

UPPSALA UNIVERSITETS ÅRSSKRIFT 1951: 4
— ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS —

THE KING AND
THE TREE OF LIFE IN ANCIENT
NEAR EASTERN RELIGION

(King and Saviour IV)

BY

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A.-B. LUNDEQUISTSKA BOKHANDELN

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Preface.

This investigation as its sub-title indicates is one part of a series of monographs treating the sacral kingship of the ancient Near East. For this reason it should be viewed in connection with previously published books and articles. Some of the questions only mentioned in the present investigation will receive full treatment in the future.

In sending forth this little monograph I beg to offer my sincere thanks to Dr. Ingeborg Nixon, University of Aarhus, who has corrected my English.

Upsala, May 1951.

UPPSALA 1951

ALMQUIST & WIKSELLS BOKTRYCKERI AB

Chapter I. Tree of Life and Water of Life. The King as the Gardener.

It is a well known fact that the Tree of Life plays an important rôle in ancient Mesopotamian myth and ritual.¹ Recent scientific work has for this reason not unnaturally devoted much space to a discussion of the real importance to be ascribed to this mythical conception not only in the Near East but also in adjacent parts of the world.² But this discussion cannot—on the whole—be said to have brought about many conclusive results, with the exception of some statements by SIDNEY SMITH, S. H. HOOKER and I. ENGELL.³ Actually there is still much material to be adduced in order to give us a clearer idea of the position occupied in Mesopotamian myth and ritual by the Tree of Life. In this article we shall especially investigate the intimate relation between on one hand the Tree of Life and the Water of Life and on the other hand between the Tree of Life and the sacred king in his capacity of priest and magician.

We may start our investigation by emphasizing a fact that is very often overlooked in discussion, viz. the relation between the Tree of Life and the Water of Life. Already in the Sumerian literature provided with an Accadian interlinear translation the Tree of Life is said to be growing near the streams of Life flowing in paradise. An often quoted text runs:

In Eridu there is a black *kiškanu*-tree,
growing in a pure place,

¹ For the Tree of Life in Sumero-Accadian religion see in general LAWSON, *Semitic (Mythology)*. Boston 1931 (The Mythology of all Races 5.), pp. 152, 179, 181, 226.

² Chief treatment is BERCEVA, *De boom des levens in schrift en historie*. Besides the general lack of scientific attitude to be observed everywhere in this work it also suffers from being more a raw collection of heterogeneous stuff where the really important material is only too often left out of consideration. This work is on the whole quite dilettantish and must be used with the greatest caution.

³ See SMITH, *BSOS* 4/1926, esp. p. 72; HOOKER, *JMEOS* 13/1927, pp. 29—38; *The Labyrinth*, pp. 213—233, esp. p. 226; ENGELL, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, esp. pp. 25 ff.

its appearance is lapis-lazuli,
erected on the *Apsū*.

Enki, when walking there, fillet *Eridu* with abundance.

In the foundation thereof is the place of the underworld,
in the restingplace is the chamber of Nammu.

In its holy temple there is a grove, casting its shadow,
therein no man goeth to enter.

In the midst are the Sun god and the Sovereign of heaven,
in between the river with the two mouths.

CT XVI Pl. 46: 183—47: 198 = THOMPSON, *Devils and Evil Spirits I*
P. 200: 183 ff.¹

That this *kiškamu*-tree, in the Sumerian text *giš'kin*, is identical with
the tree of Life is perfectly clear.² The tree is said to be growing *ri-ba-an-*

¹ Accadian and Sumerian text:

eridu ^M giš-kin-gi-g-e	ki-siki-ta mu-a
muš-me-bi na-za-gin-a	abzu-ta lal-e
En-ki-ke ₄ gin-gin-a-ta	eridu ^{KI} -ta he-gal si-ga-am
ki-dūr-a-na	ki-šilb-am
ki-nad-a	idi-Danammu-am
e-ku-ga-a-ni-ta giš-tir	giš-gig lal-e
šà-bi iū nu-mu-un-gin tu-tu-dè	

šā(g) Dutu Dama-usungal-an-na-ke₄
ri-ba-an-na-i-ka-min-a-ta

ina Eridu kiškamu galnu ibi ina ašī ellu ibbani

zūmānu ubnū ebi ša ana apšī tarḡu

ša Dea kilaklašu ina Eridu hegalli malāti

šubatu ašar erḡetinnu

kiškamu mašūtu ša DNammu

[i]na bitī ellu ša kīma kišī šilašu larḡu

ana libbišu manna la irribu

ina kiribšu DŠamaš DTamnuz

ina birī pī nār[āti] kilallān

For this text cf. ALBRICHT, *JSL* 35/1918—19, pp. 173—204; LANGDON, *JRAS*
1928, pp. 843—848.

² In spite of the curious protestations by BERGEM, *op. cit.* p. 295 f.

The cedar, the *kašuru*-tree, is the black tree of Dilmun, see CT XV Pl. 27 Rev.
29—30 = WITZEL, *AnOr* 10, p. 30 where we read:

giš'eren-a-am	ha-šu-ur-ra-ka	The cedar, the <i>kašuru</i> -tree,
ku-gi(g)-gi	dilmun ^M -a-ka	the black offspring of Dilmun.

We know sufficiently well that Dilmun is thought—for good reasons—to be
the place of the Mesopotamian paradise, see e.g. BURROWS, *Tilmin, Bahānī,*
Paradise. That the *kašuru*-tree actually is the Tree of Life will be clear from the

na-i, ka-min-a-ala in the Sumerian text, *ina pī nārāti kilallān*, in the
Accadian parallel translation. Now, as is well known, Gilgames sets out
on his journey in order to find Ummapištim¹, who is living *ina rāki ina*
*pī nārāti*², and to get from him eternal life. Actually after meeting him
he secures the possession of a mysterious plant called *šammu nibitti*,
"a plant of renown," or *šēnu išalbir amēlu*, "when old a man grows
young (again)." That this plant is the plant of Life, *šam balāti*, is con-
clusively proved also from the fact that the snake when snapping it at
once gets new life. Of this tree or plant of Life there is a curious de-
scription in another part of the epic:

Carnelian it bears as its fruit.

Vine-grapes are hanging there, sweet to look at.

Lapis lazuli the foliage is,

fruit it bears, wonderful to behold.

Epic of Gilgamesh ed. THOMPSON p. 52 IX Col. V 48—51.³

SMITH has shown that the tree of Life has a very important function
to fulfil in the cult and stresses the fact that this tree is not a real one,

but a cult tree, a trunk decorated with metal bands and fillets.⁴ This
fact suits very well the wording of the Gilgames epic in which we con-
ceivably have to look for a cult symbol, studded with lapis lazuli and
various precious stones. Arguing along this line we find a special support
in a single trait in the description of the *kiškamu*-tree. It is said that:

following pages. There can accordingly be no doubt about the equation *kiškamu*
≠ *kašuru* ≠ Tree of Life, an equation moreover confirmed by the fact that the
kiškamu-tree is planted as a cultic symbol in the temple grove, see below p. 9.

¹ We prefer this form of the name in spite of the reasons set forth by THUREAUV-
DANGL, *Lectures et contrats*, p. 68, accepted by ДНОКЯК, *Les religions de Babylone*
et d'Assyrie, p. 327.

² *Epic of Gilgamesh* ed. THOMPSON, XI 195—196.

³ Text:

am^Mšanda našāi mibša ana daḡāla jābar^{ka}
šēnušinnatum uliulal
am^Mšukinā našā haššakala
inba našīma ana amāri gaiaš

Cf. also the transl. by ОРЕВНЕИМ, *Or* 17/1948, p. 47. He wants to translate
ululal as "climbing," see p. 47 n. 3. According to ОРЕВНЕИМ the introducing l. 47
is to be read:

a-n[a . . .] gi hi-iš-ši ša [ilāni]mēš ana a-mari i-šir-ir

Cf. also СЯКСТЯК, *WZKM* 40/1932, p. 148.

⁴ See the article by SMITH quoted above p. 6 n. 3.

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its appearance is lapis lazuli, erected on the *Apsū*.¹

In the deep

Leaving aside the obvious resemblance between the figure of the *kisšamu*-tree and the tree in the Epic of Gilgamesh (in the first case *zīnušū ubnū abū ša ana apšī taršū*, in the second *abnu ubnū našī haššalla*) I wish to point out that this tree is erected on the Apsū, the Deep where Eridu is situated.²

Now there is another important text that should not be neglected in the discussion.

Here, whose body is shining splendour, who in the forest of fragrant cedars is cheered with joy, standing in the sanctuary of Apsū, the adorned, purified with the sparkling lustration.

ANOr 10 p. 214: 2—6³

¹ The connection between the *kisšamu*-tree and *apšū* is reflected in the cultic representation of the temple grove and the sacred pool within the temple precincts, see below p. 9 f.

² For the connection between Eridu and *apšū* see e.g. DHORME *op. cit.*, pp. 32 ff.

³ Text according to *BA X*, p. 75, and WITZEL *op. cit.*

[ur-sag m]uš (?) kù bar-ra du-a gi-[-. . .]
kar-ra-du zi-mu el-lu-tum ša zi-mur-šū
gš-lir gššim erin-na du-o-ne KA. KA. KA. [. . .]
ša ina kiš-ti ri-ki e-ri-ni im-me-el-lu ina ha-[ur-bi]
me-ab-zu šu-sikil-la gub-ba
šu-luh kár-kár-[ra gub-ba]

For the verb *gub* cf. the passage in ZIMMER, *König Lipit-Ishtar's Vergeltung* p. 18: 50 *sag-il-la gub-ni*, said of the deified ruler. For a comparison with Mandaeen corresponding terms 𐤒𐤍𐤏 and 𐤒𐤍𐤏, see WIDENGRÉN, *RoB* V/1946, p. 47 f. For the word *habbu* see LANGDON, *OECT* VI, p. 48 n. 4 where he takes *habbu* as "crying, shouting," proved by *ka-si-di = ha-bi-bu* V R 16 R II 40 and puts *habbu*, "to cry out," to Syriac ܚܒܘ, "to be inflamed, enraged." The group *šu-sikil-la* is very difficult and no translation can be given with any degree of certainty.

The words within the brackets in the last line are a hypothetical restoration, and because no Accadian text is preserved no special emphasis is placed upon this line. That the god is thought of as standing in the *apšū* of the temple is perfectly clear from L 11—12 where the Accadian transl. runs as follows:

habbu ša ina Esagil kirib apšī elli kuzba mata

Man of weight, who in Esagila within the pure *apšū* art filled with luxuriance.

The god here invoked as a tree among the fragrant cedars is a "Tammuz" deity.¹ It is stated that he is standing or planted² in the sanctuary of Apsū. We are thus carried to the conclusion that the cult tree, being the symbol of the deity, is situated in or near the sanctuary. This conclusion seems to be evident also from some passages in the older historical inscriptions, from which the following instance may be quoted, where it is said of Nūr-Adad:

Of Enki his pure and beloved dwelling
he built for him,
of his ancient *kisšamu*-tree
its place he restored for it.

CT XXXVI Pl. 3: 11—15 = CAMPBELL THOMPSON, *Archaeologia LXX* p. 116 f.³

In this very inscription 11.7—8 we are told that Eridu in old days had been destroyed. The sanctuary accordingly is that of Enki in Eridu, where in the mythical text the *kisšamu*-tree is said to be growing. Now the historical inscription of Nūr-Adad shows that there really was in the temple grove at Eridu a place where this black *kisšamu* tree had its regular cultic place. It seems possible however to assume that every temple had its holy grove with its own "Tree of Life" as well as its "*apšū*."⁴ To this conclusion we are led by an inscription left by Warad-Sin who says:

¹ WITZEL *op. cit.* p. 210 f. says that our text belongs to the victory hymn at the end of a Tammuz liturgy. 'Tammuz is repeatedly invoked as a cedar e.g. *ANOr* 10 p. 12: 140; (p. 20: 246); 28: 5; 30: 29 f.; etc.

² The verb *gub* can obviously be used of the planting of a tree, so in the text published by KRÄMER, *Gilgamesh and the HULUPPU-Tree*, p. 4: 35 *munus-e gš . . . bi-in gub*, "the lady the tree . . . let it stand," (for the transl. see *op. cit.*, p. 50) said of the goddess who took charge of the tree which from the outset was planted "on the bank of the pure Euphrates" and had Euphrates as "its drinking water." This tree is seemingly the Tree of Life. The command was given to bring it "to pure Ianna's holy garden," *kirig-gi-ri-in-ku(g)-ga-ša-an-na-šš*, ib. 1-76. That the tree planted at Euphrates and growing in the garden of the deity is the Tree of Life is clear from our whole treatment of this question. For the idea that the deity addressed is a cedar, surrounded by other cedars, cf. below p. 45.

³ Text:
En-ki-ke, ki-dür-ku ki-ag-ga-ni
mu-na-du
gš-kin-ul-li-a-ka-ni
ki-bi mu-na-gl⁴

⁴ Selected literature: *RLA* I s. v. *apšū*; DHORME, *La religion assyro-babylonienne* p. 73; *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, passim (voir index); FRANK, *Studien*

Tammuz
fertility
god
↓
Dumuzid
Cousin of
Ianna
Ishtar
Sals.
king of
Uruk

The House of the Plant of Life, the holy dwelling . . .

her secure making place, her house . . .

for my life and the life of Kudur Mabung, the father who begat me,

I built for her.]

BARON, *RISA* p. 32: 12 ff. = THUREAUX DANCIN, *SAKI* p. 214 f.: 7-12.¹

Here we are thus told that Warad Sin built for the goddess Nininsina the House of Life which is her house, the holy dwelling. This statement ought to be kept together with an inscription by an earlier ruler of the same dynasty, viz. Suman-ilu.

Unto Nin-Isin . . . the fine garden,

where a plant is growing, the Plant of Life, he gave.

BARON, *RISA* p. 312: 1 ff.?

It may safely be taken for granted that in both cases there is a hint at the temple grove with the Tree of Life growing in the sanctuary as in a fine garden. This conclusion provides us with a perfect coincidence between myth and ritual in this point, and in fact we cannot understand the rôle played by the Tree of Life in both myth and ritual without such a conclusion.³

zur babylonischen Religion, p. 210 f.; JEAN, *La religion sumérienne*, p. 46, 156; UNGER, *Sumerische Kunst*, p. 45. Chief text references are Gudea Cyl. A II 11; X 15; XXII 6. For a reconstruction of such a water basin see VAN BUREN, *The Flowing Vase and the God with Stream*, p. 65 f. Note the passages CT XXXVI Pl. 27: 14-15; Pl. 33: 3 where in the royal hymns allusion is made to the *abzu* of the sanctuary.

¹ Text: é-š-nam-ti-la unu-ku-ga

ki-ni-dub-bu-da-ni é-a-ni . . .

nam-ti-mu-šè ú nam-ti-ku-du-ur-ma-bu-ug a-a-ug-ú-má-ge hu-mu-na-dú

BARON'S transl. "the house that nourishes life" is of course impossible, correct GADD, *Sumerian Reading-Book*, p. 55. THUREAUX-DANCIN, *SAKI*, p. 215 does not translate the name *é-š-nam-ti-la*.

² Text:

Dam-i-si-in-ki-na . . . [ša]r-zid
ki gal-la ú ú nam-ti-la mu-in-ni

³ We refer to the fact that Inanna is said to have possessed a holy garden, see above p. 9 n. 2. It is thus an established fact that the grove in the temple yard corresponds to the mythic garden in Eridu. We know that according to Gudea Cyl. A XXVIII 23-24 there was in the vicinity of the temple a garden, *hviré*, called *gig-edin*, and also a mountain of vine(s), *kur-géšim*. Hammurapi according to CH II 26-28 dressed with green the *gigunú* of the goddess Aia, *mudabihá waršim gígunú Dáia*. For the term *gígunú* cf. DHORME, *Les religions*, p. 177 f. The supposed meaning of "comb" does not seem well established. The theory ought to be taken into consideration that *gígunú* might possibly be the *hut* in the sacred garden, cf. below p. 59 with n. 1.

But we may proceed a step further. It has already been seen that the king is the builder of the sanctuary with its garden where the Tree of Life is planted. Now there is a difficult text that is of considerable interest to us. The passage in question runs:

[For whom] Assur in view of his priesthood, decreed the celebration of the holy *akīti šēri* festival, in the garden of fullness, the symbol of the carnelian-mountain.

EBELING, *Tul* p. 7: 24¹

If the reading and translation are correct—as they in fact seem to be—we are bound to see in this text a statement that the Assyrian king who celebrates the *akīti* festival is the possessor also of the garden of paradise, situated on the "mountain of gods," the "Götterberg," the carnelian mountain, *šad šānde*, which is described in the Epic of Gilgameš: The king accordingly must be the guardian of this garden where the Tree of Life is growing. That this assumption well suits the already quoted instances cannot be denied.

It is against this background we have to interpret the well known pictures with the king, and the tree or plant, over which the king and the priests are seen pouring out libations.² In a previous article I have already combined these representations with the oft quoted Tammuz text R IV 27 No. 1.⁴

A tamarisk which in the garden has no water to drink,
whose foliage on the plain sends forth no twig.

A plant which they water no more in its pot,
whose roots are torn away.

A herb which in the garden has no water to drink . . .

Among the flowers of the garden he sleeps,
among the flowers of the garden he is thrown.

¹ Text in Var 10057 l. 24 with corrections given later by VON SODEN, *ZA* 43/1936, p. 18 and EBELING, *Kritische Beiträge*, p. 16:

[ša] D Assur ina pun kangūšiš
épiš akīti šēri elliti
ka šurūti mušši lamšil kad šānde

VON SODEN *op. cit.* p. 18: 64 reads *lam-šil šad Lab-na-na*. I have not been able to verify this reading on the published photograph.

² EBELING, *Tul* p. 8 n. b has referred to the *Epic of Gilgameš* IX col. V 48-51 saying: "Das *šarūti-Gabirge* ist der Götterberg." For the text in the relevant passage of the epic see above p. 7 n. 3.

³ See below Fig. 1 and Fig. 2.

⁴ *RoB* II/1943, p. 43 f.

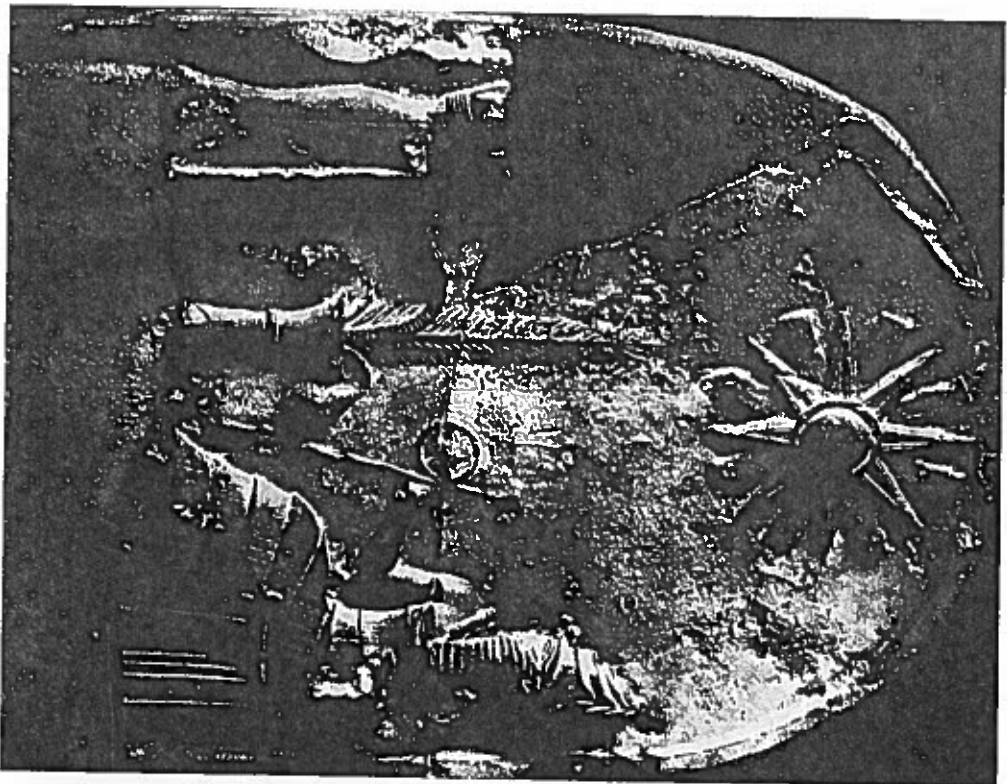


Fig. 1.

ZIMMERN, *Tammuzlieder* No. 3: 16—25 = LANGDON, *SBP* p. 300: 16—25 (not the last two lines); translation only LANGDON, *Tammuz and Ishtar* p. 13.¹

¹ Text R IV² 27 no. 1 with additions p. 6.

bīnu āa ina nusarē mē la išū
himmalsu ina gēri arla la ibnū

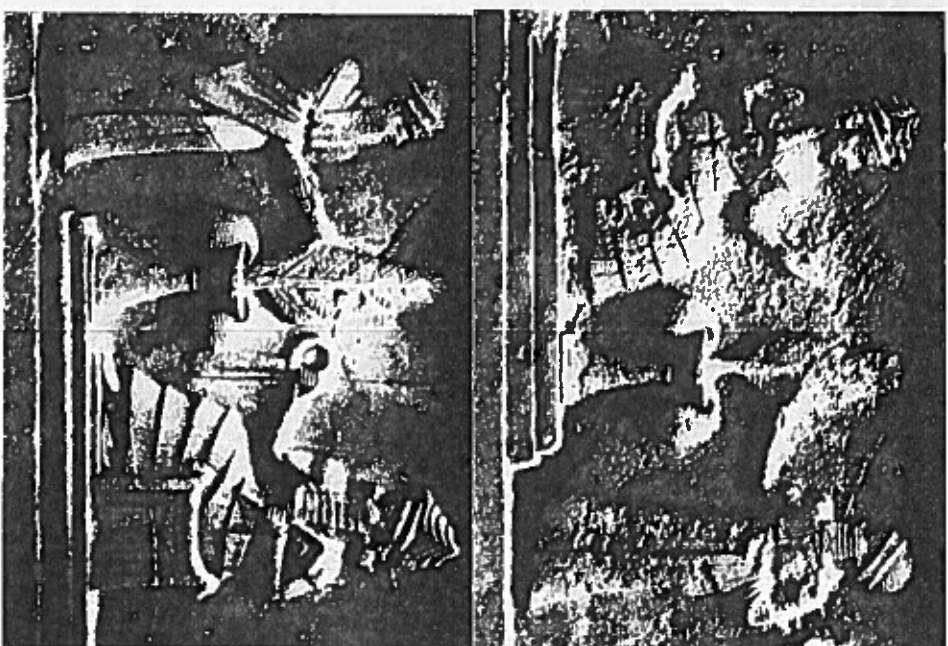


Fig. 2.

From what has been said here it will be clear that we think it to have been the priestly office of the Mesopotamian king to act as the *ramku* (or *išūb*) who awakes this languished god to new life by means of his

ilakku āa ina rajšū la iṣū
āa išānūs imošū
ku āa ina nusarē mē la išū

The two last lines according to LANGDON, *SBP* p. 336: 16—17.

ibations.¹ In the paper just mentioned I also tried to establish the fact that the water the king is pouring out over the tree or plant which is the symbol of the dead god is nothing but the Water of Life.² These scenes of libation in their turn may be kept together with the pictures showing the god with the two streams and the flowing vase. The two streams in fact are nothing but the Water of Life, the *nārāni kiālan* to quote the expression already referred to.³ The king pours out the Water of Life over the Tree of Life who is nobody but Tammuz. Only thus we are able to understand the exhortation in the royal hymn directed to Šulgi:

Shepherd Šulgi, thou possessest water, pour out water!

WITZEL, *KIS* 5 p. 30 II 1⁴

On the other hand we understand from the royal hymns that the two streams with the Water of Life which flow from the vase are the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. For in a hymn to Ur-Ninurta it is said that it is from the well in the River the task of the king in uncialion: to keep open the holy mouth of Tigris and Euphrates.

¹ The Sumerian king is *išib*, see JANX, *La religion sumérienne*, p. 205 f. For *išib* = *ramhu* see DENZEL, *ŠL* 3: 1, p. 139 s. v. *išib*. For the function of a *ramhu* see FRANK, *Suidien zur babylonischen Religion*, p. 8 f.; ДЮРАКЕ, *Religions de Babyloñie et d'Assyrie*, p. 210, 218. There is an interesting utterance by a priest:

*ramhu ellu ka Dea
nār šipri ša D'Narduk anāku
ZIMMERN, BBR* p. 34: 175

These words are uttered by the high priest, *šangamañu*, but as I have tried to show in my *The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book*, esp. chapters I—II, the title "messenger," *nār šipri* = *našpari*, "apostle," as well as Sumerian equivalents refer from the outset to the king, who moreover right down into Assyrian times is himself the *šangū* (< Sumerian *sangal*), cf. ДЮРАКЕ *op. cit.* p. 199. On the other hand *išib* has passed over into Accadian as *išipri*, and the Assyrian kings in the same manner claimed to be the *išipri* of the god. In this case too they only carry on Sumerian traditions, see ДЮРАКЕ *op. cit.* p. 200 f. with many references. ZIMMERN, *Oriental Stud.* p. 964 thinks that the *ramhu* is a priest who has passed through the *nis pi-ritual*. In view of the importance of this ritual for the king this fact also points to the position of the ruler as a *ramhu* ≠ *išib*. In this connection we should not forget that Hammurapi calls himself *CH* I 63—II 1:

muñer, du Eridu, ki ana ašriñu Who restored Eridu to its place,
muñbib šulgi bi apsi who cleansed the purification rite of *bi apsi*.

² See *RoB* II/1943, p. 54 f.
³ See above p. 7.
⁴ Text: sipa šul-gi a zu-[u] a bi

WITZEL, *KIS* 5 p. 98: 8 = FALKENSTEIN, *ZA* N. F. 15/1949 p. 115: 8¹ And a hymn to Ur-Nammu says:

Tigris and Euphrates o Ur-Nammu,
from the foundations of heaven and earth thou causest to go out.

LANGDON, *PSBA* 40/1918 p. 49: 37—38²

The Water of Life is no longer the water of Eridu, it is the water flowing in the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, but the basic conception is the same: the Tree of Life is watered by the king, who pours out over it the Water of Life which he has in his possession. The Tree of Life constantly needs the Water of Life near which it is growing in the garden of paradise. Just as the garden of paradise has its correspondence in the temple grove, so also has the mythic idea of the Water of Life its cultic counterpart in the water libations of the royal priest. We should not forget to note in this connection that Ištar is recalled to life by means of her being sprinkled with the Water of Life, a perfect parallel of the case of Tammuz.³

It should be stated that Tammuz is constantly hailed as the cedar, especially the *kaširru* cedar.⁴ It is against this background I should like to refer to a conjuration text to which attention has already been drawn in the article alluded to.⁵ In the sequel this text will be quoted anew and analyzed.⁶

We have found the Mesopotamian king functioning as the custodian and caretaker of the Tree of Life. He in a way fulfils the functions of a gardener of the temple grove where this cultic tree is planted. We need not be astonished then that the king actually is given the title of "gardener," Sumerian *ni-ki-ri*, Accadian *ni-karriñu*. This fact which was pointed out before will be illustrated by some quotations from the texts.⁷

¹ Text *CT* XXXVI Pl. 31: 8
i7idigina i7buranuna ka-ku-bi du-gu ni-ka-zal si-si
² Text: *i7idigina i7buranuna D'Ur-Nammu-ke4*
ki-an-ur-ka e-a-ba

³ See below p. 33.
⁴ See e.g. WITZEL, *AnOr* 10, pp. 246, 30: 29 f. Cf. below p. 44 f.
⁵ See *RoB* II/1943, p. 54 f.
⁶ See below p. 45 f.
⁷ See *RoB* II/1943, pp. 57 ff. Without knowledge of this article BöHL, *Hel hijevak der Sargoniden*, p. 41 f. has referred to some of the passages invoked in that article and arrived at the same conclusion that "gardener" is one of the king's sacred titles. He has moreover stressed the fact which was first pointed out by KING, *CCEBK* I, p. 63, that according to Agathias II 25 the king Belataras was a gardener.

Handwritten notes:
The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion

Already in the birth legend of Sargon we find the king functioning as the gardener, for it is said there:

Akki, the waterscooper, took me as his child and brought me up. Akki, the waterscooper, placed me as his gardener. When I was a gardener Ištar was in love with me. The kingship I exercised during x + 5 years.

CT XIII Pl. 42: 9-12 (+43) = ZA 42/1934 p. 62; KING, CCEBK II p. 87 ff.1

The appearance of Ištar on the scene is sufficient to show us the mythic background of this text. We should also note the unexpected manner in which Sargon speaks of the time he exercised his kingship. He is placed as a gardener, Ištar falls in love with him, he exercises the kingship during a certain space of time. It is obvious that these three circumstances in a way are connected, although it is impossible to analyse this connection from this text only.2

The legendary motif of the king's being a gardener returns in the somewhat dry form of a concrete historical notice in the information given by the old Babylonian chronicle about king Enlil-Bani: Irra-Imitti, the king, placed Enlil-Bani, the gardener, as a substitute king on his throne.

KING, CCEBK II p. 12: 8 f.3

The notion of šar pūhi has been much discussed in recent investigations.4 In this place we see how the "gardener"-motif has been associated with the "substitute"-motif. The substitute king is in our text called "the gardener." He is placed on the throne as a substitute for the real

1 Text:

Akki amēlu¹ nūh mē ana nūrūtūšu [ih]ma urabbanmi
Akki amēlu² nūh mē ana amēlu³ nūharribāšū iā aškuranni;
ina amēlu⁴ nūharribāiia D Ištar iā irāmanni
[x + 5] šandi šarrīla iā špuš

In this text the association between the gardener, nūharribu, and the libation-priest, nūh mē, is remarkable. The king himself, as we have seen, functions as a libation-priest, above p. 13 f.
2 We refer to the hints given below p. 59 on the role of the sacred marriage for the exercising of kingship.

3 Text:
D irra¹ imitti šarru D enlilbani nūharribu
ana la sakan SA.G. GIL ina kussūšu utēšib

4 See further HROZNY, WZKM 21/1907, pp. 379 ff.; ZIMMERMAN, Zum Streit um die Christushymne, p. 40; UNGNAD, Or 12/1943, p. 194; STEPHENS, JCS I, p. 267, n. 2; LABAT, RA 40/1945-46, pp. 123 ff.; JCS II, p. 160; BÖHM, Hel tijdah, pp. 26 ff.; ENGEL, Studies, Topical Index, s. v. šar pūhi.

king—we must assume during the New Year's festival—only, as the sequel of the text tells us, to utilize the situation, when the real king dies, to occupy the throne permanently. In the two texts thus far cited we had before us a gardener, who according to a more or less legendary tradition becomes a king. If we turn to the mythic epic as represented by the Epic of Gilgamesh we meet with a gardener here too. Gilgamesh when reproaching Ištar for her capriciousness towards her earlier lovers says:

You loved Išullanu, your father's gardener.
Epic of Gilgamesh ed. THOMPSON VI 64¹

The position as the gardener of Anu, Ištar's father, is well known from another text which speaks of this function. There was actually a divine functionary, called "the great gardener of Anu" (CT XXIV Pl. 3: 25).2 We cannot deny that from this passage in the Epic of Gilgamesh a certain light is thrown upon the Legend of Sargon. In both cases Ištar figures as the beloved of the gardener.

The garden supervised by the royal gardener is the garden of paradise as symbolized by the temple grove.3 That the occasion when such a plantation was made was a most remarkable incident is proved by the fact that we still possess a date formula celebrating such an occasion during the first Babylonian dynasty, KING, LII III p. 214: 12 where we read: "the year in which the garden of the gods was made."⁴

1 Text of the relevant passage ed. THOMPSON p. 39: 64-66:

larḡūnina išullanu amēlu¹ nūharribi ašiki
ša kaiānanna šugura našūki
ūni² janna unammaru pašūvriki

HENDER, The Gilgamesh Epic, p. 52 translates, utilizing the dictionary files of the Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, in the following manner: Who without ceasing brought three date-bunches (?) and daily provided thy table with plenty.

Now there is in Neo-Babylonian documents a word šūguru which means date-bunches, twigs, used for the adornment of houses on festival days, see UNGNAD, Glossar, Neulabyi, Rechts- u. Verwaltungsverk., p. 147 as compared with p. 73. This meaning would perhaps suit our passage. But in Inanna's descent, 127 we find that Inanna wears a šugurra on her head, this object being called "the crown of the plain." The Sumerian šugurra must then be something used as a crown, and this fact points rather to leafage, sprays or twigs than to "date-bunches." Cf. below on the apostle Thomas (p. 38 n. 1). In the Accadian version Ištar wears a tiara, agū.

2 Sumerian term: nu-kiri¹-gal-an-na-ke,
3 Text of the date-formula: mu kiri, dingir-ri-e-ne-ke, mu-un-na-dim-ma.

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در عینوی (جنات)

But for the cosmically orientated imagination of the inhabitants of the country between the two rivers the whole world could be viewed as a garden of the High God. This is why we read in a Sumerian text: "The four corners of the world grow for Enlil as a garden," *OECT* I p. 42 I 6.1

The position of the king as the gardener of the god both in epic-mythical, legendary and historical-novelistic texts places before us a difficult problem, viz. the interpretation of the enigmatic figure of the "gardener" in the famous, hotly debated Dilmun text treating of Enki and Ninhursag.² Here Enki, the gardener, and the *hieros gamos* with a mother goddess, are associated, in the same manner as we have found before repeatedly a mothergoddess Ištar, a gardener, and a holy marriage coupled together. But the interpretation of the text is still highly controversial and for this reason we do not for the time being wish to emphasize more than the obvious recurrence of the old motives of the paradise garden and its cultivator, the gardener.³

¹ Text: an-ub-dá Jimmu Den-lil-ra kirig-gim na-sig

² See the treatments by KRAMER, *Enki and Ninhursag*, and WITZEL, *Ninhursag und Enki*, Or 15/1946, pp. 239 ff.

³ The decisive passage runs:

[ukuš sur-ra-na] imf-ma-na-an-tum] giššahur gu-ul-ba im-ma-na-an-tum gišgeštin ga-ra-an-ba im-ma-na-an-tum ur-ra-ni bi-insi-si Den-ki-ke, igi-ni im-ma-an-sig-sig, pa šu-bi-in-du, Den-ki-ke, Duttu-ra gir-im-ma-an-gub é-na al-dé-dé-gál-à

a-ba-me-en za-e-me-en mà-e nu-kiri, ukuš giššahur [gš geštin] hé-ám-še ga-mu-ra-ab-si Duttu ša-hul-a-ni-ta é-e ig-ba-an-kid Den-ki-ke, Duttu-ra SAL-i-DIM, ukuš sur-ra-na ba-na-ab-si-mu gššahur gu-ul-ba ba-na-ab-si-mu gš geštin ga-ra-an-ba ba-na-ab-si-mu

WITZEL, Or 15/1946, p. 256: 165—178 = KRAMER *op. cit.* p. 16: 165—178

He brought him the cucumbers of his cultivation, he brought him the apples in their luxuriant greatness, he brought him the grapes in their clusters (?). Enki, his face turned pale, he gripped the staff. Enki waited for Uttu. In his house he cries: "Open!" "Thou, who art thou?"

To sum up the results of the investigation so far: we have found that there is in ancient Mesopotamian religion a mythical idea of a garden of paradise, situated at Eridu between the mouth of the two rivers, where the Tree of Life is growing. This mythical conception receives its symbolical expression in the cult by means of a special cult tree, planted in a grove near the sanctuary. The gardian and waterer, the gardener and libation priest at once, is the king/He performs certain acts of libation with the view of revivifying this tree, which is also the visible symbol of the dying god, who is called back to life. In that capacity the king like Sargon in his birth legend is called "the gardener" of the god. The water given to the Tree of Life by the royal gardener is the Water of Life.

In the letters of the Sargonid dynasty the king is called "the farmer."¹ That this title in some way or other is associated with the chain of ideas we have followed in this investigation would seem to be clear, but it must be left for future research to establish the connecting links between the two notions.

¹ "I am the gardener, I would give thee cucumbers, apples and grapes, according to thy wish."

Uttu with joyful heart opened the door of the house.

Enki to Uttu behaved kindly.

He gives him the cucumbers of his cultivation,

gives him the apples in their luxuriant greatness,

gives him the grapes in their clusters (?).

Uttu, the kind one, he puts at his side, presses his hand.

In this section there are only a few insignificant divergences between KRAMER'S pioneer edition and WITZEL'S.

The scene before the gate of the house of Enki immediately reminds us of the corresponding scene when Ishtar wants to enter the nether world. This topos has been analyzed in detail by KROLL in his well-known work *God and Hölle*, pp. 207 ff.

¹ See BöHL *op. cit.* pp. 42 ff., 50. The activity of the king both as a gardener and a farmer is described in a Šulgi text:

šul-gi nam-tar-ra-ke, numun unu, kè-gè sag-it-la mu-tum é-i, é-engur Din-unu⁴, ka gš ki ba-ni-tag gu-sag še-sag numun-še mu-gar Dašnan mu-ši-hul Din-unu, kè-ke, du, ša-ga-na ml mu-na-ni-du, BE XXXI 5—8 = ZA N. F. 15/1949, p. 97

"Šulgi of destiny-decision" with elevated head brought seed to Uruk, in "the House of River," in "the House of Ocean" of the Lady of Uruk he planted a tree in earth,

he placed the best hemp, the best corn as seed.—Ašnan rejoiced over it. The Lady of Uruk spoke in her heart good things to him. (transl. according to FALKENSTEIN in ZA N. F. 15/1949, p. 97)

Chapter II. The King as the Possessor of the Tree or Plant of Life.

[The king is not only the guardian of the Tree of Life, he is also the possessor of the Plant of Life or a twig from the Tree of Life.]

We may start with the observation that the mythical ancestor of the *biru* priests, the legendary king Enmeduranki, in a scene of enthronement was given a sceptre of cedar wood:

The cedar staff, the da[r]f[ing] of the great gods, they caused [his hands to seize].

ZIMMERN, *BBR* p. 116: 9¹

We need not occupy ourselves with the analysis of the enthronement of king Enmeduranki, as this has been done in a previous work.² What concerns us here is the cedar staff which is seized by the enthroned king: ZIMMERN has shown that "the seven wise men," the *apkallu*, in their right hand carry one *eru*-twig, in some cases however a scion of the date palm. With this fact WITZEL has aptly combined a passage in *CT XVI Pl. 6: 209-213* where the priest of incantation says that he is holding in his hand a branch of the *kiskannu*-tree. But moreover the priest is carrying one *eru*-twig, namely the *si'na-nu* of the god An.¹ It is important to remember that the seven *apkallu* are associated with the *apsu* of Eridu, because *Maklu VIII 38* speaks of *apkallumai sa apsu*.³ There are reasons to believe that the *apkallu* are mythical primordial kings.⁴ At any rate we find here that the *apkallu* in his hand

¹ Text: ¹⁹erina n[da]-ra[m] il[an]ma² rabu³ u-g[ar]-me-hu kat-su]

² See WIDENGRÉN, *The Ascension of the Aposle*, pp. 7 ff.

³ Text: *apkallumai sa apsu*; cf. *Maklu VII 49: 7, apkallu² šu Eridu¹* (II 124).

⁴ For the connection between the *apkallu* and the primordial king see *KAT 3rd ed.*, p. 537 f.; ZIMMERN, *ZA N. F. I 1924*, pp. 151 ff.; cf. also WITZEL, *AnOr 15*, p. 90. Other representations show them carrying a vessel of purification in their right hand, and in their left hand a vessel for drawing water. Or they are equipped with the shoots of the date-palm as a text says:

š[ar]-gar-D[er]-ki-ke₄ šu-nu mu-un-da-an-gál
š[ar]-ma-nu š[ar]-kukul-mah-an-na-ke₄ šu-nu mu-un-da-an-gál
š[ar]-pa-gišimmar-marza-gal-[gal-la] šu-nu mu-un-da-an-gál

CT XVI Pl. 6: 209-213 = FALKENSTEIN, *Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung* p. 26 = THOMPSON, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, p. 22: 209.

carries an *eru*-twig, while the incantation priest is equipped with a branch from the *kiskannu*-tree. It has already been pointed out that the *kiskannu*-tree, growing in Eridu where we find the *apkallu*, is nothing but the Tree of Life, planted in the paradise of Eridu.¹ It seems conclusive then that the king carries in his hand a twig from the Tree of Life. This conclusion is corroborated by a curious passage in one of the Sargonid letters: There it is said by the senders of one letter: "We were dead dogs, the Lord, the King gave us life by means of placing the Plant of Life under our nose." WATERMAN, *RCAE* II p. 40: 5 ff.² It goes without saying that this passage does not acquire its full significance until we understand it quite concretely. The king, holding as his sceptre the twig from the Tree of Life or as we may say, the Plant of Life, stretches this rod or shoot towards the kneeling petitioners. We are reminded here of the fact that according to the Sumerian fragments of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* the hero manufactures two instruments from the *Huluppu*-tree by means of which he intends to recall the dead to life.³

The *uguru* of Ea is in my hand.

The *eru*-tree, the elevate weapon of Anu, I hold in my hand.

The palm-twig of the great oracles I hold in my hand.

For the translation of *marza* = *paršu* cf. WIDENGRÉN *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff. with references. It is above all WITZEL who has seen that the meaning "oracle" is the only possible one in this and similar passages. For *si'gar* = *uguru* see FALKENSTEIN *op. cit.*, p. 20 n. 3 who refers to *Er. El. I 61*, and FURLANI, *RSO XII/1930*, pp. 266-71.

It is important to note that Adapa is given the epithet *apkallu*, see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, p. 28, where *mlar alia* we see that Adapa is the *apkallu* Eridu, IV R² 58 I 24. He is also "the observer of oracles" in the *Legend of Adapa* I 9-12. The term "annointed" (for which cf. below p. 38 n. 1, 59) also singles him out as a sacral king.

¹ We may observe that Asari-*lu*-*du*, the *mašmaš* *išani* is called *mlar* *Dea, apkallu*, see *Maklu IV 8*. Marduk in later times is identical with Asari-*lu*-*du*, and is called *mlar* *Dea apkallu* he too, *Maklu IV 74*. The seven *apkallu* are called "the sons of *apsu*", cf. WITZEL, *AnOr 15*, p. 98. It seems quite clear then that the *apkallu* belongs to the Ea-Eridu circle.

² Text in HARPER, *ABL* No. VIII 771: 5 ff. *kalbe miltanu anini šarru behu uballimmaš dšummu bašlu ana nahirišni ilakan*: Cf. Esther 4: 11: 5: 2.

The word *nahirišni* is written *na-hi-ri-ni*, but the *i* is long by reason of etymology: *ni* and *š* (נִי and שֵׁן). For this reason correct the transcription in ENGEL, *Studtes* p. 29.

³ See KRAMER, *Gilgamesh and the Huluppu-Tree*, p. 10: 102-103. He makes the base of the tree into his *pušku* = *šellag*, and its *pa* (translated "crown" by KRAMER) into his *miškū* = *šir*. *šir*. The meaning of *pušku* and *miškū* remains dubious, cf. SMITH, *Rd 30/1930*, pp. 153 ff., and the discussions in the translations by KRAMER and WITZEL. We remember that the *apkallu* is equipped with the

Hand
worship
a bit on the
Ap kullu

scepter - tree
of life -
rod -
conductor -

The evidence of the texts in this case too is corroborated by glyptic art and reliefs. We may start with some scenes of cylinder seals showing the enthroned god carrying in his hand a scepter in the form of a branch or a plant. Some of these cases may be mentioned here. There is first of all a series of seals where the enthroned god holds in his hand a plant or an ear of corn.¹ More common are such scenes where a standing divine figure holds in his hand a branch or a plant.² From a general point of view a third type is more interesting: an enthroned deity holding the so-called flowing vase³ is approached by three divine figures, the second of whom carries a plant, hanging from a curved stick.⁴ In this type we accordingly find that to this god, as the possessor of the Water of Life (flowing from the vase) is brought a twig from the Tree of Life. Is it not the intention of the scene to show how one symbol of life is united with the other symbols?⁵ But we also meet with the

šīpa-gišimmar, see above p. 20 l. n. 3. We must therefore ask if the *šīpa* of the tree is not the top-shoot, used as a rod by the purification priest.

¹ See FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XX b, g, i, k; XXX e; MOORGART, *Vorderasiatische Rollstempel*, Tafel 60: 504; *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, Vol. II Fig. 121, 207—210, 212. On some of these and the following seals see *Additional Note No. 1*.

² See FRANKFORT *op. cit.* Pl. XXV c; XXX c, d; XXXI c; MOORGART *op. cit.*, Tafel 60: 499—501; 68; 564; PORADA *op. cit.* 312, 497, 1006—1008, 1012—1013, 1016—1017.

³ For this theme see VAN BUREN, *The Flowing Vase*, to which inestimable work the following pages try to offer some supplementary remarks and corrections, especially by utilizing other than the most common passages of Sumero-Accadian literature.

⁴ PORADA *op. cit.* II Pl. XXX 198 e = FRANKFORT *op. cit.* Pl. XXII d = above Fig. 3.

⁵ Mrs. VAN BUREN *op. cit.* 41 ff. treats what is called "Judgement of the Bird-Man." She there p. 50 gives the following description of the cylinder seal in the Morgan collection, just referred to in the preceding note: "Ea sits on a nine-panelled seat and faces to right. His flat cap rests on one pair of big horns, and three smaller pairs project from the conical peak. His flounced robe is arranged diagonally and conceals his bent arm and his hand holding a vase, but from it streams burst forth on both sides. In the field is a crescent. Three gods approach him; they all have crowns like Ea's, but wear a skirt with vertical pleats. The first is the two-faced minister who with uplifted hand reverently accosts the divine judge. His horned cap shows a slight variation, because it has two conical peaks, one for each face; his two beards are also clearly marked. The second god balances a curved weapon across his shoulders as if it were a stick, so that he may conveniently transport a plant with several branches each ending in a leaf. The third divinity carries a mace in the same way across his shoulders, and from it hangs the bird-man head



Fig. 3.

downward, suspended by one claw. . . . Thus these members of Ea's family return triumphantly from the expedition on which he had sent them; the magic plant has been retrieved, and the thief is a captive, bound and helpless."

The explanation offered here is supplemented by a general remark *op. cit.* p. 41 introducing this chapter, for there the author says: "In a few examples the bird-man himself, one of the attendant gods, or the two-faced minister Usnu, holds a branch or spray of verdure. Perhaps the birdman stole a twig from the tree of life, and it is this branch which is brought back in triumph by the captors to the Divine Magician by whom it was used in magic rites." We may refer for comparison to the following cylinder seal representations published in Mrs. VAN BUREN'S work: Pl. IV 13, 17 (where we find "a deity . . . who sits up in the air behind Ea, and stretches out one hand to touch a big branch of foliage growing out of a round object, perhaps intended for a vase, which rests upon the streams behind Ea just at the point where it curves over and falls to the ground. This may be an allusion to Ea's power of bestowing fertilizing waters, or it may indicate instead that the magic twig has been restored to the Great Magician," VAN BUREN *op. cit.* p. 45), 23 ("where Usnu stands before him [i.e. Ea] and with both hands holds a long stem with several branches, evidence of the crime committed by the bird-man" *op. cit.* p. 48). Further there are seals described by her but not reproduced: DELAPORTE, *Archives* 4/1927, Pl. VII No. 7 where the attendant "holds a rod transversely in one hand, and a spray with leaves in the other; a recurrence of the motive of the magic twig salvaged from the marauders," VAN BUREN *op. cit.* p. 46. Incidentally we may remark that we meet here for the first time in history the combination of *baršūm* and *wīga*, cf. below p. 41. See also the seal Museum of Vienna No. 1020, published by WARD, *Seal Cylinders*, fig. 299 and PRINZ, *Orientalische Symbolik*, p. 68. There are other seals showing the tree of life behind Ea's throne and thus indicating the intimate relation between the god and his holy tree, see e.g. WEBER, *Orientalische Stempelbilder*, II fig. 397, description VAN BUREN *op. cit.* p. 44 f.!

king himself i.e. Gudea, portrayed in sculpture, holding the same flowing vase in exactly the same manner as the god Enki (Ea).¹ We need not emphasize how this sculpture agrees with the royal hymns where the king is invoked as the possessor of the Water par excellence (see above p. 14 f.).

Sometimes we find that the flowing vase is "crowned with a triple branch," as Mrs. VAN BUREN expresses it.² Thus we meet with a seal of Gudea where the god Ningišzida is shown introducing Gudea before the enthroned Ea who holds the flowing vase from which a plant is growing.³ There are several such scenes where Ea is seated on a throne-stool (sometimes formed by the temple).⁴ "A plant with three leaves

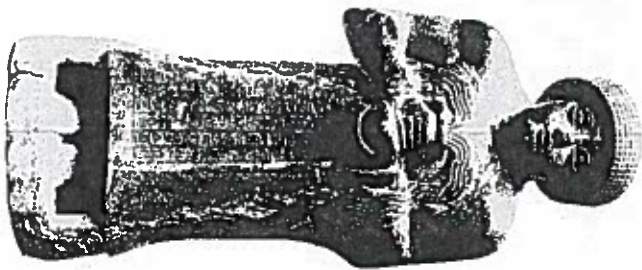


Fig. 4.

¹ See R 4 27/1930, Pl. I, or Goetze, *Hehiter, Churrier und Assyrer*, Pl. 12 = below Fig. 4 description VAN BUREN *op. cit.* p. 70 f. where she asks: "Is it possible . . . that the *palēsi* abrogated to himself the emblems, if not the functions, of the god of the Watery Deep?" We think that our references to the royal hymns sufficiently show that neither this case nor that of an unknown *palēsi* (see VAN BUREN *op. cit.* p. 71) is to be viewed as an isolated example. The connecting link may have been representations of the nude hero, the "Gilgamesh" figure who is actually shown in the same position as the holder of the flowing vase, see VAN BUREN *op. cit.* Pl. VIII 30; XIII 43—44; XIV 50—51; XVII 61; XXI 78, and General Index s. v. Nudē Hero; WEBER *op. cit.* fig. 259—263. Mrs. VAN BUREN thinks *op. cit.* p. 14 that the nude hero may depict Tammuz, an assertion that is likely to be met with great scepticism, for this figure clearly shows such heroic traits as are never associated with Tammuz, who is never a wrestling hero, whereas the nude hero is shown exactly in the situation described in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* VI 15—25, see GORDON, *Iraq* VI p. 4 f. and OPPENHEIM, *Or* 17/1948, p. 29 f. FRANKFORT too, *op. cit.* p. 67 n. 1 finds Mrs. VAN BUREN's view (which she has adopted from HENDENREICH, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Vorderas. Steinschnittkunst*) untenable and draws attention to the fact that "the god of animals and vegetation, who is Tammuz, often appears on Akkadian seals but always wearing the horned crown, in contrast with the naked hero," *ib.* p. 60 n. 4. We accept his opinion in spite of Moorrgar, *Die Entstehung der sumerischen Hochkultur* p. 101 n. 213.

² See *op. cit.* p. 14. Her contention that the heraldically duplicated nude hero can not be Gilgamesh but must signify the two sons of Ea does not carry conviction for reasons indicated above n. 1. Besides we have to observe that this explanation does not take account of the fundamental stylistic feature, called by WEBER *op. cit.* I p. 76 "die Antithese identischer oder gleichartiger Glieder" and by Moorrgar *op. cit.* p. 21 "spiegelbildliche Verdoppelung," cf. also Moorrgar *op. cit.* Tabel 26: 185—186.

³ See FRANKFORT *op. cit.* Text-fig. 37, and Pl. XXV d = VAN BUREN *op. cit.* Pl. XII 41.

⁴ For this detail see WENSINCK.

grows between two streams which flow from the vase he holds."¹ A specially interesting seal shows a seated deity who "in his outstretched right hand . . . holds a floral spray. A stream spurts forth from his waist before and behind."² Conceivably Mrs. VAN BUREN is quite right when saying: "The twig which Ea holds seems to have some more definite significance than a mere allusion to his power as a god of fertility. He offers it to his son who moves forward eagerly to take it."³ She further compares on one hand the scene in *Enūma Eših* IV 60—62 and on the other thinks it "possible that this scene really depicts the 'Great Magician of the Gods' handing over to his son the branch of the *kisšanu*, with instruction how to use it to heal the sick."⁴ Actually

¹ VAN BUREN *op. cit.* p. 78 where other such scenes are described, *inter alia* VA 3338 = Pl. XII 42 in her book.

² *ib.* p. 40 and Pl. III 11.

³ *ib.* p. 40.

⁴ *ib.* p. 40 with reference to CT XVI Pl. 46: 202—203, and to ALBRIGHT, *AJSL* XXXV/1919, p. 164; LANODON, *JRAS* 1928, pp. 843—848.

these two interpretations do not at all militate against each other. The Plant of Life or the branch from the Tree of Life of course is capable of "nullifying the poison" as it is said of the *šammū*, mentioned *En. E.* IV 62, and even for this reason it may be used in healing rituals. We may refer to *Makû* I 21—24 where the wish is expressed that the sick worshipper may be healed by means of four different species of plants, obviously used in healing ceremonies.¹ In this connection we should of course compare the passage from the letter to Assarhaddon.² One thing that is of special interest to us is the association between the Plant of Life and the Water of Life as well as the handing over to the young god of the sceptre that is the branch from the Tree of Life. This association between plants and water as symbols of the young god is met with in a Tammuz-hymn where we read:

When the good husband, my husband, was taken away,
when the good son, my son, was taken away,
my husband, the early plants, passed away,
my son, the latter plants, passed away.
My husband, the plants to seek was his going, and the plants
shall return,
my son, the water to seek was his going, and the water shall
become sweet.

RA 8/1911, p. 163: 20—25.³ RA 12/1915, p. 35: 20—25/5

In the so-called First Syrian group⁴ we may refer to a seal where a seated deity holds in his right hand a lotus blossom (?), a plant which will be met with repeatedly in the sequel among the specimens of pictorial art in Syria and Palestine.⁵

¹ Cf. below p. 33. SCHRAUK, *Babylonische Stilmotive* has not observed the importance of this rite.

² Text: u₄ dam-ze-ba

u₄ dam-ze-ba

dam-mu

dum-mu

dam-mu

dum-mu

dam-mu ba-gin

dum-mu ba-gin

u-sag-gá e-gin

u-egir-ra e-gin

u-ki(n)-ki(n)-da gin-na-a-ni

u-e ba-ni-ib-gi

a-ki(n)-ki(n)-da gin-na-a-ni

a-e ba-an-ze-en-ma

³ See above p. 21.

⁴ For this designation see FRANKFORT *op. cit.* p. 252 f., and PORADA *op. cit.* I p. 117 f.

⁵ See PORADA *op. cit.* I p. 120 No. 912: "deity enthroned on platform and holding lotus blossom." II Pl. CXXXVII 912 E. We may perhaps compare Pl. CL 987, see the description PORADA *op. cit.* I p. 135.

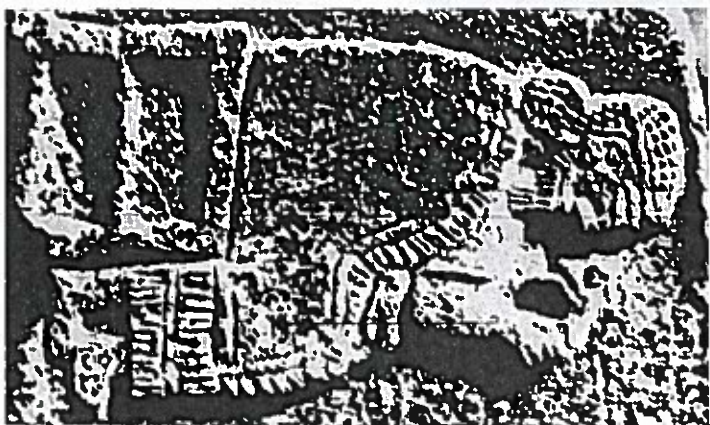


Fig. 5.

When passing from glyptic art to reliefs we observe within the Mesopotamian area an interesting scene from Tell Halaf. An enthroned figure holds in his left hand a herb with three distinct buds, which he lifts to his nose or mouth.¹ For this gesture we should compare what was said in the letter to Assarhaddon (see above p. 21). The comparison between text and picture shows us that the Plant of Life in the hand of the deity or king actually was thought to communicate life by being carried to one's nose.

In Northern Syria we meet with the stele of Bar Rekuh in Sincirli where the king sitting on his throne-stool holds in his hand a flower.²

¹ VON OPPENHEIM, *Tell Halaf*, p. 157, Pl. 37 — above Fig. 5. "In der linken halt er ein Kraut mit drei selbständigen Blüten, das er gegen Nase oder Mund führt."

² See e.g. COTTENAU, *La civilisation des Hittites*, p. 177, fig. 54; *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, Vol. IV, p. 346. See below Fig. 6.

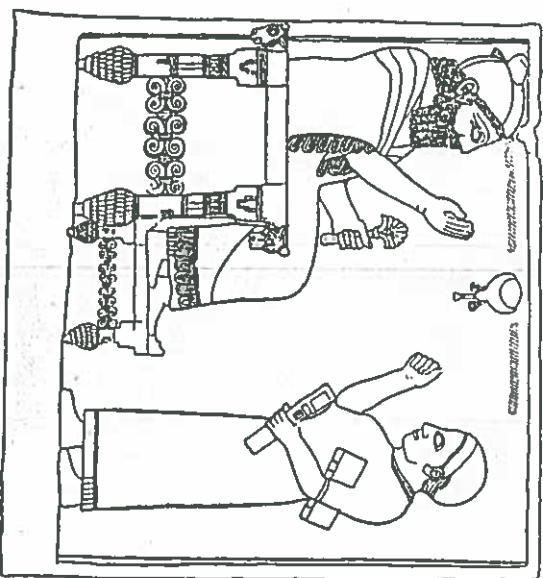



Fig. 6.

This representation should be compared with the famous Tyszkiewicz cylinder which comes from Northern Syria or Anatolia.¹ Here we find a deity or king sitting in a chair, a table being placed in front of him. In his right hand he holds a cup, in his left an object with three pins, generally interpreted as the threeforked symbol of lightning. But when compared on one hand with the relief from Tell Halaf where the plant has three distinct buds, on the other hand with the whole series of scenes where the enthroned king holds in his right hand a cup, in his left a plant or twig or flower, it is difficult not to assume that the object intended is a threeforked twig.²

Proceeding further southwards along the Mediterranean coast we meet in Byblos with the renowned Ahīrām sarcophagus where the king sitting on his throne in his left hand holds a big lotus flower, directed

¹ FRANKFORT *op. cit.* Pl. XLIII or *cf.* Text.-fig. 92 on p. 285.

² The object discussed seems to have the shape , but definitely not that


of a . On the reproduction FRANKFORT *op. cit.* Text.-fig. 92 the shape is the former one. It may of course be assumed that this object is nothing but three curved sticks, so-called "lituus," see FRANKFORT *op. cit.* p. 286 with n. 4.



Fig. 7.

downwards, in his right hand a cup, while a table with various dishes is arranged in front of him.¹

It is also on the Syrian coast that we in Ugarit find a welcome text, witness of the king's habit of carrying in his hand a branch or plant or flower, for in one of the Ba'al-'Ahat cycle passages we read:

Ba'al's eyes are before his hands,
that they wrest the cedar from his right hand.

II AB col. VII 40 f. = GORDON, *Ugaritic Literature*, p. 36²

It has already been pointed out that this cedar staff is "the sceptre-tree of life."³ Against the background of the material adduced in this article this allegation would seem to be conclusive.

When from the coast we pass to the "Hinterland" of the Phoenician kingdoms we find in the ivories from Megiddo some interesting specimens of the scenes occupying our attention. The type of pictures showing the enthroned ruler is obviously dependent upon the same pattern as the Ahīrām sarcophagus. The king sitting on his throne-stool, which is of the same model as that of Ahīrām⁴, holds in his left hand the lotus flower, in his right hand the cup.⁵ There is another representa-

¹ MONTER, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, Pl. 130; GOERTZE, *op. cit.* Pl. 70 (= above Fig. 7).

² Text in GORDON, *UH II* p. 143:

n. b' l. kdm. ydh
hḡš. 'z. bymnh

³ See ENONELL, *Studies*, p. 117 n. 4.

⁴ The throne-stool in both cases is flanked by winged lion-sphinxes of Egyptian model, cf. the reproductions of Egyptian thrones published in GRESSMANN, *AOBAT*, Fig. 82—83. Cf. U. SCHWEITZER, *Löwe und Sphinx*, p. 62 n. 364. I owe this reference to Prof. T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH.

⁵ See LOUD, *The Megiddo Ivories*, Pl. 4, 2 a, b = below Fig. 8.

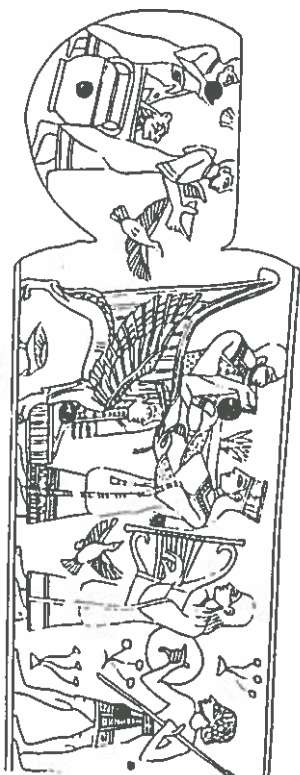


Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

tion of much the same type.¹ On two Phoenician bowls the same pattern is also found.² The fact that this pattern of royal representation occurs in Palestine proper is important for the tracing among the Israelites of the idea of the Plant of Life or the twig from the Tree of Life as the sceptre of the king.

When analyzing the stylistic features of these scenes we discern in

¹ See LOUD *op. cit.*, Pl. 32 b, c. In this case the sitting figure holds a great round bowl in his right hand and a big lotus flower in his left. His dais is a low chair without back, but with foot-stool. A table with various dishes is placed before him, see above Fig. 9.

² See reproductions in drawing in MOSCARTI, *Storia e civiltà dei Semiti*, Pl. XX = above Fig. 10—11. On one of these representations (fig. 10) the vase, held in the left hand, is of the same type as that held by the king on so many representations of enthroned king or deity, holding cup, a motif that ought to be the subject of a careful analysis.

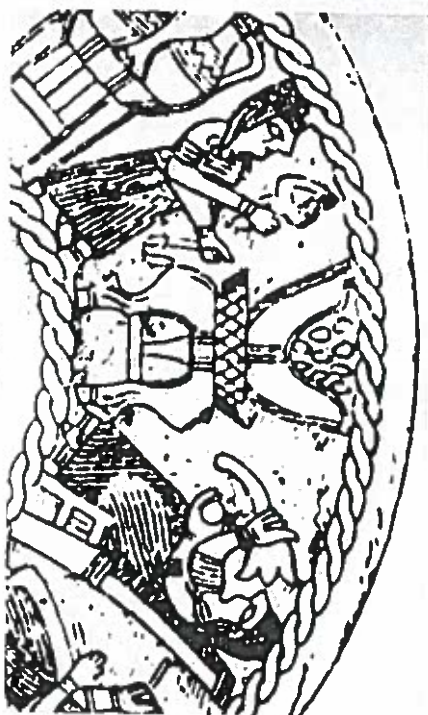


Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.

Phoenicia, Palestine and Syria as usual two main streams of influence. One, the Mesopotamian pattern, showing the king sitting on his throne-stool, holding branch or plant of life in one hand and cup in the other. The other influence, the Egyptian, competes here in the West with the Mesopotamian. It is certainly due to this pattern of culture that the flower held by the king among the Western Semites is a lotus blossom. This pattern obviously gains more and more the upper hand, for whereas before c. 1000 B. C. we still find in Upper Mesopotamia

in Tell Halaf the king holding, not a lotus blossom, but a tripartite herb of another kind, the development in pictorial art on Assyrian soil ends with representations of the king holding even a lotus flower.¹ Among the Western Semites the underlying idea of the royal representations treated here would accordingly from the outset seem to be a Mesopotamian one, but the outward form given this idea is obviously dominated by the Egyptian pattern.

We have seen that the king holds in his hand as his sceptre the Plant of Life or a branch from the Tree of Life. By means of this plant or twig he is able to impart life to his subjects who kneel as supplicants before him. But *how* does this revivifying process take place? In the Assyrian letter addressed to Assarhaddon we get the impression that life is communicated by the inhalation of the scent of the plant. But this does not seem to be the general conception. On the contrary, the Plant of Life is expressly said to be eaten, whereby life is acquired by its partakers. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* is quite explicit in this regard:

Gilgamesh said to him, to the skipper Uršanabi:
 "Uršanabi, this plant is the plant of renown,
 wherfrom man acquires his strength.
 I will bring it to Uruk the Yard, make [people] to eat the plant...
 Its name is "when old a man grows young (again)."
 I will eat and so return to what was my youth.

You must eat the fruit/plant!

Epic of Gilgamesh ed. THOMPSON XI 277—282²

¹ There are so many representations of the Assyrian king holding in his hand a lotus flower that any references would seem superfluous: We might however observe that there are many more pictures of him standing in his car and holding a lotus blossom in his hand than representations of him sitting on his throne with such a flower in his hand. It may be, however, that this is mere chance, without any significance.

² Text: *D Gilgamesh ana šašma izakkara ana Uršanabi malašū*

*Uršanabi šamnu annī šamnu ni[bil]i
 ša amēlu ina libbi Urukī šurpuri lakātil [niššū] šamma libiuk
 šumša šēnu iabhir amēlu
 anāhu libūnina kutur ana ša gurpūāma*

The 1-80 is difficult for the traces of the sign before *šamma* do not give any clear indication of what sign it is intended. The restoration only aims at providing an approximate meaning. The translation in PARSONS, *Near Eastern Texts*, p. 96, in this passage gives the following translation:

I will take it to ramparted Uruk,
 Will cause [...] to eat the plant...

The hero of the epic thus intends both to eat himself of the plant and to give his people to eat of the Plant of Life. By this process they will regain youth and strength.

We have already referred to the situation in the *Epic of Ishtar's Descent* when the goddess is brought back to life by being sprinkled with the Water of Life.¹ In this case the Sumerian version of the relevant passages is of special interest. First we should note that Inanna says to her messenger Ninšubur:

Father, Enki, the lord of wisdom,
 who knows the Plant of Life, who knows the Water of Life,
 he will surely bring me back to life.

Inanna's Descent ll. 65—67: *SL* p. 307 (297)²

It goes without saying that the confidence placed by the goddess in Father Enki was not frustrated, for he gives as his orders:

Sixty times the Plant of Life, sixty times the Water of Life
 communicate to it.
 Verily Inanna will arise.

Inanna's Descent ll. 244—45. *SL* p. 310 (301)³

In the sequel it is related how the order of Enki is carried out and how Inanna accordingly returns from the nether world. In the Accadian version (Rev. l. 34, 38) only the sprinkling (*salālu*) with the Water of Life (*mē balāti*, written *a^{me}-ti-la*) is mentioned. In the Sumerian version on the contrary we meet with an action undertaken with both *a-nam-ti-la* and *ti-nam-ti-la*. That *a-nam-ti-la* is the perfect equivalent of *mē balāti* (written *a^{me}-ti-la*) stands to reason. But how is *ti-nam-ti-la* to be properly rendered? KRAMER in the relevant passages translates it "the Food of Life."⁴ The same translation is given by WITZEL in

¹ Text in Accadian version:

D Ishtar me^{me} balāti islušūma

CT XV Pl. 47: 38

² Text: a-a-Dam-an-ki-ū-mu-un-mu-ūš-⁶⁵ tūg-[da(?)]-ma-al-la-ke₄

ū-nam-ti-la mu-un-zu a-nam-ti-la mu-un-zu
 e-ne ma-ra ju-mu-un-ti-li

³ Text: gīš-ām ū-nam-ti-la gīš-ām a-nam-ti-la ugu-na šub-bu-dē-en-šī-en
 Dīnamer ha-be-gub

⁴ See KRAMER, *Sumerian Mythology*, p. 94 f., and *SL* p. 307: 66; 310: 244;

311: 271.

The verb *salālu* in the Accadian version corresponds in the Sumerian version to *šub*.

- give his people -
 12.8.14-16

another passage where we read in a hymn spoken by Lugabanda to the Sun God Babbar:

To cause to eat *ti-nam-ti-la* is thy lordship, to provide the *a-nam-ti-la* is thy lordship.

C. B. M. 9234 Rev. 36—37 = WITZEL, *AnOr* 15/1938 p. 361

In this passage WITZEL gives "Nahrung des Lebens". By the way, we may remark that this passage, when the context is given due consideration, is reminiscent of the passages where we found that it was the task of the king to supervise the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris as containing the Water of Life.² For in this case it is with the help of Tigris that Babbar brings the Water of Life.³

There is at our disposition another highly instructive passage where the same association between the Water of Life and the Food or Plant of Life is met with, viz. the *Myth of Adapa*, for here we read:

The Food of Life they placed before him, but he did not eat. The Water of Life they placed before him, but he did not drink.

VAS XII 194; *Myth of Adapa* II 63—65; *KB* VI p. 98: 25—27⁴

Now it cannot be denied that in these lines the eating (*akālu*) of *akal balāti*, Food of Life, and drinking (*šatū*) of *mē balāti*, Water of Life, corresponds to the causing to eat (*ki* = *akālu* III r³) the *ti-nam-ti-la* and the providing (*šid*) of the *a-nam-ti-la*. It is perfectly sure that Sumerian *ti* may correspond to Accadian *aklu*, food.⁵ But this meaning is secondary. The primary correspondence is Accadian *šamnu*, plant, herb.⁷ Because the herbs or plants serve as pasture, hence food, for cattle, maybe also because foodgathering people live on wild and later on on cultivated plants, *ti* may also signify *aklu*. But it is not at all necessary to assume that in every passage which speaks of an eating of *ti-nam-ti-la* we are bound to suppose an Accadian equivalent *akal*

¹ Text in RADAU, *Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts*, Hiltrehtsfeestschrift, No. 4 Pl. 6. u-nam-ti-la-ka kul nam-[umun-zu ...]

a-nam-ti-la-ka sid nam-umun-[zu ...]

² See above p. 14 f.

³ This is clear from the context of the whole passage in II. 34—35 where Tigris (under the signification of *i-gal-gal-la*) is put in parallel to *a-ti-da*.

⁴ Text: *akal balāti* [i]l[š]šamnu

mē balāti [i]l[š]šamnu

⁵ See DEINER, *SL* 2:1, 36:1, *ki* = *aklu*.

⁶ See DEINER, *SL* 2:2, 318:3.

⁷ See DEINER, *SL* 2:2, 318:12.

balāti. On the contrary! If after this digression we return to the *Epic of Gilgames* XII 277—282 we remember that Gilgames expressed his intention to eat (*akālu*) himself this plant, *šamnu*, and to cause the inhabitants of his city Uruk to eat therefrom. Thus we think we are quite justified in translating, in the quoted passages, *ti-nam-ti-la* as *šam balāti* = the Plant of Life. Only thus do we really get at the bottom of the underlying mythic idea: the king, generally considered the gardener, is the possessor of both the Plant of Life and the Water of Life. This actual possession reflects the mythical conceptions already treated by us in this chapter.

We are by now perhaps able to proceed a step further. We have seen that recent research seems to be unanimous in its opinion that the enthroned king, holding in his hand a flower or a plant and a cup, and sitting before a dressed table, is partaking of a ritual meal in the nether world.¹ His carrying in one hand the Plant of Life can be taken for granted as we have tried to establish here. The situation would be, then, that we possess on one hand scenes with the god or the king holding either a plant or twig in his hand and on the other hand scenes where he has a vase with the Water of Life in the shape of two flowing streams. Next come all the scenes where the king has both a plant and a cup in his hands. Can it reasonably be argued then that the cup in this case is at least from the outset thought to contain the Water of Life? *Against* this assumption speaks the fact that nothing would seem to allude to the cup's containing a drought of life, e.g. in the manner of the flowing vase. This argument however needs some qualification, for we meet with a seal from the so-called Second Syrian group where two seated figures apparently fill their cups from a flowing vase between them.² The association between the cup held in the hand of a sitting figure and the flowing vase cannot then be altogether denied, although evidence in this case is very scanty.

The association with the Plant of Life speaks, above all, for this hypothesis, and furthermore the fact that according to the texts both the Plant of Life and the Water of Life are partaken of together, in order that man may be revived. If the scenes referred to depict a ritual meal in the nether world it would be quite natural to assume

¹ See e.g. DUSSAUD, *L'art phénicien*, p. 90; GALLING, *Biblischs Reallexikon*, col. 446.

² RADAU *op. cit.* I Pl. CXLVIII Fig. 972. On the second Syrian Group see RADAU *op. cit.* I p. 123 f.

King's Possessor of the Tree

Psalm 235

Plant Water Resurrection

? cup ~ female?

luluw ~ male

8th Day Feast of Tabernacles... feast...

Day 2 - Jesus provides bread... 3 No. 20

that the king in the realms of the dead shares a meal, that has as its sole purpose to render him life. But as long as no more material is at hand it seems the only safe method merely to point out this possibility, which would render the representations of the sacred ruler fully understandable and would allow a truly coherent interpretation where both ritual and mythic elements could be accounted for.

When passing on from pre-Israelitic to Israelitic Palestine it should first of all be noted that the same connection between water and tree, between temple basin and sacred grove, that was found in Mesopotamia recurs also in Palestine. In the places where the gods were worshipped were to be found both a source and a tree which were considered holy.¹ Whether, however, they were held to be the Tree of Life and the Water of Life escapes our knowledge. A little better is our situation as regards the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. Here we meet with both a source in the sanctuary and a rivulet outside it, as well as with an artificial basin inside the precinct of the temple.² In addition we have many allusions to the trees growing within the area of the sanctuary.³

¹ For trees and wells as cult objects in general see Lods, *Israël*, pp. 95—97, 265—271; ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 192; LAGRANGE, *Religions Semitiques*, pp. 158 ff. Cf. also *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte I*, p. 617 f.

² An interesting passage is found Gen. 21: 31—33 where it is related how Abraham planted a holy tamarisk near the well in Beer Sheba. It seems perfectly justified to see in this tradition an aetiological cult-legend explaining the origin of this Israelitic place of worship, cf. GUNKEL, *Genesis*, p. 235 f., and also Amos 8: 14. Probably the terebinth in the sanctuary at Shechem (Joshua 24: 26; Gen. 12: 6; 35: 4) was planted at such a well in accordance with a custom that seems well established, cf. the following note.

In the Ugaritic texts there is the passage I Aqhat 151 ff. where tree and well are mentioned together, if GORDON is right in his interpretation of this difficult context: "An arbor of fruit clusters near a spring," he says in his *Ugaritic Literature*, p. 90 n. of the place where Aqhat was slain. That indeed a tree could be indicated in the text might be argued if we see an allusion in the imprecation formula used in the text: "May thy roots not flourish in the earth," *šrḥ b'ṛṣ l yṣ'*, for which formula cf. the similar Phoenician and Israelitic imprecations below p. 49.

³ A source in the sanctuary: Ps. 46: 5; Is. 8: 6; Ez. 47: 1—2. A well or rivulet outside it: I Kings. 1: 9; 38; Enoch 13: 7. An artificial basin inside it: Num. 5: 17; Secharja 13: 1; Aristens letter 89—91. For the whole question see ALBRICHT, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 148 f. with references to literature. It would seem that the purification water mentioned Ez. 36: 25 is thought of as taken from this temple well.

⁴ See Ps. 92: 13—15 as compared with Ps. 52: 10, cf. further the passages mentioned already above in n. 2.

In this case there can be no doubt that both trees and water are associated with the idea of life.¹ That would constitute a perfect parallel to Mesopotamian cultic topography, a fact not at all astonishing, when all agreements between Mesopotamian and Israelitic cultic regulations are considered.²

If at least for some details of this association of tree and water in the Israelitic places of worship some archaeological material may be invoked for supplementary evidence the case for the part played by the Plant of Life as the sceptre of the king is unfortunately altogether unfavourable. Here we must rely exclusively upon Hebrew, Greek and Syriac texts. In compensation for this lack of archaeological data the texts are fairly explicit. There are some passages that demonstrate an astonishing continuity in the conceptions traced in this investigation.

In the first place we may note that the royal sceptres are fabricated from the wood of the vine, as is indicated by a prophecy in Ezekiel: Thy mother was like a vine of thy vineyard, planted by the waters, she was fruitful and full of branches by reason of many waters.

And she had strong rods for the sceptres of rulers. . . .

And now she is planted in the wilderness, in a dry and thirsty land. And fire is gone out of the rods of her branches, it devoured her fruit, so that there is in her no strong rod to be a sceptre to rule.

Ezekiel 19: 10—11, 13—14³

As late as in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* we find that Levi in his vision is given the signs of kingship by seven men.⁴ Among these

¹ Note that the trees mentioned as planted in the sanctuary are described as being fresh and green, a sign of life. In Ez. 47: 9, 12 there are clear allusions to the life which is found in the river bursting forth from the sanctuary. No wonder then that in Revel. 22: 2 the river and the tree growing by this river are called "Water of Life" and "Tree of Life." Here we meet with exactly the same idea as in Mesopotamia: the water of life and tree of life are found within the precincts of the temple. Cf. WIDENGEREN, *Psalms 110*, p. 23.

² On these points of agreement see e.g. ALBRICHT *op. cit.* pp. 148 ff.

³ The text as the term for "rod" has *מַטֵּה* i.e. "staff," and for "sceptre" *מַטְעָה*, which may be used both for the ruler's staff and for the tribes of Israel. Both terms thus being used also of the Israelitic tribes, it may accordingly be assumed that they are properly designations of the branches of the great trunk of the whole people. The phrase *מַטְעָה בְּאֵרֵי מַטְעָה* is reminiscent of Is. 53: 2 *מַטְעָה בְּאֵרֵי מַטְעָה* cf. below p. 53 n. 2.

⁴ For this scene see WIDENGEREN, *HS I 3* pp. 1 ff. Note that part of the material mentioned in that investigation p. 5 n. 4 is presented in the present monograph.

tokens of royal dignity is also found a twig, although this time not from a vine but from an olive tree.

The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive,
the sixth put a crown upon my head.

Testamentum Levi VIII S—9¹

For the correct interpretation of this scene it is important to note that according to Christian traditions the rod of Moses was nothing but a branch from one of the two forbidden trees in paradise (*The Book of the Bee* ed. BUDGE, ch. XXX²). This twig from the paradise tree was nothing but the sceptre, which in the origin of the creation had been borne by Adam himself, who had cut a branch from this tree. This is a hint at the fact that Adam, Primordial Man, the Gardener of Paradise, the guardian of the Tree of Life, was equipped with a branch from the Tree of Paradise. Now tradition differs as to the botanical species of the Tree of Life in the Israelitic Paradise. Some of the rabbis held it to be a date palm, others the olive, and even the fig tree had its advocates.³ Presumably the vine too must have been held

¹ This combination of branch and crown or garland is found also in the *Acts of Thomas* ch. 5 where the Apostle takes a branch in his hand puts a wreath on his head and anoints himself. We cannot enter here upon a discussion of the implications of this close association but must content ourselves with a reference to our previous work *Mesopotamian Elements*, pp. 18 ff., 24 f., 122 ff., and our conclusions below p. 59.

² The text says in the relevant passage:

When Adam and Eve went forth from Paradise, Adam, as if knowing that he was never to return to his place, cut off a branch from the tree of good and served him as a staff all the days of his life. After the death of Adam, his son Seth took it, for there were no weapons as yet at that time. This rod was passed down from Seth to Abraham as a blessed thing from the Paradise of God. . . . At that time there were wars everywhere, and an angel took the rod, and laid it in the Cave of Treasures in the mount of Moab, until Midian was built. There was in Midian a man, upright and righteous before God, whose name was Yalthro. When he was feeding his flock on the mountain, he found the cave and took the rod by divine agency; and with it he fed his sheep until his old age. When he gave his daughter to Moses, he said to him, Go in, my son, take the rod, and go forth to thy flock. When Moses had set his foot upon the threshold of the door, an angel moved the rod, and it came out of its own free will towards Moses. And Moses took the rod, and it was with him until God spake with him on mount Sinai; *The Book of the Bee*, ed. BUDGE p. 50. Cf. PRAUSENEN, *Adamschiffen*, p. 46 f.

³ See Midraš, Beršit Rabba, Vol. I, XV 7.

to be this tree, for only then do we understand that the sceptre from the Tree of Paradise may be either a twig from the olive or the vine. That the vine generally holds the place as the Tree of Life would seem to be natural, if we are to judge from the association between the vine and the king of Israel, a conception to which we shall return in the future.¹

We do not know of what material the rod of Aharon was made, but from the almonds found on it when it became green (Numert 17:8) we may infer that at any rate it was conceived of as being a branch from some fruit-tree. And furthermore, it cannot be denied that this rod from the outset was in the possession of Moses, not of Aharon. GRESSMANN has given three reasons warranting the assumption that the cultic-aethiologic legend in Numert 17 originally had Moses as its hero, but not Aharon: 1. In older times Moses was coupled with Levi against Aharon.² The older sagas tell us of the wondrous staff of Moses and only the later ones have introduced the staff of Aharon.³ The very name of Aharon has been added in the latest version of the legend.⁴

The verdure in this rod of course is a token that it has "life," in other words: we may have in this tradition of the verdant rod, belonging to Moses, an indication that his staff was taken from the Tree of Paradise, i.e. this narrative would be a guarantee of the antiquity of the just quoted tradition that Adam cut off the branch of one of the two forbidden trees in the garden of Eden, using it as a staff, and that this staff then passed into the hands of Moses.

Moses, however, as has been emphasized, is the ideal model of the Israelitic ruler, uniting in his person the three offices of the Israelitic king, priest and prophet, and thus being the pattern of the sacred kingship in Israel.⁵ We may compare his possession of the rod according to Ex. 4: 17, and the tablets of law according to Ex. 31: 18, 32: 15 f. as the equivalents of the Mesopotamian king Enmeduranki's receiving

¹ Cf. below p. 55, 57 n. 4.

² See GRESSMANN, *Mose und seine Zeit*, p. 280. GRESSMANN has good reasons for assuming that Aharon was introduced in the time of Solomon when the descendants of Sadok started their glorification of Aharon as their priestly ancestor, ib. p. 281. As to the conception of the carrying of a branch GRESSMANN has not adduced the material we have discussed in this monograph but referred to PRITSCHMANN, *Geschichte der Pharisäer*, p. 214 (right figure) where we see the Dalai Hammon with a tree or branch in his hand, see GRESSMANN *op. cit.* p. 283 n. 6.

³ Selected literature: PEDERSEN, *Israel III—IV*, p. 662 f.; WIDENGRÉN, *The Ascension of the Apostle*, p. 28 f.; ROß 2/1943 p. 63, 71; HALDAR, *Associations*, p. 92.

whose staff is it anyway?

Tablets of destiny cedar staff

both the cedar staff and the Tablets of Destiny as signs of his enthronement. Moreover Enmeduranki got both the tablets and the staff from the hands of the gods in the same way as Moses got from Yahweh both rod and tablets. It has been demonstrated that in Israel the Tablets of Law in analogous manner were handed over to the king at his coronation.² The Tablets of Law had their regular place in the Holy of Holies together with the verdant rod and a pot³ with manna (Ex. 16: 33—34) placed before "the Witness", i.e. the Tablets of Law.⁴ If now the Tablets of Law are handed over to the king at his coronation and according to Test. Levi VIII 8—9 this is the case also with the branch of rich olives then the conclusion seems justifiable that this twig was on principle regarded as the rod of Moses, i.e. the branch from the Paradise Tree. Thus far a perfect parallel with Mesopotamian custom as indicated in the Enmeduranki text would be thought to be established. Then there remains the jug or bottle with manna, which is of course symbolically nothing but the food of Life.⁵ In view of these three objects, tablets, rod and jug, being preserved together in the holiest chamber of the sanctuary it would not seem altogether unwarranted to assume that all of them were sacred signs of sovereignty, handed over to the ruler at his coronation. Then the jug with manna would correspond to the vase or cup held by the king in so many representations on cylinder seals as we have stated above. If this be the case the Israelitic king as the possessor of this jug would be the possessor also of the Food of Life as well as the Mesopotamian ruler.⁷ This remains of course a mere hypothesis.

These Israelitic-Jewish traditions of the ruler's rod being a twig from the Tree of Paradise have been inherited by the Christian church during the middle ages where we find the Virgin Mary equipped as *regina caeli* with a sceptre which obviously is nothing but a *virga*, the symbolical representation of the paradise twig.⁸ In the same manner

¹ See WIDENGEREN, *The Ascension of the Apostle*, pp. i ff. and 28 f.
² See WIDENGEREN, *Psalms 110*, p. 19 f. and *The Ascension*, p. 25 f.
³ For the meaning of *ḥayyim* cf. the versions. If we take it as meaning basket our thoughts go to the "gardener" with his fruits, cf. above p. 18 n. 3.
⁴ For this equation see GESenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch* s. v. *ḥayyim*.
⁵ That this passage originally belongs to a royal context I have tried to show HS I 3 pp. 3 ff.
⁶ Cf. above pp. 32 ff.
⁷ Cf. above p. 34.
⁸ See e.g. BAUERREIS, *Arbor Vitae*, pp. 117 ff.

the Christian bishop carries not a *baculus* but a *virga*.¹ The Christian ruler however holds both *baculus* and *virga*.² The real origin of these symbolical signs of dignity has not been properly recognized. Suffice it to say that the history of their iconography remains to be written.

¹ This is shown by the fact that his rod is provided with small twigs and blossoms. It is possible that this is done in imitation of the rod of Aharon. It is however possible that the bishop of the Syrian churches carried a *baculus*. This question will be discussed in my forthcoming work *Muhannad, the Apostle of God and his Ascension*.
² See Von Arnim, *Der Stab in der german. Rechtsymbolik* pp. 114 f.

Tablets manna jug

emblems of kingship See 1 Nephi

*

Chapter III. The king is the Tree or Plant of Life.

So far we have followed—though admittedly very briefly and imperfectly—the history in the Ancient Near East of the conception of a garden of paradise where a gardener supervises the Tree of Life growing at the Water of Life, a tree from whose branches he has taken a twig which he carries as his rod or sceptre. But the idea of the Tree of Life has other, still more important implications, for it has been seen by other scholars that this Tree of Life is nothing but a mythic-ritual symbol of both god and king.¹

From the material already quoted in the discussion I should like to cite two instances: ² Thus the so-called "identity" between the king and the Tree or Plant of Life may be seen from such a proper name as *DŠulgi-it-nam-til* (*Šulgi-it-nam-ti-la*), "the divine Šulgi is the Plant of Life." No wonder that Šulgi is glorified in the following words:

Šulgi, the king, the graceful lord,
is a datepalm planted by the waterditch.
WITZEL, *KIS* 5 p. 30 II r³

Or it is said of the same ruler:

Like a cedar rooted by abundant water,
of pleasant shadow thou art.
WITZEL, *KIS* 5 p. 56: 16 f.¹

Accordingly it is beyond doubt that the king Šulgi was thought of as the Plant of Life, or as being the Tree of Life in the shape of a cedar growing by abundant waters, or a date palm planted by the waterditch. That the plant or tree with which the king is compared or likened or "identified"—for these three shades of meaning in a way evidently pass into each other—beyond contradiction is the Tree of Life will be

¹ See ENGEL, *Studies*, p. 26 f. with references to literature.

² See ENGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

³ Text: $\text{šul}^{\text{š}}\text{-gi}^{\text{š}}\text{ lu}^{\text{š}}\text{gal en-šag}$

⁴ Text: $\text{g}^{\text{š}}\text{šimmar e-šè d}^{\text{š}}\text{ir-ga}$
 $\text{g}^{\text{š}}\text{š}^{\text{š}}\text{ren a-ša ir-ri ma-a-gim}$

$\text{g}^{\text{š}}\text{š}^{\text{š}}\text{gizzu du}_{10}\text{ga me-š}^{\text{š}}\text{n}$

The comparison with Ps. 1:3 here invites itself.

clear from some other illustrative proofs some of which have been quoted in a previous article.¹

First we should note from the Sumerian royal hymns² three passages where the king is addressed as a cedar or proclaims himself as such. From the latter category of literature, the so-called "I-am-proclamation" we may cite two instances.

The scion of a cedar, a forest of *lašūr*-trees I am.

TCL XV Pl. 9 VI 10 = ZA N. F. 15/1949 p. 129³

or:

When like the scion of a cedar I have elevated my head.

TCL XVI Pl. 48: 3 (65: 3) = ZA N. F. 15/1949 p. 129⁴

With these two samples goes *de pair* an address directed to the divine ruler:

A forest of *lašūr*-trees . . . of pleasant shadow thou art.

STVC Pl. 60: 26 = ZA N. F. 15/1949 p. 129⁵

The most important passage is however found in a royal hymn directed to Urnurtu, a *ki-ri-gi*-composition.⁶ Here we read:

The god who maketh the seed go forth, the Father of All,
spoke to the king the right words, decideth for him the destiny:

"O, chosen cedar, adornment of the yard of Ekur,
Urnurtu, for thy shadow the country may feel awe!"

CT XXXVI Pl. 28: 27—31 = ZA N. F. 15/1949 p. 129⁷

We observe that the king is imagined to be the cultic tree growing in the precinct of the temple, the cultic equivalent of the Tree of Life, as we have demonstrated in the preceding.⁸ The population is exhorted to be dominated by the feeling of awe for the mighty shadow of the

King =
tree

¹ I have in mind the article in *RoB* II/1943, pp. 49 ff.

² It does not matter in this connection whether the term "royal hymn" is the most appropriate designation or not, cf. FALKENSTEIN, *ZA N. F. 15/1949*, p. 101.

The relevant texts are such poetical compositions in which the reigning Sumerian king is glorified as a divine being.

³ Text: $\text{g}^{\text{š}}\text{šimur}_{\text{ar}}\text{g}^{\text{š}}\text{š}^{\text{š}}\text{ren-na f}^{\text{š}}\text{š}^{\text{š}}\text{tir-}^{\text{š}}\text{ir-}^{\text{š}}\text{u-}^{\text{š}}\text{ir-ra-me-en}$

⁴ Text: $\text{g}^{\text{š}}\text{šimur}_{\text{ar}}\text{g}^{\text{š}}\text{š}^{\text{š}}\text{ren-na-gim}$ sag mu-*li-la-ta*

⁵ Text: $\text{tir-g}^{\text{š}}\text{ša-}^{\text{š}}\text{u-}^{\text{š}}\text{ir-ra} \dots \text{g}^{\text{š}}\text{š}^{\text{š}}\text{z}^{\text{š}}\text{u-du}_{10}\text{ga-me-en}$

⁶ For this designation see FALKENSTEIN, *ZA N. F. 15/1949*, p. 104 f.

⁷ Text: dingir-nunnam-è

lu^šgal-ra gù-zi mu-na-an-dè

g^šš^šeren-sul^š

Dur-D^šin-urta kalam-ma gizzu-zu

⁸ See above p. 9 f.

ni hē-eb-šī-te-en-te-en

divine ruler. Next we note that the High god himself proclaims the king as the "chosen cedar," i.e. states his "identity" with the Tree of Life as the symbol of the young god.¹

This last contention brings us to the passages in the Sumerian texts where the young god, "Tammuz," as we may call him once for all, using a comprehensive term, is hailed as the cedar and especially as the *lašūr*-tree, which has been met with already in the royal hymn quoted above. This last fact carries us to the observation that Tammuz in Sumerian liturgies often is called a *lašūr*-tree.² But Damu (= Dumuzi-zu-ab = Tammuz?) is glorified also as *er-en-ku*, "holy cedar,"

¹ The term "identity" is chosen in default of any more appropriate term expressing close association. For the proclamation of the divine king by the High God and his calling by several names of honour see WIDENGEREN, *The Ascension of the Fossil*, pp. 17 f., 32, 50 f.

² See e.g. the passage from *JNOR* 15, p. 98 quoted below p. 45. Other passages are *JNOR* 10, pp. 12: 140.

Note that the cedar mountain is watered by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates as is shown by a conjugation text *K-FR* 34: 14—15 = *ZA* 30/1915, p. 90 where it was published by SCHROEDER:

*ni-gu²er ni-biⁿ id-gal ni-g²er ni-biⁿ pu-ratti a-tiⁿ me²
ša išū kur-pi ana kad² Iš²ūr a-šūni²*

We prefer the reading *šad Iš²ūr* in spite of SCHROEDER's objections *op. cit.* p. 91 for we see everywhere the connection between the holy water and the mountain with the tree(s) of life. This mountain is the habitation of "life," it is the dwelling of the "Man of Life" for it is said in the Sumerian version of the *Gilgames' Epic*:

en-e kur-iš-ti-la-še gešit(g)-ga-ni na-an-gub

en Dbl²-ga-meš kur-iš-ti-la-še gešit(g)-ga-ni na-an-gub

The lord directed his mind to the mountain of the Man of Life,

the lord Bilgameš directed his mind to the mountain of the Man of Life.

TCL XV Pl. 28: 10 = *JCS* I, p. 8: 1—2; *BFSOR* LXXXVIII 10 f.

The "trek" of Gilgamesh to the cedar mountain is well known, but we had no knowledge of this mountain's being the habitation of the Man of Life before the discovery of this Sumerian fragment. The paradise topography with paradise situated on a mountain where the Tree of Life is growing, between the Toots of which the Water of Life is streaming forth, is accordingly a very ancient Sumerian conception.¹

There is another text showing the intimate association between the "mountain of cedars" and the pure waters, i.e. the holy, purifying water:

mē Hamanni ešiti

The pure waters of Hamannu,

hibišū šad hašūri šad erini

the *hibišū*-wood of the mountain of hasurtrees, the mountain of cedars.

ZIMMERN, *BBR*, p. 190: 5—6

³ For Damu = Tammuz see TALLQVIST *op. cit.* p. 279.

CT XV Pl. 26: 5.¹ Of still more interest to our theme is another passage where the imagination of the poet passes from the symbol of a cedar to that of a young hero:

Hero, whose body is shining splendour,
who in the forest of fragrant cedars is cheered with joy,
standing in the oracle-place of Apsū, the adorned,
purified with the sparkling lustration.

ANOR 10 p. 214 B 2—6 = *BA* X p. 75: 2—6

In this passage, quoted above also,² the divine hero is clearly conceived as planted in the forest of cedars, which is found in the oracle-place of Apsū, i.e. the cult-place, the sanctuary, where this tree is purified in holy rites, the ceremonies we already have referred to above.³ That the forest of cedars, the "cedar-mountain", is the garden of paradise, situated in Apsū as has been argued by KRAMER⁴, cannot possibly be disputed. The purification rites, *šū-lūh*, alluded to in this text, are more fully described in a ritual text belonging to the series *Šurpu*, where we find an invocation to the holy water, the Water of Life, as giving life even to the *lašūr*-tree which we met with as the symbol of the king and god.⁵

Water, which the Lord hath brought from the great mountain!

Water, which he hath brought from the holy Euphrates!

The clear (water) has proceeded from Apsū with exorcism,

the clear is covered with the ban of Eridu.

The cedar it sprinkleth. the *lašūr*-tree it sprinkleth,

above he sprinkleth it on heaven, below god sprinkleth it on earth.

Enki, the king of Apsū, sprinkleth it, the pure,

upon Man, the son of his god, upon his body he sprinkleth it.

He maketh him holy, he maketh him clean.

Šurpu IX 13: 122—130 = *ANOR* 15 p. 98⁵

¹ Reference given by FALKENSTEIN, *ZA* N. F. 15/1949, p. 129. The text in this line runs as follows:

er-en-ku ki-dagal ni-tu(d)-da-ta

From the holy cedar, grown on a wide place.

² See above p. 8.

³ See pp. 11 ff.

⁴ See *JOS* 64/1944 p. 13 n. 48. Cf. above p. 11 n. 2.

⁵ Text:

*a en-e kur-gal-ta si-nam-mi-[di-a]
a bu-ran-na-ka-ta si-nam-mi-[di-a]*

standing in
the oracle-
is the DEUR

It should be emphasized that this holy water comes from Euphrates, which is one of the rivers of paradise, and already for this reason contains the Water of Life. Because the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris are perpetually mentioned together in the royal hymns as the sources of the fertility of the country under the control of the ruler, there is already on account of this a strong reason for considering them to be "the two rivers," *nārāi kiḫalḫ*, which are mentioned in incantation texts. An illustrative passage may be quoted here as being of interest also from another point of view.

Take the ring,

and take further water from the mouth of the two rivers,
and then with thy pure incantation purify

and with this water besprinkle the Man, the son of his god.

CT XVII Pl. 26: 64—67 = THOMPSON, *The Devils and Evil Spirits* p. 94¹

The ring, *kipḫatu*, as THUREAUV-DANGIN has demonstrated, belongs to the royal emblems², and this fact is at least one indication that this passage from the outset has its "setting in life" in the royal ritual. That this indication conceivably points in the correct direction may be argued also from special wording both here and in the *Šurpu* text quoted above. In both texts there is mention of "Man, the son of his god." This expression in Mesopotamian literature is interchangeable with "the king, the son of his god," and this in passages that are obvious parallels.³ Accordingly it could be argued from the two last quoted

sig-ga abzu-ta nam-išib-ba	riḡr- [. . .]
sig-ga eridu ⁴ -ga-ke ₁ šub	ne-in- [. . .]
giš eren ne-in-tag	giš ⁵ ha-šur-ra ne-in-tag
an-na an-na mu-un-tag	dingir ki-ki mu-un-tag
en-ki lugal abzu-ke ₁	sikil-la mu-un-tag
LU: GAL. LU dumu dingir-ra-na	su-na mu-un-tag
mu-un-sikil-la	mu-un-zalag-zalag-ga

¹ Text:

² *kipḫatu* ḫēma
ina pī nārāi kiḫalḫ mē³ ḫēma . . .

³ *nāra* ḫa eḫi uliḫina
mē šunūti amēlu mār tišū sutuhina

² See THUREAUV-DANGIN, *Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, p. 59 n. 9.

³ See the passages referred to in *Rob II/1943* p. 55 n. 2. Thus we read in SCHOLLMAYER, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš*, p. 52: 14 ff.

amēlu mār tišū
šarrī mār tišū
which should be compared with p. 56: 10 ff. where in an identical context we have

texts that the king is purified with consecrated water, taken from "the two rivers," the mythical streams at the mouth of which the Tree or Plant of Life is growing.¹ From a ritual point of view this implies that the divine king, whose cultic symbol is the Tree of Life, is sprinkled with the Water of Life and thereby given life. This is the same action that is undertaken with Tammuz and Ištar.² It is above all in the *biṣ ṛinḫi* series that the king is the subject of such life-giving purification ceremonies.³ It is certainly significant that the Ea-Eridu circle plays a dominant rôle in this series of ritual tablets.⁴

We have seen that Tammuz is bewailed in lamentation liturgies as the tamarisk which has no water to drink.⁵ It was said in the text referred to that the roots of this plant were torn away and that the plant itself was thrown among the flowers of the garden. This last picture reminds us of the situation in a famous lamentation text where the speaker says:

Like the willow-plant am I uprooted.

Ludlul beḫ nīmēḫi II Rev. 5 = LANGDON,
BIV p. 44 (172)⁶

The context in this text shows conclusively that the speaker must be some royal person, presumably a prince. But a similar expression recurs also in a "democratized" context for in a general enumeration of dead and ghosts an incantation text says:

Or one who has been torn from a date palm.

CT XVI Pl. 10: Col. VI = THOMPSON, *The Devils and Evil Spirits* p. 40: 1—2⁷

It is evident that various botanic species are chosen quite *promiscue* to illustrate the nature of Tammuz. We have in the foregoing especially

¹ Cf. above p. 7 f.

² See above p. 11 f. and p. 33.

³ References to some passages in the *biṣ ṛinḫi* series are given in my *The Ascension of the Aposle*, p. 8 n. 3. I shall revert to these texts in another connection. Add a reference to the important passage *SRT* 14: 28 = *ZA N. F.* 15/1949, p. 124 where we read:

šū-luḫ-nam-lugal-lá-ka šugal mu-ni-du¹

The purification rites of kingship he has grandly accomplished.

⁴ See above p. 9, 21 n. 1.

⁵ See above p. 11.

⁶ Text:

Kī willie annadiḫ pupāniš annadiḫ
[12] ša ištu giššimmarī iḫūšišā aliu

met with the tamarisk, the cedar and the *jašūr*-tree. These trees recur in an interesting text, interesting, because it shows the same association between tree and consecrated water as has been alluded to more than once:

Apply to have exact to the tree in this literature...

Tamarisk, reedbush,
tree, grown on the pure heaven and earth.
At your holy roots, o cedar,
at your foliage, o *jašūr*-tree,
has the consecrated water
for the goddess Ninaljakuddu¹
the *apkallu* brought with pure hand.

UMBS I 2 No. 123, p. 81 = *LSS* N. F. I, p. 78 = *AnOr* 15 p. 91 f.²
The consecrated water as we have stated is taken from the mouth of the two rivers or from the holy Euphrates i.e. it is the Water of Life.³ The *apkallu* as belonging to Eridu and *apsū* has been found on the preceding pages more than once.⁴ There we saw that the *apkallu* could hold in his hand either an *erib*-branch or a shoot of the date palm. This "scion" plays a role in this connection that not should be neglected. We have seen that the king compares himself with or actually says that he really is the scion of a cedar, *ʿišimū-er-šit-erū-na*.⁵ It is methodically important to observe how vague the boundary is between comparison and actual identity. This fact entitles us to use also passages where we find only a comparison between the king and a tree or plant. Other passages glorifying Lipit-Ištar say that he is "the shoot" of royalty, *ʿišimū-er-nam-lugal-la*, *UMBS* V No. 67 I 2 ff. And in the famous text describing Lipit-Ištar's dedication we read Obv. I 43 that the elevated throne of princedom is what suits the royal *šing*. But Sumerian *šing* is nothing but Accadian *binnu*, tamarisk, which has been found a few times in the texts quoted here as the symbol of Tammuz!⁶ It cannot be doubted then that the newly enthroned king⁷ is hailed as "the shoot", i.e. as the shoot from the Tree of Life.

¹ Another reading of the name of this goddess is Ninasiriginium. For the reading of the name see ZIMMERN, *Zd N. F.* 5/1929—30, p. 260 n. 1.; WITZEL, *AnOr* 15, p. 92; LANGDON, *JRAS* 1928, p. 845; TALLQVIST *op. cit.* p. 397 f.
² Text according to WITZEL, *AnOr* 15, p. 91 f.
³ Cf. above p. 14 f. ⁴ See above p. 20 f., 22 n.
⁵ See above p. 43. ⁶ See above p. 11, 48.
⁷ In my forthcoming work *King and Saviour* I intend to show that this Lipit-Ištar hymn glorifies the heavenly enthronement of the king. For the time being see the text references in *The Ascension of the Apsite*, p. 8 n. 3.

When prolonging and extending in this case too our researches into Israelitic religion we are struck by the phenomenological coincidence. Some years ago some similar passages in the O. T. were referred to, and we shall now endeavour to carry on this investigation, trying to supplement it by adducing fresh material.¹

Let us briefly summarize here the samples at hand in O. T. and later Jewish literature. First it should be noted that an intermediate link between Mesopotamian and Israelitic-Jewish conceptions in this regard also is found in Phoenician inscriptions, for we read in the Esmunazar inscription the following saying:

I am cut off, not in due time, as a son of a short number of years.
CIS I 3 = COOKE, *NSI* No. 5 II.2—3²

That the notion of a cutting off of a branch from the trunk of a tree is alluded to in this place would seem to be quite conceivable in view of the fact that likeness of a tree with its roots and fruit is used some lines later on in the same inscription. In the imprecations called down upon those people, who in the future might violate the royal tomb it is said:

May they have no root downwards or fruit upwards,
nor any comeliness among the living under the sun!
CIS I 3 = COOKE, *NSI* No. 5 II.11—12³

By the way, can it be a mere coincidence that in both these passages we meet with technical terms that remind us of *Is.* 53?⁴ Moreover the wording of the curse returns in *Is.* 37: 31 where we read:

And the remnant that is escaped of the house of Juda
"shall again take root downwards
and bear fruit upwards."
Is. 37: 31⁵

¹ Cf. *RoB* II/1943, pp. 60 ff.
² Text: נגזלת כל עתה בן כפר וכם אורם
The root נגזל occurs also as נגז in Ugaritic, see GORON, *Glossary*, 461—462, unfortunately hitherto only in proper names. In Hebrew נגז has a more general meaning "tear away" but Arabic جاز has preserved the original meaning "cut off."
³ Text: אל יכן לם שרש לזעם ופר לזעל
ותאר בהרים תחת שמש
⁴ Cf. in the Esmunazar inscription נגזלת, corresponding to *Is.* 53: 8 נגזר, and תאר "comeliness," having as its equivalent *Is.* 53: 2, לך תאר תאר.
⁵ Text: שרש לזעם
ותעש פרי לזעלה
4 - 516748

With this passage we should of course compare another famous saying in the same prophetic book:

A twig cometh forth from the trunk of Isai, and a shoot out of its roots shall bear fruit.

Is. II: 11

Chotiv = Scepter in Phoenician!

In order to achieve the real understanding of this prophecy we should remember that in Phoenician **חֹתִיב** means "scepter."² When this word is used by the Israelitic prophet as a term for "twig" we are entitled to see herein a confirmation of our contention that the ruler's scepter is made out of a twig.³

The text Is. II: 1 ff. is a royal hymn in the "he-proclamation"-style.⁴ The king is described as a twig or "shoot" from the great root-stock, the trunk. It is impossible not to observe that in the dirge over the king of Babel it is said of him:

But thou art cast forth from thy sepulchre, like an abhorred branch. *נִשְׁבַּח!*

Is. 14: 19⁵

It is of interest to note that the king in this place too is compared to a shoot, but to one without life. Does not the fallen king here remind us of "a plant . . . whose roots are torn away" as it was said of Tammuz?⁶ In other words: the image of a shoot or a twig cannot be a mere chance, for the likeness of a plant torn away was used in a technical sense in other passages of Mesopotamian literature.⁷ The intimate

The second and third line are thus a quotation from an ancient saying, presumably from an old Canaanitic cult hymn (inherited by the Israelites), as indicated by its occurrence in the Esmunazar inscr. For this reason no drastic emendations ought to be carried out with *J.M.* The most abhorrent example is *DUHAN* in his commentary on the passage in question.

¹ Text: וַיֵּצֵא הַמֶּלֶךְ מִגִּזְרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּצְרַח מִלְּשׁוֹנֵי יִפְתָּהּ

² So in the well known expression חֹתִיב מִשְׁפַּחַת אִיזַי in the Ahiram inscr. from Byblos (11th cent.).

³ See above pp. 30 ff., 37 ff.

⁴ For this literary category cf. GUNKEL-BEGRICH, *Einführung in die Psalmen*, p. 47 f.; NORDEN, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 163 ff. The literary analysis of some so-called "Messianic" texts will be given in my *King and Saviour*.

⁵ Text:

וְאֵתָהּ הַשְּׁלֵכָה מִקִּבְרָהּ כִּנְצֹר נִחְנֵץ

⁶ See above p. 11.

⁷ See above p. 47.

relation between the king and Tammuz, whose cult symbol is the tree, makes it quite natural to use this image. Let us remember how often the Mesopotamian king is hailed even as the "shoot"!

Against the Mesopotamian background and the West Semitic and Israelitic material adduced so far we are perhaps able to gain a clearer conception of such O. T. passages where the future king, the scion of David, is foretold. So we read in the book of Jeremiah:

Lo, days are coming, oracle of Yahweh, when I shall cause to arise to David a righteous shoot. He shall rule as a king and be successful and execute judgement and righteousness on earth.

Jeremiah 23: 5¹

With this prophecy another saying by the same prophet shows close agreement.

In those days and at that time

I shall cause to shoot forth a righteous shoot to David, and he shall execute judgement and righteousness on earth.

Jeremiah 33: 15²

In both these passages we find the expression "the righteous shoot," same as that met with in one Phoenician inscription where we read the following statement:

I gave and consecrated many animals . . . to the lord who is mine, Malqart, for my life and the life of my seed, day by day, and to the righteous offshoot.

Larnax Lapēthos ² or Narnaka = COOKE, *NSI*, No. 29 11.9—11.3

The term "the righteous offshoot" in Phoenician is צַדִּיק נֹמֵץ, which

¹ Text:

הִנֵּה יְמֵימֵינוּ בָּאִים נֹמֵץ יְהוָה
הַקִּמְתִּי לְיֹדֵד צִמַּח צַדִּיק
וּמֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ הַשִּׁמְכִיל
וְעֵשֶׂה מִשְׁפַּח וְצַדִּיק בְּאַרְצִי
בְּיָמֵינוּ הַזֶּה וְכֵעֵת הַזֶּה
אֶצְמִיחַ לְיֹדֵד צִמַּח צַדִּיק
וְעֵשֶׂה מִשְׁפַּח וְצַדִּיק בְּאַרְצִי

² Text:

³ It is true that the Larnax Lapēthos ² inscr. is late (III/II cent. B. C.) but a) the fact recorded here agrees with other data indicating the Canaanitic inheritance in Israelitic culture and religion, b) it is rather incredible that at that date a Jewish influence—which is in itself not proved—upon the Phoenician inhabitants of Cyprus would have propagated the term "the righteous shoot."

exactly corresponds to the Hebrew expressions. It would seem then that the Hebrew designation in this case too ultimately goes back to a **Canaanite model, quite naturally**, because terms belonging to the vegetation world cannot possibly be ascribed to that marvellous period of Israelitic history, the wandering in the desert, to which generally most ideas and images in O. T. literature are ascribed.¹

It surely gives food for thought to read in this connection what is said in the book of the first Isaiah about the future glory of Israel:

In that day shall the shoot of Yahweh be beautiful and glorious.
Is. 4:2²

If we go down in time we find in the book of Zechariah "the Shoot" used as a purely technical term in itself in order to designate the future king, Yahweh's Anointed:

For, lo, I cause to come my Servant, "Shoot".
Zech. 3:8³

More explicit is another prophecy in the same collection:
Lo, a man, "Shoot" his name,
and he shooteth forth from beneath him,
and he shall build the temple of Yahweh.
Zech. 6:12⁴

¹ It is quite astonishing how some trends in modern research seem to neglect the sociological fact that Semitic badawi tribes at regular intervals enter into close contact with the settlements of the *hadaris*, for both economic and religious reasons. It may well be asked if a prolonged bedouin existence is possible without such a repeated contact. Hence at any rate a *pure* "desert" period is hardly possible to imagine, and the so-called "desert" period in Israelitic religion remains on the whole a slogan of prophetic propaganda against the menace from Canaanitic culture against the Yahweh religion of ancient times, but ought not to be taken over without criticism by modern scientific investigations. Moreover *pure* desert tribes, if we may speak of any, are characterized by their *lack* of religious feelings as testified from the time of Muhammad and onwards, see e.g. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 71; ANDRÉ & WIDENGRÉN, *Muhammad*, p. 54 f., 56.

² Text: **וְיָצֵא לְעֵץ הַיְהוָה צֶמַח וְיִבְרָא**
Of course DE LAGARDE was right in comparing Is. 4:2 with Jer. 23:5: 33:15 in spite of the violent protestations by DUBAI, *Das Buch Jeremia*, 2. ed. p. 29.

³ Text: **וְיָצֵא לְעֵץ הַיְהוָה צֶמַח וְיִבְרָא**
The Targum even says: **וְיָצֵא לְעֵץ הַיְהוָה צֶמַח וְיִבְרָא**
Nachgesichte des Sacharja, p. 136.

⁴ Text: **וְיָצֵא לְעֵץ הַיְהוָה צֶמַח וְיִבְרָא**
The versions see now RIGNELL, *Die*

וְיָצֵא לְעֵץ הַיְהוָה צֶמַח וְיִבְרָא
וְיָצֵא לְעֵץ הַיְהוָה צֶמַח וְיִבְרָא
וְיָצֵא לְעֵץ הַיְהוָה צֶמַח וְיִבְרָא

Because the term "Shoot" in this case alludes to the Davidic descendant, the governor and "Messianic" pretender Zerubbabel we are with perfect certainty still moving within the royal sphere.

More disputed may be the interpretation of a contemporaneous passage, from the Servant Songs in Is. 53, where we read:

He grew up like a scion before him,
and like a root from dry earth.
Is. 53:2²

The terms used here are **צֶמַח** and **עֵצ**, thus two new expressions. The former term recurs in some other O. T. passages in the meaning of "shoot", as is generally recognized, so that there can be no doubt as to its interpretation in the context.³ I cannot but agree with ENGELL when he says: "we find ourselves in a Tammuz-ideological context clearer than ever."⁴ But I am not capable of detecting with him in the Ugaritic texts so far published that "צֶמַח" refers to the "Tammuz" sphere.⁵ But the semantic use in the O. T. texts must be said to be sufficient indication in this case. The symbolical language in this passage has of course been associated with the famous witness of the Israelitic practice of Tammuz-gardens, found in Is. 17:10—11.⁶

I agree with RIGNELL *op. cit.* p. 225 that there is no reason to alter TAM. He further says p. 226: "Es liegt jedoch näher, ein Reis zu denken, das von einem abgehaenen Stamm aufsteht. Siehe Jes. 11, 1." This is our opinion too.

¹ See HONST, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, p. 231; RIGNELL *op. cit.* p. 226: a well-known play on his name **צֶמַח וְיִבְרָא** = *zēbhābil*, "Shoot of Babel."

² Text: **וְיָצֵא לְעֵץ הַיְהוָה צֶמַח וְיִבְרָא**
וְיָצֵא לְעֵץ הַיְהוָה צֶמַח וְיִבְרָא

³ "Before him" I take as an allusion to Yahweh in the preceding verse, where it is very tempting to read **וְיָצֵא לְעֵץ הַיְהוָה**, "the shoot of Yahweh," i.e. either the shoot planted by Yahweh or the shoot from the trunk of Yahweh, in both cases the Shoot is of course the king, the Messiah.

⁴ "The scion is the tree or plant of life, a symbol of the king-Tammuz, here during 'the time of withering,' i.e. in the suffering aspect," ENGELL, *The Ebed Yahweh Songs and the Suffering Messiah in Deutero-Isaiah*, p. 31.

⁵ *ib.*

⁶ One awaits further elucidation on this point, for the reference to ENGELL, *Studies* only refers to p. 130 n. 6 where no conclusive passages from Ugaritic literature are given. For the meaning "shoot" of **צֶמַח** see such O. T. passages as Ez. 17:22; Hosh. 14:7; Ps. 80:12; Hosh. 8:16; 14:7; 15:30. In the last passage the scions are human descendants, but they are viewed as shoots which are withered.

⁷ For these gardens see BAUDISSIN, *Adonis und Echnun*, pp. 88 f., 138 ff.; HVIDBERG, *Grund og Lidter*, p. 94 f.; and NYBERG, *SEA VII/1942* p. 65 f.

If, concluding our survey of the Israelitic-Jewish texts, we wish to give an unequivocal quotation from the literature of early Judaism, no clearer passage can certainly be found than one in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Here a very plastic image is used where the motif is quite the same as has occupied us in this investigation, for it is said in the *Testament of Juda*, when speaking of the "star . . . from Jacob" i.e. the Messiah:

This branch of God the Most High, and this fountain giving life unto all. Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth, and from your root shall arise a stem; And from it shall grow a rod of righteousness to the Peoples, to judge and to save all that call upon the Lord.

Testament of Judah 24: 4-6¹

← *Alma 32*
Rev. 22
Jac 2

The starting point of this text is the saying of Numeri 24: 17 where the Hebrew text has: "a sceptre shall arise," but where LXX has: "a man shall arise."² In v. 5 of our text in *Test. Judah* there is of course an allusion to Is, 11: 1.³ The Greek verb ἀναστήσκειν, "shine forth," is used in LXX to render Hebrew מָשַׁח and therefore we have strong reasons to assume a verb מָשַׁח in the original Hebrew text of this "testa-

ΚΕΛΛΗ ΓΑΡ
 1 Text: Οὐτός ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοῦ ὑψίστου
 καὶ ἀφ' ἧ τῆς τῆς πᾶσι παρέχουσα ζωῆς.
 τότε ἀναστήσει σκῆπτρον βασιλείας σου
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ῥίζης ὑμῶν γενήσεται σπυρίον,
 καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς βασιλεύσει ῥάβδος δικαιοσύνης τοῖς ἔθνεσιν
 κρίνει καὶ σώσει πάντας τοὺς ἐπιζητούντους τὸν Κύριον.

CHARLES, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, p. 102 says: "I have bracketed . . . as a Christian interpolation though some defence could be made." It surely could, and it is difficult not to call the attitude of CHARLES in this as in many other cases rather gratuitous. Cf. also HS I 3, p. 5. We are now thanks to the important new texts from the Dead Sea scrolls beginning to realize some of the connections between Early Jewish Gnostic literature and Old Christian texts, for the time being cf. DUPONT SOMMER, *Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, pp. 105 ff. In the light of the thesis put forward by DUPONT SOMMER most of the links detected by me in HS I 3, pp. 1 ff. and *Rob V/1946*, pp. 28 ff. receive quite a natural historical explanation.

² Hebrew text: לְאַחַד מִבְּרָכֵי דָוִד אֲנִי גֵרָמָה וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵשִׁיחַ לְעָמְךָ.
 Greek text: καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ῥίζης δαυιδάων.
 Greek text: καὶ ἐξ ἐλευσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης δαυιδάων.

ment."¹ In v. 6 it has been pointed out by the editor that we probably meet with a hint at Ps. 45: 6.² By using some old prophesies of a coming king of justice and peace The *Testament of Judah* accordingly still retains the image of the king as a branch, a shoot from the root, and at the same time a sceptre or rod of sovereignty. We need not especially stress how well these conceptions and wordings suit the pattern of the mythical and ritual ideas we have traced back to Mesopotamia. In this connection we should also refer to Ez. 17: 3-10 where the king of Judah actually is likened to a vine, planted beside many waters. For this saying we might of course also compare Ps. 1: 3.³ In our quotation from *Test. Judah* the idea however goes farther, for it was said of the future ruler:

This branch of God Most High, and this fountain giving life unto all.

← 244

It seems impossible to deny that in this utterance we have a reminiscence of the original Mesopotamian conception of the divine ruler as the Tree of Life and the Water of Life. It is above all necessary to stress that both Tree and Water of Life as symbols of the king are met in the same glorification of Messiah.

It seems worth while to refer to Hos. 14: 7 where Yahweh says that he will be like dew to Israel.⁴ And in this connection I may also remind the reader of the fact that in the royal psalm 110 v. 3 the king seems to be associated with the dew.⁵ In the sequel of the prophecy Hos. 14: 7 ff. it is said that Israel will send forth its roots and acquire splendour like an olive-tree. They who live in his shadow will again give life to corn (note the expression). And in v. 9 Yahweh says:

O Ephraim, what have I to do any more with idols? I was depressed, but I looked upon him.

¹ Cf. the Hebrew and Greek texts of Secl. 6: 12 and RIGGELL *op. cit.*, p. 225 f. for the versions. The Davicid מָשַׁח is mentioned also in Shemōnāch 'Esrēh, Bened 15: 2 Hebrew text: מְלָכֵינוּ שֶׁכֶּם מְלָכֵנוּ שֶׁכֶּם, Greek text: ῥάβδος ἐμβύτριος ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου.
² See above p. 42 n. 4.
³ The life-giving dew refreshes the plant Israel which is withering away; this is seemingly the underlying idea.
⁴ For the symbol of the divine dew cf. WIDENGEREN, *Psalms 110*, p. 9 f., and see the supplementary remarks by ENGELL, *Studies*, p. 82 n. 5. GASTER, *Thespis*, p. 129 n. seems unwilling to accept our contention as to the role played by this conception in Canaanitic and Israelitic religion, but does not give any conclusive reasons for his scepticism.

I am like a green cypress,
from me thy fruit will be found.

Hos. 14: 9¹

It seems impossible not to ascribe at any rate the last sentence to Yahweh, who accordingly says of himself that he is a green cypress. This would imply that the Canaanitic cult language is used still by Hoshua of Yahweh in this passage. This contention seems conclusive in view of the undeniable fact that Hoshua throughout moves within the sphere of such Canaanitic cultic expressions as belong to the fertility aspect of the High god.²

To return to the *Test of Judah*, we note that the king is called there "a branch of God Most High," which may probably be reconstructed in Hebrew as *ענף אל עליון*.³ This reconstruction may be compared with our quite hypothetical *חור רור* in Is. 52: 1. In both cases, if the last emendation is accepted as plausible, we have to do with a plant or a twig belonging to Yahweh i.e. thought of as planted by him in the Garden of Paradise, possibly from the outset, in certain circles strongly impressed by Canaanite mode of culture, even imagined to be an offshoot from the "green cypress," that is Yahweh when worshipped as Ba'al. The king may be viewed either as being himself a twig from the Tree of Life or as possessing this branch as his sceptre. These two conceptions as we have stated are constantly alternating, seemingly without any difficulty felt.

Before leaving the Israelitic-Jewish material we should also refer to another idea already met with in Mesopotamian literature: the king as a mighty cedar spreading his shadow over the whole country.

There is a famous parable in Ez. 31: 2—9 describing the foreign king as a mighty cedar in Lebanon with fair branches and a shadowing shroud. The waters nourished him, the deep made him to grow, her

¹ Text:

אפרים מה ל' ענף לעצרים

אני עניתי ואשורנו

אני כברוש וענן

מלני פורץ נמצא

The difficult *נאשרנו* is met with also in Ps. 17: 11 but there the situation is entirely different. For some attempts of interpretation see NYBERG, *Studien z. Hebräische, ad loc.*, and DRIVER, *Difficult Words*, p. 67 f.

² See also MAY, *JSL* 48/1931—32 pp. 74 ff., and HVIDBERG *op. cit.* pp. 109 ff.

³ In LXX *βραχίς* corresponds to *ענף*, *ענף*, *ענף*, *ענף*, *ענף* or *ענף*. We choose quite tentatively *ענף* because we meet this root in a similar context, see above p. 53.

rivers running round about the plantation. His stature was exalted above all the trees of the field. The trees in the Garden of God could not compete with him in beauty. All the birds of heaven made their nests in his boughs. That the king in this case is compared to the Tree of Life in Paradise goes without saying.¹ It has long ago been recognized that this tree has all the requisites of the mighty tree in the book of Daniel.² In this writing the Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar is explicitly said to be the tree that has cosmic measures, here as well as in the book of Ezekiel 31. In both cases this Tree of Life seems to be identified with the cosmic mundane Tree, but the problem of their distinction need not occupy us in this connection.³

And lo, a tree
in the midst of the earth,
and its height was great.

The tree grew and waxed strong,
and its height reached unto heaven,
and the view of it to the whole earth's end.

The leafage of it fair,
and its fruit much,
and food in it for all.

Under it the wild beasts taking shade,
and its branches lodging the birds of the sky,
and from it feeding all flesh.

Daniel 4: 7 b—g⁴

Some doubts may be expressed as to the real home of these conceptions of the Book of Daniel. Are they to be treated as Babylonian ideas, picked up by a Jewish writer of Hellenistic times, or are they on the

¹ For the interpretation of this passage in general we refer to the commentaries.

² So MONTGOMERY, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 229.

³ Speaking generally we think that the difference between the Tree of Life and the Cosmic Tree has been overlooked. They may from time to time be identified but may also be kept apart. Indo-European speculation is apt to prefer the conception of the Cosmic Tree. The monograph by HOLMBERG-HARVA, *Der Baum des Lebens* is now hopelessly out of date as concerns both Indo-European and Near Eastern material and the bulky volume by BERGEMA completely lacks a truly scientific spirit, cf. above p. 5 n. 2. On the whole the subject is so vast and demands such linguistic knowledge as not to be mastered by one scholar.

⁴ Translation and metrical arrangement according to MONTGOMERY *op. cit.* p. 229 f. Cf. Ps. 80 and the dreams of Asyragas (Herod. I 108) and of Xerxes (Herod. VII 19).

whole a true specimen of old Israelitic-Jewish symbolical language as attested by Ez. 31, though ultimately of course derived from Mesopotamia by the intermediary influence of Canaan. At any rate the phenomenological agreement with Ez. 31 would seem to point to the correctness of a view that there existed long ago and for a long period in Israel a very concrete symbolical notion of the ruler as the mighty tree, growing in Paradise, the Garden of God,¹ in the midst of the earth,² and providing shadow and protection to all living beings. That this assumption is justified is shown by an impressive passage in Lamentations where we read of the Davidic king:

The breath of our noses, the Anointed of Yahweh,
caught in their pits!
We had said: "In his shadow
we shall live among the peoples!"
Lamentations 4: 20²

In this text we meet again with the idea of the peoples' living in the shade of the king, i.e. the ruler is seen symbolically as the mighty tree in whose shadow his subjects take their refuge.

¹ For this conception we should compare above all WENSINCK, *The Navel of the Earth*, pp. 11 ff. and BURNEY, *The Book of Judges*, p. 283: 37. WIDENGEREN, *Psalm 110* pp. 5-7; JEREMIAS, *Golgotha*, p. 83 f.

² The commentary by HALPER, *Die himf Megilloth*, p. 110 in these verses finds an allusion to the frustrated hope of the fugitives, for he says: "Wörtlich 'wollen wir leben unter den Völkern,' sc. nach gelungener Flucht mit Zedekia ins Ostjordanland; die 'Völker' = Edom, Moab, Ammon usw." I greatly doubt the correctness of this interpretation, which seems due to the author's not being aware of the hint at the mythic conception of the ruler as the mighty tree of paradise, planted there by God. Cf. also above p. 43. Cf. further Ez. 31: 6!

Concluding Remarks.

The complex of ideas and customs treated by us in this little monograph is obviously intimately bound up with the oldest strata of Sumerian culture and religion. All interest centres around the holy garden of the divinity. In this garden is found the Tree of Life, the fruits of which are eaten by man while its oil is used for the anointment of his body and especially his head. There the Water of Life is streaming from beneath the roots of this tree. Further we note the crown twined from the shoots of the tree, from its leaves and flowers, the branch cut from the trunk of the tree, a rod acting both as a sign of dignity and as an instrument for magical-medical purifications, the water drawn from the well with the Water of Life, serving for medical-religious purifications. In this garden too is erected the hut, built from branches and twigs taken from the trees of this garden of paradise, the dwelling where the holy marriage is celebrated.¹

The king in the cultic ceremonies represents the god. For this reason he in all rites acts as the representative of the deity. In his capacity of water-drawer and gardener he surveys the cultic equivalent of the paradise-garden, i.e. the temple-grove with the cult-tree that represents the Tree of Life. He wears as his crown the garland and the branch as his rod. In the hut he undergoes some purification ceremonies before his *huros ganios*. He carries out libations over the life-tree, the divine symbol, and hence is styled *išib* = *ranku*.² By using the Water of Life and the magical rod, the twig cut from the Tree of Life, he is the great *a-zu* = *āšū*, just in the same manner as Marduk or Tammuz.³ Exactly like Tammuz himself he is the *gūlug* = *paššū*, he who is anointed with the

¹ This mythic-ritual complex has been treated by me in several publications. For the hut in the paradise-garden see WIDENGEREN, *Religionens värld*, pp. 187-192; *Mesopotamian Elements*, pp. 116-121. For the Water of Life see *Mesopotamian Elements*, pp. 140 ff. and for the Tree of Life especially *op. cit.* pp. 123 ff. and passages referred to in *The Akkadian of the Apollon* p. 9 n. 1.

² For the king as *ranku* or *išib* see above p. 13 f.

³ For Marduk as *a-zu* or *āšū* see TALLQVIST *op. cit.* p. 28 and for Tammuz *ib. and* WITZEL, *Tammuz-Liturgien*, p. 77 *passim*.

oil from the life-tree.¹ He is anointed with the cedar-oil, the cedar being the most typical representative of the Tree of Life.²

His active aspect corresponds to a passive one: he is purified, anointed, given the Herb of Life and the Water of Life as a life-giving communion, is bewailed as the tree or plant withering away, the well-known symbol of the dead god ("Tammuz"), who must be called back to life by means of life-imparting rites. Thus like the dying and resurrecting god "Tammuz", who must be called back to life by means of life-imparting rites. Thus like the dying and resurrecting god "Tammuz" the king exhibits both an active and a passive aspect.

The history of the ideas connected with the notion of a paradise garden must be written with due regard to these conceptions that we have tried—however imperfectly—to trace in this investigation which has a purely preparatory character.³ Above all it has been our chief aim to treat such subjects as so far have not received the same attention as other aspects of the idea of a paradise garden.

Against the background of the history of these conceptions we are perhaps now able to follow the process of the shaping of the traditions about Moses, receiving the tablets of Law and the rod. Obviously their Canaanite origin may be taken for granted, if only on account of their supposed cultural background. It does not seem too bold to assume that both tablets and rod were cultic objects belonging to the sanctuary of Jerusalem and used in the coronation ritual. From the Jebusite king they have apparently passed over to the Davidic rulers after the conquest of Jerusalem. An aetiological legend was needed in order to explain how they had come to the city, such was the contention of GRESSMANN.⁴ In order to have these objects "Israelitized" they had to be

¹ We also find a *guling zu-ab* = *pašišu ša apši*, see JEAN, *Religion Sumérienne*, p. 207. For the long *i* of *pašišu*, showing that this word has the meaning of "anointed", see UNGER, *Zf* 38/1928, p. 70 n. 3. For the *pašišu* see also ДНОКХЕ, *Les religions de Babylone et d'Assyrie*, p. 216, 218. For the anointing with oil from the Tree of Life cf. WIDENGEREN, *Rob V/1946*, p. 35. The rite of anointing as a special part of the coronation ritual will be treated in another connection, cf. the indications given above p. 21 n., 38 n.

² See above p. 15.

³ For the spread of Mesopotamian motifs it is important to note the cylinder seal, published FRANKFORT *op. cit.*, Pl. XLI i, where a priest or king pours libations over a plant or small tree in a pot, thus the same motif as above fig. 1 and fig. 2. This seal belongs to the first Syrian group and thus testifies to the age of Mesopotamian influence in Syria (see below fig. 12).

⁴ Cf. GRESSMANN *op. cit.*, pp. 188 f., 448 ff.

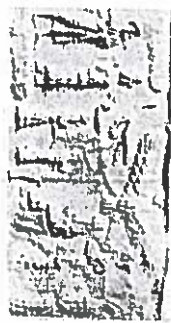


Fig. 12.

traced back into those remote days, the "ideal" period of the history of Israel, when Moses was the leader of the people, and to be associated with him. We should not forget in this connection that Moses in more than one respect is the pattern of later rulers, even if his person is more complex than the sacred king in Davidic times.¹ The traditions about the tablets and the rod accordingly follow the same general trend as other cult objects of undoubtedly Canaanite origin e.g. the copper snake², the ark³, as well as that of cultic festivals e.g. the Feast of Tabernacles⁴, the pre-Israelitic origin of which was demonstrated long ago, but which Israelitic tradition wanted to legitimate by situating their invention in the period of the desert wandering.

¹ Cf. WIDENGEREN *op. cit.*, p. 9 n. 1 with reference to PEDERSEN, *Israel III—IV*, pp. 662 f. It is indeed very easy to draw a table of comparison between the figure of the sacred king and Moses. Above all it should be noted that both of them exercise the three functions of rulership, i.e. they are kings, priests and prophets.

² Against GRESSMANN *op. cit.*, p. 458 but in accordance with LODS, *Israel*, p. 498 f. and MOWINCKEL, *Le Deutéronome*, p. 65.

³ LODS *op. cit.*, pp. 493 ff.; MOWINCKEL *op. cit.*, p. 67 f.

⁴ See PEDERSEN *op. cit.*, p. 421; WIDENGEREN *Rob VII/1948*, pp. 19 ff.

Additional Note No. 1.

In an article entitled *The Seven Dots in Mesopotamian Art and their Meaning* (*J/O* 13/1930—41, pp. 227—289) Mrs. VAN BUREN has analyzed the significance of the symbol of the Seven Dots so often met with on Mesopotamian seal cylinders. But she has not treated all the cases where these dots appear in combination with a staff or rod. For this symbol the term "ball-staff" is used. In order to understand the development of this symbol we may start with such a seal as FRANKFORT Pl. XXX d = Fig. 13. Here no intermediate link is found between the balls and the staff. The seven balls or dots are placed 3 at each side of



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.

the staff and one at the top of it. On another seal *op. cit.* Pl. XXX c = Fig. 14 we find a staff equipped with seemingly only 6 dots or balls, placed 3 at each side. But on this seal (VA 527) we see small straight lines going perpendicularly from the staff to the balls. In some Mitannian seals on the other hand where we meet with a life-tree placed near a human or divine individual or held by him in his hand the connecting links between the balls and the staff or trunk are not merely straight lines but branches at the end of which we find the dots or balls. In this case these dots are only five, of which one takes its place at the top, FRANKFORT *op. cit.* Pl. XXXI c = Fig. 15; Pl. XLIII c = Fig. 16, e, j. FRANKFORT *op. cit.* p. 145 f. speaks of "an enthroned god, sometimes holding a standard with five globes not unlike the symbol occurring in the Jemdet Nasr period" with reference to Pl. VI a where we



Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.

find a similar symbol "upon the byre or pen of the sacred herd." Here alternately 6 or 4 circular rings are attached to a sacred pole (?). The difference lies in the fact that we clearly have seen twigs or straight lines connecting the balls or globes with the staff or trunk on the seals just referred to, whereas no such connecting lines are found in this case. If comparing these seals with lines or twigs ending in balls or dots to a seal published by FRANKFORT *op. cit.* Pl. XX b = Fig. 17, where an en-



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.

throned deity holds a plant in his hand, the difference in this case consists of the absence of those balls and dots. The missing link between a tree or plant with seven branches and the staff with the seven dots or balls is however found in a Mitannian seal (FRANKFORT *op. cit.* Text-fig. 50 = Fig. 18) where a deity, wearing a horned cap, standing opposite a worshipper holds in his right hand a little tree with seven equal branches, each ending in a globe. Thus 3 balls are placed at each side of the staff and one at the top. We accordingly think it reasonably clear that the so-called ball-staff is the stylised seven-branched life-tree with its fruits. Cf. FRANKFORT *op. cit.* Pl. XXXI e.

Additional Note No. 2.

The Tree of Life appears in Israelitic-Jewish religion in a setting in life where its real character is not easily seen at the first glance. For if we examine a little closer the pictures of the seven-branched candle-stick there can be no doubt about the fact that this candle-stick of the temple and the synagogue is nothing but a representation of a tree. Actually the *Jewish Encyclopedia* III p. 531 f., where good figures of some of the earliest representations are given, advances the theory that the seven-branched candle-stick is originally a tree, i.e. the cosmic tree, the world-tree. This tree-character of the *menorah* is clearly shown by the material available in several publications. It is not our intention to make all relevant facts pass review, for that would completely exceed the limits of this little note. In this place we only wish to point to some striking illustrations. *PEQ* 68/1936, pp. 157 ff., esp. p. 159 f. fig. 2, 3, 4 as well as *PEQ* 69/1937, pp. 136 ff., Plate VII facing p. 138, esp. fig. 2 "A seven-branched candle-stick without base", furnish us with good illustrations. But I think that two of the best representations as concerns the tree-character of the candle-stick are found in SUKERNIK, *Ancient Synagogues*, Plate XII a = below fig. 19 (see also p. 31 fig. 6; p. 33 fig. 8; p. 54 fig. 14; p. 56 fig. 16; Plate XII a, XIV). With this fig. 12 we should compare on one hand the candle-stick from Rome (REITZENSTEIN, *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, Plate II = *Revue Archéologique*, Sér. V, T. IV/1916 p. 1), see below fig. 20, and on the other hand SUKERNIK, *The Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, p. 29 fig. 31, where the candle-stick appears perfectly as a tree with seven branches, reproduced here below as fig. 21.

Now in all this there is surely nothing new or startling. But so far we have not found any observation as to the most striking coincidence between the *menorah* as a tree (esp. here fig. 19 and fig. 21) and the ancient Sumerian cosmic tree, growing on the cosmic mountain, reproduced in ZERVOS, *L'art de la Mésopotamie*, p. 226 = below fig. 22. On account of this most striking resemblance it seems impossible not to assume a very old artistic tradition in Israel, developed under the

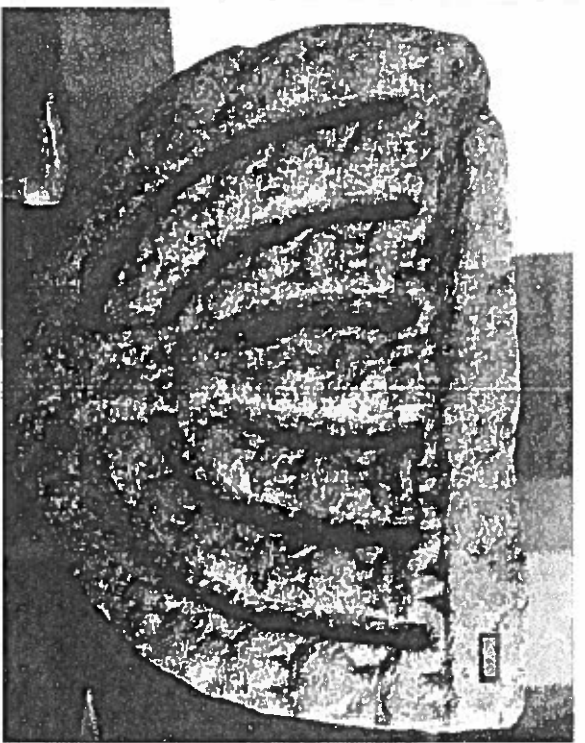


Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.

Fig. 21.

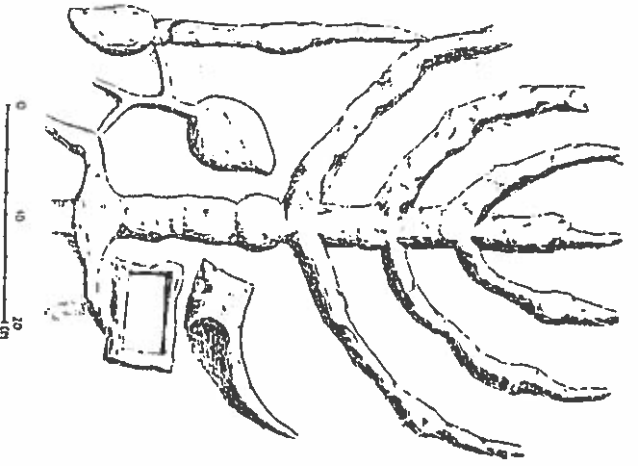
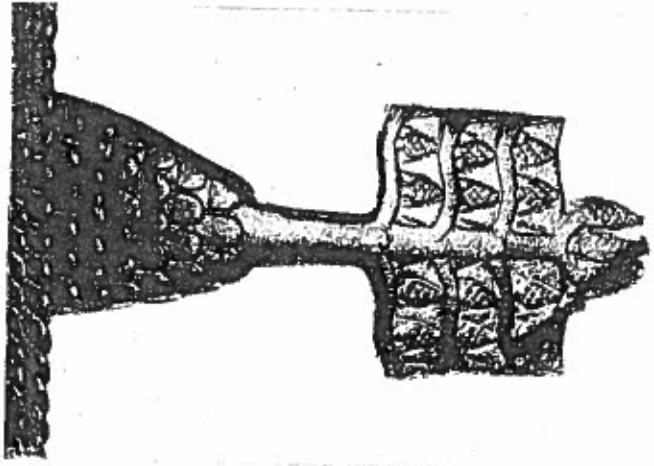


Fig. 22.



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influence of a Mesopotamian pattern. It seems to me that a further implication would be that the contention that the candle-stick was seven-branched only from the 5th century onwards, corresponding to Exod. 25: 31-40 (see GALLING, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, col. 349: 3), cannot be true. For how are we then to explain the perfect coincidence between the Sumerian representation and the Jewish candle-stick? A Mesopotamian influence is easy to assume in remote periods but not in post-exilic times. The theoretical possibility that the ancient Mesopotamian pattern has survived in one way or the other has not much to recommend itself. In this case however we must content ourselves with pointing out this difficult problem, leaving it to future research to present a reasonable solution.

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šis eren-ku 44.
šigunā 10.
šiš-kin 6.
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šutug 59 f.
šis har 21.
šutug 59 f.
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mašmaš ilāni 21.
mē balāti 33 f.
mikkū 21.
mis pi 14.
nahru 21.
nāk mē 16.
nārāti kilalān (kilallē) 7, 14, 46.
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Abbreviations.

AB	Assyriologische Bibliothek.	CCEBK	King, <i>Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings.</i>
ABL	Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Koyunjik Collection of the British Museum.</i>	CH	Codex Hammurabi.
AFO	Archiv für Orientforschung.	CT	Corpus Inscriptionum semiticarum.
AJSL	The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.	FRLANr	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia.	HAT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments.
AOBAT	Gressmann, <i>Akorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament.</i>	HS	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.	ICC	Horae Sacerdotumque International Critical Commentary.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.	JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
BBR	Zimmer, <i>Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion.</i>	JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.	JMFOs	Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society.
B(N)SGW	Berichte über die Verhandlungen der (Kgl.) Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.	JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
BSOS	Ph.-h. Kl. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.	KAR	Ebeling, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts.</i>
BV	Langdon, <i>Babylonian Wisdom.</i>	KAT	Schrader, <i>Die Keilschriften und das alte Testament</i> , 3rd ed.
		KIB	Keilschriftliche Bibliothek.
		KIS	Witzel, <i>Keilschriftliche Studien.</i>
		LSS	Leipziger Semitische Studien.
		MAOG	Mitteilungen der orientalischen Gesellschaft.
		NSI	Cooke, <i>A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions.</i>
		OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts.
		OIP	Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Publications.
		Or	Orientalia.
		PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
		PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
		RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
		RCAR	Waterman, <i>Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire.</i>
		RISA	Barton, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad.</i>
		RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie.
		ROB	Religion och Bibel, <i>Nathan Söderblomska studier</i> .
		RSO	Rivista degli studi orientali.
		SAKI	Thureau-Dangin, <i>Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königschriften.</i>
		SBP	Langdon, <i>Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms.</i>
		SEA	Svensk exegetisk årsbok.
		SRT	Chera, <i>Sumerian Religious Texts.</i>
		STVC	Chiera, <i>Sumerian Texts of varied Contents.</i>
		TCL	Musée nationale du Louvre, <i>Textes cunéiformes.</i>
		TM	Textus Mesopotamicus.
		TUL	Ebeling, <i>Tod und Leben.</i>
		UH	Gordon, <i>Ugaritic Handbook.</i>
		UAB	University of Pennsylvania, the University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section (Philadelphia).
		UVA	Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift.
		VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
		VAWA	Verhandlungen der K. Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afd. Letterkunde.
		VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler.
		WDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
		WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
		ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete.

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