫarrān]
Ištar-of-Kidmuri
Ištar-of-Kiš
Ištar-of-Nineveh
[Ištar-of-Nippur]
Ištar-of-the-Palace
Ištar-of-Uruk
Mullissu-of-Assyria = Assyrian Mullissu
Palil-of-Udannu
Šamaš-of-Heaven
Sîn-of-Ḫarrān = Baal/Bēl-of-Ḫarrān
Tešub-of-Kummin
Yahweh-of-Samaria
Yahweh-of-(the)-Teman

[1] Divine names that are discussed in chapters 5 and 6 are color coded here to correspond with those divine names in other tables. As elsewhere in EGLs and tables in Akkadian and Sumerian texts, chief deities (i.e., **Aššur**, **Marduk**, and **Nabû**) and their consorts appear in a bold **blue-gray**; members of Triad 1 (i.e., Anu, Enlil, and Ea) and their consorts appear in blue; members of Triad 2 (i.e., Sîn, Šamaš, and Adad) and their consorts appear in red; warrior-gods appear in green; goddesses appear in pink; other deities, including deified objects appear in plum; and celestial objects (e.g., planets/stars) appear in (light) orange.
[2] Each new indented group is a subunit within the larger unit. As elsewhere, consorts are indented by three spaces when they appear immediately after their (usually) husband.
[3] Genouillac 1923, 96.
[4] The tablet and line numbers provided are the first occurrence of a given deity, unless the first occurrence is the tag line at the end of one tablet and thus begins the next (i.e., Sîn in III i and Ištar in IV i).
[5] Parpola 2000, 182-183. Parpola's grafting of divine names and divine numeric values onto the Assyrian tree of life:



[6] S. Parpola, "The Assyrian Cabinet," in *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament*: *Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85*. *Geburtstag am 19*. *Juni 1993* ed. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz; AOAT 240; Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, 1995), 399; Lambert 1975, 197-198.
[7] E. Ebeling, *Die Akkadische Gebetsserie* "*Handerhebung*": *Von Neuem Gesammelt und Herausgegeben* (Veröffentlichung [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung] 20; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953), 14-15; Foster 2005, 692.
[8] While Anu, Enlil, and Ea appear in close proximity to each other, they do not appear in their traditional sequence, which would reflect their antiquity but are instead separated by Dagan and Adad. It is worth noting, however, that in their serial positions within this EGL, Anu is second, Enlil is fourth, and Ea is sixth, but visually they are grouped together at the end of each of the first three lines in this hymn.
[9] *CAD* M/1, maššûtu B.
[10] E. Ebeling, *Quellen zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft 23; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1918), 1:47-48; Foster 2005, 713-714. The table is based on Foster's translation with my alternative translations in parentheses.
[11] Derived from Table 1 in Reiner 1974, 232.
[12] EGLs from Tilgath-pileser III's royal inscriptions have been obtained from the following texts:
H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tilgath-pileser III King of Assyrian*: *Critical Edition*, *with Introductions*, *Translations and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994): Ann. 8:7 (pp. 84-87); Stele I A:1-13 and 21-24 (pp. 94-97; the Stele from Iran); the Mila Mergi Rock Relief:1-10 (pp. 112-116); Summary Inscription from Calaḫ 1:15-16 (pp. 122-127);

Summary Inscription from Calaḫ 7:3 and 12 (pp. 158-175); and Summary Inscription from Calaḫ 11:2 (pp. 194-197). EGLs from this collection are identified below by the titles given here.

[13] EGLs from Sargon II's royal inscriptions have been obtained from the following texts:

A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 1994): 1.1:1, 58, and 62 (The Cylinder Inscription); 1.2.1:29 (The Bronze Tablet Inscription); 1.2.2:12 (The Silver Tablet Inscription); 1.2.3:14-15 (The Gold Tablet Inscription); 1.2.4:11-12 (The "Antimony" Tablet Inscription); 1.3:17 (The Plattenrückseiten Inscription); 2.1:3, 58-59, and 104-105 (The Bull Inscription); 2.2:2, 21 and 34 (The Small "Grand-Inscription" of Hall XIV); 2.3:304, 305-306, 312, 325, 341, and 426 (The Annals); 2.4:3, 154, 155-156 (The Large "Grand-Inscription"); 2.5.1:6 (Threshold Inscription I); 2.5.2:3 (Threshold Inscription II); 2.5.3:4-5 and 24-25 (Threshold Inscription III); 2.5.4:91-92 (Threshold Inscription IV); and 2.5.5:29-30 (Threshold Inscription V). EGLs from this collection are identified "Fuchs x.x" in the notes below.

A. Fuchs, *Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr. nach Prismenfragmenten aus Ninive und Assur* (SAAS 8; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998): K 1669:7 (p. 25); K 1673 ii 4 (p. 27); and K 1668+ iv′ 34-35 (p. 46).

H. W. F. Saggs, "Historical Texts and fragments of Sargon II of Assyria: 1. The "Assur Charter," *Iraq* 37 (1975), 11-20.

[14] EGLs from Sennacherib's royal inscriptions have been obtained from the following texts:

D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (repr., Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2005): "The Rock Inscription on the Jûdî Dâgh" (E3) and "The Bavian Inscirptions" (H3). The EGLs from this collection are identified "Luckenbill's *Sennacherib* E3" or "H3" in the notes below.

E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften* (AfOB 26; Vienna: Institut fur Orientalistik, 1997): 28 T16; 136-137 T63; 61-62 T128; 163-165 T129; 177 T145; and 176 T173. EGLs from this collection are identified "Frahm page Tx."

[15] E. Leichty, *Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon*, *King of Assyria* (*680-669*) (RINAP 4; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011): 1 i 5-6, 9-10, *17*, 45, 59, ii 16-17, 30-38, 45-46, 56, iii 28, *iv 78-79*, v 33-34, vi 44; 2 *i 8-9*, iv 21-22; 3 i 21′, iv 20′-22′; 5 i 2′-3′ (mostly restored), 10′ (partially restored); 6 i 5′-6′ (mostly restored), ii 44′; 8 ii′ 3′-5′; 12:13, 22; 31:3′-4′ (restored); 33 (tablet 2) r. iii 10′-11′; 38:29′-30′; 43:5-13; 44:1-4; 48:1-12, 22-26, *30a*, 30b, 52-54; 57 i 11-12; 70:3; 71:3; *77*:*12*; *78*:*11*; *79*:*11* (mostly restored), 6′ (restored); 93:5, 26; 98 (found at Zinçirli): 1-10, *18-19*, *26*, *r. 18*, *21-22*, *25*; 99:5; 101 r. *3′-4′*; 103 (Lebanon):1-2 (first 3 and last 2 restored, middle 5 extant); 104 iii 9; 105 iii 40, v 24-25; 113 (Babylon):2-4, 22; 114 iii 16-17; 115 r. 9; 128:5, 7; 129:13 (restored); 130:6, 9; 133:10, 14; 1015 vi 1-7 (perhaps by Esarhaddon, p. 299); 2003 i 8′-15′(partially restored), *iii 11′-14′*; and 2004:6′.

[16] EGLs from Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions have been obtained from R. Borger's *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996). EGLs are cited by page, column, and line. When multiple parallel copies of an inscription exist, only the text with the lowest assigned letter is given. For example, on pp. 35-36, A iii 12; F ii 42; B iii 87; and C iv 110 are all parallel inscriptions that Borger has set together, but only "35-36 A iii 12-13" is listed in the notes below. If there are significant differences in parallel inscriptions, these are noted below.

The most common EGL pattern in Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions appears in Borger's prism class A and F: *BIWA* 15 A i 14-17; 16 A i 41-43; 25 F i 48-49; 33 A ii 127-129; 35-36 A iii 12-13; 37-38 A iii 29-31; 43 A iv 46-48; 58 A vi 126-128; 62 A viii 19-22; 63 A viii 52-55; 64 A viii 73-76; 67 A ix 61-64; 68 A ix 97-100; 71 A x 33-36; 72 A x 60-62; and 75 A x 118-119. This EGL usually consists of twelve members: **Aššur**/Sîn/Šamaš/Adad/**Marduk**/ **Nabû**/Ištar-of-Nineveh/Ištar-of-Kidmuri/Ištar-of-Arbela/Ninurta/Nergal/Nusku. **Mullissu**'s divine name is extant and is listed second in the EGL in the largely reconstructed *BIWA* 33 K 5433:5′-6′.

The second most common EGL pattern appears in Borger's prism class B and D: *BIWA* 94 B iii 10/C iv 22-23; 98 C v 111-112; 112 B vii 73; 114 B viii 28-29; and 115 B viii 41-42. This EGL usually consists of seven divine names: **Aššur**/Sîn/Adad/**Marduk**/**Nabû**/Ištar-of-Nineveh/Ištar-of-Arbela. *BIWA* 110 B vii 40 includes Nergal in place of the two Ištar-associated goddesses, while *BIWA* 117 B viii 74-76 and 119 D viii 77 include Ninurta/Nusku/Nergal after the two Ištar-associated goddesses.

The remainder of the EGLs in this composite are discussed in the notes below as necessary: *BIWA* 14 A i 3; 14 A i 5-6; 20 A i 81; 33 B iii 31; 82-83 K 2631+10 and 20-22; 84-85 K 2631 r. 7/K 2654 r. 15 and 18 and 20; 106 B vi 47; 125 82-5-22,15 x 80-81; 138 T i 23-24 (the gods of the Esagil); 144 T iii 32;

149 C viii 74-76; 154 C ix 76; 157 22 = k; 162 K 3043+ r.! 9′-11′; 163 C ix 78′-80′; 164 C x 100-101; 165 CKalach X 99-101; 171 TVar1 5; 175 BM 127940+ ii′ 4-8; 187 Inschrift L i 5′-8′; 191-192 H2 ii 8′ and 20′; 192 H3 iii 3; 193 H4:2′; 193-194 J1 iii′ 3-5, 9, and 17-20; 195 J3 ii′ 4-5; 196 J5:24-25; 197 J6:9-10; 198 66-5-19,1:22′-23′; 200 BM 122616+:22′-23′; 203 K 120B+:42-44; 268 Fuchs, IIT:29-30; 270 Fuchs, IIT:40 and 43; 278 Fuchs, IIT:104; 280 Fuchs, IIT:116-117; 281 Fuchs, IIT:119; 286 Fuchs, IIT:148 and 152; 288 Fuchs, IIT:164-165; and A Teumman und Dunanu 10 i 31-32 (p. 301) and B r. 1′-2′ (p. 306).

[17] Determining which deity belongs at the beginning of the composite EGL for Sargon's royal inscriptions is a difficult task. Aššur would be expected in the first position since he is generally regarded the chief deity of the imperial pantheon, but Aššur and Enlil only appear together in one of these EGLs, which is an EGL found within a list of royal titles (Fuchs 1.1:1). Moreover, Enlil appears before Aššur in royal titles that only include these two deities (e.g., Fuchs 1.2.1:1 and 1.2.2:1), which is an ordering that found be found in the royal titulary of several other Assyrian kings: e.g., Erība-Adad I (RIMA 1 A.0.72.2:2-3), Aššur-uballiṭ (A.0.73.1:13), Shalmaneser I (A.0.77.1), Tukultī-Ninurta I (A.0.78.26:4), Aššur-dān II (RIMA 2 A.0.98.4:2), Adad-nērārī II (A.0.99.2:11), and Esarhaddon (RINAP 4, Esar. 48:22). However, in the so-called Aššur Charter (*Iraq* 37 14, ll. 12-13), Aššur appears before Enlil in a three-member EGL also derived from royal titles (Aššur/Enlil/Marduk). Aššur's primacy has been retained in this composite list because he appears most frequently in Sargon's royal inscription EGLs.

[18] Only one of Sennacherib's royal inscriptions lists Mullissu in a three+-member EGL. In Frahm 177 T145 eighteen deities are indentified as images/reliefs (*ṣa-lam*, l. 2) created by the king: **Aššur**/[**Mullissu**]/**Šerūʾa**/ Sîn/Nin[gal]/Šamaš/Aya/Anu/Antu/Adad/Šala/Ištar-of-Kidmuri/Bēlet-ilī/Ḫaya/Kusu/[Lumḫa]/Dunga/Egalkiba (ll. 2-7).

[19] Mullissu appears as Aššur's consort in RINAP 4, Esar. 1 ii 16; 33 r. iii 10′; and 113:3. In RINAP 4, Esar. 58 i 7; 59 i 4, she is paired with Aššur, but they are the only two deities listed, so these cannot be considered EGLs.

[20] Mullissu and Ištar-of-Nineveh appear together in a three- or four-member EGL in *BIWA* 195 J3 ii′: [4]*da-na-an an-šar*$_2$ [d]NIN.[LIL$_2$] [5] [d]15 *ša*$_2$ NINA[ki] [….] [6]DINGIR[meš] GAL[meš] EN[me][[š]-*ia*]. Mullissu is also presented as Aššur's consort in *BIWA* 198 66-5-19,1:22′ in an eight-member EGL that concludes with both Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela (l. 23′).

Mullissu appears to have been identified with Ištar-of-Nineveh in several EGLs throughout *BIWA* 278-288 Fuchs, IIT. The EGL Aššur/Mullissu/Ištar-of-Arbela reoccurs in ll. 104, 116-117, 119, and 164-165. That Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Arbela is not an epithet for Mullissu in these lines is indicated both by the copula *u*$_3$ in ll. 117 and 119 and by the divine determinative before Ištar-of-Arbela's divine name. This identification of Mullissu with Ištar-of-Nineveh is further stressed in the five-member EGL in ll. 148 and 152: **Aššur**/**Mullissu**/**Bēl**/**Nabû**/Ištar-of-Arbela. The fact that Ištar-of-Arbela is the only Ištar-associated goddess in this EGL in a royal inscription about the Emašmaš (the temple of Ištar in Nineveh) that likely begins with a dedication to Mullissu ([*a-na* ? [d]NI]N.L[I]˹L$_2$˺, *BIWA* 264 Fuchs, IIT:1) reinforces this identification since Ištar-of-Nineveh would be expected to appear at least somewhere in this EGL.

The inconsistent identification of the local Ištar-of-Nineveh with the Assyrian chief deity's consort Mullissu in Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions resembles the inconsistencies in EGLs in other seventh-century inscriptions.

[21] Šerūʾa appears in RINAP 4, Esar. 33 iii 10′. The following divine name in this EGL is missing, and the next name is Ninurta.

[22] Anu appears before Aššur in RINAP 4, Esar. 43:5. In an EGL (**Aššur**/**Nabû**/**Marduk**/Sîn/Anu/Ištar) that is embedded in royal titulary and common to both Esar. 98 r. 21-22 and 101 r. 3′-4′, Anu follows Sîn.

[23] Antu only appears in one EGL in Sennacherib's royal inscriptions (Frahm 173-174 T139:4), where she appears as Anu's consort. This eighteen-member EGL is unusual in that Anu is listed after Sîn, Šamaš and their consorts but before Adad and his consort (ll. 3-5). Because Anu is listed along with the other Triad 1 deities more often than not in Sennacherib's royal inscriptions, he and Antu have been placed in his traditional position in this composite god-list.

[24] Enlil appears before Aššur in a three-member EGL, which is derived from the king's titulary: Enlil/**Aššur**/**Šerūʾa** (Stele I A 21-24).

[25] In RINAP 4, Esar. 1015 v 5 – an Assyrian copy of a Babylonian text and is probably from Esarhaddon's reign (Leichty 2011, 299) – Mullissu is Enlil's consort in an EGL embedded in a series of blessings: **Marduk**/[**Ṣ**]**arpānītu**/Anu/Antu/Enlil/Mullissu/Ea/Bēlet-ilī/Sîn/Šamaš. The fact that Marduk and Ṣarpānītu begin the EGL reflect its Babylonian origin.

[26] Ea is followed by an Enbilulu and an Eneimdu in a three-member EGL describing statues in Luckenbill's *Sennacherib* H3:27-29.
[27] When not appearing as a member of Triad 1, the divine name Ea typically appears in EGLs from Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions that are explicit references to the deity's statue: RINAP 4, Esar. 48:87 and 60:36´-41´ (**Bēl**/**Bēltiya**/Bēlet-Bābili/Ea/Madānu) and Esar. 60:48´-49´ and 2010:7´-10´ (Ea/Šamaš/**Asalluḫi**/Bēlet-ilī/Kusu/Ningirima…). In Esar. 1015 v 6, he is paired with Bēlet-ilī when they are invoked in a blessing.
[28] Found within royal titulary, a twelve-member EGL includes the Triad 1 deity Ea and Bēlet-ilī, as well as Nanaya, whose divine name has been restored and who appears to be a secondary consort for Nabû: **Aššur**/**Mullissu**/Ea/Bēlet-ilī/Sîn/Šamaš/Adad/**Marduk**/**Ṣarpānītu**/ **Nabû**/ **Tašmētu**/N[anaya?] (*BIWA* 175 BM 127940+ ii´ 5-8). The first seven deities of this EGL (Šamaš and Adad's divine names have been restroed) comprise an EGL in *BIWA* 187 Inschrift L i 5´-9´.
[29] In Fuchs 1.1:1, Sargon's royal titulary provides a four-member EGL: Enlil/**Aššur**/Anu/Dagan (l. 1), which differs from the traditional ordering Anu/Enlil/Ea in l. 58, when Triad 1 is supplemented by Ninšiku. Separately, Dagan and Ninšiku both appear last in their respective EGLs (Fuchs 1.1:1 and 58, respectively), and both divine names only appear in one EGL, which means that their relative ranks cannot be determined due to common anchor points. Ninšiku is given priority in this composite list over Dagan since Ninšiku is considered another name for Ea (Fuchs 1994, 474).
[30] When Ningal and Aya are listed in EGLs in Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions, these EGLs are typically referring to the deities housed in the Sîn-Šamaš double temple in Nineveh: e.g., "the temple of Sîn, Ningal, Šamaš, (and) Aya that (is) inside Nineveh" (E_2 ^{d}30 ^{d}NIN.GAL ^{d}UTU [^{d}*a*]-*a* *ša*$_2$ [*qe*$_2$-*re*]*b* NINA^{ki}, *BIWA* 270 Fuchs, IIT 40).
[31] Šamaš is third in an EGL (**Aššur**/**Marduk**/Šamaš) in RINAP 4, Esar. 1019:18.
[32] Šamaš's name is listed before Adad's in Fuchs 1.2.1:28; 1.2.2:12; 1.2.3:15; 1.2.4:12; and 1.3:17, but Adad's name is first in 1.1:62.
[33] Nabû consistently appears before Marduk in the three-member EGL (**Aššur**/**Nabû**/**Marduk**) found in many of Sargon's royal inscriptions (Fuchs 2.1:3; 2.2:2 and 21; 2.3:304 and 305-306; 2.4:3 and 154; 2.5.1:6; 2.5.2:3; 2.5.3:4-5 and 24-25; 2.5.4:91-92; and 2.5.5:29-30). Marduk and his consort Ṣarpānītu appear before Nabû and his consort Tašmētu twice in Fuchs 2.3:312 and 325 (the later of which is mostly resotred).
[34] Marduk and Nabû are listed before Šamaš in the Mila Mergi Rock Relief and (probably) in Stele I A. Šamaš appears before Marduk in a three-member EGL in Summary Inscription from Calaḫ 7:3 and 11:3 (Aššur/Šamaš/Marduk).
[35] The divine name Marduk has been deliberately replaced by Šamaš's in the twelve-member EGL in Frahm 136-137 T63:1-14, reflecting Sennacherib's political frustration with Babylon ca. 700 (Frahm 1997, 136): **Aššur**/Anu/Enlil/E[a]/[Sîn]/[Šamaš]/Adad/**Šamaš**/**Nabû**/Ninurta/[Ištar]/the Sebittu.
[36] Marduk and Ṣarpānītu precede Aššur and Mullissu in an EGL embedded in royal titulary in an inscription from Babylon (RINAP 4, Esar. 113:2), but Marduk still appears after Aššur, Sîn, and Šamaš in l. 22 of the same inscription. Also, Marduk and Ṣarpānītu precede Anu and Antu in RINAP 4, Esar. 1015 v 1-7.
[37] A five+-member EGL appears in *BIWA* 270 Fuchs, IIT 43 in reference to cult images: **Bēlum**/[**Bēltīya**]/Lady-of-Babylon/Ea/Madānu.
[38] Nabû is named *mār*-Bēl (DUMU ^{d}EN, "son-of-Bēl") in RINAP 4, Esar. 44:4; 128:7; 129:13 (restored); 130:9; and 133:14.
[39] Nanaya appears in RINAP 4, Esar. 113:4, following Tašmētu.
[40] Because Lady-of-Babylon (*bēlet-babili*) does not have a divine determinative in the ten-member EGL in the Summary Inscription from Calaḫ 1:16, this could be interpreted as an epithet for the goddess Nanaya, who appears before Lady-of-Babylon in this text (l. 15). If so, Nanaya's name and the epithet should be translated "Nanaya//Lady-of-Babylon." However, the missing determinative is not a problem because Marduk (here Bēl) is also missing a divine determinative in this EGL (l. 15). Moreover, Lady-of-Babylon is typically regarded a consort of Marduk in Babylon and is often identified with Ṣarpānītu by scholars (see Beaulieu 2003, 75-76), whereas Nanaya is often considered Nabû's consort in Borsippa (p. 77). Alternatively, Lady-of-Bablyon should be considered an Ištar-associated goddess (Livingstone 1986, 224; and Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 523), which is the option reflected in this composite EGL of Tilgath-pileser III's royal inscriptions.

[41] Ninurta appears between Aššur and Sîn in an eight-member EGL in RINAP 4, Esar. 2003 iii 11´.
[42] According to the proposed new reading in the forthcoming RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser by the late H. Tadmor and S. Yamada, the divine name Nergal is listed after Amurru (who himself follows the Sebittu, see below) in the twelve-member EGL in l. 10 of the Mila Mergi Rock Relief. However, Nergal is the fifth of eleven gods, following [Nabû], in the EGL in Stele I A i 1-13. The two other royal inscriptions from Tiglath-pileser III's reign that include Nergal in an EGL (Ann. 8:7 and Summary Inscription from Calaḫ 1:16) place Nergal at or near the end of those EGLs, but none of the deities who are listed after him in Stele I A are listed in these EGLs, so there are no relative anchor points. Nergal has been placed between Lady-of-Babylon and Šamaš in this composite god-list because of the newly proposed (and expressly tentative) reading of the Mila Mergi Rock Relief in the forthcoming RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III volume, which was made available to me by the courtesy of J. Novotny.
[43] Ninurta and Nergal do not both appear in an EGL from Sennacherib's royal inscriptions. Nergal is appears in four EGLs (Frahm 161-162 T128:1; 163-165 T129:3; and 28 T16:63; and Luckenbill's *Sennacherib* H3:1). Ninurta is in two EGLs (Luckenbill's *Sennacherib* 20 §§63-66e:2 and Frahm 136-137 T63:12). Because Ninurta appears before Nergal in other king's royal inscriptions, he has been place before him in this composite EGL.
[44] The divine name Ištar is the final name in the two EGLs in which it appears (K 1669:7 and K 1673 ii´ 4), so the name could be placed anywhere after Adad in the Sargon II composite EGL.
[45] This unspecified Ištar appears in Luckenbill's *Sennacherib* E3:2; Frahm 136-137 T63:13 [reconstructed] and T128:1; and Luckenbill's *Sennacherib* H3:1. In none of these EGLs do other Ištar-associated goddesses appear; however, Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela are mentioned by name and as "[the goddesses]" (proposed reconstruction: [DINGIR.DINGIR^{meš}], l. 60) by Sennacherib in Frahm 161-162 T128:60 in a request for help against his enemies.
[46] In two EGLs in RINAP 4, Esar. 1, an unspecified Ištar is given the epithet "the queen" (*šar-ra-ti*, ii 17) and "the lady of battle" (*be-let* MURUB$_4$ *u* ME$_3$, ii 38; see also RINAP 4, Esar. 93:9), and she appears with Aššur in the closing invocations of vi 65-74. In contrast, Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela appear together in several EGLs in RINAP 4, Esar. 1 (i 6, i 10, i 45, i 59, ii 45-46, iv 78-79, v 33, and vi 44.

An unspecified Ištar is also listed before Nabû and Marduk in an EGL (**Aššur**/Ninurta/Sîn/Šamaš/Adad/Ištar/**Nabû**/**Marduk**), which has the summary statement "the gods dwelling in Nineveh" (DINGIR^{meš} *a-ši-bu-ut* NINA^{ki}, RINAP 4, Esar. 2003 iii 13´)
[47] The unspecified Ištar appears in a three-member EGL between Aššur (*an-šar*$_2$$^{!}$) and Nergal in *BIWA* 83 K 2654:7´; both Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela appear in a eight-member EGL in r. 15 (p. 84) that does not include an unspecified Ištar.
[48] In addition to their invocation in Frahm 161-162 T128:60, which is not an EGL, Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela only appear in the eight-member EGL in Frahm 28 T16:63-64. Neither the unspecified Ištar nor Ištar-of-Kidmuri is in this EGL, but their relative positions in this composite god-list are based upon EGLs from seventh-century EGLs.
[49] Ištar-of-Nineveh is called "the great queen" (^{d}*iš-tar ša*$_2$ ^{uru}*ni-na-a šar-ra-tu*$_2$ GAL-*tu*$_2$, RINAP 4, Esar. 48:25) in an EGL in which she is followed by Ištar-of-Arbela, who is praised as having "shining, upraised eyes" (*ni-iš* IGI^{II}-*ša*$_2$ *nam-ra-a-ti*, l. 26).
[50] Ištar-of-Kidmuri is placed between the goddesses from Nineveh and Arbela in accordance with her position in seventh-century EGLs rather than in other Sennacherib period royal inscriptions.
[51] In three EGLs, "their great consorts" (*ḫi-ra-ti-šu*$_2$*-nu ra-ba-a-ti*, Fuchs 2.4:156) are mentioned collectively at the end of each EGL (Fuchs 2.2:[34]; 2.3:[426]; and 2.4:156). The same male gods are listed in each of the three EGLs (Ea/Sîn/Šamaš/**Nabû**/Adad/Ninurta), but Fuchs has restored the divine name Ningal between the divine names Sîn and Šamaš in 2.2:34. This would mean that she is named explicitly in l. 34 and that she and her consort Sîn are implicitly considered part of the collective at the end of the EGL.
[52] Guše[a] appears in RINAP 4, Esar. 8 ii´ 5´ after Ištar-of-Nineveh (restored) and Ištar-of-Arbela. In RINAP 4, Esar. 48:11, Agušāya appears between Nergal and the Sebittu, in a twelve-member EGL that contains no other Ištar-associated goddesses (**Aššur**/Anu/Enlil/Ea/Sîn/Šamaš/Adad/**Marduk**/[**Nabû**]/[Ner]gal/Agušāya/the Sebittu, ll. 1-12). In this EGL, Agušāya is followed by "lady of [war] and battle" (^{d}*a-gu-še-e-a* ^{d}GAŠAN [MURUB$_4$] *u* ME$_3$, l. 11). E. Leithcy interprets GAŠAN MURUB$_4$ *u* ME$_3$ as one of two epithets for the goddess in this line, and he parenthetically equates Agušāya with Ištar (Leitchy 2011, 104). As noted elsewhere in chapter 6, typically divine determinatives do not precede epithets; rather, they indicate a distinct divine name. However, the structure of this EGL suggests that ^{d}GAŠAN MURUB$_4$ *u*

ME_3 is an epithet for Agušāya rather than a distinct deity. Each of the first 13 lines in this text begins with a divine name (admittedly, *i-nu-um*, "when," is the first word of the Aššur line, but this word sets up the entire EGL in one subordinate clause that ends in l. 13), and the entire line is devoted to that one deity.
[53] The Assyrian Ištar (ᵈ15 *aš-šur-i-t*[*u*]) only appears in one EGL from Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions, where she follows Aššur and Nergal (*BIWA* 83 Die Nergal-Laṣ-Inschrift:40 = K 2654:24´). She has been placed after the other Ištar-associated goddesses in this composite god-list, which is where she commonly appears when listed with other Ištar-associated goddesses in EGLs and other composite lists, rather than after Nergal.
[54] The EGL in the Mila Mergi Rock Relief consists of ten divine names, each with a line devoted to that deity. Because Nergal and Šamaš only appear in one EGL from Tiglath-pileser III's royal inscriptions, and Nergal appears before Šamaš in that EGL (Stele I A), Nergal has been placed before Šamaš in this composite list. Of the few EGLs found within Tilgath-pileser's royal inscriptions, the gods of Babylon receive more attention that would otherwise be expected when comparing these EGLs with those from EGLs from royal inscriptions dating to the Sargonid dynasty.
[55] This collection of minor deities is listed in Frahm 177 T145:6-7 and 176 T173:5-6, both of which are EGLs listing cult images (*ṣa-lam*, T145:2) that Sennacherib had created.
[56] Šamaš appears before Sîn in the Mila Mergi Rock Relief (ca. 739) and probably appears before him in the lacuna in l. 7 of Stele from Iran (stele I A). Otherwise, Sîn precedes Šamaš in most royal inscription EGLs between Sargon's and Ashurbanipal's reigns. Note, also, that this dynamic relationship status between Sîn and Šamaš dates back at least to the OB period, as witnessed in various portions of the prologue and epilogue to the Laws of Ḫammurapi, as well as in contemporary letters. However, given the limited number of texts used to compile this composite god-list for Tiglath-Pileser III's royal inscriptions and the three-member EGL in the Summary Inscription from Calaḫ 7 and 11 (Aššur/Šamaš/Marduk), Šamaš has been given priority over Sîn here.
[57] Nusku is listed after Sîn and Ningal and before Šamaš and Aya in *BIWA* 144 T iii 32.
[58] Išum appears in one EGL after Aššur and Nergal in *BIWA* 157 22 = k.
[59] Amurru and Nergal appear after the Sebittu in the Mila Mergi Rock Relief, and Amurru has been restored after the Sebittu in Stele I A. Notably, these EGLs would be the only EGLs in which the Sebittu appear where they are not the last Assyrian deities, a phenomenon discussed by Barré in Neo-Assyrian treaties (Barré 1983, 19-235; cf. the minority opinion of van der Toorn's analysis of the EGLs in SAA 2 5 iv 6).
[60] There are three distinct EGLs in the curse lists in SAA 2 14. The first is a ten+-member EGL in i 28´-ii 2´ that is broken in the middle: [**Aššur**]/**Šerūʾa**/gods-of-Ešarra/[Anu]/Antu/[Enlil]/Mullissu/…/**Bēl**/**Bēltīya**/ the Sebittu. The second is a four-member EGL in ii 16´: **Aššur**/(Lord)-Crown/Anu/Antu. The third is a seven+-member that is broken at the end in ii 19´-25´: **Šerūʾa**/Anu/Antu/Enlil/Mu[lissu]/**Marduk**/[**Ṣarpānītu**]/(?). Because (Lord) Crown only appears in the second EGL between Aššur and Anu, we cannot determine his position relative to Šerūʾa and the gods-of-Ešarra from the first EGL. Additionally, though Šerūʾa has been interpreted as Aššur's offspring in other EGLs from Esarhaddon treaties (i.e., the witness and adjuration lists in SAA 2 6), her epithet in SAA 2 14 ii 19´ may suggest she is his consort here: ᵈ*ši*-EDIN!-*u*$_2$!-*a be-let* DINGIR^{me} GAL-⸢*ti*⸣ ("Šerūʾa, great lady of the gods").
[61] Ninurta and Gula are the only two deities in SAA 12 93 who are in both EGLs (a five-member EGL in ll. 15-r. 5 and a seven-member god-list in r. 6-8). Interestingly, Ninurta and Gula appear as the first two deities in the first EGL and the final two deities in the second EGL. Together these two EGLs create a ten-member composite god-list wherein Adad and Nabû appear later compared to other curse lists. That Ninurta would appear in both EGLs and begin one EGL makes sense since the tablet opens with a dedication of Nabû-maqtu-šatbi by his father Mannu-deiq to Ninurta (ll. 1-4).
[62] The other EGL in which Lord Crown appears after Aššur and Ningal is a blessing on behalf of the king (*aš-šur* ᵈNIN.GAL ᵈEN.AGA, SAA 13 187:6).
[63] Parpola and Watanabe have transliterated and translated Šamaš's consort's name as ᵈA.A and *Nur* in SAA 2 2 vi 9. In contrast, the divine name is transliterated as ᵈ*a-a* and translated as Aya in this dissertation when dealing with Neo-Assyrian texts. Presumably, Parpola and Watanabe chose *Nur* because that name appears with Šamaš in Sefire i A 9 (*KAI* 222) (*wqdm šmš wnr*, see Table 6.7).
[64] Two parallel lines (//) are used here and elsewhere to indicate that a proper name and epithet are acting together with the force of a full name (e.g., Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh).

[65] In the EGLs in BM 121206 and the reconstructed curse-lists in SAA 2 3, the divine name Bēlet-ilī appears between Ea and his consort Damkina. Though the nature of Ea's relationship with Bēlet-ilī varies in Mesopotamian mythology, the fact that her name separates Ea from his typical consort Damkina suggests that Bēlet-ilī has been identified as Ea's consort in these texts. The color and indentation of her divine name have been modified in these situations to reflect her status as the consort of a Triad 1 deity.

[66] The EGLs contained within the SAA 12 grants may appear twice in a grant, in particular those in column iv. The deities are first named to ensure the grant is honored by future kings (e.g., SAA 12 26:33-35: *ni-iš* DNs…NUN-*u*$_2$ EGIR-*u*$_2$ *ša pi-i dan-ne*$_2$*-te šu-a-tu la u*$_2$*-šam-sak*, "By the life of (five gods), a future prince shall not nullify this tablet's wording"), and they are invoked again in a blessing for the future king (e.g., ll. 36-38: DNs *ik-ri-bi-*⸢*ka i-šem*⸣*-mu-u*$_2$, "may (these five gods) hear your prayer").

Many of the EGLs in these grants are damaged; however, because the grants are so similar within their groupings, the proposed reconstructions of these texts in SAA 12 are reliable. The EGLs presented below are grouped according to their columns in Table 6.6.

i

SAA 12 13:8′-9′	SAA 12 69 r. 28	SAA 12 85:13-14
[^{d}*aš*]-*šur*	[^{d}*aš-šur*]	[^{d}*aš-šur*]
^{d}IŠKUR	$^{[d]}$IŠKUR	^{d}IŠKUR
^{d}*be-er*	^{d}*be-er*	^{d}*be-er*
[^{d}IŠ.TAR *aš*$_2$]-*šu-ri-tu*$_2$	^{d}INNIN *aš-šur-tu*$_4$	[^{d}*iš*$_8$.*tar*$_2$ *aš*$_2$-*šu-ri-tu*]

ii

SAA 12 14:7′-8′	SAA 12 75 r. 11′$^{?}$
^{d}*aš-šur*	^{d}*aš-šur*
^{d}IŠKUR	^{d}[*x x x*]
[^{d}*be-er*]	[^{d}*x-x*]
[^{d}EN.LIL$_2$ *aš-šur*^{ki}-*u*$_2$]	[^{d}EN].LIL$_2^{?}$
[^{d}IŠ.TAR *aš*$_2$]-*šu-ri-tu*$_2$	^{d}IŠ.TAR *aš-šu*-[*ri-tu*]

iii

SAA 12 10 r. 6′-8′	SAA 12 19 r. 22
^{d}*aš-šur*	^{d}*a-šur*
^{d}*ša*$_2$-*maš*	^{d}*ša*$_2$-*maš*
^{d}[EN.LIL$_2$]	^{d}IŠKUR
^{d}IŠ.TAR *aš*$_2$-*šu-ri-te*	^{d}*be-er*
^{d}IŠKUR	(broken)
^{d}MAŠ.MAŠ	
^{d}MAŠ	
^{d}7.BI PAB	

iv (part 1)

SAA 12 25		SAA 12 26	
r. 33-34	r. 36-37	r. 33-34	r. 36-37
^{d}*aš-šur*	^{d}*aš-šur*	^{d}*aš-šur*	^{d}*aš-šur*
^{d}IŠKUR	^{d}IŠKUR	^{d}IŠKUR	^{d}IŠKUR
^{d}*be-er*	[^{d}*be-er*]	^{d}*be-er*	^{d}*be-er*
^{d}EN.LIL$_2$ *aš-šur*^{ki}-*u*$_2$	^{d}EN.LIL$_2$ *aš-šur*^{ki}-*u*$_2$	^{d}EN.LIL$_2$ *aš-šur*^{ki}-*u*$_2$	^{d}EN.LIL$_2$ *aš-šur*^{ki}-*u*$_2$
^{d}15 *aš-šur*^{ki}-*i-t*[*u*$_4$]	^{d}15 *aš-šur*^{ki}-[*i-tu*$_4$]	^{d}15 *aš-šur*^{ki}-*i-tu*	^{d}15 *aš-šur*^{ki}-*i-t*[*u*]

iv (part 2)

SAA 12 31		SAA 12 34	
r. 33-34	r. 36-37	r. 6′-7′	r. 9′-10′
^{d}*aš-šur*	[^{d}*aš-šur*]	^{d}*aš-šur*	$^{[d]}$*aš-šur*
^{d}IŠKUR	$^{[d]}$IŠKUR	^{d}IŠKUR	^{d}IŠKUR
^{d}[*be-er*]	[^{d}*be-er*]	[^{d}*be-er*]	[^{d}*be-er*]
[^{d}EN.LIL$_2$] *aš-šur*^{ki}-*u*$_2$	[EN.LIL$_2$ *aš-šur*^{ki}-*u*$_2$]	[^{d}EN.L]IL$_2$ *aš-šur*^{ki}-*u*$_2$	[^{d}E]N.LIL$_2$ *aš-šur*^{ki}-*u*$_2$
^{d}15 *aš-šur*[^{ki}-*i-tu*]	^{d}15 [*aš-šur*^{ki}-*i-tu*]	^{d}1[5 *aš-šur*^{ki}-*i-tu*]	^{d}[15 *aš-šur*^{ki}-*i-tu*]

v

SAA 12 35 r. 30	SAA 12 36 r. 33′	SAA 12 40 r. 12′-13′	SAA 12 41 r. 3′
[^{d}AN.ŠAR$_2$]	^{d}AN.ŠAR$_2$	[^{d}AN.ŠAR$_2$]	[^{d}AN.ŠAR$_2$]
[^{d}EN.LIL$_2$]	^{d}[EN.LIL$_2$]	^{d}[EN].LIL$_2$	[^{d}EN.LIL$_2$]
⸢^{d}IŠKUR⸣	⸢^{d}IŠKUR⸣	^{d}IŠKUR	[^{d}IŠKUR]
^{d}*be-er*	^{d}*be-er*	^{d}*be-er*	^{d}*be-er*
[^{d}15 *aš-š*]*ur-i-tu*$_2$	[^{d}15 *aš-š*]*ur-i-tu*$_2$	[^{d}15 *aš*]-*šur-i-tu*	[^{d}15 *aš-šur-i-tu*]

[67] This restoration is based on Barré's analysis of the text (M. L. Barré, "The First Pair of Deities in the Sefire I God-List," *JNES* 44 [1985], 210).
[68] SAA 12 10 is a text dating to the reign of Adad-nērārī III (ca. 800), while SAA 2 2 dates to the reign of Aššur-nērāri V (mid-eighth century), and SAA 2 6 dates to the reign of Esarhaddon (mid-seventh century).
[69] Though the six planets (i.e., Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mercury, Mars, and Sirius) precede Aššur in SAA 2 6's witness list, they are not included here. They have been included in Table 6.3.
[70] Enlil appears here in the composite witness list though he appears (though restored) after Šamaš in the Adad-nērārī III land grant (SAA 12 10 r. 6´).
[71] The limited nature of the EGLs in this sample provides no contextual reason to place the Assyrian Ištar with such a low rank; however, when she does appear in EGLs with other Ištar-associated goddesses, she is typically last (see Table 6.5, which likely resembles the curse EGL in SAA 2 3:7´-10´ and r. 2´-5´). Similarly, she is invariably last when she appears as the only goddess in the four- or five-member EGLs from SAA 12 (see Table 6.6). For this reason, Assyrian Ištar has been given a lower rank in this composite list as compared to SAA 12 10, and those following her in SAA 12 10 appear in this composite as they do in SAA 2 2 and SAA 2 6.
[72] This table has been derived from the tables on Wunsch 2000, 570-571, keeping only those judges and texts that are necessary to relate the rise of Nergal-ušallim mār Šigûa (blue), Nergal-bānûnu mār Rab-banê (red), and Nabû-balāssu-iqbi mār Amēlû (green).

Following Wunsch, the number indicates an individual judge's serial position in a tablet's list of judges. The question mark (?) indicates that a name does not appear in the text, but that the individual may have functioned as a judge in the case. The plus sign (+) indicates that the absolute serial position of a judge is uncertain so instead his relative serial position is given. In most cases, the plus sign appears after a question mark, where Wunsch felt a judge's name likely appeared in a lacuna. Finally, the arrangement of the texts in this table are based on Wunsch's chronology, and an "x" – be it representing whole or part of the date – indicates her reconstruction of a text's placement in this chronology.
[73] This composite god-list has been created from EGLs in the following from Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal period letters from SAA 13, 16, and 18: SAA 13 9, 10, 12, 15, *37*, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 80, 92, 102, 132, 140, *147*, 156, 161, 162, 163, 187, and 188; SAA 16 14, 15, 17, 18, 31, 33, 49, 52, 59, 60, 61, 65, 72, 86, 105, 106, 117, 126, 127, 128, 153, and 193[?]; and SAA 18 85, 131, 182, and 185. Other EGLs that nearly fit this reconstruction are noted in subsequent footnotes and explained below. As elsewhere, italicization indicates that Nabû immediately precedes Marduk in an EGL.

Note also that SAA 13 9, 10, and 12 are all written by the scribe Marduk-šallim-aḫḫē, yet Bēl and Nabû's relative positions are not fixed within even the EGLs created by this individual scribe.
[74] This composite god-list has been created from the following EGLs from Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal period letters from SAA 10: 8, 53, 59, 61, 67, 82, 83, 110, 123, 130, 139, 174, 177, 180, 185, 186, 195, 197, 224, 225, 227, 228, 233, 240, 242, 245, 248, 249, 252, 284, 286, 293, 294, 297, 298, 307, 316, 328, *338*, *339*, 345, 346, 371, and 383. EGLs that deviate from the composite god-list of SAA 10 are explained below.
[75] In his letter (SAA 10 286) to the king, Nabû-nādin-šumi lists the divine names of Enlil and his consort Mullissu as the first and second deities in the EGL and places Aššur third without a consort. It should be noted that this is the only appearance of a Triad 1 deity in this survey of SAA 10 EGLs. As a southern deity Enlil's promotion is all the more unexpected in this letter since the author is an exorcist at the court in Nineveh, the Assyrian capital.
[76] Adad-aḫu-iddina invokes Mullissu in a four-member EGL from the Assyrian letter SAA 13 37 (**Aššur**/**Mullissu**/**Nabû**/**Marduk**, l. 4). In contrast, Mullissu is the fourth member in an EGL from Pūlu of Calaḫ (SAA 13 132), wherein Sîn, Nabû, and Marduk are first invoked in their own blessing, and Mullissu follows in her own blessing.
[77] Ištar's placement immediately following Aššur and before Nabû and Marduk in SAA 13 126, 138, 144, and 150 (Marduk precedes Nabû in SAA 13 138 and 150) may indicate a local identification of the regional Ištar-associated goddess with Aššur's consort Mullissu. If the unspecified Ištar in these letters is to be identified with Mullissu as Meinhold suggests (Meinhold 2009, 204-206), then there is no problem in the hierarchy; however, this can only remain an untested hypothesis.
[78] The following letters from Babylonia are among the few that include Triad 1 deities: SAA 18 24, 68, 70, 73, [74], 124, 192, 193, 194, 195, [197], 199, [200], 201, 202, and 204. Moreover, SAA 18 192-204 are

from Nippur and noticeably promote Enlil and his divine family, including his consort who is still Mullissu, and Ninurta.

[79] Mullissu is paired with Aššur in SAA 10 227 and *383*.

[80] Ea only appears in one EGL, SAA 18 16, the "Report on Ubaru." The beginning of the tablet is broken, so it is impossible to know how many deities precede Ea in this EGL. He has been placed here after Enlil and Mullissu because of his traditional association with Triad 1. Furthermore, the EGL in SAA 18 16 is unusual because Ištar-of-Nineveh immediately follows Ea (following F. Reynolds' restoration: $^{3'}$[^{d}GAŠAN *ni-n*]*a*$^{?-}$*a*^{ki}, "Lady-of-Nineveh") and is followed by Madānu, [Marduk], and [Ṣar]pānītu (l. 4′).

An additional invocation of Ea occurs in SAA 17 145, a letter to Sargon from the elders of Nēmed-Laguda. This restored four-member EGL includes two deities, a city, and a temple: E[a/Damkina/Uruk]/Eanna (ll. 4-5). However, this letter is not included in the current survey because it is an 8th-century letter rather than a 7th-century letter.

[81] Bēl-iddina, a priest from Ḫarrān, invokes Lord Crown and Nusku in his two letters to the king (SAA 13 187-188), which explains Nusku's appearance before Šamaš in the letters. Note also that on the reverse of SAA 13 187, Bēl-iddina calls upon Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela to bless the king (r. 5′-9′). Note Nusku's lowly position in Esarhaddon's and Ashurbanipal's royal inscription EGLs following the Ištar-associated goddesses and his only somewhat higher placement in Sennacherib's royal inscription EGLs.

[82] Šamaš has been listed before Sîn and Ningal in an EGL from Adad-dān to the king: ^{3}[^{d}*aš-šur*] ^{d}*ša*$_{2}$*-maš* ^{d}30 ^{d}NIN.GAL ^{4}*a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia lik-ru-bu* ("May [Aššur], Šamaš, Sîn (and) Ningal bless the king, my lord", SAA 16 132:3-4). This letter – along with another written by Adad-dān that invokes only Aššur and Šamaš (^{4}[*aš-šur* ^{d}UTU] *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia lik-ru-bu*, "May [Aššur (and) Šamaš] bless the king, my lord, SAA 16 131:3) – originates from "Phoenicia and Transpotamia" (SAA 16, p. 111), as indicated by its classification and placement in SAA 16.

[83] A four-member EGL (Aššur/Šamaš/Bēl/Nabû) from Urad-Nanaya (SAA 10 316:10) is located within an atypically formulated blessing wherein the deities are asked not to abandon the king. Another atypical blessing appears in SAA 10 180, which includes an EGL with a Nabû/Šamaš/Marduk sequence. Here Nāṣiru has already written a standard blessing with Nabû and Marduk and followed it with "Daily, I pray to Nabû, Šamaš, and Marduk for the sake of the life of the crown prince, my lord" (^{5}UD-*mu-us-su* ^{d}PA ^{d}UTU ^{6}*u* ^{d}AMAR.UTU *a-na bul-luṭ* ZI^{meš} ^{7}*ša*$_{2}$ DUMU-LUGAL *be-li*$_{2}$*-ia u*$_{2}$*-ṣal-li*).

[84] Adad appears as the penultimate deity in the EGL (**Aššur**/Šamaš/**Bēl**/**Nabû**/Nergal/Laṣ/Išum/Adad/Bēr) found in SAA 16 148:3-4, a letter by Aššur-ušallim to the crown prince.

[85] Adad-šumu-uṣur invokes Adad before Šamaš in the three-member EGL (**Aššur**/Adad/Šamaš) when he blesses the king (SAA 10 185:19). However, in an earlier blessing in this letter, Adad does not appear at all in a probable four-member EGL: **Aššur**/Šamaš/**Na**[**bû**/**Marduk**] (l. 16).

[86] In SAA 13 186:5-6, the priest Aplāia of Kurba'il invokes Adad with Šala and Šarrat-nakkanti ("Lady-of-the-Treasury") to create this three-member EGL of the gods in Edurhenunna in Kurba'il. S. Cole and P. Machinist regard Šarrat-nakkanti as an independent deity and not simply an epithet for Šala, which fits Beaulieu's observation that epithets tend to lack the divine determinative that Šarrat-nakkanti has (Beaulieu 2003, 75). Theoretically, since she only appears at the end of this one three-member EGL, Šarrat-nakkanti could be located anywhere after Šala. She has been kept here in the same line as Šala for connivance.

[87] Nusku has been listed earlier than typically expected in SAA 10 197:7 by Adad-šumu-uṣur, whom the *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* refers to as "by far the most prolific letter-writer among all the Ninevite scholars" (*PNA* 1/1, 38). This letter is also provides the sole invocation of the planets Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, and Mercury (SAA 10 197:8-10), as well as of the Queen-of-Kidmuri (l. 11), in the SAA 10 EGLs. The only other appearance Nusku makes in an SAA 10 EGL blessing is in a three-member EGL with Šamaš and Ningal (SAA 10 346:8). Nabû-zeru-iddina of Nineveh (*PNA* 2/2, 908f, entry 11) invokes the deity in the letter's second EGL blessing, wherein he hopes the gods will listen to the king's prayers (ll. 8-9). Following the methodology described in chapter 6, Nusku enjoys a higher rank in these letter-based composite god-lists (see also his placement in SAA 13 187 and 188) than he does elsewhere. This relatively early position is surely a reflection of his association with Sîn rather than his own importance.

[88] Bēl and Nabû have appeared before Triad 2 deities in SAA 10 53, 59, 82, 110, and *338* (and *339*). In only SAA 10 *338* (and *339*) does Nabû appear before Marduk.

[89] Nabû and Marduk often appear paired together in a blessing at the beginning of a letter. This blessing has been omitted from these EGLs because both Nabû and Marduk typically appear in the second, fuller blessing as well. For example, in SAA 13 102:5-6, Nabû-šumu-iddina invokes Nabû and Marduk on behalf

of the king and subsequently blesses him with a seven-member EGL (**Aššur**/**Bēl**/**Nabû**/Sî[n]/[Šamaš]/ Ninurta/Nergal) in ll. 8-10. Likewise, in SAA 13 92, Nabû-šumu-iddina invokes Nabû and Marduk and then invokes Bēl, Nabû, and Nergal in a second blessing.

Perhaps the blessings in SAA 13 63:4 and 156:5-7 represent a hybrid tradition in which the blessing that includes only Nabû and Marduk has been merged with those blessings that invoke several divine names: **Nabû**/**Marduk**/Sîn (63:4) and **Nabû**/**Marduk**/Sîn/Ištar-of-Nineveh/Ištar-of-Arbela (156:5-7). Or the appearance of Nabû and Marduk (or Marduk alone, or Marduk's preceding Nabû) may simply reflect their increased honor as chief deities of Babylon. Either way, one or both of these deities moves up in within EGLs in SAA 13 10 (from Assur), SAA 13 128 (from Calaḫ), and SAA 16 32, among other letters from the 8th and 7th centuries.

[90] In SAA 18 55:4-7, a letter from Babylonia, Tašmētu follows Nanaya in a five-member EGL (**Bēl**/**Ṣarpānītu**/**Nabû**/**Nanaya**/**Tašmētu**) in which Nabû-nādin-šumi declares that he prayed for the life of the king. Elsewhere in this letter, Bēl and Nabû are invoked twice in blessings (ll. 11 and r. 1). That Nanaya is listed before Tašmētu in this letter is significant. According to C. Waerzeggers, Nanaya has replaced Tašmētu as Nabû's consort at the Ezidu in Borsippa, Nabû's temple in the city which he is the patron deity, during the Neo-Babylonian period (C. Wearzeggers, *The Ezida Temple of Borsippa*: *Priesthood*, *Cult*, *Archives* [Achaemenid History 15; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2010], 21). Nabû-nādin-šumi's letter seems to be part of this emerging tradition that had not taken hold in Assyrian during the Neo-Assyrian period. When Nananya is identified as Nabû's consort in Neo-Assyrian EGLs, as she clearly is in SAA 18 55, her divine name colored and indented to reflect her status as the consort of a Babylonian chief deity in the resultant EGLs and composites. Elsewhere, when she seems to be indentified as a consort of Nabû but appears after Tašmētu in the EGL, her divine name is pink, reflecting a non-chief deity status (see Table 6.1).

[91] The relevant letters from SAA 10 have an overall inconsistent placement of Nergal in their EGL hierarchy. The Ninevite astrologer Nabû-aḫḫē-erība (*PNA* 2/2, 794f.) lists Nergal before the Ištar-associated goddesses in SAA 10 82, and Marduk-šākin-šumi, the chief exorcist during Ashurbanipal's reign (*PNA* 2/2, 722f.) likewise lists Nergal before the Ištar-associated goddesses in SAA 10 248, 249, and 252. However, Adad-šumu-uṣur (SAA 10 197, 227, and 228), Nabû-nādin-šumi (SAA 10 286), and Urad-Gula (SAA 10 293 and 294) each list the Ištar-associated goddesses before the warrior gods Ninurta and Nergal. Because these three scribes out-number Nabû-aḫḫē-erība and Marduk-šākin-šumi in both the number of letters and the number of relevant EGLs produced by them, Nergal appears nearer the bottom of this composite god-list.

[92] Madānu is the penultimate deity in an unusual five-member EGL in a letter from Mardî, the governor of Barḫalza, concerning his debt (SAA 16 29:2-3). Following M. Luukko and G. van Buylaere's proposed restoration, the EGL is [Ninurta]/Zababa/Nergal/Madānu/[**Nabû**]. If this restoration is correct, then Nabû's late appearance after this collection of warrior (and other male) gods corresponds with Madānu's appearance before [Marduk and Ṣar]pānītu in SAA 18 16. Luukko and Buylaere propose ^{d}AG$^{?}$ as the logogram for Nabû, though his name is twice written with the logogram ^{d}PA in the non-blessing EGLs in this letter. The EGL **Bēl**/**Nabû**/Šamaš (^{d}EN ^{d}PA *u* ^{d}UTU) appears in ll. 9 and 12, where Mardî claims he has prayed to this trio of deities.

[93] Ubru-Nabû names Mullissu before the Lady-of-Kidmuri and Ištar-of-Arbela (SAA 16 106:6-7), which may suggest that he has identified Mullissu with Ištar-of-Nineveh, the Ištar-goddess in the imperial capital. This is explored further in chapter 9.

[94] Table 6.14 is based on Beaulieu's proposed "hierarchy of deities in group A" (Beaulieu 2003, 73).

[95] Beaulieu allows for an interchange between Symbol (^{giš}TUKUL) and Altar (*šu-bat*/$^{(d/giš)}$KI.TUŠ) for these Marduk and Nabû representations.

[96] Ištar-of-Uruk may appear joined with the Symbol of Bēl through the use of "and" (*u*) after the list of offerings (e.g., NCBT 862:4-5) or she may be recorded as receiving her own offering (e.g., YBC 9238:4-5). The same is true of the Symbol of Nabû and Nanaya, as well as Uṣur-amāssu and Urkayītu (e.g., NBC 4801:10-11).

[97] In PTS 2942 the Temple of Marduk appears after Uṣur-amāssu and Gula. Beaulieu notes that the Temple of Sîn appears once in this position (Beaulieu 2003, 73).

[98] Beaulieu suggests that *Palil* may be either Ninurta or Nergal (Beaulieu 2003, 87).

[99] The Divine Chariot appears before Bēlet-Eanna in NCBT 862.

[100] Or Temple-of-Nergal.

[101] Or Temple-of-Ninurta. In PTS 2042, Ninurta appears before Nergal.
[102] G. Frame, "Nabonidus, Nabû-šarra-uṣur, and the Eanna Temple," *ZA* 81 (1991) 51.
[103] Table 6.16 is derived from George's and Menzel's presentations of GAB §4 (George 1992, 178-183; Menzel 1981, 2:T156-164). The following tablets comprise GAB §4: VAT 8918; VAT 9932; *RA* 14 (1917) 172 and 174; VAT 13815; VAT 13816; VAT 13818; VAT 13937; VAT 13997; 81-2-4,252 (Menzel 1981, 2:T146).
[104] The fact that the order of the Triad 2 deities has been rearranged is probably due to topographical reasons. Adad follows Anu because both deities are worshiped in the Anu-Adad temple (George 1992, 170). Sîn and Šamaš are likewise worshiped in one temple.
[105] George notes that Nabû appears here – interrupting a supposedly important Sîn-Šamaš-Ištar chain – because he shares a temple with Ištar (George 1992, 170).
[106] Aya interrupts a collection of Šarrat-Nipḫa temples in one variant, marked as 168a in George's composite text.
[107] In Menzel's score, GAB §4 l. 177 lacks an extant divine name in col. iii (Menzel 1981, 2:T162, no. 64). George notes, however, that tablet G should be corrected to read Ninurta instead of DINGIR ("177 g: ^{d}MAŠ$^{!}$(DINGIR)," George 1992, 181), which fits with the temple names provided in columns i and ii, E_2.MAḪ and e_2 *ṣi-i-ru*, respectively.
[108] From left to right: a male deity receives offerings from King Ḫattušili III, and Ḫebat//UTU.MI_2-of-Arinna receives offerings from Queen Puduḫepa.
[109] The numbers over Photo 7.2 correspond to the line numbers in Table 7.1.
[110] McMahon 1991, 96-115.
[111] According to C. A. Burney, *Labarna*, which is pronounced *Tabarna* in Luwian and Akkadian, is the oldest known title for Hittite kings (C. A. Burney, *Historical Dictionary of the Hittites* [Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004], 154).
[112] McMahon 1991, 105.
[113] McMahon 1991, 120-127.
[114] The colors of the divine names in Table 7.5 and 7.11 have their own set of meanings, distinct from their usage in chapters 5, 6, 8, and 9. In these tables, blue indicates the divine name represents a storm-god; red indicates that divine name represents a tutelary deity (LAMMA); pink indicates an Ištar-class goddess; green indicates a warrior or other deity; and **blue-gray**, when used, represents the highest ranking gods. Admittedly, this system does resemble the coloring system used for Mesopotamian god lists. This is intentional since the storm-gods appear first and the LAMMAs appear after them in these Hittite EGLs, just as theoretically the Triad 1 deities should precede the Triad 2 deities in Mesopotamian EGLs. Likewise, since Ištar-goddesses are necessarily a subcategory of goddesses, pink has been retained, while the warrior class and the chief deity group in Hittite and Mesopotamian EGLs are functionally and hierarchically the same.
[115] The composite lists follow the same methodology established in chapter 6; thus, the names appear here in the same order as they do in the majority of the divine witness lists. However, because the storm-god collections are varied and reorganized in each individual EGL and because so many titles are broken and cannot be dependably restored, no has attempt has been made to faithfully present a full arrangement here.
[116] This table is based on Pardee's edition of *KTU*^{2} 1.47 (= RS 1.1017 = CTA 29) and is supplemented by his edition of the parallel text *KTU*^{2} 1.118 (Pardee 2002, 14f.) to fill in the lacunae of the former.

According to de Moor, the following deities from *KTU*^{2} 1.47 do not rank as important divine names (de Moor 1970, 218): [ˀa]*rṣy*,ˀil *tˁḏr bˁl*, and *ddmš*. These three divine names appear in only three of de Moor's genre categories, while the last four divine names (i.e., *ˀuṯḫt*, *knr*, *mlkm*, and *šlm*) and the two compound names (i.e., [ˀarṣ] *w šm*m and [ġrm w ˁmqt]) "are not attested as really important deities thus far" (p. 218). Moreover, with the exception of [ˀa]*rṣy*, none of these deities appear in mythic or epic texts (p. 222), reinforcing their lack of importance.
[117] De Moor notes that *ˀil ṣpn* does not appear at the head of parallel texts and should be equated with *ṣpn* (de Moor 1970, 218 and 218 nn. 24-25).
[118] The pronunciation of the Ugaritic names of deities not discussed elsewhere in this chapter are based on Pardee's transliteration of *KTU*^{2} 1.148 (Pardee 2002, 15-19). As with Anat and Ašerah, ˁ and ˀ have been discarded for transliteration in these names. The translation of [d]dm in l. 43 is based on Pardee's translation, but my translation of *lb*[n]n as Lebanon is based on the edition in *KTU*^{2} since Pardee only

translates it as "*Labana*" (p. 19). Finally, the markings for whether the four Baal manifestations in ll. 44-45 have been restored are based on my interpretations of the *KTU*^{2} edition rather than on Pardee's (p. 18).
[119] Each section of *KTU*^{2} 1.119 is indicated by Roman numeral and represents a new day on which sacrifices are offered so repetition of a divine name in different sections does not represent a new deity by the same name. Section divisions in this table follow Pardee's division of the text (Pardee 2002, 52-53).
[120] In Egypt, the deity bˁr-ḏpn is eventually identified with Zeus Kasios, the Greek name for Mount Ṣapān (Lipiński 1995, 244 and 247).
[121] In addition to Baal-Šamêm, Papyrus Amherst 63 12:11-19 also mentions Yahweh (spelled YHW-G; the G signifies the divine determinative in Demotic) and the deity Bethel. Most of the hymn is devoted to Yahweh, with Bethel and Baal-Šamêm's names appearing only in l. 18. According to S. Vleeming and J. Wesselius, Baal-Šamêm's role in this hymn is to "pronounce your benedictions to your faithful" (S. Vleeming and J. Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63* [Amsterdam: Juda Palache Instituut, 1985], 51). In an earlier translation of this text, they had interpreted Bethel and Baal-Šamêm as the ones whom "my lord" (*mr*, i.e., Yahweh) would bless: "May the lord bless Betel (and) Baˁal Šamayn" (*bytl bˁl šmyn mr ybrkˀ*, l. 18; S. Vleeming and J. Wesselius, "An Aramaic Hymn from the Fourth Century B.C.," *BiOr* 39 [1982]: 504-505).

Several Baal-named deities appear in Papyrus Amherst 63. For example, an unspecified Baal appears in 13:15 and is asked to bless Yahweh. Baal-Šamêm appears again in 18:3 and is said to have "spoiled and stripped your (the city of Babylon) cedar-wood." In 8:3, an unspecified Baal is asked to bless from mount Ṣapān, while Bēl (Marduk) is asked to bless from Babylon and Nabû from Borsippa (ll. 4-5). Baal also seems to be used as a title for deities who are not typically thought of as Baal-named deities. For instance, the god Bethel – indentified as such by Vleeming and Wesselius because he is located in Resh, Bethel's city, in his blessing – appears to be referred to as *baal* (8:2; Vleeming and Wesselius 1985, 55).
[122] Baal-Meˁon, along with its reservoir and the city of Kiriathaim (ll. 9-10), is described as being rebuilt by Mēšaˁ in *KAI* 181:9-10. Baal-Meˁon also appears as a place in Numbers 32:38; Ezekiel 25:9; and 1 Chronicles 5:8. In *KAI* 181:30, Beth-Baal-Meˁon is listed as a grazing place. Beth-Baal-Meˁon also appears in Joshua 13:17, and Beth-Meˁon appears in Jeremiah 48:23.
[123] Of the fourteen times that Tannit is identified as the Face-of-Baal, her name appears before Baal-Ḥamān seven times (*KAI* 78:2; 79:1; 85:1; 86:1; 87:2$^!$; 88:2; 94:1; and 97:1$^!$) and after him four times (*KAI* 102:1-2; 105:1; 164:1; and 175:2-3).

For a fuller treatment of Baal-Ḫamān, his history from the late ninth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., his identification with the Greek god Kronos and the Roman god Saturn, and his iconography, see J. Ferron, "Dédicace latine á Baal-Hammon," *CdB* 3 (1953): 114; P. Xella 1991; and Lipiniski 1995, 251-264.
[124] Umm El-ˁAmed is between Tyre and Acco (Gibson 1982, 118). In *TSSI* 3 32:1, the divine name Milkaštart//God-of-Ḥamān (מלכעשתרת אל חמנ) appears on a sphinx statue (p. 121).
[125] The first name Baal is likely hiding the famous Sîn-of-Ḫarrān (see SAA 2 2 iv 4′: ^{d}30 EN GAL-*u a-šib* ^{uru}KASKAL, "Sîn the great lord who lives in Ḫarrān"). According to Gibson, "[t]he moon-god (i.e., Baal-Ḫarrān) was doubtless worshipped at Zenjirli under his West Semitic name Sahar, but he was not prominent enough to be mentioned in the lists of deities in" the Hadad Inscription (*KAI* 214) and the Panamuwa Inscription (*KAI* 215), and Bar-Rakib's introduction of this deity to the cult "was motivated by political considerations" (Gibson 1975, 93). For a fuller discussion of Sîn-of-Ḫarrān, see Lipiński 1995, 171-192.
[126] More than 17 distinct personal names with the theophoric element Bēl-Ḫarrān are listed in *PNA* 1/2.
[127] G. Dossin, "Benjaminites dans les texts de Mari," in *Mélanges syriens offert à M. René Dussaud* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1939), 2:986.

Sîn-of-Ḫarrān also appears in SAA 6 334 r. 15 ([^{d}30 *ša*$_2$ ^{uru}]KASKAL); SAA 12 48:6′ (⸢^{d}30⸣ *ša*$_2$ ŠA$_3$ ⸢^{uru}KASKAL$^{!}$⸣^{k}[^{i}]); SAA 14 193 r. 8-9 ([^{d}30] *a-šib* ^{uru}KASKAL); RIMA 3 A.0.104.3:23 (^{d}30 *a-šib* ^{uru}KASKAL); and RIMA 3 A.0.105.1:20 (^{d}30 *a-šib* ^{uru}KASKAL). See also the "Psalm in Praise of Uruk," which associates Sîn with Ḫarrān (AG$_2$ ^{uru}KASKAL *a-*⸢*di* ^{d}30⸣, "I love Ḫarrān along with Sîn," SAA 3 9:17).
[128] The bowl inscribed with Baal-Lebanon was made at the "new city" in Cyprus (Gibson 1982, 67). Gibson is uncertain whether the cult for Baal-Lebanon was local or if this deity was only revered at the governor's residence.

[129] *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae*, vol. 1, edited by L. Moretti (Rome: 1968).
[130] Because there is no scholarly consensus for the dates of the Pentateuchal sources, the dates surrounding the Baal-Peor episode in Numbers 25:1-5 are intentionally overly general. Likewise, Deuteronomy is generally considered a product of the seventh and sixth centuries, and Hosea is generally considered a product of the eighth century.
[131] In *KAI* 14:18, there is a temple built for Baal-Ṣidon (בת לבעל צדן) and a temple built for Astarte Name-of-Baal (לעשתרת שם בעל). Gibson notes that the latter shrine is different from the one restored in l. 16 "the house of Astarte in Ṣidon Land-by-the-Sea" ([בת עשתר]ת בצדן ארץ ים), which is dedicated to Astarte-of-Lofty-Heavens (עשתרת שממ אדרמ; Gibson 1982, 109).
[132] M. G. Guzzo Amadasi and V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition*: *III*. *Inscriptions Phéniciennes* (Nicosia: Published for the Republic of Cyprus by the Department of Antiquities, 1977), 170-171; Lipiński 1995, 315. See also Astarte-of-Kition in *KAI* 37:5 (Table 8.8).
[133] Lipiński 1995, 308. Lipiński says MRPˀK is probably a toponym, which corrects the reading found in *CIS* 1 41:3 (pp. 60-61), wherein the *k* is separated from *mrpˀ* by a space. *MRPˀ*, without the K, has been understood to mean "healer."
[134] Lipiński notes that Baal-Marqod was identified with Jupiter Heliopolis of Baalbek (Lipiński 1995, 115-116).
[135] F. Fresnel, "Inscriptions trilingues trouvées à Lebdah," *JA* 8 (1846): 350. Only the first letter of the Baal divine name is legible in the Neo-Punic portion of this trilingual text, so the proposed restoration is Fresnel's. Lipiński notes that the phonetic shift from *baˁal* > *bon* in these divine names is also common to the name Hannibaal (*ḥannibaˁal* > *anniboni*) and the name Baalmilk (*baˁalmilk* > Βονομίλεξ; Lipiński 1995, 361).
[136] Bethel and Anat-Bethel actually precede the Assyrian summary statements in SAA 2 5 iv 8′-9′, but they follow the Sebittu so they should not be considered among the Assyrian deities (Barré 1983, 20).
[137] Donner and Röllig have proposed that this divine name be restored twice in *KAI* 5:2.
[138] Baal-Ṣemed, Baal-Kanapi (Baal-of-the-Wing?), Baal-RˁKT, Baal-Malagê, Baal-Magnim, and Baal-ˀAddir are included in these tables, but their last names are not geographic names.
[139] Lord-of-the-Dynasty (בעל . בית) is probably an epithet for Rakib-el and not an unexpected new Baal divine name in this text (Gibson 1975, 229); Rakib-el, whose name means "(chariot) driver of El," also appears in the Kilamuwa Inscription (*KAI* 24:16), in the Kilamuwa scepter inscription (*KAI* 25:4 and 5-6), and in the Bar-Rakib Inscription (*KAI* 216:5).
[140] J. Starcky interprets the unspecified Baal as a distinct deity in this EGL rather than as a title for Baal-Ḥamān (J. Starcky, "Inscriptions Archaïques de Palmyre," in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* [Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 52; Rome: Istituto per L'oriente, 1956], 2:516). Xella notes that the appearance of both Baal and Baal-Ḥamān in the sequence in this inscription is unusual but interprets Baal-Ḥamān as a "particular manifestation" (*une manifestation particulière*) of or "a sort of 'fusion' " (*sorte de* "*fusion*") with the unspecified Baal. Xella interprets the divine name Bebellahamon that appears in *CIL* 3 7954 as the name Baal affixed to the front of the name Baal-Ḥamān, with the "l" of Baal assimilated to the "b" of Baal-Ḥamān (Xella 1991, 198).
[141] The conjunction *et* appears between each of these divine names in *CIL* 3 7954.
[142] BENEFAL is a scribal mistake for Fenebal, which is how "Face-of-Baal" (e.g., פנ בעל) occasionally appears in Neo-Punic inscriptions written in Greek or Latin letters (e.g., ΘΙΝΙΘ ΦΑΝΕ ΒΑΛ, "Tannit//Face-of-Baal," *KAI* 175:2).
[143] As noted elsewhere, a text and line number that are written in italics (e.g., SAA 13 *126*:*4*) indicates that Nabû is listed before Marduk in an EGL in that text.
[144] Legal transactions that include additional deterrents (subsection IVc; e.g., donating horses to a local temple) are indicated in bold.
[145] The divine name Yahweh is spelled YHW in the papyri and as YHH in the ostraca (Porten 1968, 105).

TAD A = B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*: *Letters*, vol. 1 (1986); *TAD* B = *Contracts*, vol. 2 (1989); *TAD* C = *Literature*, *Accounts*, *Lists*, vol. 3 (1993); *TAD* D = *Ostraca and Assorted Inscriptions*, vol. 4 (1999). The dates given for these inscriptions have been taken from Porten and Yardeni's commentary in *TAD* A-D.
[146] *TAD* A4.8 contains more lacunae than does A4.7, which is well preserved. When significant portions of the text in *TAD* A4.8 are extant, the equivalent lines are provided in parentheses.

[147] If Yahweh is the subject of the subordinate clause beginning with זי in *TAD* A4.7:6, then זי should be translated as "who" and this clause should be treated as an epithet or part of the Yahwistic full name: "Yahweh//the-God-Who-(is)-in-the-Elephantine-Fortress." However, if the clause modifies the temple, זי should be translated as "that" or "which," indicating where the temple is located.
[148] According to *DNWSI*, kbl_1 (כבל) means "to bind," which, by extension, may also mean "to render barren" when referring to a woman (*DNWSI*, kbl_1) in *Lozachmeur* no. 175. This meaning and interpretation is "uncertain." H. Lozachmeur's proposed "Yahweh-of-Hosts has made you sterile/bound you" ("*Yahô-Ṣebaˀôt t'a rendue sterile/t'a liée*") simultaneously extends the uncertain meaning "to be barren" while he renders the primary meaning (H. Lozachmeur, *La Collection Clermont-Genneau*: *ostraca*, *épigraphs sur jarred*, *étiquettes de bois* [Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 2006], 325).
[149] Complete names are indicated by hyphens in the English translation. When the divine name Yahweh is not explicitly connected with a geographic name by a hyphen, then that proposed full name has been rejected.
[150] This is the only extra-biblical attestation of Yahweh-of-Hosts outside of Elephantine. See Dobbs-Allsopp, *et al*. 2005, 575-576 and J. Naveh 2001, 206-207.
[151] For Hittite Ištar-named goddesses, storm-gods, warrior-gods and other categories of deities with geographic last names, see Tables 7.5 and 7.11. For Tešub(-of-Heaven) and Tešub-of-Ḫattuša, see Table 7.1. For a list of Hittite LAMMA deities with geographic (and other) last names, see Table 7.3, esp. i 43-51. For Neo-Assyrian deities whose names follow the DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN formula, see Tables 9.3 and 9.4. For the one Yahwistic full name that follows the DN//Title-Who-Resides-(in)-GN formula – YHW//God-Who-Resides-(in)-the-Elephantine-Fortress – see Table 10.1.

Divine names that are mentioned but for which no textual evidence is given or available are placed in brackets, e.g., [Ištar-of-Ḫarrān].

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