AKKADIAN PROPHECIES, OMENS AND MYTHS AS BACKGROUND

FOR *DANIEL* CHAPTERS 7 – 12

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March 1989

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THANKS

My sincere thanks go to:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter III: _DANIEL_ IN AN _OLD TESTAMENT_ CONTEXT

Chapter IV: CONCLUSIONS

APPENDICES

ABSTRACT

Akkadian Prophecies, Omens and Myths as Background

for *Daniel* Chapters 7 - 12

Ernest Charles Lucas

This work investigates Akkadian materials which have been suggested as relevant background for understanding the form, content, and imagery of the visions in *Daniel 7-12*.

The work begins with a detailed study of the "Akkadian Prophecies". It is suggested that the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I provides the setting for the Marduk and Šulgi Prophecies. Tentative identifications are made of some of the previously unidentified figures in Text A. It is argued that the Uruk Prophecy is better seen as political propaganda supporting the Neo-Babylonian Dynasty than as a "messianic" text. A new interpretation is suggested for the problematic final portion of the Dynastic Prophecy. It is argued that Text B and LBAT 1543 are particular types of omen literature and not Akkadian Prophecies. A consideration of literary form and affinities shows that the Prophecies are closely related to the omen literature, but also have links with the Chronicles and, in the case of the Marduk and Šulgi texts, with the narû-literature.

It is argued that it is much better to class the Akkadian texts as "prophecies" rather than as "apocalypses". Reasons are given for concluding that the form and style of *Daniel 11&12* probably was influenced by that of the Akkadian Prophecies.

Mesopotamian iconography, mythology, birth omens and astrological ideas are considered as possible sources of the weird animal imagery of *Daniel 7&8*. None of these is found convincing as the specific source of the imagery, though the prevalence of such imagery in Babylonian culture may have influenced the author's use of it.

The second major part of the work is a study of prophetic surveys of history in Jewish and early Christian apocalypses in order to see whether these provide any evidence of direct dependence on the Akkadian sources. No such evidence is found. There is evidence that the few surveys that are similar to those in *Daniel* are influenced by that book. The suggested Persian origin of the "four monarchies" concept in *Daniel* is re-examined and found unconvincing. An alternative origin is proposed.

Thirdly, *Daniel 7-12* is considered in the context of other symbolic visions in the *Old Testament*, for which a new typology is proposed. It is shown that the form of the visions fits an *Old Testament* pattern. An *Old Testament* root is suggested for the specific animal imagery of chs. 7&8. However, the weird nature of the animal imagery of these chapters, and the form and style of *Dan. 8:23-25; 9:24-27; 11:2-45;* are better explained as the result of the influence of Akkadian culture and literature.

In conclusion, it is argued that the Akkadian influence in *Daniel 7-12* is better explained if these visions originated amongst the Jews in Babylon rather than in Palestine. The use of the jussive and cohortative in the Hebrew parts of *Daniel*, compared with their use in the non-biblical scrolls from Qumran and late biblical Hebrew, suggests a date nearer the time of the writing of *Ezra & Nehemiah* than the 2nd. century B.C..

ABBREVIATIONS

Serials and Books

AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*.
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages*
Amer.J.Phil.	*American Journal of Philology*
Anat.Stud.	*Anatolian Studies*
ANEP	J.B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*.
ANET	J.B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd. edition.
Ann.Sc.Norm.Pisa	*Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa*
AOAT	*Alter Orient und Altes Testament*
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
APOT	R.H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*.
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
Bib.Mes.	*Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*
Bib.Sac.	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BO	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BOR	*Babylonian and Oriental Record*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
Bull.Inst.J.Stud.	*Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies*
BZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentaliche Wissenschaft, Beihefte*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CAH	*The Cambridge Ancient History*
CBQ	*Catholic Bible Quarterly*
Class.Phil.	*Classical Philology*
Class.Q.	*Classical Quarterly*
Enc.Jud.	*Encyclopedia Judaica*
EPHE	*École Pratique des Hautes Études*
Ev.Th.	*Evangelische Theologie*
G-K	E. Kautzsch, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 2nd. English edition.
Hey.J.	*The Heythrop Journal*
Hist.Rel.	*History of Religions*
HSM	*Harvard Semitic Monographs*
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Studies*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
J.Theol.Church	*Journal for Theology and the Church*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*

JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
Or (NS)	*Orientalia (New Series)*
Proc.Amer.Phil.Soc.	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
PVTG	*Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece*
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéology Orientale*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*
RQ	*Revue de Qumran*
SANE	*Sources from the Ancient Near East*
SBL	*The Society of Biblical Literature*
SBT²	*Studies in Biblical Theology, 2nd. series*
SEA	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*
SNTS	*The Society of New Testament Study*
ST	*Studia Theologica (Lundensia)*
St.Or.	*Studia Orientalia*
SVT	*Supplement to Vetus Testamentum*
SVTP	*Studia in Veteris Testamenta Pseudepigrapha*
TB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TCS	*Texts from Cuneiform Sources*
Trans.Amer.Phil.Soc.	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
TSBA	*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
TSF Bull.	*Theological Students' Fellowship Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
ST	*Studia Theologica (Lundensia)*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WO	*Die Welt des Orient*
YOS	*Yale Oriental Series*
Z.Pap.Ep.	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentaliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

Other Abbreviations

Ed (s).	Editor (s)
ed.	Edition
EVV	English versions
Fs.	Festschrift
LXX	Septuagint version
MS (S)	Manuscript (s)
MT	Massoretic text
rev.	Revised
Tg.	Targum
Trans.	Translator
V	Vulgate version
Vol.	Volume

Conventional abbreviations are used for the titles of the biblical, apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books.

INTRODUCTION

Prof. W.G. Lambert's 1977 Ethel M. Wood Lecture[1], entitled *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, demonstrated the relevance for biblical studies of a group of Akkadian texts which he and A.K. Grayson had published several years before[2] and named "Akkadian Prophecies". In that paper the similarities between the texts and *Dan. 8:23-25 & 11:3-45* had been noted. Lambert now argued the case that the author of *Daniel* had copied and adapted the style of the Akkadian texts. Earlier W.W. Hallo[3] had suggested that the Akkadian texts were better classified as apocalypses rather than as prophecies. Some of the texts published by Grayson and Lambert had been published before, and their link with Daniel noted[4], but biblical scholars took more notice of them in the 1970's than they had previously. There are two possible reasons for this.

One is that the work of Grayson and Lambert, and of those who followed them, has shown that there is a distinct corpus of 5 or 6 texts which can be called "Akkadian Prophecies/Apocalypses", which range in the probable dates of their composition from the late 12th. century to the mid-3rd. century B.C.[5]. This suggests that they represent an on-going literary tradition. It is more probable that such a tradition might influence Jewish writers acquainted with Babylonian literature than that one or two individual works might.

Secondly, and probably more importantly, since the 1960's biblical scholars and theologians have become increasingly interested in

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1. W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London (1978).
2. A.K. Grayson and W.G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies", *JCS* 18 (1964), 7-30.
3. W.W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses", *IEJ* 16 (1966), 231-242.
4. See the refs. given by Grayson and Lambert, *op. cit.* ref. 2, and the discussions of the individual texts in this thesis.
5. For these dates see the discussions of the texts in this thesis.

apocalyptic. In 1969 D.N. Freedman[5] referred to the

> "discovery and subsequent demonstration that the controlling factor in the literature of the *New Testament* is apocalyptic".

In the same publication E. Käsemann[7] made his much quoted statement that,

> "Apocalyptic - since the preaching of Jesus cannot really be described as theology - was the mother of all Christian Theology."

In the context of this interest in Jewish apocalyptic it is not suprising that some biblical scholars should show an interest in the claim that the "Akkadian Prophecies/Apocalypses" might represent at least one important element in the background of Jewish apocalyptic. However, most of the biblical scholars who refer to them seem not to have studied the texts themselves in any detail, but rely on Hallo's and/or Lambert's claims about them[8].

The original purpose of this thesis was three-fold:

(1) To study the "Akkadian Prophecies/Apocalypses" within the context of Akkadian literature in order to establish as far as possible their characteristics and purpose. This is a necessary prelude to deciding whether they should be classed as in any way "apocalyptic", and whether there may be any literary relationship between them and *Daniel.*

(2) To study the form of the prophetic surveys of history in *Daniel 7-11* in the context of the *Old Testament* in order to establish their characteristics and to see how far they can be understood as a development within the biblical tradition without the recourse of appeal to external models.

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6. D.N. Freedman, "The Flowering of Apocalyptic", *J.Theol.Ch.* 6(1969), 167.

7. E. Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology", *J.Theol.Ch.* 6(1969), 40.

8. J.G. Baldwin, "Some Literary Affinities of the Book of Daniel", *Tyn.Bull.* 30(1979), 77-99, is an exception.

(3) To study the prophetic surveys of history in Jewish and early Christian apocalypses to look for any evidence of a common source which might plausibly be the "Akkadian Prophecies/Apocalypses". Lambert, because he assumed that *Daniel* was composed in Palestine in the 2nd. century B.C., postulated that the Akkadian texts were available in Aramaic or Greek translation in that century, and so available to Jewish authors, who were unlikely to be able to read cuneiform script.

This study, concerned essentially with the forms of *Dan. 8:23-25; 9:24-27; 11:2-45*, was then expanded to consider other Akkadian material that has been suggested as the source of the animal imagery of the prophetic surveys of history in *Dan. 7&8.* It therefore became a study of the prophetic surveys of history in *Dan. 7-12* within the two literary contexts of the *Old Testament* and Akkadian literature, in order to discern how far each has contributed to these chapters. This is a necessary basis for a sound exegesis of these chapters. It was hoped that the study might also contribute something to the wider issues of the book's authorship, provenance, date *etc.* An additional benefit would be the increased understanding of the "Akkadian Prophecies/Apocalypses" and their place, if any, in the development of apocalyptic literature. The systematic study of the prophetic surveys of history in Jewish and early Christian literature is also something that has not been done before.

A text-critical study of *Dan. 7-12* was carried out as a preliminary to the main work of this thesis. This raised the interesting question of the "anomalous jussive" and cohortative in Late Biblical Hebrew, which was given some consideration because of its possible implications for the dating of the language of *Daniel.*

Chapter I: *DANIEL* IN A MESOPOTAMIAN CONTEXT

Part 1: A Study Of The Akkadian Prophecy Texts

We will begin our study of *Daniel* in a Mesopotamian context with a study of the cuneiform texts that are generally called the Akkadian Prophecies. English translations of the texts will be found in Appendix 8.

THE MARDUK PROPHECY

A portion of this text was first edited by Güterbock[1], who provided a photograph, transliteration and translation into German of the three fragments: K3353 + K8708 + K13678. A fourth fragment of the same tablet (BM 99210) was identified by F.W. Geers and first published, in copy only, by Grayson and Lambert[2]. These authors also published (as "Text D") Aššur 13348ek, which it later transpired was a copy of a portion of the same text. By a combination of keen observation and careful work Borger[3] has identified further fragments of the text, most of them amongst unpublished copies made by F.W. Geers, and pieced them together, giving the text: K2158 + K3353 + K8708 + K13687 + Rm 297 (+) K7065 + K12697 + 89-4-26.62 + BM 99210 (+) K13434//Sm 1388//Aššur 13348ek. He provides a facsimile copy of all these fragments (except Aššur 13348ek) showing the joins, and gives a transliteration, translation into German, commentary, and discussion.

Contents

Horizontal lines divide the text into sections. These divisions are followed in the summary below:

I.1-6   The great gods are called upon to pay heed to what is to be said to them.

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1. H.G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200", *ZA* 42(1934), 79-84.
2. A.K. Grayson & W.G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies", *JCS* 18(1964), 7-30.
3. R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten", *BO* 28(1971), 3-24.

I.7-12	Marduk introduces himself as the great lord who has travelled in every land.
I.13-38	His visit to Ḫatti is dealt with. During his 24 years there trade flourished between Ḫatti and the cities of Babylonia. A king arose who brought Marduk home to Babylon.
Lacuna	
I.1'-17'	This concludes the account of Marduk's visit to Assyria, which he blessed whilst he was there.
I.18'-II.18	Marduk visits Elam. He commanded the other gods to accompany him. As a result Babylonia suffers calamities of various kinds. Marduk desires to return home.
II.19-35	A king will arise in Babylon who will restore Ekur-Saggil and grant tax-exemption to the city. He will bring Marduk back to the city and restore his processional boat.
Lacuna	
II.1'-12'	The subject is still a processional boat and Nabû, the son of [Marduk] is mentioned.
II.13'-17'	Too fragmentary for the sense to be clear.
Lacuna	Aššur 13348ek fits in here. It states that the king will experience the favour of god and enjoy a long reign because he will restore the sanctuaries of various gods - Ningal, Sîn, Gula, and Kurnunītum (?) are mentioned.
III.1'-20'	The land will enjoy various blessing under this ruler.
III.21'-30'	The king will destroy Elam and rescue Der and its god.
Lacuna	
IV.1'-14'	A list of food offerings.
IV.15'	States that the text is complete.
IV.16'	Catch line, "I God Šulgi".
IV.17'-19'	Copied in the palace of Aššur-bani-pal from a text from Babylon.

Interpretation

It is not difficult to indentify the experiences of Marduk referred to in this text. Other sources record occasions on which his statue was removed from Babylon, and these tally well with the three "journeys" mentioned in the text.

The Hittite ruler Muršiliš I conquered Babylon ca. 1595 B.C. (according to the mean chronology). This Hittite invasion is noted in Bab. Chron. 20 B rev. 11[4], and Landsberger[5] provides a detailed discussion of the event. It must have been on this occasion that they took away Marduk's statue as part of their plunder. According to the so-called "Agum Inscription" the statue was recovered by Agum Kakrime (Agum II) together with that of

4.   A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, *TCS* V, Locust Valley, N.Y. (1975), 156
5.   B. Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und 'Dunkles Zeitalter' (continued)", *JCS* 8 (1954), 64-72.

Marduk's consort Zarpānītum[6]. The inscription is extant only in a 7th.

century B.C. copy. Its authenticity has been questioned, though not its

main point that a ruler named Agum (I or II) regained the statue[7].

Tukulti-Ninurta I (ca. 1243-1207 B.C.) of Assyria conquered Babylon and

took Marduk's statue to Assyria[8]. It is this that accounts for Marduk's

second "journey" in our text. Chron. P IV.3-6 reports this event and then

says (IV.12f) that the statue was returned to Babylon in the time of

Tukulti-Aššur[9]. Who this ruler was is unclear. Brinkman[10] considers the

possibility that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur is intended, but thinks that this

identification is "uncertain". Borger[11] thinks that the prophecy text

weighs against it. If the reference is to his period of sole rule (ca.

1133 B.C.) the statue carried off by the Elamites must have been a

substitute one, and its recovery would probably not have been regarded as

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6. A transcription, transliteration, and English translation of the text
was published by W. Boscawen, "On an Early Chaldean Inscription",
TSBA 4(1876), 132-171. The last full transliteration and translation
was by P. Jensen in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek, Vol. 3/1*, Berlin
(1892), 134-153. See also the references in J.A. Brinkman,
Materials and Studies for Kassite History, Vol. 1, Chicago (1976), 97.

7. B. Landsberger, *op. cit.* ref. 5, 67f, describes it as "apocryphal". To
this E. Weidner responded ("Die älteren Kassiten-Könige", *AfO*
19(1959/60), 138), "... dass sie Fälschung sei ... leuchtet mir nicht
ein". The text actually says that the statues were brought back
from *māt ḫani.* This is emended to *māt ḫatti* by Landsberger (*op.
cit.* ref. 5, 116) and Albright ("A Note on the Chronology of the
Second Millenium B.C.", *BASOR*, 126(1952), 25 n. 3). However, A. Goetze
("On the Chronology of the Second Millenium B.C.", *JCS* 11(1957), 63-
67) seems to regard *māt ḫani* as the kingdom of Ḫana on the middle
Euphrates, which, he presumes, Muršiliš I conquered on his way to
Babylon. Goetze considers that, "There is no reason to doubt the
historicity of the information that Marduk stayed for twenty-four
years in the Hittite country and that it was the Kassite Agum II
(Kakrime) who brought the god back from the land of the Ḫaneans" (p.
65). C.J. Gadd, *CAH, Vol. 2.1*, 3rd. Ed., Cambridge (1973), 226f,
accepts the historicity of the information and suggests that the
reference to *māt ḫani* means that Agum ransomed the statue from the
Hittites and met it on its way home in Ḫana.
8. E.F. Weidner, "Studien zur Zeitgeschichte Tukulti-Ninurtas I", *AfO*
13(1939), 109-124.
9. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 4, 176.
10. J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, Rome
(1968), 86f (note 465) & 361.
11. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 3, 18 (commentary on I.1'-17').

such a significant event as it appears to have been since the more

ancient original would have been recovered a decade or so earlier. As a

way of avoiding this difficulty Brinkman[12] mentions the possibility that

Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur was regent for a period early in the reign of his

father Aššur-Dan, and that his pro-Babylonian policies (including return

of the statue?) were the reason for his exile, which was spent in Babylon.

Marduk's "journey" to Elam occured at the end of the Kassite Dynasty.

When the Elamites overthrew this dynasty *ca.* 1160 they carried off

Marduk's statue to Elam, where it remained until recovered by

Nebuchadnezzar I (*ca.* 1125-1104 B.C.) of the 2nd. Dynasty of Isin[13].

Clearly it is he who is the king that is the subject of the second half

of the text. It is when referring to his reign that the text shifts from

reciting history to prophecy, to judge from the verb forms. Borger[14] is

puzzled by the appearance of some imperfect forms in the section II.2ff.

However, this section contains phrases borrowed from omen apodoses (*v.*

App. 3) and this probably explains the verb forms, which in context can be

taken as durative rather than future. Nevertheless, as Borger comments[15]

it is impossible to determine whether the account of the recovery of

Marduk's statue is a *vaticinium ex eventu* or a genuine prophecy.

The Nature and Purpose of the Text

When publishing the part of the text known to him, Güterbock[16] classified

it as an example of "narû-literature". A *narû* is an engraved stele on

which a king records the events of his reign. Gurney[17] gives the

characteristics of these inscriptions as:

12. J.A. Brinkman, *op. cit.* ref. 10, 103 note 564.
13. J.A. Brinkman, *op. cit.* ref. 10, 86-90 & 105-110.
14. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 3, 18 (commentary on II.2ff).
15. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 3, 21.
16. H.G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literische
        Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200", *ZA* 42 (1934),
        79-84.
17. O.R. Gurney, "The Sultantepe Tablets: IV. The Cuthean Legend of
        Naram-Sin", *Anat. Stud.* 5 (1955), 93-113.

(1) A formal self-introduction of the writer by his names and titles.
(2) A narrative in the first person.
(3) An epilogue usually consisting of curses on anyone who might in the future deface the monument and blessings on those who should honour it.

The so-called "narû-literature" consists of a small group of apocryphal narû-inscriptions, probably composed in the 2nd. millenium B.C., but in the name of famous kings of a by-gone age, *e.g.* Sargon of Akkad, Naram-Sin. Whilst the Marduk text is similar to the narû-inscriptions in its opening and first-person style, it goes beyond giving an account of past events and lacks the closing curses and blessings. In its reference to future events and its use of language reminiscent of omen apodoses it has close affinities with the more clearly prophetic texts (Text A, the Uruk Prophecy, the Dynastic Prophecy). Borger[18] is therefore justified in designating it as "The Prophetic Speech of the God Marduk", or more simply, "The Marduk Prophecy".

As to the general purpose of the text, Borger[18] points out that the prophetic speech is entirely "Heilsprophetie" and expresses the view that it, "stellt allerdings in Wirklichkeit eine Wunschliste dar". In effect, the predicted actions of the king provide a catalogue of things which the king should carry out so that he can experience the favour of the gods and enjoy the blessings mentioned. This reading of the text is an entirely credible one. It means that the text was intended to encourage Nebuchadnezzar I to lavish care on the cults of various gods[19], but especially that of Marduk of Babylon. It is possible that the text was intended to prompt Nebuchadnezzar to attempt to regain Marduk's statue from Elam, but it seems more likely that it was inspired by that event. As Borger[18] comments, the fact that centuries later at least two copies of the text existed in Nineveh and one in Aššur makes it probable that it

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18. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 3, 21.
19. Nabû of Borsippa, II.1'ff; Sin of Ur, *Aššur* III.21'ff; the cult of Isin, *Aššur* IV.5ff; the cult of Der, III.21'ff; and possibly some other cult, II.13'ff; possibly *Aššur* III.1'ff.

had the desired effect on the king and acheived its aim.

The text fits into what is known of the religious situation in Nebuchadnezzar I's reign. Lambert[20] has argued persuasively that although the rise of the 1st. Dynasty of Babylon brought Marduk to a prominent position in the Mesopotamian pantheon, Anu and Enlil still remained the supreme gods. It is in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I that Marduk is first given the title *šar ilāni*, and after this his kingship over the gods is commonly attested. He thinks that a major catalyst in this elevation of Marduk to absolute supremacy was the return of his statue from Elam. The Marduk prophecy would have provided support for this elevation of the god. It takes what could have been embarassing events for the supporters of Marduk's supremacy and turns them to his advantage. His absences from Babylon are presented as "journeys" taken at his own volition (I.13, 21'ff). Indeed they are a cause for boasting (I.20' "who has undertaken such a journey?"). The visit to Hatti resulted in a growth of Babylonian trade and prosperity. The full account of his visit to Assyria is not extant, but the power of Assyria at that time is attributed to Marduk's blessing (I.12'). The text seems to imply that his departure to Elam was a sign of his displeasure for some unspecified reason (I.23'). This point is made quite explicitly in another text which probably dates from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I[21]. His return will herald peace, prosperity, and success if the king lavishes care on his cult. The supremacy of Marduk is clear in this text. He is the "Great Lord" who can command the other gods to do his bidding (I.18', 23'ff).

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20. W.G. Lambert, "The Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I: A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamian Religion", in W.S. McCullough, *The Seed of Wisdom* (Fs. T.J. Meeks), Ontario (1964), 3-13.
   W. Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks, AOAT 213*, Kevelaer (1982), provides a detailed study which gives support to Lambert's general thesis.
21. W.G. Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters", *JCS* 21 (1967), 126-138.

The enjoining of the care of other sanctuaries upon the king could be intended to minimize the resentment that this further elevation of Marduk might have provoked in other cult centres. Grayson[22] has suggested that the Weidner Chronicle[23] was composed in the early Isin II period in order to magnify the position of Marduk and Babylon. He points out that it is marked by a strong condemnation of rulers who neglect Babylon, Marduk, and the fish cult, and especially Sargon, who dared to build a "second Babylon" near Agade. This, he proposes, is a polemic against the Kassites after they built their new capital Dur-Kurigalzu, and possibly the early Isin II rulers who, presumably, had their capital at Isin. He also notes that there are few references to fish and fishing in this period. If Grayson is right, the Weidner Chronicle would join the Marduk Prophecy as an example of the propaganda which helped to elevate Marduk to the head of the pantheon in the late 12th. century B.C.. Borger[24] suggests that if the Agum Inscription is not authentic, it was probably composed at this time too, because of the interest in the history of Marduk's statue.

In the 1st. millenium B.C. the god Nabû came to share Marduk's glory, being regarded as his son. Borger points out that if the Marduk Prophecy does originate from Nebuchadnezzar I's reign it provides the first known reference to Nabû as Marduk's son (II.8') and lists him amongst the "great gods" (I.4). The mention of him in connection with the processional boat (II.8'ff) implies that already his statue was taken to Babylon to play a part in the New Year rituals. In addition, of course, his name is included in the king's own name.

Conclusion

This prophecy text, modelled to some extent on the narû-inscriptions, was

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22. A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, TCS V,* Locust Valley, N.Y. (1975), 278f.
23. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 22, 145-151.
24. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 3, 17 (commentary on I.13-38).

intended to promote the elevation of Marduk to the position of supreme god in the pantheon. It explains the potentially embarassing past removals of his statue from Babylon in a way that glorifies Marduk. Blessings are predicted for the king who gives him due honour by lavishing care on his city and cult. It very probably dates from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I.

THE ŠULGI PROPHECY

As in the case of the Marduk prophecy, it was Borger[25] who finally succeeded in putting together the fragments of a fairly complete tablet containing this text. Güterbock[26] edited K4445 and commented on its similarity to the Marduk text and to K4495. The latter fragment was published by Weidner[27], together with some fragments with "prophetic" contents. In that paper he suggested that K4541 might be joined to K15508, and presented a duplicate of part of K4541, namely VAT 14404 (Aššur 13956hc). Eventually Lambert verified the join suggested by Weidner, and showed that K4495 also joined to K15508. A transliteration, translation and discussion of the resulting text was published by Grayson and Lambert[28] as "Text C". Borger[25] realized that the fragment 79-7-8,98 could be joined to K4445, and that these could be "sandwich-joined" to K4541+. He recognized the catch-line of the Marduk Prophecy, "I God Šulgi" in the fragments K10020 & K5346, which he joined, and showed that these too could be "sandwich-joined" to K4541+. He has therefore published a full transliteration, translation into German, commentary, and

25. R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten", BO 28(1971), 3-24.
26. H.G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200", ZA 42(1934), 84-86.
27. E.F. Weidner, "Babylonische Prophezeiungen", AfO 13(1939/41), 234-237.
28. A.K. Grayson & W.G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies", JCS 18(1964), 7-30.

discussion of the resulting text (K4445 + K4495 + K4541 + K15508 + 79-

7-8,98 (+) K5346 + K10020) together with variants from VAT 14404.

Contents

The contents of the text can be summarized as follows:

I.1-7	Šulgi introduces himself and declares that, like his father, he has received revelations from the gods, especially Šamaš and Ištar.
I.8-12	Seems to speak of rejoicing in Ur and Larsa.
I.13-17, II.1'-18'	Too broken to read.
Lacuna	
III.1'-29'	Refers to events which affected the inhabitants of Babylon and Nippur. The text is obscure because of its poor condition. The following sections seem tolerably clear: 11'-16' A time of trouble due to misrule. 17'-19' A king of Babylon and Nippur is given universal dominion. 20'-25' Some king will arise. There will be confusion in the east of Elam. There is an unclear reference to the Hittites and Babylon.
Lacuna	
IV.1'-22'	A ruler who builds a palace in Babylon will experience evil. The land will fall into anarchy. The property of Babylon will go to Assyria.
IV.23'f	Unclear.
Lacuna	
V.1-9	A time of anarchy in which Nippur will be destroyed.
V.10-15	A ruler will triumph in Babylon and build a city on the bank of the Tigris and/or Euphrates. At Enlil's command his reign will end.
V.16-18	Unclear.
V.19-30	A ruler will restore Badtibira, Giršu and Larsa, and the shrines of Nippur, Der(?), Isin, and Marada(?).
Lacuna	
VI.2'	[I God Šulgi] complete.

The text of VAT 14404 contains some horizontal dividing lines which are

not in the restored tablet. Their significance is unclear. The only such

line in the restored tablet is after VI.1', marking the end of the text.

Interpretation

Šulgi (ca. 2094-2047 B.C.) was the second ruler of the 3rd. Dynasty of Ur,

following his father Ur-Nammu. If II.1'-9' is taken literalistically to

mean that he founded Ur, this is clearly unhistorical. However, it may

claim no more than a renovation of the city and strengthening of its

fortifications. Some inscriptions give evidence of building work done by

him in Nippur[29]. The mention of the Elamite god Humban (II.19'f) may relate to Šulgi's conquest of Elam[30].

Col. III-V presumably refer to events in Babylonia from the time of Šulgi onwards. Borger[31] suggests that the reference to the Hittites and Babylon in III.24'f relates to the conquest of Babylon by Muršiliš I (ca. 1595 B.C.), though he admits that in view of the state of the text this can be only supposition. The reference could be to some other contact between the two powers.

Borger identifies the Babylonian ruler of IV.19'ff as Kaštiliaš IV, who was defeated by Tukulti-Ninurta I when he plundered Babylon and carried off Marduk's statue (ca. 1225 B.C.). He thinks that the period of distress depicted in V.1-9 relates to the attack on Nippur and overthrow of Enlil-nādin-šumi by the Elamites, as recorded in Chron. P iv.14ff[32]. In his view the prophecy is *post eventum* as far as V.15. What follows is "Heilsprophetie". He is unsure which historical ruler was expected to bring about the restoration that is predicted, though he favours one of the late Kassite rulers. He thinks that if it refers to Nebuchadnezzar I,

> "muss man annehmen, dass die Ereigniss, die zum Sturz der Kassitendynastie führten, verschwiegen wurden, was unwahrscheinlich erscheint"[31].

Grayson[33], however, thinks that there is sufficient space for such a description in the lacuna at the end of column V and beginning of VI. Borger[34] estimates the lacuna to be at least 30 lines, and so Grayson's view seems a reasonable one.

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29. E. Sollberger, "The Tummal Inscription", *JCS* 16(1962), 40-47.
   W.W. Hallo, "The Royal Inscriptions of Ur: A Typology", *HUCA* 33(1962), 1-43. See the inscriptions: Šulgi 9 & 20.
30. W. Hinz, "Persia c. 2400-1800, *CAH*, 3rd. ed., Vol. 1.2, Cambridge (1971), 654-656.
31. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 23.
32. A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, *TCS V*, Locust Valley, N.Y. (1975), 176f.
33. A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto (1975), 16 note 20.
34. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 15.

The broken state of the tablet means that it is difficult to make confident identifications of the events to which it refers. However, we would like to suggest a somewhat more detailed interpretation than Borger's, though incorporating his suggestions. The lacuna between cols. II & III is, according to Borger[35], not much more than 10 lines. This could have dealt with the fall of the 3rd. Dynasty of Ur. The two successors to hegemony in Babylonia were the 1st Dynasty of Isin and the Larsa Dynasty. In view of the prominence of Nippur in col. III, we suggest that this column begins with reference to Išbi-Irra (ca. 2017-1985 B.C.), the founder of the Isin I Dynasty who began his expansion of power by gaining control of Nippur[36]. The period of misfortune in III.11'-16' could be the downfall of that dynasty. The obvious candidate for the world ruler of III.17'-19' is Hammurabi (ca.1792-1750 B.C.). The following section would then refer to the downfall of his dynasty when Muršiliš I invaded Babylonia. There is a lacuna of about 34 lines between cols. III & IV[35]. It is unclear whether the whole of the extant portion of col. IV deals with the reign of Kaštiliaš IV, or only lines 19'ff. The former seems more likely, and the Synchronistic Chronicle mentions no plundering of Babylonia in the Kassite period before Kaštiliaš' reign[37]. There is only a small lacuna at the end of col. IV[34]. Borger is probably right in seeing Enlil-nādin-šumi's troubled reign as the subject of V.1-9. Lines 10-15 could then refer to Adad-šuma-iddina (ca. 1222-1217 B.C.), who was replaced by a son of Kaštiliaš IV in a revolution. If, as Brinkman[38] argues, he was an Assyrian puppet, his

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35. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 14.
36. Išbi-Irra was granted control of Nippur as well as of Isin by Ibbi-Sin whilst he was still formally his suzerain. See T. Jacobsen, "The Reign of Ibbi-Suen", *JCS* 7 (1953), 36-47; C. Wilke, "Zur Geschichte der Amurriter in der Ur-III-Zeit", *WO* 5 (1969), 1-31; C.J. Gadd, "Babylonia c. 2120-1800", *CAH*, Vol. 1.2, 3rd. ed., Cambridge (1971), 611-617.
37. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 32, 157-161.
38. J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, Rome (1968), 77 & 86.

replacement by a scion of the royal house deposed by the Assyrians could well be seen as an act of Enlil (V.13f), the traditional legitimater of kingship in Babylonia. This scion was Adad-šuma-uṣur (1216-1187 B.C.) who had the longest reign of any of the Kassite kings. He carried out building on the temple at Nippur[39], and may well be the subject of V.19ff. We can only guess at what was in the final 30+ lines. If the above identifications are correct, it is clear that the prophecy is selective, dealing with the high- and low-points in the experience of Nippur and Babylon. That being so, Grayson[40] could be right in suggesting that the missing ending did deal with the end of the Kassites and the appearance of Nebuchadnezzar I, since there would be room for this if it dealt with only 2 or 3 rulers.

The Nature and Purpose of the Text

Like the Marduk Prophecy, this one bears a resemblance to the narû-literature in its opening and its first-person style. Borger[41] points out that the epithets in II.2'ff echo those on genuine royal inscriptions and that II.7'-9' reads like a wall-building inscription. He suggests that here there may be copying of genuine Šulgi inscriptions. Overall, however, the text is best designated in the same way as the Marduk one as a prophetic speech, the Šulgi Prophecy. Like the other prophecies its phraseology has something in common with omen apodoses (see App. 7).

Borger[42] considers that most of the text is *vaticinium ex eventu* intended to inspire confidence in a genuine prediction of restoration (V.16ff). He

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39. Several copies of a brick inscription have been found there. An English translation is given by J.P. Peters, *Nippur*, Vol. 2, N.Y. & London (1897), 165.
40. A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto (1975), 16 note 20.
41. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 22. However, the reference by Šulgi to Šamaš and Ištar is an anachronism by the text's author. G.R. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns*, Rome (1972), 319, provides a glossary of divine names in the Šulgi hymns and texts. The names of the Semitic gods are not attested.
42. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 23.

makes no comment about the particular motive behind this prediction. The

reasons why he thinks that V.16ff is a genuine attempt at prediction seem

to be that it comes near the end of the text and that it is the most

extended piece of unalloyed "Heilsprophetie" in the extant text. Whilst

the latter point may seem convincing at first, it may rest on a false

impression resulting from the state of the text. According to our

interpretation, III.1'-10' refers to Išbi-Irra and the extant text does

nothing to rule out the possibility that this is described as a wholly

good reign. The sizeable lacuna between the extant portions of cols. III

& IV ought to record the rise of the Kassite Dynasty, and one of its

early rulers could have been given favourable notice. In view of the

lacuna at the end of col. V and the beginning of col. VI it is unwise to

assume that V.16ff is the final peroration of the speech.

It seems better to attempt to discern the purpose of the text from the

prominent features of the extant portion of it. These are:

(1) The frequent mentions of Nippur and Enlil. When Babylon is mentioned
it is usually linked with Nippur. Note that the ruler who is given "all
the lands" (Hammurabi?) is "king of Babylon and Nippur" (III.17'ff)[43].
Marduk and his shrine are never mentioned.

(2) The choice of Šulgi as the author of the prophecy. He ruled from Ur
before the rise to prominence of Babylon. In Babylonian sources he is
castigated for having profaned the Marduk cult in Babylon. Thus the
Weidner Chronicle[44] says, "he profaned his (Marduk's) purification ritual",
and the Chronicle of Early Kings[45] complains that "he had criminal
tendencies and took away the property of Esagil and Babylon as booty".

(3) The things that are mentioned about Šulgi are his obedience to Enlil,
his building work in Nippur, and his subjugation of Elam.

Grayson[46] has put forward as a "mere speculation" the suggestion that

the Šulgi Prophecy is concerned to show, in the face of the usurpation of

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43. M.-J. Seux, Épithètes Royales Akkadiennes et Sumériennes, Paris
      (1967), gives no example of this epithet (nor of "King of
      Nippur") in genuine royal inscriptions.
44. A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, TCS V, Locust
      Valley, N.Y. (1975), 150, 1. 64.
45. A.K. Grayson, op. cit. ref. 44, 154, Chron. A 11. 29f.
46. A.K. Grayson, op. cit. ref. 40, 16 note 21.

Enlil's position in the pantheon by Marduk, that the traditional privileges of Nippur were on a par with those of Babylon. We believe that the characteristics of the text noted above show that this suggestion is on the right lines, but would shift the emphasis. The Šulgi Prophecy seems not to be concerned with Nippur *per se*, but with its status as the city of Enlil and Ninlil. It implies that Šulgi gained his success and god-like greatness because he was the "beloved of the god Enlil and the goddess Ninlil" (I.2). He was their beloved because he built/fortified Nippur in obedience to Enlil's command. It was they who gave him control of Elam (I.19'ff). Enlil can command the end of the reign of a king of Babylon (V.13ff), perhaps because he built an unnamed city (V.11f) whilst Nippur was still in ruins (V.9). Note too that a ruler who built a palace in Babylon had the ignominy of delivering its contents to the king of Assyria (IV.1'ff)! The good king of V.19ff restores a list of shrines which is headed by Nippur. The moral of the text is clear, even without the lost ending. The king who wishes to have a successful reign - which includes peace and prosperity in Babylonia, freedom from domination by Assyria, and defeat of Elam - should revere and obey Enlil, especially by taking care of his city Nippur and its shrine.

The political and religious conditions which could have prompted this polemic all existed in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I. He was involved in border clashes with Assyria, in which he did not enjoy great success according to the Assyrian account in the Synchronistic Chronicle[47]. He campaigned against Elam, with success after initial set-backs[48]. In his reign Marduk was elevated to the head of the Babylonian pantheon[49]. We

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47. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 44, 162ff, ii.1'-13'.
48. J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, Rome (1968), 105-110.
49. W.G. Lambert, "The Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I: A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamian Religion" in W.S. McCullough, *The Seed of Wisdom* (Fs. T.J. Meeks), Ontario (1964), 3-13.

suggest, therefore, that this text was one of the polemical pieces generated by the struggle that accompanied what Lambert[49] calls "a turning point in the history of Mesopotamian religion". The Marduk Prophecy, and possibly the Weidner Chronicle, represent the pro-Marduk position in that struggle for his supremacy. The survival of the Šulgi Prophecy is interesting since often the loser's voice gets lost in the course of history. Three factors might explain its survival.

(1) The first is the long-standing reverence that had been given to Enlil. Perhaps the pro-Marduk victors had to be circumspect in their treatment of their defeated rivals and their claims. We have suggested that there is evidence of this in the Marduk Prophecy. It may be, however, that the opprobrium heaped on Šulgi in the Babylonian works is inspired in part by the pro-Enlil party's use of his name and reputation in their cause.

(2) Secondly, Mesopotamian scholars had a habit of preserving all kinds of material, collecting and classifying it into lists. Since the Šulgi Prophecy tablet is broken at the point where the catch-line would be, one cannot be sure whether there were other similar prophecies in the series. The absence of tablet numbers in the colophon of the Marduk Prophecy may indicate that if there were other tablets, the series was a short one[50].

(3) The third factor is suggested by *Enūma Eliš VII.149*, where Marduk is called "the Enlil of the gods", indicating the assimilation of Marduk to Enlil. This is also indicated by the bestowal on Marduk of the name "fifty" (VII.143) and the title "Lord of lands" (bestowed by Enlil! VII.136), which originally belonged to Enlil[51].

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50. H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*, AOAT 2, Kevelaer (1968), gives three examples of the numbering of the second and last tablet in a 2 tablet series (nos. 260, 300, 494). There are no examples of tablets numbered as the first of two.

51. A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 2nd. ed., Chicago (1969), 59f and note 151. The same title may be applied to Marduk in a damaged text which probably relates to the return of his statue from Elam. See W.G. Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters", *JCS* 21 (1967), 126-138, 1. 32 in the text.

Conclusion

The Šulgi Prophecy is a text of the same type as the Marduk Prophecy, and both were probably produced during the struggle over Marduk's place in the pantheon. This text aims to press the claims of Enlil to be revered and obeyed by the king by promising him a successful reign if he does this. Below are our suggested historical identifications:

III.11'-16'	Downfall of the Isin I Dynasty.
III.17'-19'	Hammurabi.
III.20'-25'	Downfall of the Babylon I Dynasty.
IV.1'-22'	Kaštiliaš IV.
V.1-9	Enlil-nādin-šumi.
V.10-18	Adad-šuma-iddina.
V.19ff	Adad-šuma-uṣur.

PROPHECY TEXT A

This text is known from a broken Late Assyrian tablet from Aššur, which was first published by Ebeling[52]. Later Weidner discussed it and gave his collation of it[53]. Most recently it has been re-collated and a transliteration, translation, and brief discussion published by Grayson and Lambert[54], who gave it the designation "Prophecy Text A".

Contents

Column I on the obverse is badly broken with only fragments of the ends of the lines left. It may have begun with a religious/mythological introduction since l. 3 contains the names *dIštar* and *dAnum*. A horizontal line separates this from the rest of the text, which is itself divided into sections of unequal length by horizontal lines. Where the beginning is preserved, each section opens with the phrase, "A prince will arise and rule for N years". Obv. II.19 is an exception in that it is an unusually

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52. E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, Vol. 2, Leipzig (1926), no. 421. A translation of the text by Ebeling was published in H. Gressman (Ed.), *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, 2nd. ed., Berlin/Leipzig (1926), 283f.
53. E.F. Weidner, "Babylonische Prophezeiungen", *AfO* 13 (1939/41), 234-237.
54. A.K. Grayson & W.G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies", *JCS* 18 (1964), 7-30.

short section which reads, "A prince will arise but his days will be short and he will not be master of the land". Each reign seems to be characterized as basically good or bad[55].

The contents of the well-preserved sections may be summarized as follows:

Obv.	II.2-8	18yrs.	good	Security, good crops, enjoyment. The prince will be killed in an uprising.
	II.9-18	13yrs.	bad	Elamite attack, disorder, the throne usurped, hardship.
	II.19	a few days		"He will not be master of the land".
	II.20-(?) Lacuna	3yrs.	bad	The canals full of mud.
	III.1-8	?	good	Prosperity, favourable winds, good crops.
	III.9-(?) Lacuna	8yrs.	?	
Rev.	II.2-9	3yrs.	bad	Devastation, rebellions, The prince killed by the Amorites.
	II.10-20	8yrs.	bad	[No] rain, misfortune, reversals of fortune, mother speaks truth to daughter, the land ravaged.

The absence of any regular pattern of good and bad reigns (*e.g.* alternation)[56] and the presence of the regnal years[57] have been pointed to as evidence that the author is dependent on some historical traditions and is not simply using his imagination.

Suggested Interpretations

Interpreters who have assumed that the text refers to historical rulers have also assumed that the reigns are presented consecutively without omissions. They have understandably concentrated on the fairly well preserved obv. col. II.

Weidner[53] argued that this column refers to the last four kings of the

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55. This is disputed by R.D. Biggs, "Babylonian Prophecies, Astrology, and a New Source for 'Prophecy Text B'", in F. Rochberg-Halton (Ed.), *Language, Literature & History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, New Haven (1987), 1-14. We will discuss his arguments later.
56. H. Ringgren, "Akkadian Apocalypses" in D. Hellholm (Ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, Tübingen (1983), 379-386.
57. W.W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses", *IEJ*, 16(1966), 231-242.

Kassite Dynasty: Meli-Šipak, Marduk-apal-iddina I, Zababa-šuma-iddina, Enlil-nādin-aḫi. His reasons are:

(1) Although the text comes from Aššur the references to Akkad and Nippur indicate that it deals with Babylonian kings.

(2) The only sequence of regnal years that comes near to fitting the sequence in the text is that of the four kings mentioned (15, 13, 1, 3).

(3) The mention of an Elamite incursion suits the late Kassite period, since the dynasty came to an end because of Elamite pressure.

The problem with this interpretation is the discrepancy in the length of

the first reign (15yrs. for Meli-Šipak according to the extant sources

but 18yrs. for the king in obv. II.2-8). Weidner suggests that this is

either the result of scribal error or of variant traditions concerning the

length of reign.

Hallo[57] has argued that the reference is to a sequence of kings in the

Isin II Dynasty. The points he makes are:

(1) The only time in Babylonian history when a reign of 18yrs. was followed by one of 13 yrs. was when Marduk-nādin-aḫḫe was succeeded by Marduk-šapik-zeri.

(2) Marduk-nādin-aḫḫe's reign at least began successfully with a victory over Assyria.

(3) Marduk-šapik-zeri was succeeded by a usurper, Adad-apla-iddina (who ruled for 22yrs.) who could be the "another man who is unknown" of obv. II.14. A Babylonian chronicle calls him "son of a nobody".

(4) The king following the usurper, Marduk-aḫḫe-eriba, ruled "one year and/of six months" according to King List A.

(5) The Luristan bronze daggers inscribed with the names of Babylonian kings down through Adad-apla-iddina found near Kirmanshah suggest strongly that the Elamites were able to oppress Babylonia at least until his reign. The Irra Epic, whose historical allusions point to the Isin II period, also speak of Elamite attacks.

Hallo admits that there is a problem regarding the successor to Marduk-

aḫḫe-eriba (Marduk-zer-x). The King List gives him 12 or 13 yrs., not 3

as required by Text A. Hallo suggests that the uncertainty of the

reading in the King List may be reflected in the prophecy's 3 yrs.

Responses to Hallo and Weidner

Hallo's interpretation has been subjected to criticism by Brinkman[58], who

points out that:

(1) There is no evidence to link the Luristan bronzes with contemporary
Elamites. In fact at the time proposed by Hallo the main adversaries of
Babylonia and Assyria were the Arameans and the Sutians. They are often
mentioned in the chronicles of the period, but not in Text A.

(2) None of the 12 or so documents extant from the reign of Marduk-
šapik-zeri mention either the Elamites or a major devastation of Akkad
and its shrines, as Text A does on Hallo's interpretation.

(3) There is no mention of Elamite attacks in the Irra Epic, only of civil
war in the lands surrounding Babylonia.

(4) There is no tradition that Marduk-nādin-ahhe died in a revolt, as
Hallo's interpretation requires.

(5) There is no evidence that the 10th. king of the Isin II Dynasty
reigned for only 3 years.

Walker[59] has added further criticisms of Hallo's interpretation in the

light of a newly discovered chronicle (Chronicle 25) which covers the

period of the Kassite and Isin II Dynasties, and a new reading of the

Eclectic Chronicle (Chronicle 24), with which Chronicle 25 overlaps, based

on fresh collations. It is now clear that both these chronicles represent

the reign of Marduk-šapik-zeri as a good one: "During his reign the

people of the land enjoyed abundance and prosperity". According to Hallo

this should be a bad reign. It is also now clear that Adad-apla-iddina

was not a usurper but had to deal with a rebellion by a usurper and the

Arameans. The statement in Text A obv. II.14 that the usurper was

someone "whose name is not mentioned" means that the author of the text

did not find it recorded, which is hard to believe true of a king whose

reign of 22 years was one of the longest of the dynasty. The statement

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58. J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, Rome
        (1968), 129 note 762.
59. C.B.F. Walker, "Babylonian Chronicle 25: A Chronicle of the Kassite
        and Isin II Dynasties" in G. van Driel *et. al.* (Eds.), *Zikir Šumim*,
        Leiden (1982), 398-417, especially Appendix B. See App. 3 for
        further discussion of this chronicle.

should not be equated with the Assyrian Synchronistic History's disparaging description of Adad-apla-iddina as "the son of a nobody". Moreover, in Chronicles 24 & 25 Adad-apla-iddina is spoken of with approval because he fostered the cults of Marduk and Bel. In the light of this there seems to be no reason why the author of Text A should have treated him as a usurper, a bad ruler, and someone not worthy of being given a section of his own in the text.

Longman[60] argues in favour of Hallo's interpretation, stressing in particular that what is known of Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe's fits quite well with what is said in Text A II.2-8. However, he admits that the exact cause of his death is unknown. With regard to Marduk-šapik-zeri he accepts that the evidence of Chronicle 25 weakens the case for identifying him with the ruler of col. II.9-18. He also recognizes that Hallo's interpretation of the Luristan bronzes is very questionable. Finally, he notes the problem of the regnal years of Marduk-zer-x if he is the subject of col. II.20-23.

On balance we think that the criticisms made by Brinkman and Walker render Hallo's interpretation untenable. Whilst recognizing its problems, Gadd[61] and Lambert[62] have accepted Weidner's interpretation. It has not received detailed criticism from anyone else. Grayson and Lambert[63], Ringgren[64], and Walker[59] simply stress the lack of definitive evidence to support it.

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60. T. Longman, *Fictional Akkadian Royal Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study*, Ph.D. diss., Yale (1983), 362-271.
61. C.J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East*, London (1948), 69f.
62. W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London (1978), 10.
63. A.K. Grayson & W.G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies", *JCS* 18 (1964), 7-30.
64. H. Ringgren, "Akkadian Apocalypses" in D. Hellholm (Ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, Tübingen (1983), 379-386.

Discussion

With the demise of Hallo's interpretation Weidner's deserves fresh scrutiny. Its basis is the fact that, assuming the passage in obv. ii refers to an unbroken sequence of historical kings, the only case of a regnal sequence of 13-short reign-3 is that for Marduk-apla-iddina I (13 yrs.), Zababa-šumi-iddina (1 yr.), and Enlil-nadin-ahi (3 yrs.). The problem regarding the first ruler of the sequence is still unresolved. According to King List A, Meli-Šipak ruled for 15 years[65], not 18 as required by Weidner's interpretation of Text A. The highest year attested for this king is the 12th.[66]. Weidner's explanation of the discrepancy as the result of a scribal error or of variant traditions lacks proof in this case, but is plausible. The concordance of chronological sources listing kings of the post-Kassite period drawn up by Brinkman[67] provides a few examples of variations such as that which Weidner proposed. For example, Eulmaš-šakin-šumi is credited with 17 years in King List A, but 15 in the Dynastic Chronicle.

As Weidner commented, the reference to an Elamite incursion in obv. II.10f fits the late Kassite period. No such invasion is recorded in the extant sources for the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina I[68], but both his successors were defeated and deposed by the Elamites[69].

If obv. II does refer to the last four kings of the Kassite Dynasty it is worth considering whether it is possible to identify the rulers of the other relatively intact portions of the text. In obv. III.9 there is mention of a king who ruled for 8 years. He is preceded by a good king whose length of reign is lost. If the lacuna between cols. II & III is

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65. J.A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*, Chicago (1976), 21.
66. J.A. Brinkman, *op. cit.* ref. 65, 23.
67. J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, Rome (1968), Plate 1.
68. J.A. Brinkman, *op. cit.* ref. 65, 247-252.
69. J.A. Brinkman, *op. cit.* ref. 67, 88f.

short, and it is impossible to estimate its size from the facsimile

published by Ebeling[70], these two rulers could be Marduk-kabit-ahhešu,

the founder of the Isin II Dynasty who ruled for 18 years, and his

successor Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, who ruled for 8 years. Unfortunately little

is known of them apart from their names, lengths of reign, and the fact

that they were father and son[71]. If the lacuna is large, enough to

mention 9 rulers, the references could be to the last two kings of the

Isin II Dynasty, Marduk-zer-x (12 yrs.) and Nabu-šumu-libur (8 yrs.).

Even less is known of them than of the first two rulers[72]. Rev. II.2-9,10-

20 refers to two successive rulers with reigns of 3 and 8 years. No

such sequence is attested in the next few centuries after the end of the

Isin II Dynasty. However, nothing is known of the lengths of reign of

Mar-biti-ahhe-iddina and his successor Šamaš-mudammiq (late 10th. century

B.C.), and those of Marduk-balassu-iqbi and the next four kings are also

unknown or very uncertain (late 9th. and early 8th. centuries B.C.). A

lacuna of a column and a half or so seems too little for the latter group

of kings to be relevant if obv. III deals with the Isin II Dynasty. The

same objection applies, with added force, to Gadd's suggestion[61] that the

rulers concerned are Mušezib-Marduk (who ruled for 4 yrs., not 3 as

required here) and Sennacherib (who ruled Babylon for 8 yrs.). If

recourse to an appeal to ignorance is rejected, the only possible

candidates as subjects of rev. II are two rulers of the early 10th.

century B.C., Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur I (3 yrs.) and Mar-biti-apla-uṣur (6

yrs.). Again, very little is known about them[73]. They were separated by

the 3 month reign of Širikti-Šuqamuna. His omission, and inclusion of his

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70. E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, Vol. 2,
    Leipzig (1926), no. 421.
71. J.A. Brinkman, *op. cit.* ref. 67, 93-98.
72. J.A. Brinkman, *op. cit.* ref. 67, 146-148.
73. J.A. Brinkman, *op. cit.* ref. 67, 162-166.

reign in that of his successor, could be one reason for the differences between the lengths of his reign in Text A (8 yrs.) and the Dynastic Chronicle (6 yrs.)[74].

If, unlike Weidner and Hallo, we do not assume that the reigns in Text A are to be taken as consecutive, there seems little possibility of identifying the rulers referred to. This is for two main reasons. The first is the brevity and generality of what is said about them in Text A. The second is the number of possible candidates with reigns of the necessary length. Prior to the late Assyrian period[75] 6 rulers of Babylonia reigned for 18 years, 4 for 13 years, 4 for 8 years, 8 for 3 years, and 10 for 1 year or less. Then, of course, there are reigns of unknown or uncertain length. The assumption that the reigns are in sequence obviously rules out some possible combinations of rulers, but not enough to narrow down the possibilities sufficiently to enable plausible identifications to be made.

Conclusion. We accept Weidner's suggestion that obv. II refers to the last four rulers of the Kassite Dynasty as plausible, though not clearly proven. We suggest that obv. III deals with rulers of the Isin II Dynasty. The subjects of rev. II are very difficult to identify, but we tentatively suggest Mar-biti-ahhe-iddina and Šamaš-mudammiq or Ninurta-kudduri-uṣur I and Mar-biti-apla-uṣur as possible candidates.

The Purpose of the Text

Since the introduction is very unclear and the conclusion missing it is impossible to say anything definite about the text's purpose. If our contention that the Dynastic Prophecy and the Uruk Prophecy are each intended to support a particular dynasty or ruler is correct, then by

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74. For examples of this procedure see W.W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses", *IEJ*, 231-242, note 35.
75. See Brinkman's chronology in A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, rev. ed., Chicago (1977), 335-346.

analogy one can argue that this is so for Text A. In the absence of the ending that dynasty or ruler cannot be identified.

THE URUK PROPHECY

This text is preserved on a damaged tablet excavated at Warka/Uruk in 1969[76]. A facsimile, transcription, and translation into German has been published by Hunger[77]. Hunger and Kaufman[78] provide a transcription and English translation, as well as a discussion of it.

There is disagreement about the date of the tablet. It is one of a group of tablets found in a trench below the floor of a Parthian dwelling house. Subsequently the remains of a Seleucid house[79] were uncovered. Only one of the tablets in the group is dated (in the 36th. year of Darius, 486 B.C.), but since its colophon is different from the others Hunger[80] says that it "kann deshalb zur Datierung der ganzen Tafelgruppe W22307 nicht ohne weiteres verwendet werden". However, Hunger and Kaufman[78] date the tablet to the early Achaemenid period. Other tablets found in the same excavation sector include a few dated in the Seleucid era[81] and Schmidt[79] seems to conclude that all the texts come from a collection made in that era by the incantation priest Anu-ikṣur, whose name appears on some of them. This is presumably why Lambert[82] says that the Uruk Prophecy "was probably written in the Seleucid period". Of course the date when the collection was made, or the tablet written, does not settle the question of how early the text was composed.

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76. *26 und 27 Vorlaufiger Bericht ... Ausgraben in Uruk-Warka*, Berlin (1972), 79ff and plate 25g.
77. H. Hunger, *Spätbabylonische Texts aus Uruk*, Teil I, Berlin (1976), 21-23 & 124 (Text 3).
78. H. Hunger & S.A. Kaufman, "A New Akkadian Prophecy Text", *JAOS* 95 (1975), 371-375.
79. J. Schmidt, *op. cit.* ref. 76, 56 & ref. 77, 7.
80. H. Hunger, *op. cit.* ref. 76, 79.
81. H. Hunger, *op. cit.* ref. 76, 79. The latest date is 251 B.C..
82. W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London (1978), 10.

Contents

On the obverse only the ends of lines are preserved. Some of the verbs are imperfects and several lines (9, 12-15) could be omen apodoses. However, some of the verbs are preterites (1. 5 *ittenpuš*; 1. 7 *ītiq*; 1. 11 *izzīzū*; 1. 17 *iddi*). If the obverse contained omen-like sentences these would have to be parts of protases. Some lines seem to be comments by the author (1. 1 "my signs"; 1. 8 "this is its writing"; 1. 21 "you (pl.) have acquired"; 1. 22 "its omen is unavoidable (?)"). These lead Longman[83] to believe that the text had an autobiographical introduction like those of the Marduk and Šulgi Prophecies. However, in those two texts the first-person style is not restricted to the introduction (note Marduk III.21' & Šulgi III.20'f). In view of the fragmentary state of the obverse it seems best to remain agnostic concerning its nature.

The reverse is well-preserved and contains only apodosis-like sentences.

1. 1f.	A ruler will come "to rule the devastated part of the land". If 1. 2 refers to the same person (its beginning is lost), he is "from the Sealand, who had ruled in Babylon".
1. 3-7a	A bad king who, among other things, "will remove the ancient protective goddess (ᵈ*lamassu*) of Uruk" from her place and take her to Babylon, replacing her by another goddess.
1. 7b-10	After him come more bad kings, the last of whom "will subdue the world".
1. 11-15	A good king will establish the rites of the cult of Anu in Uruk, return the ancient goddess from Babylon, and renew Uruk.
1. 16f.	His son will "become master over the world" and his dynasty will be established for ever.
1. 18	"The kings of Uruk will exercise rulership like the gods".

Interpretation

Hunger and Kaufman[78] find the key to the interpretation of the text in the reference to the *lamassu* of Uruk, which they think "can hardly be other than that of Ištar in the Eanna temple". Nebuchadnezzar II boasts of having returned the *šedu* of Uruk and the *lamassu* of Eanna, a

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83.   T. Longman II, *Fictional Akkadian Royal Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study*, Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1983, 350f.

statement that Nabonidus seems to support, adding that Ištar had been removed in the reign of Eriba-Marduk and replaced by "a deity inappropriate for Eanna". Although Nabonidus attributes this treatment of Ištar to the people of Uruk, Hunger and Kaufman conclude that the evil king of rev. 3ff is Eriba-Marduk, and that the good king of rev. 11ff is Nebuchadnezzar II.

In support of this they point out that Eriba-Marduk arose after a period of chaos (rev. 1) and came from the Yakin tribe of the Sealand (rev. 2). Moreover, two of his predecessors, Marduk-balassu-iqbi and Baba-aha-iddina, fought Šamši-Adad V of Assyria in or near Dēr (obv. 17, 19f). They are uncertain how to intepret rev. 8 with its five-fold KI.MIN. They suggest that it could refer to the five successors of Eriba-Marduk, each of whom fought with Tiglath-Pileser III until he conquered Babylon. He would then be the subject of rev. 9f. But this then requires a jump to Nebuchadnezzar II in rev. 11ff. As a possible alternative they suggest that rev. 8 indicates a long period of struggle with Assyria, ending in the advent of Nabopolassar (rev. 9f). In either case the text is regarded by them as containing a *vaticinium ex eventu* intended to prove the authenticity and reliability of what they think is a real prophecy in rev. 16ff. Its purpose is to legitimate and support the predicted rule of Nebuchadnezzar's son, Amel-Marduk. As they say, "what is clear is that during his two years on the throne he was certainly in need of whatever support he could muster". In fact they date the text to the period of his co-regency with his father, and suggest that the co-regency itself was prompted by concern about opposition to his succession.

Ringgren[84] seems to accept Hunger and Kaufman's proposal, whilst recognizing that it is not completely satisfactory. He thinks that the

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84. H.H. Ringgren, "Akkadian Apocalypses" in D. Hellholm (Ed.),
    Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East,
    Tübingen (1983), 379-388.

text was intended to exalt Nebuchadnezzar and his dynasty.

Lambert[85] gives a rather different interpretation of the text. He criticizes Hunger and Kaufman's interpretation, making the following points.

(1) It is not clear that the statues returned by Nebuchadnezzar to Uruk were the chief male and female deities of the city.

(2) The Nabonidus text does not actually name the king who returned the Ištar statue since the name is broken off. From the context it could be either Nabopolassar or Nebuchadnezzar.

(3) Regarding rev. 8 he says[86], "on the assumption that these KI+MIN signs are used in the normal way, they must refer to a word or phrase in sequence that can be recognized in the immediately preceding context. There seems to be one possibility only: (i) = arkišu, (ii) = šarru, (iii) = illâmma, (iv) = dīna māti ul idânu, (v) = purussê māti ul iparras : 'after him a king will arise and will not judge the judgement of the land, will not give decisions for the land'. Thus only one king is meant".

(4) Amel-Marduk was universally condemned in the ancient world as a bad king, so it would be suprising if the text refers to him ruling "like a god".

Lambert's proposal is that the first king of the reverse is Marduk-apla-iddina II (l. 1f), who belonged to the Bit-Yakin tribe. The four bad kings are the Assyrians, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal (ll. 3-10). The puppets who ruled Babylon under them are ignored. The two good kings are Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II (ll. 11-17). He points out that the two references to kings who ruled the world fits admirably with the vast extents of the empires ruled by Ashurbanipal and Nebuchadnezzar. Omission of mention of Ashurbanipal's little-known successors is, he considers, no objection to his proposal since Berossus omits them. Oppression of Uruk by Sargon such as ll. 3-7a refer to is not otherwise attested, but Lambert considers it possible. The brief reference to Sennacherib's rule in l. 7b may, he thinks, reflect Urukean ambivalence to the fate of her ancient rival Babylon at his hands.

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85. W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London (1978), 11f.

86. W.G. Lambert, *op. cit.* ref. 85, 11 note 16.

Reference in l. 8 to the property of Babylonia being taken to Assyria could simply reflect the local attitude to Assyrian taxation. Lambert concludes that the text was composed in Uruk after Nebuchadnezzar's accession in 605 B.C., and gives an Urukean view of the period covered. It implies that Nabopolassar came from Uruk. His city of origin is not attested elsewhere.

Goldstein[87] argues that Lambert's theory has two great weaknesses:

(1) Regarding rev. 8 he says[88], "the sentence contains eleven words, which can be grouped in various ways, so that Lambert's procedure is already arbitrary".

(2) He is willing, reluctantly, to admit that an Urukean writer might have omitted mention of the Babylonian rulers who ruled as Assyrian puppets, and also have disregarded the last Assyrian rulers. However, he asks[89], "what inhabitant of Babylonia would characterize Esarhaddon, the great restorer of ruined Babylon and the great conqueror of Egypt, merely as a bad king who took the property of Babylonia to Assyria? Thus, Lambert's theory uses arbitrary procedures and involves an absurdity."

Goldstein is not happy about Hunger and Kaufman's interpretation, because he finds their suggestions for how the text bridges the period from Erib-Marduk to Nabopolassar/Nebuchadnezzar unconvincing. He thinks that both they and Lambert are wrong to assume that genuine prophecy begins only at l. 16 or 17. He takes the bad king of ll. 3-7a to be Eriba-Marduk. In his view normal usage requires the five-fold KI.MIN of l. 8 to refer to five kings who are like the bad king of l. 7b. Hence he thinks ll. 7bf refer to Eriba-Marduk's successors down to Tiglath-Pileser III. The bad king who ruled the world is then Shalmaneser V (ll. 9f). The first good king is Marduk-apla-iddina II, who rebelled against Sargon II, successor of Shalmaneser V, and who did some restoration work in Uruk. Accordingly, Goldstein sees the text as addressed to, and propaganda for, Marduk-apla-iddina. The writer believed that he would be the successful liberator of

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87. J.A. Goldstein, "The Historical Setting of the Uruk Prophecy", *JNES* 47(1988), 43-46.
88. J.A. Goldstein. *op. cit.* ref. 87, 45.
89. J.A. Goldstein, *op. cit.* ref. 87, 46.

Babylonia, the restorer of the goddess of Uruk to her sanctuary, and founder of a dynasty that would rule the world. Marduk-apla-idinna ruled as king of Babylon from 721-710 B.C., though he continued to resist the Assyrians even after he was ousted from Babylon in 710. Goldstein dates the Uruk Prophecy to the period between 721 and 710. He seems to regard ll. 12ff as an attempt at genuine prophecy.

Discussion

Goldstein provides a concise and coherent interpretation of the Uruk Prophecy which is very attractive. However, it all rests on his interpretation of the five-fold KI.MIN in rev. 8. We think[90] that Lambert is right in taking it to indicate a repetition of l. 7b, so that l. 8 refers to just one ruler. If that is so, both Hunger and Kaufman's interpretation and Goldstein's are untenable. In the light of this Lambert's interpretation deserves further consideration.

As far as Lambert's identification of the rulers is concerned the least that can be said is that there is nothing in the text which clearly contradicts the facts known about the rulers to whom he thinks it refers. Marduk-apla-iddina II (l. 1f) is described in King List A iv.10 as *BAL KUR tam*, which Brinkman[91] translates as "Dynasty of the Sealand". An inscription[92] of Tiglath-Pileser III calls him "son of Yakin, King of the Sea(land)" before he seized power in Babylon. In fact Uruk had special reason to remember him with favour since he carried out extensive repairs on the Eanna complex, and also work on the canals near the city, one of which was named after him[93].

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90. See Appendix 4.
91. J.A. Brinkman, "Merodoch-Baladan II" in *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim*, Chicago (1964), 6-53, see pp. 35f.
92. J.A. Brinkman, *op. cit.* ref. 91, 43 source no. 44.2.19(a).
93. J.A. Brinkman, *op. cit.* ref. 91, 17.

Hunger and Kaufman's and Goldstein's identification of the ruler of 1. 3-7a with Eriba-Marduk rests heavily on the fact that the Ištar statue was removed from Eanna in his reign. However, as Brinkman comments[94], "Note that it was not Eriba-Marduk himself but local officials who altered the cult. This fits well with what we know of local autonomy in Babylonia during the middle of the eighth century". This weakens the case for identifying the ruler of 1. 3-7a with Eriba-Marduk.

That, on Lambert's interpretation, 11. 3-10 should mention only the Assyrian overlords of Babylonia and not their puppet rulers is plausible. It could be prompted by Urukean chauvinism with regard to Babylon as well as political realism. Such chauvinism provides a credible reason, *pace* Goldstein, why the author of the text might have ignored Esarhaddon's restoration of Babylon (and Sennacherib's earlier destruction of it) and branded him simply as a bad ruler who took the property of Babylonia (by taxation, if not in other ways) to Assyria.

As Lambert says, the transition directly from Ashurbanipal to Nabopolassar, omitting the rulers in between, is paralleled in Berossus. According to Eusebius, in a fragment preserved in Armenian[95], Berossus gave the following sequence of rulers and regnal years: Sennacherib (18), Esarhaddon (8), Sammuges (Šamaš-šum-ukin) (21), Ashurbanipal (21), Nabopolassar (20), Nebuchadnezzar (43).

Lambert is right to point out, in response to Hunger and Kaufman, that it is not clear to which king Nabonidus is referring when speaking of the return of Ištar to Eanna because the text is broken. From the context it could be either Nabopolassar or Nebuchadnezzar. Immediately after

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94. J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, Rome (1968), 222 note 1393.
95. F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der grieschen Historiker, Vol. III C*, London (1958), 11 no. 680, frag. 7.

recording the return of Ištar to Eanna the text says[96]:

ᵈIštar bēlit Elamᵏⁱ rubâtim ašibat Šušiᵏⁱ ...

Ištar, lady of Elam, the sovereign, who dwelt in Susa ...

Now, in Babylonian Chronicle 2 ll. 16f we read[97], "Nabopolassar returned to Susa the gods of Susa whom the Assyrians had carried off and settled in Uruk". Nothing like this is said of Nebuchadnezzar in Chronicle 5. We suggest therefore that both Chronicle 2 and the Nabonidus text are referring to a re-ordering of the cult in Uruk by Nabopolassar in which he returned the foreign Ištar to Susa, and restored the statue which had been removed in the reign of Eriba-Marduk to its rightful place. If, as the prophecy text implies, he came from Uruk the promptness of his actions regarding its cult is understandable, though the return of Ištar to Susa was, of course, also a political act, seeking Elamite good-will[98].

Conclusion. We accept Lambert's interpretation of the text as the most likely one. His conclusion that it must have been composed sometime after Nebuchadnezzar's accession in 605 B.C. we consider less secure, for reasons given below.

The Purpose of the Text

The purpose of the text seems fairly clear. It glorifies and supports the dynasty set up by Nabopolassar. At the same time it is an expression of Urukean nationalism, claiming some of the glory of the dynasty for the city. It does not seem to us necessary to date it as late as Lambert does. The lack of any mention of the destruction of Nineveh may indicate

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96. S. Langdon, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, Leipzig (1912), 274ff. Nabonid Nr. 8 col. iii.

97. A.K. Grayson. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, TCS V*, N.Y. (1975), 88.

98. D.J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings*, London (1956), 8 says, "To return the statues (deposited in Erech) was but a proper acknowledgement of help received from Elam". In *Nebuchdrezzar and Babylon*, Oxford (1985), he suggests that Nabopolassar was ruler of a tribe who held sway at Uruk, quoting his acceptance there (p. 6) and his use of the Urukean royal ceremonies (p. 88).

that it comes from the earlier part of Nabopolassar's reign. Goldstein

may indeed by right to suggest that ll. 12ff are genuine prediction,

intended to influence the actions of the king to whom they refer by

promising him a continuing dynasty if he restores Uruk and its cult.

A "Messianic" Text?

Höffken considers the Uruk Prophecy important because[99], "belegt zum

ersten Male eine Erwartung einer künftigen Heilsdynastie auf

babylonischem Boden". He compares its expectations with the future hope

of the *Old Testament*, considering[100] "beide Erwartungen als Parallel-

erscheinungen zu bewerten, die man nicht genetisch (wie auch immer)

verknüpfen sollte". His view that the text contains a quasi-messianic

hope rests on three considerations.

(1) His inability to find any clear historical references in the text in
general, and in rev. 11-18 in particular - though in an addendum he seems
to accept Hunger and Kaufman's proposal and so regards rev. 1-10 as a
vaticinium ex eventu.

(2) The idealistic picture of the future rulers in rev. 11-17.

(3) The statement that "the kings of Uruk will exercise rulership like the
gods" (rev. 18). He links this with the fact that the Uruk King List
speaks in part of the reign of gods or deified rulers and heroes. This,
he suggests, is evidence of a specifically Urukean expectation about
future kingship.

As far as the first point is concerned, we have suggested above that it

is reasonable to identify the rulers referred to in rev. 11-17 as

Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar. The idealistic description of them is

worth some consideration. Höffken points out that there is a strong

antithetical parallelism between this and what is said of the preceding

bad rulers. We set this out below:

l. 11 .. a king will arise in Uruk who will provide justice in the land and will give the right decisions for the land.	l. 3,7,9 .. he will not provide justice in the land, he will not give the right decisions for the land.

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99. P. Höffken, "Heilszeitherrschererwartung in babylonischen Raum", *WO*
        9(1977/8), 57-71. The quote is from p. 71.
100. P. Höffken, *op. cit.* ref. 99, 68.

l. 12 He will establish the rights of the cult of Anu in Uruk.

l. 13 He will remove the ancient protective goddess of Uruk from Babylon and let her dwell in her own sanctuary in Uruk.	l. 4 He will remove the ancient protective goddess of Uruk from Uruk and make her dwell in Babylon.
l. 14a The people belonging to her he will devote to her.	l. 5a .. a goddess who is not the protective goddess of Uruk he will make dwell in her sanctuary and devote to her people not belonging to her.
l. 14b He will rebuild the temples of Uruk and restore the sanctuaries of the gods.	
l. 15a He will renew Uruk.	l. 6b He will devastate Uruk ...
l. 15b The gates of Uruk he will build with lapis-lazuli.	
l. 15c He will fill the rivers and fields with abundant yield.	l. 6c ...fill the canals with mud and abandon the cultivated fields.
l. 16 ... his son will arise in Uruk and become master of the world.	

The antithetic parallels here are striking and do suggest a deliberate attempt to present the Urukean rulers as the exact antithesis of their immediate (bad) predecessors. However, it should be noted that the parallels are not complete. Some of the things said of the bad rulers have no antithesis in what is said about their successors (note 11. 5a, 6a, 8b), and as can be seen above, some of the things said about the Urukean kings do not correspond to anything said earlier. This suggests that the text is not a free composition concerned only with the exposition of a future "messianic hope", but is based on data or reminiscences about the deeds of certain historical kings.

What is said of the Urukean kings may be idealistic, but as Höffken says[101],

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101. P. Höffken, _op. cit._ ref. 99, 64.

"Betracht man die Gehalt der Heilserwartung tradition-
geschichtlich, so wird sich kaum ein Zug finden, der nicht
schon traditionell längst zur funktion des babylonischen
Königtums gehörte".

Thus the phrase:

dīha māti idānu purussê māti iparras   (1. 11)

can be compared with the following statement in Hammurabi's laws
concerning the king's duties:

dīn mātim ana diānim purussê mātim ana parāsim   (col. 47:70-72)

The upkeep of sanctuaries and the maintenance of their cults was an
important part of the royal functions.   With 11. 14bf one can compare a
hymn of Nebuchadnezzar[102]   in which he declares that Marduk brought him
to the throne because he (Marduk) wished to preserve Esagila and Ezida
and to renew Babylon.   Light may be thrown on 1. 15b by the mention of
the *abul uqnê* in several texts from Borsippa[103].   It seems to have been
at one end of the King's Highway (*harrān šarri*) and to have been a show-
gate for processional use on state and religious occasions, like the blue-
covered Ištar Gate in Babylon.   Perhaps Uruk had a similar gate, or gates,
or the reference may simply be to decoration around the ordinary gates,
such as Ashur-nasir-pal II says he had above the entrances to his palace
at Kalhu[104].   Care of canals was an important royal responsibility.   As
we have noted above Marduk-apla-iddina II carried out such work near
Uruk.

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102. M.-J. Seux, *Hymnes et Prieres aux Dieux de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*,
     Paris (1976), 124-128, gives a translation into French and a
     bibliography.
103. See the article on "Barsippa" in *Reallexicon der Assyriologie*, Band I,
     409, para. 17.
104. D.J. Wiseman, "A New Stele of Aššur-Nasir-Pal II", *Iraq* 14(1952),
     24-44, obv. col. i 32 reads:
     *ᵃᵗⁱᵐⁿa-gúr-ria ina ᵃᵗⁱᵐⁿuqni ú-šab-šil a-na e-li-na babāniᵐᵉᵇ-
     ši-na ú-ki-ni*
     I caused bricks to be baked with lapis-lazuli (glaze) and set
     (them) above their doors.
     See also A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, Weisbaden
     (1972), 172-176, esp. 173 1. 677 (20)

The statement in l. 17 that "his dynasty will be established for ever" (adî ulla palûšu ikānu) turns into prophecy what is sometimes requested in royal prayers. Thus Nabonidus prays[105]:

umē*ᵐ*ᵃ*-ia li-ša-ri-ik šanāti*ᵐ*ᵃ*-ia li-ša-an-di-il li-ki-in pa-lu-ú-a

may my days be lengthened, may my years be extended and my dynasty established.

And again:

a-na dūr dārāti li-ku-un pa-lu-ú-a

may my dynasty be established for ever.

An inscription of Marduk-apla-iddina II contains the request[106]:

palû-šu i-na Tin-tir^kⁱ li(?)-kun a-na ṣa-a-ti

may his dynasty be established in Tintir for a long time.

Samsu-iluna even claims in an inscription[107] about his building work that the great gods were so pleased with it that they bestowed on him gifts, including that he should "wield forever a peaceful sway over the four quarters of the world". Presumably "forever" here is meant to refer to his descendants.

Seux[108] notes a fact that has a bearing on the statement in l. 18 that the kings of Uruk "will exercise rulership like the gods" (kima ilī ippušū bēlūtu). In the 3rd. millenium and at the beginning of the 2nd. a number of rulers precede their names by the divine determinative. Several rulers are explicitly named "god of his country", "god of his town", "god of all countries", "divine protector" of the town or country. No rulers of the 1st. Dynasty of Babylon had their name written with the divine

105. S. Langdon, Neubabylonische Königsinschriften, Leipzig (1912), 224,
         Nabonid Nr. 1 col. ii 35f & 150 Nabonid Nr. 18 col. ii 23f.
106. C.J. Gadd, "Inscribed Barrel Cylinder of Marduk-Apla-Iddina II", Iraq
         15 (1953), 123-134, l. 36.
107. L.W. King, The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, Vol. 3, London
         (1900), 199f, BM 38402 ll. 84-109.
         E. Sollberger & J.R. Kupper, Inscriptions Royales Sumériennes et
         Akkadiennes, Paris (1971), 223, iv. C 7c ll. 107-123.
108. M-J. Seux, Épithètes Royales Akkadiennes et Sumériennes, Paris
         (1967), 107 note 12.

determinative. Seux concludes that after this dynasty official
divinisation of the king no longer occurred. This may be so, but the
indications are that the king continued to be thought of in close
connection with the gods. Lambert[109] points out that the kings of the
1st. Dynasty of Babylon, and some later, refer to themselves as "lasting
seed of the gods" (zēr i-lī da-rī-um). He thinks that this claims divine
approval, not paternity, for them and their dynasty. The wisdom text
Ludlul Bel Nemeqi, which was composed in the late 2nd. millenium and
continued to be copied well into the 1st millenium, contains the
phrases[110]:

> šarru šīr ilī ᵈšamši ša nišī™ᵃˢ-šu

> the king, flesh of the gods, the sun of his people.

> ta-na-da-a-ti šarri i-liš u-maš-šil

> I made praise for the king like a god's.

An astrologer can say, when reporting to the king[111]:

> man-nu ilu-ú-a man-nu bēlu-a

> who (else) is my god, who (else) is my lord?

Against this background it is not too suprising to find the prophecy that
the kings of Uruk will exercise rulership like the gods, especially if, as
Höffken suggests, the Uruk King List is evidence of the preservation of
the old tradition of the divinisation of kings.

Conclusion. In the light of this evidence we conclude that whilst the
language in rev. 11ff is idealistic in the sense that it expresses what
was expected of a good ruler, and his hopes for his dynasty, there is no
reason why it should not refer to an existing ruler or dynasty which it

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109. W.G. Lambert, "The Seed of Kingship" in P. Garelli (Ed.), *Le Palais et
    la Royauté*, Paris (1974), 427-440.
110. W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford (1960), 32 l. 55 &
    40 l. 31.
111. R.C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of
    Nineveh and Babylon*, Vol. 2, London (1900), Text 124 rev. 6.

seeks to support and glorify. Such language could become the vehicle for expressing a "messianic hope" in terms of the expectation of a future ideal king, just as the idealized portrait of the Davidic king in some of the *Old Testament* royal psalms led to these being given a messianic interpretation. However, we do not think that there is evidence that that is the case with the Uruk Prophecy. It seems to fit better into the category of political propaganda than messianic literature.

THE DYNASTIC PROPHECY

The Dynastic Prophecy was first published by Grayson[112] with a facsimile, transliteration, translation, and commentary. It is preserved on one broken tablet, BM 40623, although Grayson[113] thinks it "not impossible" that BM 34903[114] is a fragment of the same tablet, and that K 3253[115] bears some relation to the text. No external evidence is given regarding the provenance and date of the tablet. It is simply stated[116] that it is one of a collection of tablets from the period of Persian and Seleucid control of Babylonia, which probably come from the city of Babylon.

Contents

The tablet contains two columns on each side, which Grayson numbers I-IV. Only the ends of the lines of cols. I & IV are preserved. The columns are divided into sections by horizontal lines. We shall follow these divisions in the outline below, except in col. III, where there are no dividing lines.

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112. A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto (1975), 24-37.
113. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 112, 22.
114. C.B.F. Walker, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Vol. 51, London (1972), Text 122.
115. A.K. Grayson & W.G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies", *JCS* 18 (1964), 25&27.
116. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 112, 9.

Lacuna

I.1-6 This seems to be an introduction since the verbs preserved in 11. 3,5,6 appear to be preterites not imperfects (*e-zib*, *[i(?)]-zer-ma, i-mur*).

I.7-25 Conflict between Assyria and Babylon. [Booty] will be brought into Babylon. A palace will be built and Esagil(?) and Ezida decorated. The king will reign for [N year]s.

Lacuna

II.1-10 A king will reign for 3 yrs. His son will succeed him but "he will not [be master of the land]".

II.11-16 A rebel prince from Harran will reign for 17 yrs. He will oppress the land, [cancel] the festival(?) of Esagil(?), and build a fortress in Babylon.

II.17-24 A king of Elam will remove his predecessor, sending him into exile. He will oppress the land and receive tribute from "all the lands".

Lacuna(?)

III.1-5 A king will reign for two years and then be murdered by a eunuch.

III.6-23 A prince will seize the throne and rule for 5 yrs. The army of the Hanaeans will attack, defeat(?), and plunder him. He will refit his army and overthrow them. The land will be happy.

Lacuna.

IV.1&2 Only part of the regnal year formula remains.

IV.3 [...]ú-d/tal-la-lu$_4$.

IV.4-6 *Someone will seize the land and someone/thing will be extinguished.*

IV.7-9 The tablet is a secret of the great gods and is to be shown only to the initiated.

IV.10-14 Colophon.

Lacuna

Interpretation

Grayson thinks that col. I records the fall of Assyria and the rise of the Chaldean Dynasty under Nabopolassar. What is said accords well with this interpretation. He takes II.1-10 as referring to Neriglissar (reigned 3 yrs. 8 mths.) and his son Labashi-Marduk (deposed after 3 mths.). The following sections then refer to Nabonidus (II. 11-16) and Cyrus (II. 17-24). Nabonidus usurped the throne, came from Harran, and ruled for 17 yrs. before Cyrus captured Babylon. Grayson points out that Berossos says that Nabonidus was spared but exiled, though Xenophon says he was killed.

In his original publication Grayson was of the opinion that[117] "there is a

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117. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 112, 27.

real possibility that very little is broken away" from the right-hand edge
of the tablet, so that col. III on the reverse follows on directly from
col. II on the obverse. However, more recently, after re-examination of
the tablet, he has concluded[118] that probably one column has been lost,
so that there is a two column gap between cols. II & III. This might
explain the absence of any length-of-reign for Cyrus.

The presence or absence of such a lacuna does not alter the probable
interpretation of III.1-5. This Grayson takes to refer to Arses, who was
assassinated by the eunuch-general Bagoas after ruling for 2 yrs. III.6ff
then refers to the five year reign of Darius III. The text says that he
will be defeated (probably) and plundered by the army of "the Hanaeans"
(III.9-13a). The context requires this to be a reference to the invasion
of Asia by Alexander the Great. The term $Han\hat{u}$ is used in the Old
Babylonian period of an Amorite tribe, but in late cuneiform texts it
refers to the inhabitants of Thrace[119]. Grayson thinks that these lines
recount the defeat of the Persians at Issus or, less likely, Granicus.
The text goes on to say that the defeated king will re-organize his army
and, with the help of the Babylonian gods, defeat the Hanaeans (III.13b-
19). This will usher in a good time for his subjects (III. 20-23). Of
this passage Grayson says[120], "The problem, of course, is how to reconcile
the defeat of the Hanaeans with historical fact - the victory of
Alexander at Gaugamela! For this I have no answer".

There is a lacuna of uncertain length at the end of col. III, and about 6
lines are lost at the start of col. IV. The preserved portion of col. IV
begins with three short sections in which little of the text survives.
Grayson takes IV.4-6 to refer to Seleucus I because of the words "he will

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118. A.K. Grayson, personal communication, Dec. 1984.
119. See the reference to $Han\hat{u}$ in A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian
        Chronicles, TCS V,* Locust Valley, N.Y. (1975), Appendix C.
120. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 112, 26.

seize the land". This implies that the two preceding sections deal with

Philip Arrhidaeus (IV.7-9) and Alexander IV (IV.3).

Grayson sees the Dynastic Prophecy as[121] "a strong expression of anti-

Seleucid sentiment". The evidence for this view of it is:

(1) Each of the first three columns contains a description of a change or fall of dynasty (I, Assyria/Babylon; II, Babylon/Persia; III, Persia/Macedonia). Hence the badly preserved col. IV might have concerned another change of dynasty, the capture of Babylon by Seleucus I.

(2) Each change of dynasty in cols. I-III results in the reign of the founder of the dynasty being either "good" or "bad", and there is an alternation: good/bad/good. This suggests that col. IV should end with a "bad" reign, and this is supported by the verb at the end of l. 6, i-bé-el-lu, "they will be extinguished".

On this basis he takes the prophecy to end with Seleucus I's capture of

Babylon and a prophecy of the downfall of his dynasty. Its purpose was

to encourage opposition to the Seleucids.

It is clear that the *crux interpretum* of this text is the reference to

the defeat of the army of the Hanaean. Grayson[122] thinks that it is

"extremely unlikely that the 'prophet' would deliberately falsify the

outcome and aftermath of such a famous and well-known battle (*i.e.*

Gaugamela)". Lambert[123], who accepts Grayson's interpretation of the

text, is also mystified. He considers the possibility that the text was

composed after the battle of Granicus to encourage Babylonians to

suppport Darius, but rejects it on the grounds that it is then hard to

explain why col. IV follows.

Marasco[124] seeks to solve the problem by suggesting that the prophecy

was composed after Gaugamela, but before Darius' death became public

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121. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 112, 17, but there is a recognition of the "tenuous nature of the evidence" in note 22.
122. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 112, 26f.
123. W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London (1978), 12f.
124. G. Marasco, "La 'profezia dinastica' e la resistenza babilonese alla conquista di Alessandro", *Ann. Sc. Norm. Pisa*, 15 (1985), 529-537.

knowledge, in order to rally support for him against Alexander. He too finds the contents of col. IV a problem, but suggests that they are prophecies of future reigns added to enhance the credibility of the prophecy of the reversal of Darius' fortunes in col. III. The poor state of col. IV makes definite rejection of this interpretation impossible. However, comparison with other such *ex eventu* prophecies would lead one to expect that prediction of Darius' eventual victory would be followed by a promise of an unalloyed good time ahead, which IV.4-6 seems to contradict. To our knowledge, what Marasco proposes lacks any close parallel, and he quotes none.

Wiseman[125] suggests that III.13bff refers to Alexander, but admits that this is only possible if *su-kup-tu* in l. 17 is given a meaning not attested elsewhere, namely "a rest/respite", instead of "overthrow/defeat".

A New Interpretation

We wish to propose a new interpretation of III.13bff which removes the apparent historical anomaly and also implies a quite different purpose for the text than that proposed by Grayson.

According to Grayson IV.4-6 refers to Seleucus I's capture of Babylon and the ultimate downfall of his dynasty. It seems worth considering what other events in the early Seleucid period could fit this fragment of text. There are four occasion when someone could be said to have "seized the land"[126].

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125. D.J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon*, Oxford (1985), 116.
126. For the history of the period and evidence for what is said below see:
    E. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, Vol. 1, London (1966).
    A. Bouché-Leclerque, *Histoire des Séleucides*, Vols. 1&2, Paris (1913/14).
    The Cambridge Ancient History. Vols. 6&7, Cambridge (1927/8), 2nd. ed., Vol. 7.1, Cambridge (1984).
    É. Will, *Histoire Politique Du Mond Hellénistique*, Vols. 1&2, Nancy (1966/7).

(1) Soon after Seleucus I's return to Babylon in 312 B.C., Antigonus sent his son Demetrius on a time-limited expedition to Babylonia in an attempt to capture Seleucus. Seleucus, however, was in Media and his forces in Babylonia refused to give battle. Demetrius entered Babylon, but at the end of the time-limit had to leave having done no more than rouse the hostility of the populace by his ravaging of the country, and to that extent increased their support for Seleucus.

(2) Seleucus, the eldest son of Antiochus I, was co-regent with his father for much of his reign and probably satrap of the eastern part of the empire. He fell from favour and was apparently put to death on his father's orders in 263 B.C.. There is some evidence from coins that he may have tried to set himself up as king in the East.

(3) When Antiochus II died and his two wives were each trying to gain the throne for their sons, Ptolemy III marched into Syria and Mesopotamia to support the claims of Berenice and her son. He reached Seleucia-on-the-Tigris in 246 B.C. and gained the adhesion of the generals of the eastern satrapies to her cause. He withdrew after appointing a general over them. In 245 B.C. Seleucus II crossed the Taurus and gained control of the East.

(4) In 222 B.C. Molon, general of Media, and his brother Alexander, general of Persis, revolted against Antiochus III. They defeated an army sent against them and gained control of Babylonia, reaching Dura-Europos on the Euphrates. When Antiochus arrived with an army in 220 B.C., many of the rebel soldiers deserted to him and Molon and Alexander committed suicide.

Of these events, the possible revolt of Seleucus against Antiochus I must be put on one side since the evidence for it is so meagre. Two questions must be asked of the other possibilities:

(1) If the horizontal lines in col. IV represent changes of ruler, as in

cols. I & II, how do they fit into the implied sequence of a reign of N

yrs. followed by a short interlude of some sort which appears not to be a

normal reign in view of the verb *u-d/tal-la-lu₄* which ends the line?

(2) Who, or what, is extinguished? Note the plural form of the verb[127].

There are a number of objections to the idea that Demetrius' raid is the

subject of IV.4-6. Firstly, it could hardly be described as a change of

sovereignty, which is what the dividing lines seem to indicate. One would

really expect it to be described as an incident within a section devoted

to Seleucus I. Secondly, if this section does refer to Demetrius, then

presumably IV.3 is a brief notice of Seleucus' return to Babylon. This

means that whether or not the lacuna plus IV.1f refer to Philip and

Alexander IV, there is still the problem that III.13bff deals with

Alexander the Great and his supposed defeat by Darius III. Since

Demetrius' forces were never engaged in battle the verb in IV.6 cannot

refer to their defeat. It could, perhaps, refer to the extinction of

Antigonus' and Demetrius' power in Babylonia.

The first of the above objections would apply also to the identification

of IV.4-6 with Molon's revolt, even though the rebels' control of Babylonia

lasted rather longer than Demetrius'. If this problem is ignored, IV.3

could possibly refer to Seleucus III's brief reign, and IV.1f to Seleucus

II. The possible subject of III.13bff could be as discussed below. "They

will be extinguished" in IV.6 might well be an appropriate way to refer

to the ignominious end of the rebels.

However, we suggest that the best interpretation of col. IV is that 11.

4-6 refer to Ptolemy III's seizure of Babylonia and the East in the name

of Berenice and/or her son. This could be seen as a change of

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127. The verb in 1. 6 is *i-bé-el-lu*. It could conceivably be *bēlum*, to
    rule, since the *CAD* gives three examples (two O.B., one S.B.) of this
    verb written *i-be/i-el-lv* (v = vowel). However, the consistent
    phrase for expressing assumption of rule in this text is *šarrūtu
    ippuš* (I.25; II.6,13; III.4,8; IV.2 (?)).

sovereignty, which came to an ignominious end when the assassination of Berenice and her son became public knowledge and her supporters were left leaderless. IV.3 could be a reference to the confused state of affairs after the death of Antiochus II, specifically to the "oppression"[128] of the supporters of Laodice and Seleucus II by Berenice's party. Antiochus II would then be the subject of ll. 1f. The lacuna would have contained reference to Antiochus I and perhaps a length-of-reign for Seleucus I, who, we suggest, is the subject of III.13bff.

The application of III.13bff to Seleucus I seems to be the only way of removing the apparent anomaly of Darius III administering a major defeat to Alexander the Great. What we propose is that "the Hanaean" of III.17 is in fact not Alexander but Antigonus. Is it credible that he should be referred to in this way, and Seleucus spoken of as one with whom the gods of Babylon side? The answer is that there is both historical justification for answering, "Yes", and a literary parallel.

The historical justification is that according to all the extant sources Seleucus, both as governor of Babylon, and later as king, seems to have made an effort to gain the favour of the populace. Even Eddy, who does all he can to ferret out signs of anti-Seleucid sentiment from the sources, admits[129] that Seleucus had popular support and that his rule was considered legitimate "because he showed respect for the forms of kingship, he cleared the country of invaders, and he protected the cult of Marduk and the other gods". Seleucus adopted the title "King of Babylon", which had not been used since Xerxes I's day. Moreover, Seleucus' wife was the daughter of Spitamanes, one of the two leading chiefs of eastern Iran, and he seems to have given her due honours. As a result Bevan

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128. Taking the verb as the D of dalālu. See the entries for this verb in CAD, Vol 3 (D), 178, and AHw, 153.
129. S.K. Eddy, The King is Dead, Lincoln, Nebraska (1961), 114.

says[130], "The Seleucid dynasty, while one of its roots is in Macedonia, has the other in the ancient families of eastern Iran". By contrast Antigonus was heavy-handed in his rule of Babylon and stirred up hatred and opposition. The Babylonian Chronicle for this period[131] speaks of there being "weeping and mourning in the land ... He plundered city and countryside ... He set fire to the store-house of Nergal". In the Babylonian King-List of the Hellenistic period Antigonus is called only "the chief of the army" not "king" and, interestingly, his death is reported in the phrase[132]: *ina māt hanī GA[Z].* In the light of this evidence it seems credible that Seleucus should be described by a Babylonian scribe in terms suitable for a native king and Antigonus be referred to as a foreigner.

The literary parallel is found in omen texts from the time of Molon's revolt discovered in Uruk. These are re-formulations of ancient omens and use archaic terminology. The rebel satrapies of Media and Persis are equated with Elam of the ancient texts, the Parthians with the Guti (an ancient barbarian tribe), and the Seleucid realm with Akkad[133]. This seems a close parallel to an implicit identification of Seleucus I's realm with Babylon or Akkad and Antigonus' with *Hanû* (an archaic term). Note also that in III.17 Cyrus is called "a king of Elam". The proposed parallel is all the more persuasive in view of the general affinity between the Dynastic Prophecy and omen apodoses in their phraseology[134].

The remaining question is: where in the text is there an indication of a change of subject from Alexander to Seleucus? We suggest that it is in

130. E. Bevan, *op. cit.* ref. 122, 31.
131. A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, TCS V,* Locust
        Valley, N.Y. (1975), 118.
132. A.J. Sachs & D.J. Wiseman, "A Babylonian King-List of the Hellenistic
        Period", *Iraq* 16 (1954), 202-212.
133. A.T. Olmstead, "Intertestamental Studies", *JAOS* 56 (1936), 245.
134. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 112, 13.

the word *arkānu* in III.13.   When one reign follows on directly from
another the term used is *arkišu* (II.9).   This being so, the less precise
arkānu could be intended to cover the confused period between Alexander's
death and Seleucus I's return to Babylon.   Philip and Alexander IV could
be passed over because they were only puppets, and Antigonus was not
considered a legitimate king, as we have seen.   Rather, he is seen as an
outsider who tried to seize the throne.

The Purpose of the Text

If this new interpretation of the text is accepted it results in a rather
different perception of its purpose from that proposed by Grayson.   His
proposal that it is "a strong expression of anti-Seleucid feeling" is open
to some serious criticisms.

Firstly, as he admits[135], there is little solid evidence of the existence
of anti-Hellenistic feeling in Babylonia.   Eddy, who tries very hard to
find such evidence, is forced to conclude[136],

> "All in all, then, our survey of W. Asia shows that in the
> third century and in the first years of the second there was
> only the slightest resistance to Hellenism, and that was
> almost entirely in the old imperial capital of Babylon".

Grayson himself effectively disposes of most of the evidence presented by
Eddy[136] and is left with only one piece, namely *Sib. Or. 3:381-7*[137]:

> Macedonia shall produce grievous woe for Asia,
> And for Europe there shall shoot up great distress
> From the race of the Kronid, a breed of bastards and slaves.
> It shall rebuild even Babylon the fortified city,
> And, though called mistress of every land
> On which the sun shines, shall perish in dire follies
> Leaving [only] a name among far-wandering posterity.

Grayson accepts the Babylonian origin of this because *Sib. Or. 3* is often
attributed to a Babylonian Sibyl, mentions Babylon, and has a vagueness
which he sees as reminiscent of the Akkadian Prophecies.   He suggests

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135. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 112, 19 note 29.
136. S.K. Eddy, *op. cit.* ref. 129, 132.
137. The translation is that given by Grayson.

that the Dynastic Prophecy may have arisen in a similar climate of opinion to that which produced this oracle, and conjectures that the over-shadowing of Babylon by Seleucia-on-the-Tigris may have created such a climate of opinion[138]. These conjectures could be correct, but they rest on a very slim basis, as is shown by Collins' comment[139]:

> "These verses are ascribed to a Persian Sibyl by Geffcken because they predict the fall of the Macedonian kingdom after the conquest of Babylon. They are ascribed to a Babylonian Sibyl by S.K. Eddy for exactly the same reason. At least the existence of a Persian Sibyl is attested. (The existence of the Babylonian Sibyl is more dubious). However, the evidence for attributing this oracle to a specific situation is simply inadequate. It could have been written by anyone hostile to the Macedonians at any time after the fall of Babylon to Alexander".

Thus Grayson's conjectures should only be given some credence if the Dynastic Prophecy itself clearly presents an anti-Seleucid attitude.

We have already detailed above the two arguments which Grayson uses to support the view that the prophecy is anti-Seleucid. Both rest on the perception of a pattern in the format of the prophecy - each column dealing with a change of empire/dynasty and an alternation of good and bad reigns at the end of each column. These patterns are now called into question by the strong probability that two columns have been lost[140]. These must have dealt with the Achaemenid kings. Although several of these were assassinated, and on some occasions the legitimate heir failed to succeed to the throne, power always remained within the Achaemenid family[141]. The closest approaches to a change of dynasty are the

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138. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 108, 17-19.
139. J.J. Collins in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Vol. 1*, London (1983), 359.
140. W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London (1978), 13, concludes that two columns must be missing because this is the only answer to the question, "Where is Darius I, Xerxes and the rest?".
141. For details see:
    A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, Chicago (1948).
    R.N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, London (1962).

accessions of Darius I and Darius III, neither of whom were direct descendants of their predecessors. Darius III's accession is dealt with in col. III, and presumably on the basis of one change per column it cannot be seen as such a change, so why should Darius I's accession be seen as one? Even if it is, it must have been dealt with in the first of the two lost columns, leaving no change of dynasty in the other one - so breaking the pattern anyway. Therefore the pattern of one change per column is *simply an artefact of what happens to* have been preserved. Thus one cannot assume that there *must* be a change of dynasty recorded in col. IV. In addition, whether or not the pattern of alternating good and bad reigns at the end of each column is significant, it has no bearing on the question whether or not the bad reign at the end of col. IV is that of a Seleucid king or Ptolemy III.

Our interpretation suggests that col. IV concludes with an attempt to change a dynasty which failed. Far from being an anti-Seleucid document, the Dynastic Prophecy should, we submit, be seen as pro-Seleucid, specifically pro-Seleucus II. By presenting the accession of Seleucus I in very positive terms and predicting the failure of Ptolemy III's attempt to seize control of Babylonia, it encourages support for Seleucus II.

Two factors may lie behind its composition. Firstly it may well be that Antiochus II's divorce of Laodice in order to make an alliance with Ptolemy II by marrying Berenice created sympathy for Laodice as a wronged party, and so for her son's claim to the throne. The Dynastic Prophecy could be intended to legitimate his claim to be his father's rightful heir. Secondly, even if this is not the case, once it became public knowledge that Berenice and her son were dead, it was clear that the eastern part of the empire was really faced with a choice between the rule of the at least partly indigenous Seleucid house and absorption into the foreign Ptolemaic empire. Hence, if not specifically pro-Seleucus II

it could be anti-Ptolemaic. As such one would really have to suppose that it was written between 246 and 244 B.C. to engender opposition to Ptolemy's assumption of control over the eastern empire.

TEXT B

This text is known from nine fragments; they come from Aššurbanipal's library (K 1849, 7127, 7861, 11026, 11357; of which K 7204 & K 11357 probably come from the same tablet), Babylon (BM 33726 = Rm IV, 284) and Nippur (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Museum no. A 32332, and PBS 13 84). K 7861, initially the major source for the text, was published by Strong[142] and King[143]. The other fragments from Nineveh and that from Babylon were first published by Grayson and Lambert[144], who also produced a transliteration and translation based on all the fragments except K 1849 & PBS 13 84 (not then recognized as part of the text) and the Chicago fragment (then still undiscovered). Biggs[145] published the Chicago fragment and a revised transliteration and translation of the whole text as then known. This fragment is in Neo-Babylonian script. It carried the text some way beyond what was previously known (though K 1849 is a duplicate of part of the text of this fragment), as well as filling some lacunae. Subsequently Biggs[146] published a facsimile, transliteration and translation of PBS 13 84. Like the other fragment from Nippur, this is also written in Neo-Babylonian script. It overlaps with the latter half of the text published earlier by

142. S.A. Strong, "Three Cuneiform Texts", *BOR* 6(1892/3), 1-9.
143. L.W. King, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Vol. 13, London (1910), 50.
144. A.K. Grayson & W.G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies", *JCS* 18(1964), 7-30.
145. R.D. Biggs, "More Babylonian 'Prophecies'", *Iraq* 29(1967), 117-132.
146. R.D. Biggs, "Babylonian Prophecies, Astrology, and a New Source for 'Prophecy Text B'", in F. Rochberg-Halton (Ed.), *Language, Literature & History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, New Haven, Conn. (1987), 1-14.

Biggs (11. 18-39) and contains over 50 additional lines, more than doubling the length of the known text.

Contents

We shall follow Biggs in numbering the text from PBS 13 84 separately from the conflated text based on the other fragments. The contents of Text B may be summarized as follows.

11.	1-6	A rather obscure introduction which seems to describe divine communication with the people through celestial phenomena, and then communication between Enlil and Anu.
11.	7-12	At Anu's command Enlil promulgates a *mīšaru* act. Peace and justice are established.
11.	13-18	Trouble in Akkad. The king of Babylon is killed. There is revolt against his son. General anarchy ensues. Temples are destroyed. Citizens of Nippur are killed.
11.	19&20	The great gods consult and restore the king's rule. Booty is carried off from Iamutbal.
11.	21-26a	A prince who is not the expected heir seizes the throne. Various disasters follow, leading to the downfall of the king and chaos.
11.	26b	The great gods consult and the king's reign is short(?).
11.	27&28a	An Amorite attack results in widespread destruction.
11.	28b-31	An omen concerns Ešnunna, which is re-inhabited. Elam is destroyed. There is (peace?) in the major cities.
11.	32-38	There is a meteor omen concerning Elam, which is laid waste, its shrines destroyed.
11.	39	Begins a new omen, which is broken off.

PBS 13 84. On the obverse the beginnings of the lines are lost and the text is hard to follow. The reverse is clearer, though the ends of the lines are lost.

obv.	*1-3*	*Traces only.*
	4-21	More or less identical with 11. 18-39 above, though 11. 24, 30, 33, 36 are omitted.
	21-44	This seems to contain a number (4?) of astrological omens, some favourable, some not. The text is unclear because of the breaks.
rev.	1	Lacuna.
	2-9	A meteor omen concerning a severe famine, which will then be reversed so that there is plenty.
	10-17	A conjunction omen predicting confusion, the blockading of the king of Elam in his palace, destruction of Elam, and famine.
	18-24	Most of this conjunction(?) omen is lost.
	25-29	A conjunction(?) omen concerning rebellion and usurpation of the throne.
	30	Catchline: [If] The Wolf [has a conjunction] with The-Demon-with-the-Gaping-Mouth.
	31	Colophon: Copy of a text from Nippur, [copied] from an earlier exemplar.

In the well-preserved part of the text there seems to be a regular alternation of good and bad times.

Interpretation

Although Text B mentions various rulers, it gives no lengths of reign which might help to identify them. However, it does contain references which are generally agreed to provide an approximate time period to which the events described can be assigned. In the view of Grayson and Lambert[147],

> "The mention of Iamutbal is the most decisive evidence since Iamutbal is known only in the First Dynasty of Babylon. Note particularly that Ḥammurapi conquered Rīm-Sin of Iamutbal in his thirty-first year."

in support of this indicator of the approximate time period concerned they also point to the mention of Ešnunna and the fact that Nippur was plundered in the early period[148]. Biggs[145] concurs with these arguments and adds that they are further suppported by the list of cities found in l. 31, as restored by him (Eridu, Adab, Ur, Uruk). Hallo[149] also accepts the arguments of Grayson and Lambert on this point. King[143] gave K 7861 the title, "Legends of Early Kings".

Grayson and Lambert[147] seem to believe that Text B, like the others, bears "some relation to actual historical events", even if we cannot now identify them. Hallo[149] appears to agree with them, but discusses only Text A in any detail. Biggs[150], however, considers that the text is "simply a peculiar part of the vast Mesopotamian omen tradition" because,

> "The composition seems, in fact, thoroughly scholarly and traditional in tone ... without the slightest hint of a real event or real people coming through to us".

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147. A.K. Grayson & W.G. Lambert, *op. cit.* ref. 144, 9.
148. D.O. Edzard, *Die "zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens*, Wiesbaden (1957), 86ff.
149. W.W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses", *IEJ*, 16 (1966), 231-242.
150. R.D. Biggs, *op. cit.* ref. 145, 117.

He adds[151] that the text seems "to be a collection of omen protases (he probably means apodoses) gathered from various sources, just as the standard omen collections probably are". He considers[152] that the material used comes from the Old Babylonian period, which may be when the text was composed.

Biggs' claim that in Text B no hint of a real event or real person comes through to us seems to rest on two factors. The first is his (and other's) inability to identify the events alluded to with any known historical events. Such an argument from silence is, of course, notoriously dangerous. It is liable to evaporate with the acquisition of new information, especially when the period concerned is one that is poorly documented anyway. The second factor is the stylized language of the text, with its many close parallels in the omen literature. However, the use of such language does not rule out the possibility that in this case it refers to actual events. Biggs[153] does recognize this possibility in his most recent paper on Text B. There are, nevertheless, features of Text B other than the close verbal parallels with omen apodoses which tend to support the view that it is a peculiar part of the omen literature which may not have any reference to an actual sequence of historical events. These are:

(1) Quite apart from many very close verbal parallels with specific omen apodoses, especially of the astrological corpus[154], sections of Text B are reminiscent of the longer omen apodoses which occur occasionally. Some, at least, of these are clearly the result of combining variant, but often

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151. R.D. Biggs, op. cit. ref. 145, 118.
152. R.D. Biggs, op. cit. ref. 145, 126.
153. R.D. Biggs, "Babylonian Prophecies, Astrology, and a New Source for 'Prophecy Text B'", in F. Rochberg-Halton (Ed.), Language, Literature & History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner, New Haven, Conn. (1987), 5.
154. See later, p. 68-71.

similar, apodoses of the same protasis. One example quoted in full must

suffice here as an illustration[155],

> "In the country of Amurru there will be hostility, one will
> devour another, the palace of the prince will be pillaged, the
> treasure of the land will be taken to another country, the
> national emblems will be overthrown, its gods will abandon it
> and turn aside from it; the rains and high waters will be
> retained".

Compare this with Text B lines 14-16,

> "The entire land will rebel against the prince who will sit on
> the throne and [he will not conquer his] enemies, [an enemy]
> will murder the king and his counsellors in the palace. City
> [will turn against] city, family will turn against family,
> brother will slay brother, friend will slay friend, the
> possessions [of his palace] will go out."

(2) The occurrence of two alternative sequences of events. For example:

ll. 26f. "Either the great gods will consult one another and the rule of
the king will be short ... or there will be an Amorite attack
against the land ..."

l. 28 "... destruction of the king, variant (KI.MIN): destruction of the
land and [its] people".

(3) The specific references to omens in ll. 28 & 35, and the actual

occurrence of omen protases in the latter part of the text (ll. 32f, 39;

PBS 13 84 rev. 2ff, 10f, 18, 25(?)).

(4) As mentioned above, there seems to be a regular alternation of good

and bad times, though it is not clearly set out. This suggests an

idealized composition.

Conclusion. In our view these considerations tip the balance in favour of

the view that Text B is simply a literary creation, constructed out of

omens, without reference to specific historical events, except in so far

as the original omen apodoses may have alluded to actual events. What

allusions there are indicate that the material comes from the Old

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155. R. Largement, "Contribution à l'Étude des Astres errants dans
l'Astrologie Chaldeéne (I)", *ZA* 52(1957), 235-264, XXI l. 107f.
See also VIII l. 35f. A clear example of combining variants is
III l. 20f.

Babylonian period, and this is the only indication there is of the possible date of the text's composition.

The Purpose of the Text

Its purpose is quite obscure. Lambert[156] expresses the view that, "the astrological character of Text B ... confirms that the "prophecies" were really meant as predictions". He may be right, but his hope that the finding of more fragments of the text would solve the problem of its purpose has not been fulfilled by the discovery of the Nippur fragments. Of course, the fact that PBS 13 84 includes a catch-line in its colophon means that there is at least one more tablet belonging to this series still to be found. One can hope that pieces of it might exist amongst the extant fragments from Nippur.

LBAT 1543

LBAT 1543 is a Seleucid fragment which probably comes from Babylon. It was first published[157] in facsimile in 1955. Biggs[158] later published a transliteration and translation, using collations provided by W.G. Lambert.

Contents

The surviving text is short (ca. 13 lines on each side) and quite badly damaged. It is divided into sections by horizontal lines. Each section seems to refer to the reign of a single ruler. It begins with reference to the death of a ruler, and in at least one case an astrological omen connected with it is given. A length of reign is then given, which Biggs thinks refers to his successor. The rest of the section then apparently deals with the assumption of power by this successor and the events of

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156. W.G. Lambert, "History and the Gods: A Review Article", *Or. (NS)* 39(1970), 176.
157. T.G. Pinches & J.N. Strassmaier, *Late Babylonian Astronomical Texts*, (Ed. A. Sachs), Providence, R.I. (1955), 243, Text 1543.
158. R.D. Biggs, "More Babylonian Prophecies", *Iraq* 29(1967), 128-132.

his reign. This seems to be clear at least in the case of obv. 3'-9'.

Biggs is unsure which side of the tablet is the obverse, and so the assignment of obverse and reverse is tentative.

obv.	3'-9'	A ruler will die of a scorpion sting. His successor will rule for 27 years. He will defeat Subartu but bring harm on his own land. His subjects will kill him.
	10'-14'	An astrological omen indicates that the ruler will die prematurely. His successor will survive a coup attempt by his son and rule for 7 years.
rev.	3'-9'	Refers to a ruler who will establish a holy city(?). Prices will rise, there will be civil strife and plague.
	10'ff	Too damaged to translate.

Discussion

Biggs[159] believes that this text is "simply a literary creation without reference to specific historical events". The specific reasons he gives for this are:

(1) A ruler's death from a scorpion sting is not known from any authentic historical record.

(2) No actual sequence of reigns of 27 yrs. then 7 yrs. is known.

(3) Omen texts, particularly astrological ones, sometimes contain chronological information. A relevant parallel is[160]: "The king of Akkad will die during (his) fifth year".

Grayson[161] adds to these these arguments the suggestion that the numbers 27 & 7 in this text are purely literary. Lambert[155] suggests that the text "may well be a rather long astrological omen".

Like all arguments from silence Biggs' first two points must be treated with caution. The lengths of reign of a number of Babylonian kings are unknown or uncertain, and the cause of death of most is unknown. We shall argue later[162] that the information in "historical omens" is generally reliable, and will cite some that refer to kings who died in

159. R.D. Biggs, *op. cit.* ref. 158, 128f.
160. Ch. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldeéne*, Suppl. Fasc. 9-10, Paris (1910), Sin 20:21.
161. A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto (1975), 15 n. 15.
162. See pp. 78-84.

unsual or untimely ways, not unlike death from a scorpion's sting. The following considerations seem to us more significant alongside Biggs' third point.

(1) As Biggs notes[163], obv. 6'ff is a duplicate of the apodosis of a known astrological omen[164].

(2) There is nothing in the extant text to indicate that the sections refer to a sequence of successive reigns.

(3) The form of the text is quite different from that of the other "prophecy" texts that give lengths of reigns (The Dynastic Prophecy and Text A), a point noted by both Grayson[161] and Biggs[165]. In particular obv. 10' suggests that each section began with an astrological omen (protasis and apodosis) concerning the death of a ruler. The lacunae at the beginning of the other extant sections seem to leave room for this.

Conclusion. In view of these points it seems very likely that the text is a collection of astrological omens concerning the death of rulers, filled out with omen apodoses concerning political events. Some authentic historical material may be included. The text is too brief and fragmentary for anything to be deduced about its purpose.

163. R.D. Biggs, op. cit. ref. 158, 131, commentary on obv. 7'f.
164. Ch. Virolleaud, op. cit. ref. 160, Ištar 33:65f.
165. R.D. Biggs, op. cit. ref. 158, 129f.

Chapter I: *DANIEL* IN A MESOPOTAMIAN CONTEXT

Part 2: The Akkadian Prophecies as Literature

Characteristics of the Prophecies

In the discussion of the individual texts we have argued that LBAT 1543 is a collection of omens and not a Prophecy Text. We have also suggested that Text B is not a Prophecy Text either. However, we will include it in this discussion in order to clarify its nature further.

The texts have the following characteristics in common[1]:

(1) They purport to present a series of historical events, at least some of which are expressed as predictions. We have argued that with the exception of Text B they do refer to actual events.

(2) The organizing principle is usually a sequence of reigns (the Marduk Prophecy, however, is organized around his journeys). In most cases the text is clearly broken up into sections by a repeated phrase, and sometimes by horizontal lines as well. This schematization is least clear in the case of Text B.

(3) There is a tendency to use phraseology typical of omen apodoses. The extent of this varies in the texts, being much greater in Texts A & B than in the others. This is discussed further below.

(4) The language is generally rather vague and enigmatic. The rulers concerned are not named but referred to by such ciphers as, "a prince", "that ruler", or (rarely) "the king of X".

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1. The characteristics of these texts have been discussed by:
   W.W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses", *IEJ* 16(1966), 231-242, esp. 234f.
   A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto (1975), 13-16.
   J.-G. Heintz, "Note sur les origines de l'apocalyptique Judaïque à la lumière des 'Propheties Akkadiennes'", in F. Raphael *et. al.*, *L'Apocalyptique*, Paris (1977), 71-87, esp. 73-77.
   R.D. Biggs, "Babylonian Prophecies, Astrology, and a New Source for 'Prophecy Text B'", in F. Rochberg-Halton (Ed.), *Language, Literature and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, New Haven, Conn. (1987), 1-14.
   T. Longman, *Akkadian Royal Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study*, Ph.D diss., Yale (1983).

(5) The reigns referred to are nearly always presented in either wholly

positive or wholly negative terms[2]. The only case where there may be a

regular good/bad alternation is in Text B. ·

There are three features which unite the Marduk and Šulgi Prophecies and

distinguish them from the others.

(1) Their use of the first person style as against the third person style

of the others.

(2) The inclusion of an historical retrospect before the prophecy.

(3) Their structure is: (a) nâru-style introduction;
                           (b) historical retrospect;
                           (c) predictions.

The others consist simply of an introduction plus predictions.

This makes it clear that the Prophecies fall into two sub-groups, and we

shall designate them as Prophetic Speeches (the Marduk and Šulgi

Prophecies) and Prophetic Surveys (Text A, the Uruk Prophecy, and the

Dynastic Prophecy).

Longman[3] disagrees with this distinction.   He classifies all the

Prophecies as a sub-genre of the wider genre of "Fictional Royal

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2.   R.D. Biggs, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 2f disagrees with this. However, the
      three examples he gives of "mixed" fortune reigns (all from Text A)
      are open to debate. Rev. II.2-9 is only mixed if one accepts Biggs'
      restoration of 1. 3 as "The remainder of the people [will] return to
      their homes]". He does not justify this. Rev. II. 10-20 seems to be
      totally unfavourable apart from the statement the "mother will speak
      truthfully to daughter".   One is tempted to suspect a scribal
      omission of a "not" here (see the omission of the "not" in Text B 1.
      29 from Nineveh as compared with PBS 13 84 1. 14 from Nippur).
      The nearest parallel in omen apodoses is "son will speak truthfully
      to his father", the negative form of this not being attested.   This
      could support the extant reading of Text A.   However, it could also
      explain why a scribe might have dropped a "not" from it, to bring it
      closer to a standard omen phrase.   Obv. II.2-8 is favourable until
      the closing statement that the prince will be killed in a rebellion.
      This   may   be   a   case   of   historical   reality   overcoming   the
      schematization of the text.   It seems to us that this is the only
      indisputable case of a mixed reign in the Prophecies, and even if
      rev. II.10-20 is added to it, it is still true to say that the great
      majority of reigns in the texts are presented as wholly good or
      wholly bad, and that this is one of the basic characteristics of the
      texts.
3.   T. Longman, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 330-464.

Table 1.   Characteristics of the Akkadian Prophecies.

TABLE 1

	STRUCTURE	KEY PHRASES IN PREDICTIONS	DIV. LINES	REGULAR GOOD/BAD ALTERN.	% OMENS	USE OF IDEO-GRAMS	DATE OF TABLET	DATE OF COMP.
MARDUK PROPHECY	I.1-12 narû-style intro. I.13-II.18 Historical retrospect II.19ff Predictions	Predictions introduced by: šar Babili illâm	Yes	Not applic.	13	High	mid-7th. c.	late 12th. c.
ŠULGI PROPHECY	I.1-7 narû-style intro. I.8-II.21' Historical retrosprect III.1ff Predictions	ayu šarru ša arkiya illâ rubû šu	Only a few in VAT 14404	Unclear	14	Medium	mid-7th. c.	late 12th. c.
TEXT B	1-12 Intro. (Anu & Enlil) 13ff Predictions	No regular phrase, but l. 21: mar šarri ... ellâ	Some, esp. PBS 13 84	Yes	38	High	ca. 700 B.C.	O.B.
TEXT A	obv. I.1-8 Intro. (Ištar & Anu) obv. 9ff Predictions	ellâ rubûmma x mu.meš šarrûtu ippuš	Yes	No	35	High	mid-7th. c.	post 9th. c.
URUK PROPHECY	obv. 1-22(?) Intro. rev. 1ff Predictions	arkišu šarru illâm	No	No	13	Low	5th./3rd. c.	ca. 600 B.C.
DYNASTIC PROPHECY	I.1-6 Introduction I.7ff Predictions	ellâ rubû šar Elamti iteb	Yes	No	9	Low	3rd. c.	mid-3rd. c.

contd.

Autobiographies". To achieve this he has to argue that what we call the Prophetic Surveys do in fact have autobiographical introductions, now obscured by the damaged state of the texts. We think[4] that his arguments are unconvincing and that his desire to find a unified sub-genre leads him to under-play the difference between the Marduk and Šulgi Prophecies and the others.

Grayson[5] denies Text B the status of a Prophecy Text partly because it has a mythological introduction. Biggs[6], however, considers that the introduction to Text A is probably mythological since Ištar and Anu are mentioned. To this Grayson[7] can only respond, "There is no need to assume that Text A first side i 1-8 is a 'mythological' introduction". Unfortunately the introductions of all the Surveys are too fragmentary for their nature to be deduced, and so it is unwise to assume that they cannot be mythological.

Finally, regarding general characteristics, it should be said that Texts A & B and the Marduk Prophecy make abundant use of ideograms, the Šulgi Prophecy rather less, and the Uruk and Dynastic Prophecies less still[8]. These general characteristics are summarized in Table 1.

The Akkadian Prophecies and Akkadian Oracles

Examples of Mesopotamian oracular prophecy occur in the archives of the palaces at Mari[9] and Nineveh[10]. Grayson argues that the Prophecy texts

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4.   See Appendix 6.
5.   A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 15.
6.   R.D. Biggs, "More Babylonian 'Prophecies'", *Iraq* 29(1967), 118 n. 9.
7.   A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 15 note 12.
8.   A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 13 note 3.
9.   E. Noort, *Untersuchungen zum Gottesbeschied in Mari, AOAT 202*,
         Neukirchen (1977), 5-18, provides a bibliography of the Mari
         prophecies.
      W.L. Moran, *ANET*, 3rd. ed., Princeton (1969), 623-625 & 629-632; and
         "New Evidence from Mari on the History of Prophecy", *Biblica*
         50(1969), 15-56; provides English translations of some of the
         texts and a bibliography.

are to be distinguished from the oracles for two reasons. Firstly, the
oracles were oral in origin but the Prophecies give no evidence of an
oral background. Secondly[11],

> "While an Akkadian prophecy described extensive periods of
> time in relatively vague terms, an oracle was a single divine
> utterance, usually through a named medium ... to a named
> individual, normally a king, and was related to a specific
> event and time."

Biggs[12] also denies any connection between the prophecies and oracles
because in the latter, "The utterances reported are very specific and
refer to an immediate situation". Heintz[13] concurs, asserting that,

> "Ni le cadre historique précis, ni la forme littéraire des
> oracles, ni le mode de transmission de la volonté divine ne
> revêtent ici des aspects semblables".

In summary, these scholars say that the oracles differ from the
Prophecies in the following ways.

(1) They are clearly oral in origin.
(2) Their language is clear.
(3) They address a specific event and time.
(4) They are addressed to a specific person and the intermediary is
usually named.

A possible point of contact between the oracles and the Prophecies might
appear in the use of the first person in the oracles, especially in those
which begin "anāku GN"[14], as in the Prophetic Speeches. However, as we
said when discussing these Speeches[15], the most likely source of
influence on them is the nāru-inscription. Thus there is no clear
connection between the oracles and the Prophecies.

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10. M. Weippert, "Assyrische Prophetien der Zeit Asarhaddons und
      Assurbanipals", in F.M. Fales (Ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions:
      New Horizons*, Rome (1981), 71-115.
      R.D. Biggs, *ANET*, 3rd. ed., Princeton (1969), 605f, provides English
      translations of some of the texts and a bibliography.
11. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 13.
12. R.D. Biggs, *op. cit* ref. 6, 117 note 4.
13. J.-G. Heintz, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 82.
14. In the Assyrian oracles, Weippert's Type 2. See *op. cit.* ref. 10,
      77f.
15. See pp. 10f., 18.

The Akkadian Prophecies and Omens

One of the most striking features of the Prophecies is their use of

phraseology that is very much like that found in omen apodoses. In a

preliminary study of this feature Biggs'[16] concludes that,

> "the literary associations of the prophecy predictions are
> with the astrological omen corpus and not with any other
> genre of Mesopotamian omens".

The evidence he cites is.

(1) There are a number of phrases which occur in Text A which are found
only in astrological omens. Examples are: *GIŠ.NÍG.BAR* (obv. II.5); phrases
with *eṣātu & dalḫātu* (obv. II.13); *nārāti sakiki umallu* (obv. II.21); *šārū
iṭibbū* (obv. III.5); *diš kuṣṣi ...* (obv. III.7); the nearest parallel to rev.
II.17 *(ummu itti mārtīša kittu itammi)* is a phrase found in some
astrological omens *(māru itti abīšu kittu itammi)*.

(2) Several other phrases in Text A are common in astrological omens but
rare in other genres. No specific examples are given.

(3) Except in the well-known phrase *"amūt N..."*, in which a geographical
name occurs, specific geographical references are much less common in
extispicy and teratological omens than in astrological ones. None occur
in oil or smoke omens. Such references do occur in the Prophecy Texts.
There is considerable congruence between the names attested in the
Prophecies and the astrological omens, *e.g.* Nippur, Tigris & Euphrates,
Ḫatti, Sippar, the temple É-giš-nuₓ-gál.

We have looked for phrases in omen apodoses which closely parallel

phrases in the Prophecies. The results are given in Appendix 7. In

addition to the sources referred to there we have surveyed oil omens[17],

smoke omens[18], flour omens[19], diagnostic omens[20], physiognomic and

related omens[21], dream omens[22] without finding any significant parallels

16. R.D. Biggs, "The Babylonian Prophecies and the Astrological Traditions
    of Mesopotamia", *JCS* 37(1985), 86-90. The quote is from p. 90.
17. G. Pettinato, *Die Ölwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern*, Vols. 1&2, Rome
    (1966).
18. See R.D. Biggs, "A propos des textes de libanomancie", *RA* 63(1969),
    73f, and the sources referred to there.
19. J. Nougayrol, "Aleuromancie Babylonienne", *Or(NS)* 32(1963), 381-386.
20. R. Labat, *Traité Akkadien de Diagnostics et Prognostics Medicaux*,
    Leiden (1951).
21. F.R. Kraus, "Babylonische Omina mit Ausdeutung de Begleiterschein-
    ungen des Sprechens", *AfO* 11(1936/7), 219-230; "Weitere Texte zur
    babylonische Physiognomatik", *Or(NS)* 16(1947), 172-206; "Ein
    Sittenkanon in Omenform", *ZA* 43(1936), 77-113.
22. A.L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near
    East*, Philadelphia (1956), *(Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 46(3), 179-354).

to the Prophecies. A major reason why these do not provide close parallels is the fact that their apodoses nearly always refer to the destiny of the private individual enquirer. Hence there is an absence of reference to national political events, which are the subject of the Prophecies.

In recording parallels we have tried to be cautious. In general only parallels with a high degree of verbal correspondence have been recorded. Thus, although Biggs is right when he says that a number of astronomical omen apodoses refer to *ešātu* and *dalḫātu*, we have not found an exact parallel to Text A obv. II.13, though we have to Text B 7f, where the same words occur. It seems to us that only close verbal correspondence can be a safe indication of literary relationship. However, even that can be misleading. In any language there are some things that either can only be said in one way, or as a matter of convention are only said in one way. Obviously the occurrence of such phrases in two texts is not convincing evidence of a relationship without some supporting evidence. A few of our parallels fall into this category. For example, *libbi māti iṭāb* (Text A obv. II.3; Dynastic P. III.22) might seem a commonplace phrase. However, although *libbišu iṭāb* does occur frequently in various omens, our phrase seems to occur only in astrological omens. Similarly, whilst *ūmīšu irrikū* is a common apodosis in diagnostic and physiognomic omens, the specific reference to a king's reign as in the Marduk Prophecy is only parallelled in astronomical and teratological omens, as far as we are aware. The words *ru'ua ru['uašu]* in *ACh. Adad 12.1.2* are recorded because, as Biggs notes[23], this seems to be the only example of the phrase in omen apodoses.

The following interesting points emerge from the parallels which we have found.

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23. R.D Biggs, "More Babylonian Prophecies", *Iraq* 29 (1967), 125 on 1. 16.

(1) The texts fall into two fairly distinct groups as far as their degree of affinity to omen apodoses is concerned. Since the texts vary in length a crude measure of this is the percentage of the lines that one might expect to have a parallel, because of the kind of predictions they make, that do actually have a parallel. For Texts A & B this is about 36%, whereas for the others it is about 12% (see Table 1).

(2) In the case of most texts there are about as many parallels with non-astronomical omens as with the astrological ones. The latter do predominate in the Uruk and Marduk Prophecies.

(3) There are three cases where a phrase in the Prophecies has a more exact parallel in a non-astrological omen than in an astrological one: Text A obv. II.3, 5; Text B 14.

Points (2) & (3) undermine Biggs' claim that the literary associations of the Prophecies are with the astrological corpus alone[24]. It is a weakness in his case that whilst he shows that some of the predictions have parallels with apodoses found *only* in astrological omens, he does not consider whether there may not also be parallels with apodoses *not* found in the astrological corpus. Our knowledge of that corpus is not such as to allow a dogmatic claim that *none* of the exclusively non-astrological parallels cited occur in astrological omens, but we think it unlikely that any do. Point (2) therefore indicates that whilst there is in the Prophecies a strong relationship with the astrological omen literature, this is far from exclusive. The authors were not restricted

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24. In a more recent paper Biggs has modified this claim by accepting that in the case of Text A "the phraseology ... is largely that of astrological omens and not of extispicy or any other omen genre....A number of predictions in Text A are of types found in various categories of omens, but others occur exclusively in astrological texts or overwhelmingly so". He also implies that that the affinity with astrological omens is less in the case of the Prophecies other than Texts A & B. See R.D. Biggs, "Babylonian Prophecies, Astrology, and a New Source for 'Prophecy Text B'", *op. cit.* ref. 1, 3f.

to the language of this one kind of omen, but used language typical of other kinds of omens too. Point (3) strengthens this conclusion since it shows that on occasion non-astrological traditions were used, whether deliberately or not, instead of similar astrological ones.

The significance of point (1) will be discussed later.

The Akkadian Prophecies and the Chronicles

The well-structured format of the Prophecies is obviously similar to that of the Chronicles[25]. This is particularly true of the Prophetic surveys in which the text is clearly organized around a sequence of kings' reigns, including in Text A and the Dynastic Prophecy a statement of the length of each reign. After its introduction dealing with Šulgi's reign, the Šulgi Prophecy has the same kind of structure. The Marduk Prophecy deals with only one reign - that of the future ruler who will restore Marduk's statue and shrine. However, the first part is carefully structured around the three removals of the statue from Babylon. Text B seems to have an episodic structure based on a sequence of rulers, but it lacks the clarity of the other texts. In particular there is no repeated rubric such as they have.

The Prophecies differ from the great majority of the Chronicles in having a prologue. The two Chronicles that do have one are the Weidner Chronicle and the Synchronistic History. Like Text B (and possibly Text A) the prologue of the Weidner Chronicle depicts a divine council. This Chronicle is also like the Prophecies in having a propagandist purpose, namely the glorification of Babylon and its cult of Marduk[26]. The prologue of the Synchronistic History is very broken and its nature

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25.   A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Locust Valley, N.Y. (1975).
26.   A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 43-45.

consequently unclear, though there is reference to the god Aššur[27].

Grayson[28] describes this Chronicle as "biased history", a piece of pro-

Assyrian propaganda. However, Millard[29] has argued cogently that it is

what it claims to be, a record of boundary settlements between Assyria

and Babylonia, probably copied from a series of boundary stelae. As such

it is not truly a Chronicle.

We have argued that all the Prophecies proper (*i.e.* excepting Text B) do

refer to actual historical events. Each was written well after some of

these events took place. Hence the authors presumably had access to

reliable historical traditions. The material found in the Prophecies -

sequence of reigns, lengths of reigns, military engagements, the religious

policies and building works of kings, the way kings came to power, the

way they died - is the kind of material found in the Chronicles. However,

despite having looked for it, we have not found any marked verbal

parallels between the two types of literature of the kind that exists

between the Prophecies and the omen literature. This lack of similarity

in phraseology suggests that the similarity in form between the

Prophecies and Chronicles is not evidence of a direct literary

relationship, but the result of the independent adoption of a form that is

a fairly obvious one to use in the orderly presentation of historical

material. It is interesting that the Chronicle which is closest to the

Prophecies in its form and purpose, the Weidner Chronicle, is described by

Grayson[26] as unique amongst the Chronicles in several respects, namely

the earliness of the period dealt with, the recording of a divine council

and of divine first-person speech, and its propagandist nature. Thus it

may not belong to the Chronicle tradition proper.

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27. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 158.
28. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 50-56.
29. A.R. Millard, Review of *op. cit.* ref. 25, *JAOS* 100 (1980), 364-368.

If the Prophecies are not directly related to the Chronicles, from where did their authors get their information? Grayson[30] argues that the Chroniclers themselves drew on a running account of all important events affecting Babylonia. Moreover, he suggests that this account is identical with the genre known as Astronomical Diaries. These were records of various phenomena including astronomical and meterological events, market prices, the height of the river, and matters of historical interest. They were made on a more or less daily basis[31], and probably kept on wooden, wax-covered, boards[32]. These Diaries are known from the 8th. century B.C. onwards, the period when the major Babylonian Chronicle series starts. However, the Chronicle of Market Prices contains information from the 18th. - 8th. centuries, and the Religious Chronicle, which also contains information similar to that in the Diaries, covers the 11th. century[33]. This, Grayson argues, is evidence that some kind of running record similar to the Diaries was being compiled in the 2nd millenium. In addition it should be noted that the colophon of Chronicle 15[32] indicates that material from about the 10th. century was copied from a writing board in the 7th. century. It is reasonable to suppose that the authors of the Prophecies drew on such running accounts for their historical information. This is made all the more probable by the fact, pointed out by Biggs[34], that some of the information in these accounts is of the kind that would be of interest to diviners, whose literature, we have argued, is related to the Prophecies. In fact one fragment from a Diary of the 3rd century

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30. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 50-56.
31. On these Diaries see: A.J. Sachs, "Babylonian Astronomical Tablets", *JCS* 2 (1948), 271-290, esp. 285f.
32. The colophon of Chronicle 15 refers to the copying of material from such a writing board, see A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 130. Writing boards have been found at Nimrud (D.J. Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing Boards", *Iraq* 17 (1955), 3-13) and Aššur (E. Klengal-Brandt, "Eine Schreibtafel aus Assur", *AoF* 3 (1975), 169-171).
33. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 60-62.
34. R.D. Biggs, "Babylonian Prophecies, Astrology, and a new Source for 'Prophecy Text B'", *op. cit.* ref. 1, 6.

B.C. does contain a phrase which occurs in the Prophecies and in omens: *niše mārešina ana kaspi ipašširu*[35]. We will discuss this below.

The Akkadian Prophecies and Royal Inscriptions

When discussing the Prophetic Speeches we noted the possibility that their form was influenced by that of the narū-literature, and also Borger's[36] suggestion of echoes of genuine royal inscriptions in the Šulgi Prophecy II.2'ff & II.7'-9'.

The possible connection with the narū-inscriptions is worth further consideration. Gurney's[37] definition of the form of such inscriptions is:

(1) A formal self-introduction of the writer by his name and titles. There is no standard form for this.
(2) A narrative in the first person.
(3) An epilogue usually consisting of curses upon anyone who defaces the monument and blessings upon those who honour it.

Gurney classes the Legends of Sargon and of Naram-Sin as narū-literature because they use this form. However, in them the narrative is 'apocryphal'. By this he means that it contains legendary, or even fictitious, material about a famous king of a bygone age. Güterbock[38] classes the Marduk Prophecy as narū-literature purely because it is a first-person legendary narrative. Grayson and Lambert[39] accept this classification. However, the Prophetic Speeches clearly lack the epilogue which is present, for example, in the Legend of Naram-Sin[37]. It seems to us that it is possible that the Prophetic Speeches are modelled on the narū-literature, because of their choice of hero and narrative style, but

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35. S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, London (1924), 154-157, BM 92688 rev. 20.
36. R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten", *BO* 28 (1971), 22.
37. O.R. Gurney, "The Sultantepe Tablets IV. The Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin", *Anat. Stud.*, 5 (1955), 93-113.
38. H.G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition bei Babyloniern und Hethitern", *ZA*, 42 (1934), 1-91.
39. A.K. Grayson & W.G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies", *JCS* 18 (1964), 7-30.

the evidence for this is not strong, and if it is the case, they reshape the model by replacing the epilogue with a prophecy.

Longman[40] suggests that all the Prophecies should be classed as 'fictional autobiography', like the Legends mentioned above. As we have seen above the validity of this depends on the questionable conclusion that the Prophetic Surveys have autobiographical introductions. In fact the introductions are too damaged for their nature to discerned with any certainty.

The phrase,

dīš kuṣṣi ana ebūri dīš ebūri ana kuṣṣi uštabarri

"the winter-grass will last until summer and the summer-grass will last until winter", which occurs in Text A obv. III.7 and the Marduk Prophecy III.8'f (and astronomical omens), is found in one of Esarhaddon's inscriptions[41]. However, we have surveyed the collections of inscriptions edited by Grayson[42], Langdon[43] and Streck[44] without finding any other significant parallels to phrases in the Prophecies.

The Akkadian Prophecies and other Akkadian Literature

So far the only significant verbal parallels (both in the closeness of the wording and their quantity) we have noted are those between the Prophecies and omen apodoses. It seemed possible that these parallels could have arisen because the phrases concerned were common-place ones

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40. T. Longman II, *Fictional Akkadian Royal Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study*, Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ. (1983), 373-377.
41. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddon Königs von Assyrien*, Graz (1956), 93 rev. 13. Were Esarhaddon's scribes particularly influenced by omens? A detailed study of his inscriptions to look for other omen phrases might be worthwhile.
42. A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, Vols. 1&2, Weisbaden (1972 & 1976).
43. S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, Leipzig (1912).
44. M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrische Könige bis zum untergange Ninevehs*, Vols. 1-3, Leipzig (1916).

anyway in Akkadian literature in general. However, a search for these phrases in other types of literature (using the standard dictionaries) failed to produce examples of them, with just a few exceptions. A handful of examples of the nearest parallels found is given below:

1. In an historical text of Arik-dēn-ili (late 14th. century) from Aššur[45].

> aššum ešēr ebūr mātiya

cf. ebūr māti iššir   (Marduk P. III.10')

2. On a kudurru of the time of Marduk-nādin-ahhe (early 11th. century)[46].

> Adad ... nārātišu limellâ sakiki

cf. nārāti sakiki umallû   (Text A obv. II.21)

3. From an historical text of Esarhaddon (early 7th. century)[47].

> zunnū u mīlū ... lišabšu

cf. zunnū u mīlū ibaššu   (Text A obv. II.7)

4. From the annals of Ashurbanipal (mid-7th. century)[48].

> māssu elišu ibbalkit

cf. mātu ištēniš ibbalakkassu   (Text B l. 14)

5. In a prayer to Marduk from Ashurbanipal's library[49].

> ešātiya nummer dalhātiya zukki

cf. dalhātu izakkâ lemnētu inammirā   (Marduk P. III.12')

6. In a Late Assyrian tablet of Atra-Hasīs from Ashurbanipal's library[50].

> ummu ana mārte ul ipate bābša

cf. ummu eli mārtiša bābša iddil   (Šulgi P. IV.15')

These partial parallels do seem to indicate that it is significant that

45. O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts, 2,* Osnabrück (1970), 29.i.16.
46. L.W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets,* London (1912), 6.ii.42. The phrase is also found in: E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung",* Berlin (1953), 72f.
47. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 41, 93 rev. 13.
48. M. Streck, *op. cit.* ref. 44, 82 X.10.
49. L.W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery,* London (1896), 11.20f (K3285 dup.). *N.B.* this prayer is related to obtaining omens.
50. W.G. Lambert & A.R. Millard, *Atra-Hasīs,* Oxford (1969), 112 rev. vi.8.

the Prophecies contain a proportion of phrases that are more or less verbally identical to phrases found in omen apodoses. When the same subject matter occurs in other literary contexts it is expressed somewhat differently.

The phrase,

> nišū mārišina ana kaspi ipaššarā

"the people will sell their children for money", occurs in the Šulgi Prophecy IV.10'f and in a number of omens. Oppenheim[51] has discussed the occurrence of a similar phrase,

> nišū māriš[un]u ana [kaspi ipš]urū

in a legal document from Nippur which is dated in the 3rd. year of Sîn-šar-iškun (i.e. late 7th. century B.C.). Oppenheim argues that the phrase in the legal document is in fact modelled on the literary texts (as he calls the omens) because the idiom ana kaspi pašāru, "to sell for money", does not belong to the vocabulary of the trained scribes of legal documents of the Neo-Babylonian, or any earlier, period[52]. A phrase identical to that in the Šulgi Prophecy and the Omens does occur in a 3rd. century B.C. text, BM 92688, rev. 20[53]. As noted above in the discussion of the Chronicles[54], this text is an Astronomical Diary, and this genre of literature is closely related to the Omens. The diarist may have borrowed the phrase from the omen literature.

Influence from omens could also explain the only other cases we have found of phrases common to both the Prophecies and the omen apodoses which also occur in non-omen literature. These are the phrase found in

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51. A.L. Oppenheim, "Siege Documents from Nippur", *Iraq* 17(1955), 69-89.
52. The entry under *pašāru(m)* 3(a) in von Soden's *AHw* does give an example of this use in an OB letter about a sale of property (VS 16, 140, 11). However, the only examples cited of the phrase used of the sale of persons (specifically children) are from omens.
53. S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, London (1924), 154-157.
54. See p. 73.

one of Esarhaddon's inscriptions, referred to above[41], and the following

phrase from the Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin[55]:

ālu itti āli bītu itti bīti inakkir

"city will dispute with city and house with house". This is identical to

Text B l. 15, and also occurs in birth omens.

From this evidence we conclude that there really is a specially close

relationship between the Prophecies and the Omens.

The Akkadian Prophecies and Historical Omens

There are some astrological, extispicy, and teratological omens with

apodoses which, like the Prophecies, refer to particular kings, their deeds

and their death, and do so in a way that usually labels them as good or

bad. However, unlike the Prophecies, the rulers are named and the verbs

are preterites. There is no similarity between the wording of these

omens and the Prophecies but they do provide another example of the

meeting of the historical and omen traditons. It is worth considering

whether the historical material they contain is reliable. The answer to

this question would not prove or disprove the genuiness of the apparent

historical allusions in the Prophecy Texts, but it can reasonably be taken

as an indication of the probability of the reliability of this material.

In the earliest discussion of the historical omens King[56] was inclined

only to trust the information that they contain when it is confirmed by

other sources. Güterbock[57] seemed to share this view. Weidner[58],

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55.   O.R. Gurney, "The Sultantepe Tablets IV. The Cuthean Legend of
         Naram-Sin", Anat. Stud. 5 (1955), 106 l. 136.
56.   L.W. King, Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings, Vol. 2,
         London (1907), 87.
57.   H.G. Güterbock, "Die historische Traditon bei Babyloniern und
         Hethitern", ZA 42 (1934), 9f, 16f, 55ff.
58.   E.F. Weidner, "Historiches Material in der babylonischern Omen-
         Literature", MAOG 4 (1929), 226-240. On p226 he says, "Da an dem
         geschichtlichen Kern des dabei verwerteten Materials wohl kein
         Zweifel mehr sein kann".

however, took a more positive view of the omens that refer to historical

kings, as distinct from legendary ones. Following the discovery of more

Old Babylonian omen texts with some historical omens the matter was re-

appraised by Nougayrol[59] and Goetze[60]. Both concluded that, disregarding

legendary figures, the material is generally reliable. Some omens can be

traced, virtually unchanged, from Old Babylonian omen texts down to the

canonical series known from Aššurbanipal's library. In addition the Mari

livers record some events soon after they occurred. Therefore, Goetze

concluded[61], the reliability of the material in the historical omens

> "can no longer be questioned. There is every reason to
> assume that it goes back to good tradition that was first
> drawn up contemporaneously with the respective event. Hence
> the historian can safely utilize the omen texts as a
> historical source".

More recently, following a discussion of the literary sources that refer

to the Akkad Dynasty, Finkelstein[62] concluded that the testimony of the

omens is "much more reliable" than that of the other sources.

Glassner[63] has carried out a detailed study of the omen references to

Naram-Sin's capture of Apišal which raises some questions about the

degree of reliability of historical omens. He argues that since the

earliest form of the omen (Mari liver no. 3) simply says "Omen of Naram-

Sin who took Apišal", the mention of the city being taken by saps in some

Old Babylonian omens may be the result of combining this omen with one

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59. J. Nougayrol, "Note sur la place des 'presages historiques' dans
    l'extispicine Babylonienne", *EPHE Sect. Sci. Rel.*, *Annuaire* 1944/5,
    5-41. See p. 30, "Quand l'existence d'un personage est sûre il
    est plus prudent d'admettre que les actes qui lui sont prêtés ont
    bien chance d'être authentiques. A plus forte raison si d'autre
    rapports de même source peuvent être vérifiés grâce à des
    originaux".
60. A. Goetze, "Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts", *JCS*
    1 (1947), 253-265.
61. A. Goetze, *op. cit.* ref. 60, 256.
62. J.J. Finkelstein, "Mesopotamian Historiography", *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*
    107 (1963), 469.
63. J.J. Glassner, "Naram-Sîn poliocète. Les avatars d'un sentence
    divinatoire", *RA* 77 (1983), 3-10.

about the conquest of an unnamed city by this means, because of the word-play on sap (*pilšu*) and Apišal. He admits that this is an unprovable hypothesis, and does not discuss the possibility that the elaboration could be based on a reliable fuller account of the event.

The degree of importance of word-play in the relation of protasis to apodosis in omens is unclear. With regard to the series *Šumma Izbu* Leichty says[64], "In a very few cases, there appears to be a definite paranomastic relationship". On the other hand, regarding omens in general, Bottéro[65] seems to regard word-play as fairly common, quoting the following examples:

S'il pleut (*zunnu iznun*) le jour (de la fête) du dieu de la ville - ce dernier sera fache (*zêni*) contre elle

Si la Vésicule bilaire est en retrait (*naḥsat*) - c'est inquiétant (*naḥdat*)

Si la Vésicule bilaire est prise dans (*kussâ*) de la graisse - il fera froid (*kuṣṣu*)

Si la Diaphragme(?) est adhérent (*emid*) - appui (*imid*) divin

These examples are not quite the same as what Glassner suggests, since *they are between the two* parts of the omens and not within the apodosis itself. In fact Bottéro suggests a word-play between the word for perforations (*pilšu*) of the liver and that for saps (also *pilšu*) in one form of the omen about Naram-Sin. Even granted the importance of such word-play in omens, it is not necessarily the case that they led to the creation or elaboration of historical omens. They may simply explain the attachment of a particular apodosis to a particular protasis. Thus it is arguable that the omen about Naram-Sin's capture of Apišal existed from early on in variant forms (probably at different cult centres[66]) and that

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64. E. Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu*, Locust Valley, N.Y. (1970), 6.
65. J. Bottéro, "Symptômes, signes, écritures", in J.P. Vernant *et. al.*, *Divination et Rationalité*, Paris (1974), 164f.
66. *Cf.* the suggestion made by Nougayrol, *op. cit.* ref. 59, 36f.

the saps are only mentioned in the extispicy omens involving liver perforations because of the word-play. Perhaps this common-place of siege warfare was not thought worth mentioning in the other omens in which this possibility was absent.

Another suggestion that Glassner makes is that omens about Naram-Sin capturing Magan and its king, and a certain TE.Enlil and his army are fictitious omens based on the omen about Apišal. However, it should be noted that the omen about Magan does not mention saps, as does the form of the Apišal omen on which it is supposed to be based, and the omen about TE.Enlil mentions defeat of his army by saps and no city is involved. Moreover, some vases are known which bear inscriptions saying that they are "booty from Magan" taken by Naram-Sin[67]. There seems to be no reason to doubt the historicity of this campaign. Also, as Glassner notes, TE.Enlil may be the Warad-Enlil, king of Umma, who, according to other sources, was conquered by Naram-Sin. Glassner's suggestion that historical omens were freely elaborated upon, and even sometimes invented, is worth further study, but the evidence that he produces is not convincing.

The value of historical omens has also been questioned by Starr[68]. He points out that Reiner[69] has emphasized the anecdotal and bizarre nature of many of the episodes recorded in the omens. However, what Reiner questions in her paper is the historical significance of such omens, not their authenticity. In any case the bizarre nature of the events is not

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67. G. Barton, The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer & Akkad, New Haven, Conn. (1929), 138 no. 3.
   A. Ungnad, "Der Akkader Narâm-Sin und der Ägypter Mari", AfO, 14(1941/44), 199-201.
   R. Merhav, Treasures of the Bible Lands, Tel Aviv (1987), no. 18 provides a photograph of one of these vases, inscribed "Naram-Sin, king of the four quaters, a vase [from] the booty of Magan".
68. I. Starr, "Notes on Some Published and Unpublished Historical Omens", JCS 29(1977), 157-166.
69. E. Reiner, "New Light on Some Historical Omens", in Anatolian Studies Presented to H.G. Güterbock, Istanbul (1974), 257-261.

adequate reason for questioning their authenticity. It is to be expected that such events would be considered particularly ominous and so of interest to diviners. When a king died a normal death this was unlikely to excite their interest. However, when one died because an earth wall fell on him, or he choked on hot porridge[70], it would not be suprising if the diviners thought that such unusual events must have been foreshadowed in some preceding ominous configuration, which perhaps initially was seen simply as unpropitious for the king or country. Similarly, it is in general only the particularly successful (e.g. Sargon of Agade) or calamitous (e.g. Ibbi-Sin) kings who get mentioned in general omens of the type, "Omen of X who subdued the world/suffered disaster".

Starr's second argument rests on his restoration of the text of an omen about Amar-Su'ena in a previously unpublished text, Rm 2, 553. He reads this as having two variant apodoses. The first, as restored by him, is:

> ša ina ni-kip G[U₄ (?) ÚŠ (?)]

"who died(?) from the goring of an ox(?)". The second is also known from an Old Babylonian omen, "He died from the bite of a shoe". Starr comments that both traditions about Amar-Su'ena's death cannot be true. The point is valid, assuming the restoration of the text is correct, but is hardly serves to discredit all other historical omens. In any case an alternative restoration of the text has been suggested which removes the difficulty, "To whom goring [by an ox happened] yet he died of the bite of a shoe"[71].

In another paper[72] Starr expresses the view that the omen writers were primarily concerned with whether an apodosis was favourable or

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70. E. Reiner, *op. cit.* ref. 69, quotes these examples.
71. *CAD* Vol. 11(2) (N part 2), 231, *nikpu* A suggests the restoration: ni-kip G[UD GAR] on the basis of *YOS* 10, 25:32, *amūt Amar-sin* [ ]-pi-im iš-ša-ak-nu-šum ina nišik šēnim imūtu.
72. I. Starr, "The Place of the Historical Omens in the System of Apodoses", *BO* 43(1986), 628-642.

unfavourable, not with its historicity. Hence they used "folkloristic" material about kings as well as historical material. However, it seems to us that an interest in the favourable or unfavourable nature of the apodosis would not necessarily lead to a disregard of its historicity. The only "folkloristic" material about historical kings he cites is the omen about Amar-Su'ena.

Starr[73] has drawn attention to two texts which throw light on how historical omens originated, at least in the reign of Aššurbanipal. Rm. 2, 455 is a letter addressed to the king. It contains historical omens concerning his war against Šamaš-šum-ukin and his ally Tammaritu II of Elam. The writer says,

> "These are the omens of the king, my lord. [Whatever is]
> acceptable to the king, my lord, we will place in the series
> [...]".

The other text, Rm 2, 134, is a collection of extispicy omens, some of which are similar to, or have duplicates in, the known standard omen collections. However, it also contains two omens concerning Aššurbanipal's wars against Elam. These two omens, Starr argues, show that the statement of the writer of Rm 2, 455 that the scholars were ready to add omens derived from current events to a standard series was no idle talk. However, it must be noted that the text itself is not known to fit part of a canonical series. Here, though, is evidence that supports Goetze's conclusion that most historical omens were formulated more or less contemporaneously with the events referred to. What is rather odd, especially in the light of these new texts, is that apart from the omens they contain there are none that refer to kings later than Nebuchadnezzar I. Only time will show whether omens about kings of the 1st. millenium B.C. remain to be found, or whether most scholars were less ready than

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73.   I. Starr, "Historical Omens Concerning Ashurbanipal's War Against Elam", *AfO* 32 (1985), 60-67

those of Aššurbanipal's time to add new historical omens to the existing corpus. It may be that the new omens of the 1st. millenium were kept on perishable materials, such as wax-coated boards, and were only rarely added to omens from standard series on clay tablets[74].

Finally, with regard to the reliability of historical omens, it is worth noting the point that whilst some refer to things that cannot at the moment be substantiated, none have been proved purely fictitious.

As we have said above, the existence of genuine historical material in these omens does not guarantee its existence in the Prophecy Texts. However, it does show that the omen writing tradition was not inimical to the use or preservation of genuine historical traditions, and indeed actively made use of them. In that the authors of the Prophecies seem to have belonged to that omen writing tradition, even if they developed it in an unusual way, it would not be suprising if they made use of historical material in their literary creations.

Conclusions

Our survey has shown that the Prophecies have their closest literary affinities with the Omens, with some atypical Chronicles and, in the case of the Prophetic Speeches, the narû-literature. They are not the only example of omen-chronicle hybrids. Grayson[75] has discussed the similarities between omens and the Chronicle of Early Kings (CEK) and the Religious Chronicle. Since King[76] published the CEK it has been known that nearly all the information in it about Sargon and Naram-Sin is found

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74. Waxed writing boards containing the canonical series *Enūma Eliš* and dating from 707/5 B.C. have been found at Nimrud. See D.J. Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing Boards", *Iraq* 17 (1955), 3-13.
75. A.K. Grayson, "Divination and the Babylonian Chronicles", in *La Divination en Mésopotamie ancienne*, (14ᵐᵉ Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale), Paris (1966), 69-76.
76. L.W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, Vols. 1&2, London (1907).

in omen apodoses. He and Güterbock[77] thought that the omens were based

on the CEK, since they had only late versions of the omens. Grayson

argues convincingly that the omens preceded the CEK on the grounds that:

(1) The omens are at least as early as the Old Babylonian period.
(2) Their information is more detailed than that in the CEK.
(3) The phrase *ina palê Ištar* which appears in the CEK is typical of
omens but not of Chronicles.
(4) It is unlikely that the compiler of the omen collections would invent
protases to match information taken from the CEK.

Grayson notes that four lines in the CEK have no close parallels in omens

about Sargon and Naram-Sin. Reiner[78] has since published an omen that

parallels one of these lines. The CEK ends with the reign of Agum III

(*ca.* 1450 B.C.) and so comes from sometime after this. The three lines

for which no omen parallels are yet known are duplicated in the Weidner

Chronicle, which Grayson dates to the early Isin II period[79], and he

assumes that they were copied from this source. If so, the CEK would

clearly have to be of a later date.

The Religious Chronicle, like the others that bear some similarity to the

Prophecies, is not a typical Chronicle. Its primary interests are

interruptions in the *Akitu* Festival and bizarre phenomena. Political

events are mentioned only as a background to the reasons for the

interruptions in the Festival, and on only three occasions. It differs

from the CEK in that its affinities are with omen protases, not apodoses.

The unusual phenomena are of the sort that diviners took as ominous.

However, whereas much of the material in the CEK has exact duplicates in

the Omens, this has so far not been shown to be the case with the

Religious Chronicle. The author seems to have imitated the omen protases

rather than having actually copied them. He may have drawn on the same

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77. H.G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition bei Babyloniern und
       Hethitern", *ZA* 42 (1934), 1-91, esp. p. 17.
78. E. Reiner, "New Light on Some Historical Omens", in *Anatolian
       Studies Presented to H.G. Güterbock*, Istanbul (1974), 257-261.
79. A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Locust Valley, N.Y.
       (1975), 278f.

kind of running account of events that the diviners used. According to the kings mentioned, the Religious Chronicle covers the period from 1032 - 942 B.C.. It may have been written at the end of this period, or much later using early sources. The extant tablet is Neo-Babylonian[80]. The Prophetic Speeches can now be seen not to be isolated compositions that appear from nowhere, but to fit into a literary milieu. They are pre-dated by the omen literature (abundant in Old Babylonian times) and the historical traditions, whatever form they took (Grayson[80] argues that these were established at least as early as the beginning of the 12th. century B.C.). In the period around 1100 B.C. we see the appearance of a propagandist Chronicle (the Weidner Chronicle, see the discussion under the Marduk Prophecy[81]), two propagandist documents which combine the Chronicle and narû forms with content similar to omen apodoses (the Prophetic Speeches), and a Chronicle which uses as part of its source material the apodoses of historical omens (the CEK). Clearly the boundaries between different literary traditions were not rigid at that period. The religious upheaval that prompted the propaganda material may have encouraged the creative use of existing traditions to produce new forms, such as the Prophetic Speeches.

As far as the Prophetic Surveys and Text B are concerned, a typological sequence can be discerned. As we pointed out when discussing Text B[82], the omen collections contain some unusually long apodoses which are rather like portions of Text B. These are almost certainly the result of variant apodoses of the same protasis (perhaps arising from the traditions of different sanctuaries) being combined. Sometimes variants are marked by some such sign as *KI.MIN*, *šumma*, or two oblique strokes.

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80. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* ref. 79, 29f, 38, 60-62.
81. See p. 13.
82. See pp. 58f.

However, this is not always the case. The omen in *Šumma Izbu* 14.37 has the apodosis[83]:

> "The king will die, and his palace will be scattered; the crown prince will sieze the throne of his father; fall of my vanguard by force; (the enemy) will take a well-known fortress of yours; the enemy will enjoy the harvest of your land".

Here, despite the absence of the usual markers, the composite nature of the apodosis is clear from the changes in the pronouns. Even this indication is absent in *Šumma Izbu* 9.20[84]:

> "The prince will become overpowering; the prince will have help and overthrow the land of his enemy; the king will prevail over his enemy".

Each element in this apodosis occurs elsewhere in the series as an independent apodosis (in order: 9.38', 9.28', 11.20). It is reasonable to conclude that as the omens came to be collected into the series the combining of variant traditions led to the formation of some unusually long apodoses.

Nougayrol[85] noted that some of the historical omens have abnormally long and detailed apodoses. These, he argued, are elaborations of original brief omens which the compiler has expanded with material drawn from the historical traditions available to him. He pointed out that these more detailed apodoses begin with the phrase, "This is the omen of X, who under this sign ... ". This, he thought, indicated that they are not normal omens but had a didactic purpose. Most of them occur in one source - K 2130 and its duplicates - which Nougayrol[86] regarded as "sans doute des documents divinatoires authentiques, regroupés et rebrodés par un historien". These differ from the other long apodoses in that they

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83.   E. Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu,* Locust Valley, N.Y. (1970), 155.
84.   E. Leichty, *op. cit.* ref. 83, 116.
85.   J. Nougayrol, "Note sur la place des 'presages historique' dans l'extispicine Babylonienne", *EPHE Sect. Sci. Rel.,* Annuaire 1944/5, 5-41, esp. 33f.
86.   J. Nougayrol, *op. cit.* ref. 85, 34.

refer to specific historical rulers, and are in the past tense. As we suggested when discussing it, LBAT 1543 may be a development from historical omens that refer to kings' deaths, changing the historical reference for prediction.

Text B looks like a composition based on the long apodoses of the non-historical type. As we have seen, it could have been composed at any time from the Old Babylonian period onwards. It is tempting to suggest that the type of literature it represents predates the Prophetic Speeches, and that, with the longer historical apodoses, it influenced their form.

Text A is probably the earliest of the Prophetic Surveys, and it is the one that is closest to Text B in its phraseology. It seems probable that the Surveys are a development from Text B type literature which uses omen apodosis type phraseology to describe actual events and organizes the material in chronicle-like form. Omens like those in LBAT 1543 may have helped this development. The influence of omen phraseology is much less in the two later Surveys. This may not be significant, but could indicate a growing separation of the two literary traditions.

We have argued that the Uruk and Dynastic Prophecies are propaganda documents intended to support particular rulers. Text A probably has the same purpose. It is unclear what the purpose of Text B is, and whether or not the author meant it to be a genuine prediction.

The suggested typological sequence can be set out as below.

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                                            Prophetic Speeches
                                         ↗
Composite apodoses →→→→→→→ Text B →→→→→→→
                                         ↘
Expanded historical apodoses →→→ LBAT 1543 →→→ Text A →→→ Other Surveys
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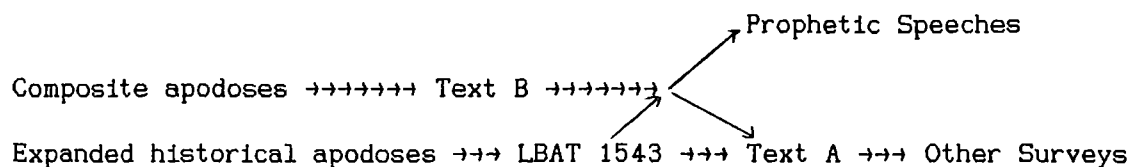
Ringgren[87] points out that in style Text B and LBAT 1543 stand between

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87.   H.H. Ringgren, "Akkadian Apocalypses", in D. Hellholm (Ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, Tübingen (1983), 385.

the Omens and the Prophecies. What he says about this applies to our

more detailed schema,

>"It can hardly be proved that this reflects the actual
>development of the prophecy genre out of the omen texts. But
>the possibility of such a development cannot be ruled out".

Chapter I: *DANIEL* IN A MESOPOTAMIAN CONTEXT

Part 3: Akkadian Prophecies, Apocalyptic, and *Daniel*

Prophecies or Apocalypses?

Since the publication of the earliest known of what we have called

Prophetic Surveys, Text A, by Ebeling[1] in 1926, these texts have been

designated "prophecies". The Marduk Prophecy was first classified as

narû-literature by Güterbock[2]. Grayson and Lambert[3] pointed out its

similarity to the "prophecies", and when Borger[4] pieced together and

published the Marduk and Šulgi texts he designated them as "prophecies".

Hallo[5] has questioned this widely accepted designation. Referring to the

texts published by Grayson and Lambert[3] he said[6],

> "..it is unwarranted to speak of the Akkadian texts as
> prophecies if by this term it is intended to suggest an
> analogy to the biblical texts of the same designation"

Basing himself on a list of characteristics of apocalyptic (as distinct

from prophecy) drawn up by R.H. Charles in 1899, Hallo argued for the

following resemblances between the Akkadian texts and Jewish apocalyptic

works:

(1) In eschatology. Text A, he argued, espouses a cyclical view of
history which may very well have *culminated* in a final, catastrophic time
of troubles leading into a final and permanent *Heilszeit* under the aegis
of a saviour-king.

(2) The use of the idiom of omen apodoses reflects the texts' concern
with establishing themselves as a particularly infallible example of
prediction.

(3) The texts have a wide temporal and geographical coverage.

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1. E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, Vol. 2,
   Leipzig (1926), no. 421.
2. H.G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literische
   Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200", *ZA* 42 (1934),
   79-84.
3. A.K. Grayson & W.G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies", *JCS* 18 (1964),
   7-30.
4. R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten", *BO*
   25 (1971), 3-24.
5. W.W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses", *IEJ* 16 (1966), 231-242.
6. W.W. Hallo, *op. cit.* ref. 5, 240.

(4) The use of anonymity/pseudonymity.

(5) In the texts history appears cyclical, but unfortunately too little of them is preserved for the overall philosophy of history to be discerned (*e.g.* whether or not it is deterministic, as in Jewish apocalyptic).

Although a few biblical scholars[7] seem to accept Hallo's designation of the texts (without discussion), assyriologists have generally not been happy with it. Kaufman[8] has provided one of the more detailed discussions of the issue. He argues that the over-riding pre-occupation of apocalyptic writers, eschatology, is totally absent from the Akkadian texts. Hallo could only surmise its presence by speculating about the missing end of Text A. In fact, Kaufman points out, the Uruk Prophecy does not fit the pattern proposed by Hallo (it was unknown to him). Here there is no end to history but an indefinite continuation of the *status quo.* It can be added that the same lack of eschatology is found in the Dynastic Prophecy, which was unknown by Kaufman. This absence of eschatology in the Akkadian texts has also been urged as a reason why they should not be considered "apocalypses" by Lambert[9], Borger[10], and Grayson[11]. Kaufman also argues that the appearance of good and bad periods in the Akkadian texts simply reflects the common human experience of history and is not really comparable to the ethical dualism of Jewish apocalyptic. Here it is worth re-iterating the point we have made previously[12], that only in Text B is there a regular alternation of good

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7.   For example:
     R.J. Bauckham, "The Rise of Apocalyptic", *Themelios,* 3(1978), 13f.
     G.I. Davies, "Apocalyptic and Historiography", *JSOT* 5(1978), 15-28, esp. note 23.
     P.R. Davies, *Daniel (O.T. Guides),* Sheffield (1985), 72.
8.   S.A. Kaufman, "Prediction, Prophecy and Apocalypse in the Light of New Akkadian Texts", in A. Shinan (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies,* Vol. 1, Jerusalem (1977), 221—228.
9.   W.G. Lambert, "History and the Gods: A Review Article", *Or. (NS)* 39(1970), 170-177.
10. R. Borger, *op. cit.* ref. 4, 24.
11. A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts,* Toronto (1975), 22 note 35.
12. See p. 64.

and bad periods. Kaufman admits that there are certain features which the apocalypses and the Akkadian texts have in common: pseudonymity, *vaticinium ex eventu*, a propagandist purpose. These he regards as secondary features since they are not found in all apocalypses, and are not confined to them. Other secondary features such as messianic figures, astrological concerns and numerology occur in the Akkadian texts in a way that is quite different from that in which they occur in apocalypses. Angelology and animal symbolism, which are quite common in apocalypses are totally absent from the Akkadian texts. Kaufman concludes that the real similarity between the two types of literature is that both are the work of writers who are vitally concerned with the relevance of their traditional predictive literature (Hebrew prophecy/Mesopotamian omens) for the religious and political needs of their own time and place. It is a matter of coincidence, and hardly suprising, that they chose to use some of the same literary techniques in this process of "making relevant".

Ringgren[13] comes to a rather similar conclusion when he says that the Akkadian texts are not examples of apocalypticism nor a preliminary stage of it, but[14],

> ".. it would seem more probable that we have rather to do with parallel phenomena, examples of similar reactions to similar conditions couched in the language and style of the respective milieu."

Heintz[15] also concludes that the Akkadian texts are not truly apocalyptic, although he sees apocalyptic features in them: alternations of good and bad periods, the anonymity of the rulers, the mythological framework.

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13 H.H. Ringgren, "Akkadian Apocalypses", in D. Hellholm (Ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, Tübingen (1983), 379-386.
14. H.H. Ringgren, *op. cit.* ref. 13, 386.
15. J.G. Heintz, "Note sur les origines de l'apocalyptique Judaïque à la lumière des 'Prophéties Akkadiennes'", in F. Raphael *et. al.* (Eds.), *L'Apocalyptique*, Paris (1977), 71-87.

This survey shows that amongst the scholars who have given the matter some consideration there is a consensus against acceptance of Hallo's classing of the Akkadian texts with apocalypses[16]. However, the discussion is overshadowed by a lack of any clear definition of the genre "apocalypse" and a related loose use of the terms "apocalyptic", "apocalypse" and "apocalypticism". Thus most of the characteristics which Hallo appeals to (following Charles) are theological, only one being strictly literary (pseudonymity). Heintz[17] stresses the sociological *milieu* in which it arose as an important feature of apocalyptic literature. Kaufman's primary characteristics are both theological, and his secondary characteristics are a mixture of theological, literary, and sociological features. This reflects the fact that until recently biblical scholars have generally given vague and impressionistic definitions of "apocalyptic" without clearly distinguishing between the literary genre and the theological movement which gave rise to it[18]. Thus Funk[19], commenting on a symposium on apocalypticism, said that it showed,

> ".. the chaotic state of historical and theological scholarship where apocalypticism is concerned. Premises are rarely shared; definitions often diverge; significance is variously assessed".

Much more recently Glasson[20] has expressed the view that the term

16. T. Longman, *Fictional Akkadian Royal Autobiography*, Ph.D. diss., Yale (1983), 379-392, is an exception. He accepts Hallo's designation of these texts. We will discuss his views later. Investigation of the references cited by him shows that his claim that Hallo's position has gained increasing acceptance rests only on an increasing awareness of the Akkadian Prophecies by scholars and their acceptance that they need to be taken into account when discussing apocalyptic texts, especially *Daniel*.
17. J.G. Heintz, *op. cit.* ref. 15, 83f.
18. See for example the definitions by listing heterogeneous characteristics in:
    H.H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, rev. ed., London (1963).
    D.S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London (1964).
19. R.W. Funk (Ed.), *Apocalypticism*, N.Y. (1969), Preface.
20. T.F. Glasson, "What is Apocalyptic?", *NTS* 27 (1980), 98-105.

"apocalyptic" should be dropped because "the current use of the noun Apocalyptic is so vague and confusing".

Faced with this situation various scholars have tried to define terms more carefully. Koch[21] has drawn attention to the "cloudiness" of the definition of apocalyptic and insisted that a distinction must be made between the literary genre "apocalypse" and the historical "apocalyptic" movement which was its *Sitz im Leben.* He also proposed the principle that a clear definition of the former must be arrived at before attempting to understand the latter. He listed what he saw as key characteristics of the apocalypses:

Discourse cycles (centred on a vision or audition).
Description of the seer's spiritual turmoils.
Paraenetic discourses.
Pseudonymity.
Use of symbolic (often mythical) imagery.
Composite character.

Koch's approach has been refined in two different directions. Hanson[22] has argued that a distinction needs to be made between apocalypse (the literary genre), apocalyptic eschatology (a religious perspective) and apocalypticism (a religio-social movement). A seminar of the *Society of Biblical Literature* was set up to produce a definition of the literary genre "apocalypse". It has formulated the following definition[23]:

'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a
narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an
otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a
transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it
envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it
involves another, supernatural world.

It is noteworthy that the seminar concluded that an adequate definition (based on a survey of works normally classed as apocalyptic from the

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21. K. Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic,* London (1972), 18-35.
22. P.D. Hanson, "Apocalypticism", *IDB Suppl.*, Nashville (1976).
   The Dawn of Apocalyptic, 2nd. ed., Philadelphia (1979), Appendix.
23. J.J. Collins (Ed.), *Apocalypse: Morphology of a Genre, Semeia 14,*
   Missoula, Mont. (1977).

period 250 B.C. - A.D. 250) had to include both form and content. This definition covers only the constant core characteristics of apocalypses, which often include other literary elements, such as prayers or paranaesis.

Longman[24] crticizes the *SBL* Seminar's definition of "apocalypse" on three grounds. The first is that it separates apocalyptic literature from apocalyptic as a social movement. We think that the Seminar was right not to make the social *milieu* of the writings part of the definition of "apocalypse". To a considerable extent what can be known about apocalyptic as a social movement can only be deduced from the apocalypses. Therefore, to include this in the definition is to enter a "hermeneutic circle" which could become a vicious one unless there is some firm starting ground. This ground is to be found by beginning with a literary analysis of the texts themselves in order to achieve a fairly objective definition of "apocalypse".

The second criticism is that the definition rests heavily on the idea of apocalypse as a mediated revelation. Yet, says Longman, the Seminar does not accept either *Gen. 18* or *Zech. 1-8* as apocalyptic texts. Here he is being unfair. The definition makes mediation of the revelation a necessary, but not sufficient, element in an apocalypse. Another necessary element is the idea of eschatological salvation, especially in terms of a personal after-life. This is not present in either *Gen. 18* or *Zech. 1-8*.

Finally, Longman complains that the definition excludes *Isa. 24-27*, which many do accept as an apocalypse. It is, of course, the purpose of definitions to exclude some disputed cases, and *Isa. 24-27* is such a case. This is the inevitable result of clarifying a fuzzy definition. One can

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24. T. Longman, *op. cit.* ref. 16, 385-387.

only really complain if the definition becomes so narrow that it excludes what were previously undisputed examples of apocalypses. This is not the case with the Seminar's definition.

Longman[25] himself regards apocalyptic as a particular type of prophecy and not as a clearly defined, separate, phenomenon. How then is it to be defined? He sees it as a heightening and clustering of traits which also occur in other types of prophecy. The traits he lists are: eschatology "in the narrow sense", pseudonymity, mediated revelation, symbolism, esoterism, deterministic view of history, *vaticinium ex eventu*, dualism, a social setting as the literature of an oppressed group, a wide span of history. He sees prophecy and apocalyptic as merging into one another along a continuum. Texts are placed along this continuum according to how many of the listed features they display.

According to Longman the Akkadian Prophecies show the following apocalyptic features: pseudonymity, esoterism, a deterministic view of history, *vaticinium ex eventu*, ethical and temporal dualism, a social setting as protest literature, a wide span of history. They do not have an eschatological outlook, use symbolism, or present mediated revelation. On this basis he thinks that they qualify to be classed as apocalypses, but are less apocalyptic than *Daniel*

This is really a restatement of Hallo's argument, with a little refinement (the claim that Text A is eschatological is dropped). It suffers from several weaknesses:

(1) Not all the Akkadian Prophecies have all the traits Longman attributes to them, *e.g.* only the Prophetic Speeches are clearly pseudonymous; we think that the Marduk and Uruk Prophecies are better classed as political propaganda than protest literature.

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25. T. Longman, *op. cit.* ref. 16, 387–392.

(2) Longman seems to treat all traits as equally important. However, we think that the *SBL* Seminar was right to highlight some as more important than others because they are much more frequent in apocalypses, especially mediated revelation and eschatology - both notably absent from the Akkadian Prophecies.

(3) The validity of the apocalyptic character of some of the traits Longman attributes to the Akkadian Prophecies is questionable. In particular the "ethical dualism" amounts to no more than the implied characterisation of reigns as good or bad. This is no different from what is found in the biblical books of *Kings & Chronicles*. In apocalypses proper there is a sense of the struggle of good and evil and an explicit or clearly implied exhortation to join this struggle on the side of good.

(4) Literary genres do not spring out of nowhere with no links with existing genres. As a result one can sometimes recognize intermediate forms with traits from two or more genres. Hence there is some truth in Longman's prophecy-apocalyptic continuum. However, we think that it is still useful to have clear definitions and terminology which recognizes the "pure" forms and labels intermediary forms as such. Hence we agree with Thomas[26], for example, that it is more useful (as an aid to understanding texts) to label *Zech. 1-8* as "late prophetic" and *Isa. 24-27* as "proto-apocalyptic" than to lump them together with, say, *1 Enoch*, as "apocalyptic". It is notable that Longman himself says that although the Akkadian Prophecies can be called "apocalyptic", one must remember that they lack several of the traits usually found in biblical apocalyptic.

(5) Longman adds as one reason for calling the Akkadian Prophecies "apocalypses" the need to distinguish them from other types of Akkadian predictive literature: omens, Mari prophecy, and neo-Assyrian oracles. We

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26.   J.D. Thomas, "Jewish Apocalyptic and the Comparative Method", in C.D.
         Evans *et. al.* (Eds.), *Scripture in Context*, Pittsburgh (1980), 245-
         262, esp. 256f.

think that it is counter-productive to broaden the scope of apocalyptic (so blurring other distinctions) in order to achieve this. It is, in any case, unnecessary. The term "omen" is quite clear and workable as a label for that aspect of Akkadian divination. The term "oracle" (referring to what was primarily a verbal form of prophecy) is quite suitable and adequate for the form of prediction attested at Mari and in the neo-Assyrian period.

We propose to use the *SBL* Seminar's definition of the literary form "apocalypse" as the one that has the best claim to be used when classifying texts. It has the great merit of being based on a study of a large number of texts which are generally agreed to belong to that genre, and to rely on features of the texts themselves, not on their supposed *Sitz im Leben*.

This definition does bear considerable similarity to Koch's. Koch's elements "discourse cycle" plus "the seer's spiritual turmoils" more or less correspond to what the Seminar means by "a narrative framework in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient". This is not found in the Akkadian texts, in which there is nothing approaching a dialogue between a human seer and a heavenly mediator. Of the other elements listed by Koch, paranaesis and symbolic imagery are absent. The Marduk and Šulgi texts are pseudonymous and can probably be described as composite forms in that they combine omen apodoses with the *narû* form. As we have seen there is no real element of eschatological salvation in the Akkadian texts. The Seminar regards this as fundamental to apocalypses. This is especially so because[27],

> ".. personal afterlife is the most consistent aspect of the eschatology of the apocalypses, and it ensures the definitive and transcendent character of that eschatology".

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27. J.J. Collins, *op. cit.* ref. 23, 9.

In fact in only two apocalypses is there no explicit reference to a personal afterlife (*Apocalypse of Weeks* and *Testament of Levi chs. 2-5*) and in both cases it is explicit in the surrounding context. The other aspect of transcendence mentioned in the definition, the existence of another, supernatural world, is of course there in the Marduk and Šulgi texts since they are the words of gods. It may possibly be present in the introductions to the others.

We conclude from this survey and discussion that the category "apocalypse" is not an appropriate one under which to classify the Akkadian texts. Since they do purport to predict the course of future events it seems reasonable to call them "prophecies". The term is used for a variety of oracular phenomena in the ancient Near East and does not necessarily imply biblical prophecy, from which, as Hallo pointed out, these texts do differ considerably.

The Akkadian Prophecies and Jewish Apocalyptic

A few of the scholars who refuse to class the Akkadian Prophecies as apocalypses nevertheless suggest that they do represent a stage in the development of apocalyptic literature because of the similarities that exist between them and apocalypses proper.

Grayson[28] says,

> "It is only in the Dynastic Prophecy that there appears to be
> real prophecy at the end of a series of vaticinia ex eventu.
> A real attempt to predict, preceded by pseudo-predictions, is
> one of the salient features of apocalyptic. It would appear,
> therefore, that the Dynastic Prophecy reflects an important
> stage in the development of apocalyptic literature in the
> ancient Near East".

Two points need to be made about this comment. The first is that Grayson's view rests on his interpretation of the end of the Dynastic

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28. A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto (1975),
     21f.

Prophecy as a genuine prophecy of Alexander's defeat. We have argued that this is not the case. None of the Akkadian Prophecies whose endings have survived have anything approaching the kind of eschatological ending that is found in the historical surveys in the apocalypses. The second point is that whilst such historical surveys are fairly common in apocalypses, they are by no means an essential or defining characteristic of the genre[29].

According to Heintz[30] the Akkadian texts may have influenced Jewish apocalypses in an indirect way. He argues that they represent a development in Mesopotamia that in some way parallels the development of the apocalypses. In his view the Akkadian texts (representing a "deductive" form of prediction of historical events) stand over against the oracular prophecy attested at Mari (intuitive, direct and spontaneous revelations expressed in clear language and addressed to the present) in much the same way as Jewish apocalypses do to biblical prophecy. Moreover, he sees the Marduk Prophecy as coming out of a socio-historical setting (defeat of Babylon, loss of the chief cult object) similar to that of the Jews after the fall of Jerusalem and destruction of the Temple. Heintz believes that Jewish apocalyptic owed something to Mesopotamian wisdom, including mantic wisdom, and that the Akkadian Prophecies were a small but significant part of this wisdom. The parallels drawn by Heintz between the Akkadian Prophecies and Jewish apocalypses are not very convincing. The apocalypses contain many allusions to, and reworkings of, passages in the *Old Testament* prophetic books[31]. So far at least, there is nothing in the Akkadian Prophecies to suggest any link with

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29. J.J. Collins, *op. cit.* ref. 23, 14f.
30. J.G. Heintz, "Note sur les origines de l'apocalyptique Judaïque à la lumière des 'Prophéties Akkadiennes'", in F. Raphael *et. al.* (Eds.), *L'Apocalyptique*, Paris (1977), 71-87.
31. The prophetic roots of apocalyptic are well presented in the works listed in ref. 18.

Mesopotamian oracular prophecy. Also, the point about the *Sitz im Leben*
of the Marduk Prophecy cannot be generalized to cover the origin of the
other texts. Heintz' views about the influence of wisdom traditions on
apocalyptic rest on the work of von Rad[32] and Müller[33], and we must now
consider their arguments.

Von Rad broke with the general consensus[34] "that apocalyptic is the child
of prophecy, yet diverse from prophecy" because of what he regarded as
the incompatibility between prophecy and apocalyptic in their views of
history. Here he made two main points:

(1) The prophetic message is rooted in salvation-history and Israel's
election traditions. The apocalyptists do not rely on, or make use of,
these traditions.

(2) For the prophets history is not determined. The people can respond
and Yahweh can "repent". The apocalyptists see history as predetermined.

Von Rad therefore argued that the real matrix from which apocalyptic
arose was wisdom. The line of continuity is found in the fact that it
was part of wisdom to know about the time for everything - including the
end, and also in wisdom's link with prediction through divination.
Moreover, the apocalyptists call themselves scribes and pursued a literary
activity.

This thesis has found little support, at least in the extreme form
propounded by von Rad. A number of telling criticisms can be made of it:

(1) Russell[35] argues that the apocalyptic view of history was a
development of the prophetic view. Both rest on the twin premises of the
unity of God and his sovereign purpose for history. The prophets spoke

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32.   G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. 2, Edinburgh & London
         (1965), 301-308, and *Wisdom in Israel*, London (1972), 263-282.
33.   H.-P. Müller, "Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik", *SVT* 22 (1972),
         268-293.
34.   H.H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, rev. ed., London (1963),
         15.
35.   D.S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London
         (1974), 217ff.

of this in terms of a limited series of events and a restricted group of nations. The apocalyptists simply expanded the view to cover the whole of history and the whole created order. In both the prophets and apocalypses there is a tension between belief in Yahweh's sovereign control and human responsibility, which is not resolved. Von Osten-Sacken[36] has also traced the links between apocalyptic and prophecy with regard to determinism in history, in a direct rebuttal of von Rad.

(2) The suggested line of continuity between wisdom and apocalyptic is hypothetical and tenuous. No wisdom book down to *Ecclesiasticus* has any real eschatology[37], yet eschatology is central to apocalyptic.

(3) Wisdom is normally concerned with general problems which face mankind. Many of the apocalypses are clearly addressed to a particular historical crisis[38].

(4) Whilst apocalypses rarely explicitly mention Israel's election traditions, they clearly see Israel as being in a special relationship with God, and so at the centre of his purpose in history[39].

These points show that von Rad's thesis is too one-sided in claiming that the origins of apocalyptic are to be found in wisdom alone.

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36. P. von Osten-Sacken, *Die Apokalyptik in ihrem Verhältnis zu Prophetie und Weisheit*, Munchen (1969).

37. P. Vielhauer says, "..the fact that there is no eschatology and imminent expectation in the wisdom literature corresponding to the presence of wisdom-motifs in the Apocalypses forms an insurmountable objection to his thesis", in E. Hennecke & W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocalytic*, Vol. 2, London (1964), 598.

    J.J. Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age", *Hist.Rel* 17(1977/8), 121-142, shows that in its basic ideas the *Wisdom of Solomon* diverges considerably from apocalyptic. Where there is common ground it is due to their common environment in Hellenism.

38. N. Porteus, *Daniel*, rev. ed., London (1979), 17 & 183, seems to be making this point with regard to the difference between *Ecclesiasticus* and *Daniel*.

    W. Zimmerli. *Man and His Hope in the Old Testament*, London (1971), 140, stresses the difference between the wisdom literature's "consciousness of a coherent world of *maat*, of order", and "the apocalyptic writings taking their shape from the impending rupture of time".

39. D.S. Russell, *op. cit.* ref. 35, 297ff.

Müller[33] has accepted the general thrust of the criticisms of von Rad's thesis but argues that von Rad and his critics miss a vital point. This is the existence as separate entities of courtly, pedagogic wisdom and mantic wisdom. In fact, he points out, much of von Rad's discussion of wisdom related to mantic wisdom. In his view this kind of wisdom did have a major influence on apocalyptic, though not to the exclusion of other influences, particularly the Israelite prophetic traditions. He points out that in the *Old Testament* the designation "wise men" is applied to non-Jewish mantics on several occasions (*e.g. Gen. 41:8; Esther 1:3; Isa. 45:25; Jer. 50:35ff; Dan. 2:2, 48*). Although there is no evidence of such a class of mantic wise men in Israel itself, two godly Hebrews, Joseph and Daniel, do fulfill such a role at pagan courts. They are particularly gifted in interpreting symbolic dreams. Müller suggested that there are links between this form of manticism and some important characteristics of apocalyptic.

(1) Mantic dreams could be concerned with the destiny of the dreamer (*e.g. Gen. 40*). This might be linked with apocalyptic eschatology's concern with the destiny of history (*e.g. Dan. 2*).

(2) There is a determinism in mantic dreams. The outcome indicated cannot be escaped (*e.g. Gen. 37; Dan. 4*). This is in tune with apocalyptic determinism.

(3) Dream interpretation is regarded as a God-given gift (*e.g. Gen. 40:8; Dan. 1:17*). In apocalyptic the interpretations of visions are God-given, through angelic interpreters.

(4) Both mantic dreams (*e.g. Gen. 41*) and apocalyptic visions (*e.g. Dan. 7*) are characterized by symbolism, though that in the visions is more bizarre.

(5) Müller suggested that in Israel mantic wisdom was thought of as belonging to the "primitive" period (*e.g. Joseph, and then Daniel at the beginning of the Diaspora*), this might explain the use of pseudonymity in relating apocalyptic visions.

Some of these points are not very convincing. Müller himself is only tentative about (5). It is a purely speculative suggestion for which he can give no evidence. The proposed link in (1) is rather tenuous.

Regarding (2) it must be pointed out that in Mesopotamia there were prescribed rituals for warding off the evils foreshadowed in dreams[40], so that the dreams are not deterministic. This leaves only points (3) & (4) as having real substance.

Recognizing that in later Hebrew prophecy there is an increase in the visionary element and its symbolic content (e.g. Ezekiel, Zechariah), Müller suggests that this was due to a resurgence of mantic wisdom, which also influenced apocalyptic. This leads him to assume that this form of wisdom existed as an under-current in pre-exilic Israel, even though it lacked the prevalence it had in other nations.

Müller's thesis has had a more positive reception than von Rad's. Its influence seems to have been two-fold. Firstly, there has been a growing recognition of the importance and value of distinguishing between different aspects of the wisdom tradition and their associated institutions in the ancient Near East as possible sources of influence on the origin and development of apocalyptic[41]. It can be said in criticism of this that little attention seems to have been given to the question of how far the distinction between "mantic" and "pedagogic" wisdom is purely a modern, conceptual one, which would not have been recognized in the ancient Near East. However, the main point that is being made is that within the Mesopotamian scholarly tradition there was what is now called the "mantic" element and that it might have been this aspect of it which

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40. A.L. Oppenheim, "The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East", Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc. 46(1956), 179-373, esp. 261-307.
    R. Caplice, The Akkadian Namburbi Texts: An Introduction, SANE 1/1, Undena (1974).
41. See for example:
    J.J. Collins, "Court Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic", JBL 94(1975), 218-234.
    K. Koch, Das Buch Daniel, Darmstadt (1980), 170f.
    P.R. Davies, Daniel (O.T. Guides), Sheffield (1985), 71ff.
    J.C. VanderKam, Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition, CBQ Mon. Ser. 16, Washington D.C. (1984), 52-75.

influenced the apocalypticists.

Secondly, there has been increasing stress on the fact that in *Daniel* Daniel is depicted functioning as a mantic wise man rather than as a wisdom teacher of the kind who compiled and taught proverbial wisdom[42]. It is true that Daniel is not completely assimilated to the rôle of a Chaldean mantic. For one thing, he does not use their techniques for obtaining esoteric knowledge but simply depends, prayerfully, on illumination from the God of Israel. However, in ch. 1 he accepts the training of the Chaldeans, and in chs. 2, 4, 5 he functions as a mantic wise man in interpreting the king's symbolic dreams and reading the mysterious writing on the wall. In the person of Daniel we see how certain aspects of mantic wisdom could be compatible with Jewish piety, and be used in the service of a gentile king. This, as Collins argues, indicates the circles in which the stories of Daniel were composed and preserved. He says[43],

> "There is wide agreement among scholars that the tales
> originated in the Eastern Diaspora. While this thesis cannot
> be conclusively proved, it carries a strong weight of
> probability. There is no apparent reason why a Jew in
> Palestine should either compose or collect a set of tales all
> of which are set in Babylon, and whose hero functions as a
> chaldean wise man. Such tales would be much more clearly
> relevant to Jews in the Diaspora, especially to those who
> functioned or aspired to function in any capacity at a gentile
> court."

If we accept this conclusion concerning the *Sitz im Leben* of the stories of Daniel as reasonable it has obvious relevance to the question that concerns us, namely whether, and by what means, the Akkadian Prophecies might have influenced Jewish apocalyptic. We have seen[44] that the

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42. See for example:
    R.J. Bauckham, "The Rise of Apocalyptic", *Themelios* 3 (1978), 10-23.
    J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, *HSM 16*,
        Missoula, Mont. (1977), 54ff.
    P.A. Porter, *Metaphors and Monsters*, Toronto (1985), 15f.
43. J.J. Collins, *op. cit.* ref. 42, 55.
44. See pp. 68ff.

primary affinities of the Prophecies are with Babylonian omen literature.

This was the preserve of the mantics of various sorts. Jews who received

training in Chaldean learning, as Daniel did, might have become acquainted

with this offshoot of omen literature. It is these same Jews, according

to Müller, Collins, and others, who played a major part in the origin and

development of apocalyptic literature, beginning with the book of *Daniel*

This opens up a possible means by which the Akkadian Prophecies might

have influenced early Jewish apocalyptic literature.

Daniel and the Akkadian Prophecies

We must now turn to the question whether there is reason to suppose that

some literary relationship exists between the Akkadian Prophecies and the

historical surveys in the latter half of the book of *Daniel* The

similarity between the Prophecies and *Dan. 8:23-25; 11:3-45* has been

referred to by quite a number of scholars since it was first noted by

Zimmern[45]. Amongst them are Grayson and Lambert[46], Hallo[47], Borger[48]

and Heintz[49]. According to Lambert[50],

> "Ch. 11 of Daniel is very similar in style and content to a
> Babylonian genre which was still productive in Hellenistic
> times".

Grayson[51] says, "In style, form, and rationale there is a striking

resemblance" (*i.e.* between the Prophecies and *Dan. 8:23-25; 11:3-45*).

45. H. Zimmern & H. Winkler (Eds.), E. Schrader, *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd. ed., Berlin (1903), 392f.
46. A.K. Grayson & W.G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies", *JCS* 18 (1964), 7-30, esp. 10.
47. W.W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses", *IEJ* 16 (1966), 231-242, esp. 240f.
48. R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten", *BO* 25 (1971), 3-24, esp. 23.
49. J.G. Heintz, "Note sur les origines de l'apocalyptique Judaïque à la lumière des 'Prophéties Akkadiennes'", in F. Raphael *et. al* (Eds.), *Apocalyptique*, Paris (1977), 71-87, esp. 83.
50. W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London (1978), 15.
51. A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto (1975), 21.

Baldwin[52] provides a more detailed discussion of the affinities between

Daniel and the Akkadian Prophecies than do the other scholars mentioned.

She says that[53],

> ".. the rationale of Daniel is quite different from that of the
> Akkadian prophecy texts, though I agree fully with Professor
> Grayson's statement that in form and style there is a striking
> resemblance."

In her view the rationale of *Daniel* is different from that of the

Akkadian Prophecies because[54],

> "It represents a totally different world view, based on a
> totally different theology, which gives rise to an
> understanding of history unknown in Babylon."

In particular she cites the underlying deep ethical seriousness, and

expectation of a cataclysmic end to history as elements that distinguish

Daniel chs. 7-12 from the Prophecies. However, the differences "would not

rule out similarities of wording, figures of speech or literary form"[55].

In fact it is her conclusion that[56], "In style and form (*Daniel*) chapters

7-12 now prove to have Babylonian affinities".

What are these affinities? Baldwin does not really spell them out in any

more detailed way than do Grayson or Lambert. We shall try to specify

them more closely.

Verbal affinity. This is limited to the phrase, "(after him) a king shall

arise" as the introduction of a new section. Baldwin noted the occurrence

of this phrase in Text A and in *Dan. 8:23; 11:2.* In fact it occurs with

slight variations in all three Prophetic Surveys as the regular "section

divider", and is also found in the Prophetic Speeches. There is no

regular "section divider" phrase in *Dan. 11*, but the following phrases are

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52. J.G. Baldwin, "Some Literary Affinities of the Book of Daniel", *TB*
     30 (1979), 77-99.
53. J.G. Baldwin, *op. cit.* ref. 52, 96.
54. J.G. Baldwin, *op. cit.* ref. 52, 93.
55. J.G. Baldwin, *op. cit.* ref. 52, 85.
56. J.G. Baldwin, *op. cit.* ref. 52, 92.

similar to that in the Prophetic Surveys[57]:

11:2   Behold, three more kings shall arise ...
11:3   Then a mighty king shall arise ...
11:7   In those times a branch from her roots shall arise in his place..
11:20   Then shall arise in his place ...
11:21   In his place shall arise ...
12:1   At that time shall arise Michael, the great prince ...

Is this similarity between *Daniel* and the Prophecies significant?   An

initial point that needs consideration is that whereas the Prophecies use

the verb *elû* the passages in *Daniel* use *ʿamad* not *ʿalah*, the strict

cognate of the Akkadian verb.   This is probably to be put down to a

difference in idiom.   According to the standard lexica *ʿalah* is not used

in the *Old Testament* in the metaphorical sense, "to appear, come on the

scene".   However, *ʿamad* has this sense in the later parts of the *Old

Testament*.   Outside of *Daniel* this is so in: *Ezra 2:63 = Neh. 7:65; Ps.

106:30; Esther 4:14; Chron. 20:4*.   Also, since there is no Hebrew

preposition cognate to *arki*, it is possible that   (*ʿal) kannô* ("in his

place") corresponds to the *arkišu* ("after him") of the Uruk Prophecy.   The

natural Hebrew translation of *šarru* and *rubû* would be *melek*, since the

Hebrew cognates would not convey the right sense.   The idioms "in his

place shall arise ..." and "a king shall arise ..." do not occur in the *Old

Testament* outside of *Daniel*[58], so it is possible that they echo the

similar phraseology of the Akkadian Prophecies.

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57. *Dan. 11:4* is not included in this list because the sense of the verb
     ʿamad there is different from that in the verses cited.
58. The nearest parallels are *Num. 24:17 & Jer. 23:5*, but in both cases
     the verb is *qûm*. Regarding 11:7, note that the phraseology is
     different from the passages using the branch/shoot metaphor of the
     Messiah in *Isa. 11:1; Jer. 23:5; 30:9; 33:15f; Zech. 6:12*.
     It is worth noting that the only possible parallels in Egyptian
     prophetic literature seem to be:
     (1) *The Prophecy of Neferti*   Here the phrase "a king will come"
     probably refers to his coming from the South of Egypt to the North.
     The verb used (*ii*) is not a cognate of either *ʿlh* or *ʿmd*. See W.
     Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nefr.tj*, Weisbaden (1970), 49ff.
     (2)*The Potter's Oracle* refers to a ruler who will "come from the
     sun/east". The verb used is παραγινομαι, not ἀνιστημι which the *LXX*
     uses to translate *ʿmd* in *Dan. 11*.   See E. Lobe & C.H. Roberts (Eds.),
     The Oxyrhyncus Papyri XXII, London (1954), 89-99.

contd.

Stylistic affinity. Lambert[59] characterizes the style of *Dan. 11* and the Akkadian Prophecies as "concise annalistic history with names censored and the verbs in the future tense". This is a good summary of the main common features. These are also shared by *Dan. 8:23-25; 9:24-27.* There is nothing like these historical surveys elsewhere in the *Old Testament.* The nearest approach is found in *Ezek. 16, 20, 23,* but here the style is quite different, and history is presented in broad outline only. The (transparent) allegorical symbolism used by *Ezekiel* is quite different from the enigmatic phraseology of *Daniel* and the Akkadian texts. The latter usually use simply "a king/prince", but occasionally "the king of X". The realities of the political situation behind *Dan. 11* explain the frequent use of "the king of the north/south", but "a king" is used occasionally. Again, the absence of *Old Testament* precedents and the degree of similarity make it possible that the style of these prophetic historical surveys in *Daniel* is related to that of the Akkadian Prophecies.

Affinity of form. The passages in *Daniel,* taken in their context, lack any parallel with the Prophetic Speeches' pattern of *narû*-style introduction, historical retrospect, predictions. The form of the Prophetic Surveys (introduction plus predictions) is so simple that it is of no diagnostic value when looking for parallels patterned on it. Unfortunately in each case the nature of the introduction is unclear. The most significant point is that here we have prophecies or purported prophecies that take the form of concise surveys of a series of rulers' reigns. There is nothing like this elsewhere in the *Old Testament* or Babylonian prophetic literature, and so it is tempting to suggest that there might be some literary link between *Daniel* and the Akkadian Prophecies. The command to seal up the vision in *Dan. 8:26; 12:4* has a partial parallel in the

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59. W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic,* London (1978), 9.

colophon of the Dynastic Prophecy[60], though its wording echoes *Isa. 8:16*.

Conclusion. In the light of these points we think that the similarities between *Daniel* and the Akkadian Prophecies, plus the absence of any *Old Testament* precedents for these particular features, points to the probability of a literary relationship between them.

The means of influence. If we accept this probability we must return to the question of the means by which the Prophecies might have come to be known by a Jewish writer. The majority of modern scholars consider that the visions of *Dan. 7-12* were composed in Palestine at the time of the Antiochean persecution[61]. Accepting this, Lambert has difficulties explaining the supposed link between *Daniel* and the Akkadian texts. He says[62] that for Jews in Babylonia, let alone Palestine, "the formidable cuneiform script would prevent first-hand acquaintance" with Babylonian learning. He then says,

> "It remains, then, to show that this Babylonian genre could
> have been disseminated in a form intelligible to the Jews.
> Either Greek or Aramaic could have been used."

He was able to produce very little evidence of Babylonian literature in Aramaic translation, but adds that "little can be expected when Aramaic was normally written on leather and other perishable materials". As far as Greek is concerned he says, "In Greek I have not discovered any fully comparable texts antedating Daniel". However, he points out that Berossus put some historical and other material into Greek, and the Jewish

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60. The colophon in the Dynastic Prophecy does not refer to a complete hiding away of the text, as in *Daniel*, but commands that it be kept from the uninitiated. Such commands occur in a variety of cuneiform texts (astronomical, commentaries, ritual), see: H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*, AOAT 2, Kevelaer (1968), 13f and nos. 50, 89, 98, 110, 206.

61. Thus B.S. Childs says, "..historical critical scholars have made out a convincing case for believing that the visions of ch. 7-12 were written about the year 165 B.C., shortly before the death of Antiochus (163) at the moment of intense persecution", *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, London (1979), 615.

62. W.G. Lambert, *op. cit.* ref. 59, 13ff.

historian Eupolemus probably made use of his work. Babylonian
mathematical astronomy clearly was communicated to the Greeks in
Hellenistic times, and so possibly were some omens. Lambert therefore
thought it an "obvious possibility" that the Prophecies were translated
into Aramaic or Greek, and then adapted by the author of *Daniel* for his
own purpose.

One piece of evidence which Lambert does not discuss, perhaps because its
import is so unclear, are the so-called "Graeco-Babyloniaca" texts. These
contain Sumerian and Akkadian texts written in the Greek alphabet.
Sollberger[63] has published a catalogue of them. He is of the opinion
that[64],

> "They are obviously school texts written by some Greek
> student, or students, of Sumerian and Akkadian some time
> during the late second or early first centuries B.C.".

However, Black and Sherwin-White[65] think that,

> ".. it may on balance seem more probable that the writers
> were Babylonians. At present a main function of the use of
> Greek script seems to have been to reproduce the contemporary
> pronunciation of Akkadian words, not to make literal
> transcription of the traditional orthography".

They suggest that Babylonian scribes used to using Greek in other
contexts found the alphabetic script helpful for recording the changes in
pronunciation of Akkadian in the Late Babylonian period. These texts,
then, do not provide clear evidence of scribes, of whatever nationality, at
work translating Babylonian texts into Greek in the second century B.C..
Considering the paucity of evidence cited by Lambert it seems to be an
over-statement to say that it is an "obvious possibility" that a Jew in

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63. E. Sollberger, "Graeco-Babyloniaca", *Iraq* 24(1962), 63-72. To his
     refs. add: M.J. Geller, "More Graeco-Babyloniaca", *ZA* 73(1983),
     114-120, and ref. 65 below.
64. E. Sollberger, *op. cit.* ref. 63, 63.
65. J.A. Black & S.M. Sherwin-White, "A Clay Tablet with Greek Letters in
     the Ashmolean Museum, and the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' Texts", *Iraq*
     46(1984), 131-140. The quote is from p. 139.

second century B.C. Palestine could have known the Akkadian Prophecies in Greek or Aramaic translation. It is interesting that, in order to explain what he calls "their ideal of mantic wisdom" which he finds in Daniel, Collins[66] postulates that the circle within which *Dan. 7-12* was composed was Jews from the Eastern Diaspora who migrated to Palestine in the early second century B.C.. There would certainly be a greater possibility that someone within such a group might have first-hand knowledge of Babylonian omens and related literature. This comes close to the solution to the problem provided by the book of *Daniel* itself - namely that the author of the visions was a Babylonian Jew who had received education in Akkadian language and literature, and was especially skilled in its mantic wisdom. Whether this person lived in the sixth century B.C. (as the book indicates) or the second, is something that cannot be settled by considerations of literary affinites alone since the Prophecies were composed over a wide time span. However, it is worth pondering the fact that the Uruk Prophecy was probably composed at about the time when the Daniel of *Dan. 1* is said to have been educated in Babylon - and so the genre was a live one at that period. We do not know whether or not this was the case in the second century B.C. since the latest of the extant Prophecies, the Dynastic Prophecy, was probably composed (according to our view of it) in the mid-third century B.C.. Of course no great weight can be put on such an argument from silence.

Vaticinia Ex Eventu?

Finally we must consider briefly the question of *vaticinia ex eventu*, since this is often drawn into the discussion of the affinities between *Dan. 7-12* and the Akkadian Prophecies. It is agreed that most, if not

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66.   J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel,* HSM 16, Missoula, Mont. (1977), 57f.

all, of the Prophecies contain *vaticinium ex eventu*[67]. Long before the

Akkadian texts came to the attention of *Old Testament* scholars the

prophecies of *Daniel* were widely regarded as *vaticinia ex eventu.*

Goldingay[68] states the reason for this, which underlies the detailed

arguments, is the belief that, "Daniel did not prophesy the second century

in the sixth because this would be impossible and irrelevant". This

belief rests on theological judgements about the nature of God and of

Israelite prophecy as his means of revelation. We will not discuss these

here, but restrict ourself to issues with direct literary associations.

By its very nature *vaticinium ex eventu* uses a form that could be used

for genuine prophecy. Hence form alone cannot be used to distinguish

between the two. Hallo's[69] comment that in the Akkadian Prophecies,

> "The allusions are just vague enough to suggest the style of
> predictions, but at the same time they are not nearly vague
> enough to escape the suspicion that they were inspired by
> actual historical events",

makes the assumption that genuine prophecy can never be accurate in

detail. This assumption needs to be substantiated by some reasoned

argument or evidence if it is to be used as a general principle for

distinguishing *vaticinia ex eventu* from genuine prophecies.

It might be argued that since the form of *Dan. 11* is quite different from

that of *Old Testament* prophecy, and since it adopts a form that was used

for *vaticinia ex eventu,* then this must be the nature of *Dan. 11.*

However, this must be tempered by two considerations. The first is

whether or not the Akkadian Prophecies were regarded as genuine

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67. J.G. Baldwin, "Some Literary Affinities of the Book of Daniel", *TB*
    30(1979), 77-99, argues that there is no reason to doubt that
    the predictions in the Marduk Prophecy were genuine promises of
    blessing for the king who regained the god's statue from Elam
    and restored his shrine. She also comments that, in the absence
    of its beginning and conclusion the nature of Text A should
    remain open.
68. J.E. Goldingay, "The Book of Daniel: Three Issues", *Themelios* 2(1977),
    45-49. The quote is from p. 48.
69. W.W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses", *IEJ* 16(1966), 235.

prophecies by their readers, including the author of *Daniel.* Maybe in using this form he thought he was using a normal form for predictive prophecy. Secondly, it is always possible for an author to take an existing form and use it in a new way (*e.g. Isa. 5:1ff,* where the prophet uses the form of a love song).

It is often argued that the date of composition of *Dan. 7-12* is indicated by the transition at 11:40 from reasonably accurate references to actual historical events to a prediction of Antiochus IV's downfall that does not correspond in its details to what is known of his end. Hence it follows that 11:3-39 is *vaticinium ex eventu.* Here, it should be noted, there is a danger of circular reasoning. Genuine prediction is only recognizable when it is inaccurate, hence apparently accurate predictions cannot be genuine! There is nothing in the Akkadian Prophecies to parallel the apparent transition at *Dan. 11:40.* The Marduk Prophecy moves from recital of past history to prediction of a king who will regain Marduk's statue and restore his shrine and cult, and so enjoy peace and prosperity. It is impossible to tell from the text whether this was written before or after Nebuchadnezzar I regained the statue. In our discussion of the Šulgi Prophecy we have argued that its ending is too damaged to enable any clear conclusion about whether or where there might be a transition from *vaticinia ex eventu* to genuine prediction. The same is true for Text A. In the Uruk Prophecy we see the only "prediction" in the statement that the last king mentioned (Nebuchadnezzar II) will set up an enduring dynasty of kings who will exercise rulership "like the gods". This, we showed, echoes the normal sentiments of royal prayers. According to our interpretation, the only genuine prediction in the Dynastic Prophecy is the prediction of disaster for the last ruler mentioned (Ptolemy III). Hence it seems that for these prophecies their date is indicated by where they end, not by some transition at an earlier point from accurate to

vague or inaccurate prediction.

Dan. 11:40-45 is a notable *crux interpretum*, and attempts to deal with it fall into three categories:

(1) It is regarded as a prediction of Antiochus' downfall, which is inaccurate in its details[70].

(2) It looks beyond Antiochus to a final upsurge of evil (which he foreshadows)[71]. This could pick up the "final battle" motif used also in *Ezek. 38&39; Zech. 12, 14.*

(3) Gurney[72] has made the suggestion that these verses refer to the destruction of the Greek Empire by the Roman conquest of Palestine. He sees them as genuine prediction.

The choice between these cannot be made on the basis of literary considerations alone.

Our discussion so far has preceded on the basis of the assumption that the Akkadian Prophecies are *vaticinia ex eventu.* It needs to be remembered that this is only an assumption, and one that has a fragile basis. We have commented above on the weakness of Hallo's justification for it, and no one else has given a more satisfactory one. We think that that it would be prudent to keep an open mind on the possibility that some or all of the Prophecies were genuine attempts at prediction, since it is so hard to distinguish, on literary grounds, between genuine prediction and *vaticinium ex eventu.* It may be that the problems in identifying the kings referred to in Text A are the result of it being a genuine, but unfulfilled, prophecy.

Conclusion. From this discussion we conclude that the acceptance of a literary relationship between *Daniel* and the Akkadian Prophecies does not throw any significant new light on the debate about *vaticinium ex eventu* in *Daniel.*

70.   L.F. Hartman & A.A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel,* N.Y. (1978), 303.
71.   J.G. Baldwin, *Daniel,* Leicester (1978), 199ff.
72.   R.J.M. Gurney, "A Note on Daniel 11:40-45", *TSF Bull.,* 47(1967), 10-12.

Chapter I: *DANIEL* IN A MESOPOTAMIAN CONTEXT

Part 4: *Daniel* and Mesopotamian Animal Imagery

Daniel 7 and Mesopotamian Iconography

According to Montgomery[1], Herder was the first to suggest that the animal imagery of *Daniel 7* might have its background in iconography. He pointed to the wall sculptures of Persepolis. In the mid-19th. century Hitzig[2], in his commentary on *Daniel*, pointed to the winged lion of Nimrud, and Stuart[3] remarked that *formae monstrosae* are found on "all the monuments of the east".

The only modern scholar to have attempted to make a detailed case for iconography as the background for the animal imagery of *Daniel 7* is Noth[4]. His own comments make clear the weakness of the case he argues. Speaking of the second beast he says that the bear,

> "is but rarely depicted in the plastic arts of the ancient orient ... It was seen only in the mountains, and the few reproductions of bears that are known come therefore from the Iranian mountains and their immediate vicinity."

Of the third beast he says,

> "The image as it stands, however, is not authenticated among examples of the ancient oriental plastic arts; here the seer's power of imagination is given full rein."

All this amounts to saying that there is little precedent in the plastic arts for the second beast, and none for the third.

In view of this it is not suprising that no recent commentator or study of *Daniel 7* has taken up Noth's position, beyond pointing out the prominence of winged beasts, some with many heads, especially lions, in Mesopotamian iconography. Moreover, it should be noted that iconography

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1. J.A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, Edinburgh (1964), 287. He gives no reference to support this statement.
2. F. Hitzig, *Das Buch Daniel*, Leipzig (1850).
3. M. Stuart, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Boston (1850).
4. M. Noth, *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Essays*, London (1966), 210-212.

cannot account for the sequence of lion, bear, panther, that is found in

Daniel 7.

Daniel 7 and *Enūma Eliš*

Since Gunkel[5] first expounded *Dan. 7* in the light of *Enūma Eliš*, a number

of scholars have pointed to that Babylonian myth as the source of the

imagery of the beasts from the sea in *Daniel.* Amongst commentators of

recent times this view has been adopted by Bentzen[6] and Heaton[7]. The

arguments advanced by Heaton are:

(1) The four winds of heaven are mentioned in *Dan. 7:2.* In *Enūma Eliš*
Marduk uses the four winds as a trap for Ti'amat.
(2) *Dan. 7:2* refers to "the great sea". In *Isa. 51:10* "the sea" is
identified with "the great deep" ($t^e h \hat{o}m$), and in *Gen. 1:2* $t^e h \hat{o}m$ is used
of the primeval watery chaos. He then says[8], "The Hebrew word *tehom* is
philologically the same as *Tiamat*, and both are used as proper names
without the definite article".
(3) Ti'amat produced a brood of monsters, including great lions.
(4) The image of monsters or turbulent waters quelled by God in the
beginning is found in a number of *Old Testament* passages.

In Heaton's view[9],

> "... many of the *(O.T.)* psalms (and it would seem the present
> chapter *(i.e. Dan. 7)*) have been profoundly influenced by the
> content of the Babylonian New Year Festival and show
> knowledge not only of the Creation Epic, but also of some of
> the ceremonies during which it was recited."

Since Heaton wrote his commentary Lambert[10] has argued that Old

Testament scholars have over-stressed the influence of *Enūma Eliš* on the

Old Testament because it happens to be the best known Babylonian creation

story, and the one most readily available in translation[11]. His

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5. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, Gottingen
(1895), 323-335.
6. A. Bentzen, *Daniel*, 2nd. ed., Tübingen (1952).
7. E. Heaton, *Daniel*, London (1956).
8. E. Heaton, *op. cit.* ref. 7, 175.
9. E. Heaton, *op. cit.* ref. 7, 172.
10. W.G. Lambert, "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis",
JTS 16 (1965), 287-300.
11. A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 2nd. ed. with corrections, Chigaco
(1963), is still the most convenient English translation.

conclusion is that[12],

> "... the *Epic of Creation* is not a norm of Babylonian or Sumerian cosmology. It is a sectarian and aberrant combination of mythological threads woven into an unparalleled compositum. In my opinion it is not earlier than 1100 B.C. It happens to be the best preserved Babylonian document of its genre simply because it was at its height of popularity when the libraries were formed from which our knowledge of Babylonian mythology is mostly derived. The various traditions it draws upon are often perverted to such an extent that conclusions based on this text alone are suspect. It can only be used safely in the whole context of ancient Mesopotamian mythology."

In any case, as the texts from Ugarit became more widely known some scholars began to suggest that where ancient near-eastern mythological motifs occur in the *Old Testament* the source is more likely to have been Canaanite than Mesopotamian. Thus, not long after the publication of Heaton's commentary, Emerton[13] argued for a Canaanite background to some of the imagery of *Dan. 7.* Later Porteus[14] asserted that,

> "There can be little doubt that the myths and rituals to which Bentzen and Heaton refer and which may have been mediated to Israel by way of Ugarit and the ancient religious practice of the Jebusite city which David converted into his capital, are the source of the imagery which appears in chapter 7."

More recently, Collins could say[15],

> "Many scholars have accepted the view that the imagery of the chapter is derived ultimately from Canaanite mythology, as exemplified in the Ugaritic myth of Baal's struggle with Yamm (Sea)."

One of the most recent studies of the background of the *Old Testament* imagery of God's conflict with the sea and with monsters is that by Day. He concludes that the origin is Canaanite mythology, not Babylonian, because[16]:

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12. W.G. Lambert, *op. cit.* ref. 10, 291.
13. J.A. Emerton, "The Origin of the Son of Man Imagery", *JTS* 9 (1958), 225-242.
14. N. Porteus, *Daniel*, rev. ed., London (1979), 98.
15. J.J. Collins, *Daniel, with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, Grand Rapids, Mich. (1984), 76.
16. J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea*, Cambridge (1985), ch.1.

(1) The Ugaritic texts contain not only an account of Baal's defeat of Yam, but also allusions to a defeat of Leviathan (*ltn*, probably to be vocalized *lītān*[17]) who has seven heads (cf. *Ps. 74:14*, "many heads"). *Lītān* is called *btn brḥ*, "the twisting serpent" (cf. *Job 26:13 & Isa 27:1*, *nāḥāš bārīaḥ*) and *btn ʿqltn*, "the crooked serpent" (cf. *Isa. 27:1*, *nāḥāš ʿqallātōn*). Leviathan is also called *tnn*, "dragon", a term identical with the *tannīn* mentioned in various *Old Testament* passages (e.g. *Isa. 27:1; 51:9*).

(2) In connection with the dragon in the *Old Testament* we find not only the waters (*mayîm*) and the sea (*yām*) but also the "rivers" or "floods" (*nᵉhārōṯ, nᵉhārîm*). This recalls Baal's opponent, who is called not only *zbl ym*, "Prince Sea", but also *ṯpṭ nhr*, "Judge River".

(3) The term *tᵉhôm* in the *Old Testament* may be etymologically related to the name Ti'amat, but it is not derived directly from the Babylonian, or one would expect ' not h as the middle radical, and the feminine ending -āh[18]. The form *thm* is, however, attested in Ugaritic (*Ugaritica V.7.1*)[19]. This supports the view that the *Old Testament* term may be Canaanite.

As far as *Dan. 7* is concerned Day regards the motif of beasts rising from the turbulent sea as ultimately of Canaanite origin, but comments that[20], "the fact remains that the precise *form* of the beasts does not correspond to that of Leviathan and the other dragons attested in Ugaritic".

Day has made a strong case for the claim that in general the *Old Testament* imagery of God's conflict with the sea and monsters has its background in Canaanite, rather than Babylonian, mythology. However, if *Daniel* has its origins in the circles of Jewish "wise men" of the Babylonian dispersion, it is possible that in the case of *Dan. 7* the source of the imagery was the Babylonian New Year Festival. But even if this is so, it fails to explain the *form* of the beasts since they have no substantial parallel in *Enūma Eliš*. Thus Lacocque says[21],

> "...in the poem *Enuma Elish*...Tiamat (=ocean) does give birth to a lion, but the other monsters which emerge from its depths have nothing to do with the incredible animals in Daniel...We believe they are an original creation of the Author."

17. J.A. Emerton, "Leviathan and LTN: the Vocalization of the Ugaritic Word for the Dragon", *VT* 32 (1982), 327-331.

18. The entry under *tiamtu(m)* (ocean, sea, lake) in W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, suggests that the Hebrew *tᵉhôm* is cognate to *tiamtu*, from which the name *Ti'amat* is derived.

19. The text can be found in J.C.L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 2nd. ed., Edinburgh (1978), 138.

20. J. Day, *op. cit.* ref. 16, 152.

21. A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, London (1979), 139.

Hartman and Di Lella[22] argue that the author of *Dan. 7* was not directly dependent on any ancient mythological literature but drew the imagery of the beasts and the turbulent sea from the earlier *Old Testament* literature which uses it, and that "essentially the four monstrous beasts of Dan. 7:3-7 are *ad. hoc.* creations of the author".

The possibility of direct Babylonian influence on *Dan. 7:2f* is suggested by the phrase "the four winds of heaven". This phrase is not common in the *Old Testament.* It occurs here and in *Dan. 8:8; 11:4; Zech. 2:6 (Heb. 2:10).* The shorter phrase "the four winds" occurs in *Jer. 49:36; Ezek. 37:9.* The passages in *Daniel* and *Ezekiel* are set in Babylonia. Zechariah speaks out of a community of Jews returned from exile in Babylonia and addresses Jews still there. Jeremiah addresses Elam at a time when Judah is under the Babylonian yoke. All these passages, therefore, have a Babylonian connection. The phrase "the four winds" is not attested in the extant Ugaritic literature[23]. It is quite common in Akkadian literature[24]. The possibility of a connection between *Dan. 7:2f* and Akkadian literature is strengthened if the four beasts represent (in order): Babylon, Media, Persia, Greece. This is because the normal order of reference to the winds in Akkadian literature[25] is S, N, E, W, which corresponds to the geographical location of the four kingdoms from a

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22. L.F. Hartman & A.A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel,* Garden City, N.Y. (1978), 212.
23. There is no reference to it under rb', rh or it̲l in:
C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook,* Vol. 3, *Glossary,* Rome (1965).
R.E. Whittaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature,* Cambridge, Mass. (1972).
24. On the "four winds" see:
A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskulture,* Leipzig (1913), 50-53.
K. Tallquist, "Himmelsgegenden und Winde", *St.Or.* 2 (1928), 105-185.
W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch,* under *šarru (m),* gives examples from the Old Babylonian period onwards.
25. K. Tallquist, *op. cit.,* ref. 23, 120.
A. Sachs, "A Late Babylonian Star Catalogue" *JCS* 6 (1952), 146f says, "...in Late Babylonian usage ... the directions numbered 1 through 4 correspond to South, North, East, and West respectively."

Mesopotamian perspective.

Conclusion. We think it is probable that the motif of monsters rising from the turbulent sea is used in *Dan. 7* because it echoes <u>both</u> the *Old Testament* passages about God's conflict with the sea and the monsters in it, <u>and</u> is reminiscent of the Babylonian New Year Festival. This allows an implied polemical point to be made, namely that the Most High, the God of Israel, is the Creator who overcomes the monsters which incarnate chaos and evil. The number, form, and sequence of the monsters, however, cannot be explained by appeal to *Enūma Eliš.*

Daniel 7 and VAT 10057

In a preliminary publication[26] Kvanvig has suggested that the Assyrian text VAT 10057 illuminates our understanding of *Dan. 7.* Indeed[27], "that traditions from the Assyrian vision form the main source of Dan. 7".

The text is written in neo-Assyrian script on a broad format tablet which was excavated at Aššur. It was first published by Ebeling[28]. Five years later von Soden[29] published a revised edition of it. It is this edition, including a few new readings accepted by von Soden[30] following another publication by Ebeling[31], that at present is the basic edition of the text.

There are numerous lacunae on the obverse of the tablet, lines 1-40 of the text in von Soden's edition. The reverse (lines 41-75) is much better

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26. H.S. Kvanvig, "An Akkadian Vision as Background for Dan. 7?", *ST* 35 (1981), 85-89.
27. H.S. Kvanvig, *op. cit.* ref. 26, 88.
28. E.. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier I,* Berlin & Leipzig (1931), 1-9.
29. W. von Soden, "Die Unterwelts Vision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen", *ZA* 43 (1936), 1-31.
30. W. von Soden, "Altbabylonische Dialektdichtungen", *ZA* 44 (1938), 26-44. See especially p. 29.
31. E. Ebeling, "Kritische Beiträge zu neueren assyriologischen Veroffentlichungen", *MAOG* 10 (1937), Heft 2.

preserved, though still with some lacunae. As well as von Soden's German translation of the whole text there are translations of the reverse of the tablet in English by Heidel[32] and Speiser[33], and of lines 35-75 in French by Labat[34].

The central figure of the story is an Assyrian prince by the name of Kummâ. For a reason which is not clear, but apparently connected with some calamity, he desires to see the underworld. To this end he offers sacrifices and prayers to Erishkigal. His request is granted in a night vision. This vision, and the effect which it has on him and an unnamed scribe, are recorded on the better preserved reverse of the tablet. In the vision Kummâ sees Nergal on his throne surrounded by many lesser gods, who have the forms of hybrid creatures of various kinds. Nergal is angry with Kummâ and wants to kill him. He spares him at the request of his consort Erishkigal and Ishum, his counsellor. He delivers a speech which he commands Kummâ to take to heart when he returns to the upper regions. On awakening, memory of this speech causes Kummâ to lament, and the unnamed scribe to mend his ways.

The date and purpose of VAT 10057. Von Soden[35] argues that the narrative could not have been written before 700 B.C. because:

(1) The style has numerous similarities to the Sargonid inscriptions (he cites ll. 8ff, 21ff, 64ff as examples).
(2) The language is late Babylonian with interspersed Assyrian forms.
(3) Orthographic peculiarities such as: l. 64, *An-šar* as the name of the god Aššur (this is not found before Sennacherib's time); ll. 17, 73, *LÚ-A-BA* for *tupsarru* is typical of the Sargonid period.
(4) The description of Nineveh as *āl bēlūti* (l. 11) is only really conceivable after Sennacherib.
(5) Mention of the New Year Festival for the city in l. 64 is reminiscent of Sennacherib.

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32.   A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*,
         2nd. ed., Chicago (1949), 132-136.
33.   In J. Pritchard, *ANET*, 3rd. ed., Princeton (1969), 109f.
34.   R. Labat *et. al.*, *Les Religions Du Proche-Orient Asiatique*,
         (1970), 94-97.
35.   W. von Soden, *op. cit.* ref. 29, 3.

A *terminus ad quem* is offered by the allusions in the narrative to the great power of Assyria. This would be unlikely after *ca.* 635 B.C. Kummâ is called a prince (*rubû*, 1. 72), but is never given any royal titles. In 1. 72 there is reference to "the subjects of Aššur", not "his subjects". Yet Nergal says that as a punishment for his presumption he will face rebellions (*saḥmašāti*, 1. 60). In the closing words of warning he is linked with his father who, according to the context, seems to be a king. From this evidence it is reasonable to conclude with von Soden that Kummâ is a crown prince.

Nergal's speech (ll. 58-68) refers to three people:

(1) A now dead king, who had been blessed and protected by the gods so that his reign had been a successful one. His celebration of the New year Festival of Aššur is given particular mention.
(2) Kummâ's father, whose great wisdom is mentioned. However, he ignored the word of some god, and committed an unspecified sin.
(3) Kummâ, who seems to be being warned not to continue in, or repeat, his father's sin.

Von Soden[36] identifies these figures as Sennacherib (who built Aššur's New Year House in the middle of an artificial park), Esarhaddon (who in his inscriptions frequently praises his own great wisdom), and Aššurbanipal. He goes on to argue that the narrative is a reflection of the "nationalist Assyrian" and "Babylonian" party strife within the Assyrian hierarchy of that period. Sennacherib destroyed Babylon, but Esarhaddon rebuilt it. Von Soden suggests that the text was a piece of propaganda on behalf of the nationalist Assyrian party which sought to influence the people against Esarhaddon's policies. He then dates it to the period just prior to Esarhaddon's death, when Aššurbanipal had been nominated as his heir, and so about 670 B.C.

Kvanvig hints at a somewhat different interpretation of the text. He says[37] that in his forthcoming study he will argue "that it was written

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36.   W. von Soden, *op. cit.* ref. 29, 6-9.
37.   H.S. Kvanvig, *op. cit.* ref. 26, 86

in the second half of the seventh century, perhaps about 630 B.C.". It is not clear whether here he refers to the writing of the tablet or the composition of the narrative. Later he asserts that the purpose of the vision was "to underline that the decline of the contemporary Assyrian empire was predicted by the gods". This suggests that he thinks that the narrative was composed in the later years of Aššurbanipal's reign, about which little is known. His son Aššur-etel-ilani was probably co-regent with his father from 630-627 B.C.[38]. Perhaps Kvanvig considers him the best candidate for Kummâ's rôle.

The very general nature of the statements in the vision and the paucity of evidence concerning the later decades of the Assyrian empire mean that, if the Assyrian rulers referred to are historical figures, there can be no certainty in their identification. However, the reference in l. 67 to Kummâ's father having "violated a taboo, trodden down what was forbidden" (asakku īkula anzilla ukabbisa) would fit well with Esarhaddon's rebuilding of Babylon despite the original decree that it should lie waste for 70 years, even though he claimed as justification for this a re-interpretation of the decree in which the ban lasted only 11 years[39]. There is, however, no room for dogmatism in this matter.

The similarities between VAT 10057 and *Dan. 7* which Kvanvig lists are:

(1) Both are characterized as night visions and contain the basic elements of that *Gattung*. Features (2) & (3) below follow the same order in both.
(2) Both contain descriptions of bizarre monsters.
(3) In both the ruling god is sitting on his throne with fire (*Dan. 7*) or lightnings (VAT 10057) coming from him.
(4) In both the ruling god acts as a judge.
(5) In both a ruler is given everlasting dominion over all nations by the god(s).
(6) In VAT 10057 the visionary sees a figure designated as *ištēn eṭlu* (l. 50), which Kvanvig argues corresponds to the phrase *bar ʾᵉnaš* in *Dan. 7.* Kvanvig identifies this figure with the ruler of (5) above.

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38. H.F.W. Saggs, *The Might That Was Assyria*, London (1984), 117f.
39. D. Luckenbill, "The Black Stone of Esarhaddon", *AJSL* 41 (1924/5), 165-173.

Although these similarities may seem impressive at first sight, they are considerably weakened by close examination.

The monsters in the Assyrian vision are gods, not symbols for empires; there are 15 of them, not 4; and there is no connection with the sea. Moreover, none of them have bear or leopard characteristics, as do the second and third beasts in *Dan. 7.* The similarities that exist between the gods of the Assyrian text and the beasts of *Dan. 7* are:

l. 46. *"...the evil Utukku (had) the head (of) a lion, hands (and) feet (of) the zu-bird. Shulak was a normal lion stand[ing] on his hind legs".* Here one god has combined lion and bird-like (eagle, according to Kvanvig) features, but significantly wings are not mentioned, which are the specific eagle-like feature of Daniel's first beast. When this first beast is made to stand upon two feet like a man, it is also given a man's mind.

l. 48. *"... (had) three feet; the two in front were (those of) a bird, the hind one was (that of) an ox".* Kvanvig suggests that, standing upright, this beast would have "the same limping attitude" as Daniel's second beast. This is pure supposition, and also adopts an unusual interpretation of the meaning of an obscure phrase describing the bear in *Dan. 7*[40].

l. 45. *"The upholder of Evil (had) the head of a bird; his wings were open as he flew to and fro, (his) hands (and) feet were human".* Also l. 47. *"All that is Evil (had) two heads; one head was (that of) a lion, the other head [...]".* Here the resemblance to Daniel's third monster that Kvanvig seems to find is trivial at best.

l. 48. *Two gods, I know not their names, one (had) the heads, hands, (and) feet (of) the zu-bird; in his left [...]".* Kvanvig sees here a parallel with Daniel's fourth beast of which it is said, *"It was different from all the other beasts",* and which is not compared to any specific creatures. However, the *two* gods here are compared to a known creature, so it is not clear that, as Kvanvig claims, they are nameless "because of its (*sic*) bizarre appearance". Kvanvig also claims a parallel between the crown worn by one of these gods (assumed to be a horned head-gear) and the ten horns of Daniel's fourth beast.

In our judgement the claimed similarities listed above are either non-existent or trivial, and the list does not provide evidence of any significant relationship between the Assyrian vision and *Dan. 7.*

What remains of the description of Nergal enthroned in VAT 10057 bears

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40. A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel,* London (1979), 140, refers to two common interpretations, "Its position 'put upright on one side' shows it crouched down ready to spring or standing on its back legs in an aggressive position".

no resemblance to the description of the enthroned "one that was ancient of days" in *Dan. 7*, except the reference to lightning flashes, apparently coming out of his arms. Moreover, in VAT 10057 it is the visionary himself who is judged, and spared, whereas in *Daniel* the beasts are judged and either lose their dominion (the first three) or are destroyed (the fourth). Once again the claimed similarities are trivial.

In the Assyrian vision Nergal speaks of a ruler to whom "the king of the gods granted all that was in his heart" (1. 62), and who "ruled over all" (1. 63). The phrase "forever" then occurs at the end of 1. 64. What it refers to is unclear, but could mean that the celebration of the New Year Festival at Aššur will continue for ever. The most important point is that, if von Soden's[41] "certain" reconstruction of the beginning of 1. 62 is accepted, this ruler is someone who is already dead, not someone yet to receive kingship. Kvanvig does not comment on this.

Kvanvig does not claim that *bar* ᵃⁿ*naš* is a translation of *ištēn eṭlu*, but that the two phrases have equivalent "semantic values" because both: (a) designate the main figure of the vision, (b) in contrast to the monsters, and (c) designate an ideal king. The equation of the "ideal ruler" with the figure referred to as *ištēn eṭlu* is an open question. Ebeling[42] identifies this figure as Išum, mentioned later as Nergal's advisor. His name means "fire", and this could explain why the human figure is said to wear a red cloak. This suggestion is at least as likely as Kvanvig's. In addition the main figure of the Assyrian vision seems to us *not* to be the "ideal king" (or *ištēn eṭlu*, if they are not the same) but Kummâ. Finally, it is doubtful how far *ištēn eṭlu* is meant to stress a beast/man contrast

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41. W. von Soden, "Die Unterwelts Vision eines assyrische Kronprinzen", *ZA* 43(1936), 1-31. The reconstruction is proposed on p. 4. Speiser, *op. cit.* ref. 32, and Labat, *op. cit.* ref. 33, accept it.
42. E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier I*, Berlin & Leipzig (1931), 6 note g.

since this figure has a face "like that of Zu". All in all, the parallels between the Akkadian and Aramaic phrases seems at best forced, and at worst non-existent.

Conclusion. The preceding discussion leads us to the conclusion that Kvanvig's preliminary paper has failed to establish any substantial connections between the Assyrian text VAT 10057 and *Dan. 7.* One can only wait and see whether the full study, in which a new translation and analysis of VAT 10057 is promised, produces any new evidence to support Kvanvig's claims.

Daniel 7&8 and Šumma Izbu

Recently Porter[43] has argued, with regard to *Dan. 7&8,*

> "...that the peculiar physical characteristics ascribed to the
> various beasts are ultimately traceable to Mesopotamian
> mantic wisdom traditions".

The specific traditions concerned are those enshrined in the birth omen series entitled *Šumma Izbu.* The series has been known since Rawlinson[44] published two excerpt tablets from it in 1870. Leichty[45] has published what is now the definitive edition of the series.

It is uncertain when the Mesopotamians began to divine through the media of unusual births. According to Leichty[46], as with many other omen collections,

> "The first written collection of birth omens comes from the
> Old Babylonian period and bears all the characteristics of a
> collection of oral tradition".

At some point in the Middle Babylonian period the existing collections of omens were ordered into longer series, producing the two series *Šumma*

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43. P.A. Porter, *Metaphors and Monsters,* Toronto (1985). This was
     formerly *Coniectanea Biblica,* O.T. series 20, Lund (1983). The
     quote is from p.15.
44. H.C. Rawlinson, *Inscriptions from Western Asia,* London (1870), pl. 65.
45. E. Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu,* Locust Valley, N.Y. (1970).
46. E. Leichty, *op. cit.* ref. 45, 23.

Sinništu Arātma and *Šumma Izbu*. These were then combined, and with

addition of other tablets, formed the canonical series *Šumma Izbu*[47]. The

vast majority of extant fragments of this series come from Aššurbanipal's

library in Nineveh (ca. 650 B.C.). An indication of the importance of the

series is the fact that in the unpublished catalogue K 13280 it is ranked

second only to the astrological omens[48]. Moreover, its importance is

further attested by the wealth of related material that has survivied –

letters, prayers, reports, rituals and commentaries[49].

The series is arranged according to the subject matter of the protases.

There are three main divisions:

Tablets I-IV	Omens derived from human births. (*Šumma Sinništu Arātma*)
Tablets VI-XVII	Omens derived from the birth of an *izbu*. (Original *Šumma Izbu*)
Tablets XVIII-XXIV, V	Omens derived from specific animals (each tablet deals with one animal: goats, dogs, *etc.*).

The term *izbu* is a general one, referring to any malformed or otherwise

imperfect newborn creature. Usually, however, it refers to sheep[50].

The protases are concerned with all conceivable types of abnormality,

ranging from simple birth-marks to excess limbs. Miscarriages are

included as well as live births. In a few cases the length of pregnancy,

imaginary pregnancies, the behaviour of the mother, and even the general

behaviour of animals, are referred to.

The apodoses may refer to public events (involving the king or the whole

country) or events associated with private individuals (usually the owner

of the animal or the head of the household).

The existence of fragments of at least one copy of the series from

Seleucid Uruk[51], and the fact that a new commentary on the series was

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47. E. Leichty, *op. cit.* ref. 45, 25f.
48. E. Leichty, *op. cit.* ref. 45, 7.
49. E. Leichty, *op. cit.* ref. 45, discusses this related material in his "Introduction".
50. E. Leichty, *op. cit.* ref. 45, 3 note 4.
51. E. Leichty, *op. cit.* ref. 45, 21.

composed late in the Late Babylonian period[52], show that the series

remained in use well into the Seleucid era.

Daniel* and *Šumma Izbu. Porter's thesis that the animal imagery of *Dan.*

7&8 finds its background in Babylonian birth omens has three aspects:

(1) "Common to both ... are references to animals raised on one side, multiple headed animals, animals with multiple horns, animals with displaced eyes, horned animals with claws, animals with horns of unequal length, and unicorns"[53].

(2) *Šumma Izbu* contains 29 extant historical omens. "The specificity of these apodoses brings us one step closer to the historical interpretation accompanying the vision of Daniel 8, in which beasts or horns are identified with specific kings"[54].

(3) In *Dan. 7* the first three beasts are likened to, rather than identified with, a lion, bear, and panther respectively. In the Old Babylonian birth omens the form of the protasis is, "If an *izbu* is like an X". Porter[55] goes on to draw a parallel between the phrase "one like a son of man" in *Dan. 7:13* and the following omens from *Šumma Izbu:*

XVIII 33'	If a goat gives birth to a human ....
XX 24'	If a mare gives birth to a human ....

Here he takes "gives birth to" to be a short-hand for "gives birth to an *izbu* like ... ", on the basis of the Old Babylonian formula.

One should not jump to hasty conclusions regarding the significance of

the common references to unusual features in *Dan. 7&8* and *Šumma Izbu.*

Below are cited the more striking examples given by Porter:

7:6 ... the beast had four heads.	**Text g** (g). If an anomaly has four heads[56].
8:3 ... a ram ... It had two horns ... but one was higher than the other.	IX 56' If an anomaly's right horn is long and its left one short.
8:5 ... and the goat had a conspicuous horn between his eyes.	IX 34' If an anomaly has only one horn, and it protrudes from its forehead.
8:8 ... instead of it there came up four conspicuous horns toward the four winds of heaven.	V 29 If a ewe gives birth to a lion, and it has four horns on the right and left.

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52. E. Leichty, *op. cit.* ref. 45, 23.
53. P.A. Porter, *op. cit.* ref. 43, 18f.
54. P.A. Porter, *op. cit.* ref. 43, 19f.
55. P.A. Porter, *op. cit.* ref. 43, 22.
56. P.A. Porter, *op. cit.* ref. 43, 19 note 20, refers to, but does not quote this omen. It comes from a text which almost certainly belongs to Tablet VIII of *Šumma Izbu.* Leichty, *op. cit.* ref. 45, 113 quotes it but does not translate it.

contd.

The parallels may seem impressive, but it should be noted that:

(1) There are features of the animals in *Dan. 7&8* which have no direct parallel in the omen protases. In particular, as Porter admits[57], there is nothing in the extant omens about winged animals.

(2) Most of the features of the animals in *Dan. 7&8* can be explained just as convincingly, if not more so, by the historical referent of the allegorical features. For example, the unequal horns of the ram reflect the historical relationship of the Medes and Persians. The goat's single horn which is broken to produce four horns reflects the unity of the Greeks under Alexander and the break-up of his empire on his death. It is true that matters are less clear with the beasts of *Dan. 7*, but there is considerable agreement over the main points of correspondence between the features of the animals and historical references[58].

In the light of these two points one can argue that the features of the beasts in *Dan. 7&8* are the result of the author's imagination working on the historical referent in the light of the images of *Mischwesen* that are common in Babylonian art, mythology, and birth omens. There need be no *direct* dependence on the omens.

Porter's appeal to historical omens in *Šumma Izbu* is not very convincing. The best comparisons are:

8:20f ...these are the kings of Media and Persia. And the he-goat is the king of Greece.	YOS 10 56 42 If an anomaly is like a fox ... the king of Sumer will rule the land.
7:24 As for the ten horns, out of this kingdom ten kings shall arise, and another shall arise after them; he shall be different from the former ones, and shall put down three kings.	VIII 80' If an anomaly has two heads, two spines, six (sets of) ribs, two tails, six feet, three eyes, (and) three bases – the sons of the king will fight among themselves, and one among them will fall[59]

57. P.A. Porter, *op. cit.* ref. 43, 19. The three omens cited in note 21 do not mention wings, simply a bird-like appearance of some kind.
58. See for example the comments of:
N. Porteus, *Daniel*, rev. ed., London (1979).
A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, London (1979).
59. P.A. Porter, *op. cit.* ref. 43 erroneously quotes this as VII 80'.

Here the parallels are not very close. The most important difference, however, is that in *Daniel* the symbols stand in a direct, allegorical, relationship to the historical referent. They are *symbols*. The relationship between the form of the *izbu* and the historical events in the apodosis is unclear. There is certainly no direct symbol-referent relationship[60].

It is no doubt true, as Porter claims, that the sense of the canonical protases is, "If an X gives birth to an *izbu* like a Y", as the Old Babylonian protases suggest. However, a mantic wise man of either the 6th. or 2nd. century B.C. would know the omens in their canonical form. That being so, one would expect the language of *Dan. 7* to be patterned on the canonical phraseology if dependent, in a literary sense, on the omens. It seems more probable that the language of *Daniel* is intended to express the numinous quality of the visionary experience. A much closer, and more relevant, parallel is Ezekiel's vision account in *Ezek. 1*, where the words "like" (*k⁻*) and "likeness" (*d⁻mūṯ*) are prominent.

Conclusions. We think that the preceding considerations show that the most Porter can really claim is that there is a *possiblity* that Babylonian birth omens have influenced the animal imagery of *Dan. 7&8*. He has not shown that the relationship between them is a necessary one (we have suggested other possible explanations of the feature he claims to explain), nor has he demonstrated a clear literary dependence of *Daniel* on *Šumma Izbu*.

As has been said above, it seems quite conceivable that the beasts are the product of an imagination informed in a general way by the *Mischwesen* that are common in Babylonian art and mythology, as well as

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60. E. Leichty, *op. cit.* ref. 45, 6f discusses the protasis-apodosis relationship in *Šumma Izbu*. He can find no generally applicable principles of relationship, but finds examples of paranomasia and various kinds of "association of ideas".

birth omens. Jastrow[61] has argued that it was the Babylonian interest in birth omens that made these *Mischwesen* a feature of their art and mythology. He may well be right. In this more generalized sense the imagery of *Dan. 7&8* might be influenced by the birth omen traditions. Porter[62] argues that if his case is accepted it means that,

> "...the animal anomalies in these visions originally had an evocative power by virtue of their stylistic dependence on Mesopotamian omen literature, rather than because of any perceived literal absurdity".

This point may be valid in a more general sense than he seems to mean. In a culture in which the bizarre forms represented in the birth omens were accepted as conceivable beings of ominous import, the images of *Dan. 7&8* would have a greater evocative power than in one that regarded them simply as absurdities. We suggest that, whatever the origin of the detailed imagery, it was the evocative power of such imagery in Babylonian culture that lies behind its use in *Daniel.*

This point has an interesting corollary with regard to the expected readership of the visions. It suggests a Jewish readership embedded in Mesopotamian culture, rather than one battling against Hellenistic culture in Palestine. Leichty[63] states that,

> "Outside of Mesopotamia birth omens seem to have been unimportant except to the Hittites and the later Etruscans and Romans."

Although Old Babylonian birth omens were copied at Ugarit, there is very little evidence to suggest that they were of much importance amongst western Semites, and certainly not amongst Jews. In fact the Babylonian traditions copied in scribal schools in the Late Bronze Age Levant did not survive the demise of those schools. Although the Greeks were aware of birth omens, they did not play a major rôle in Greek divination[64].

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61. M. Jastrow, *Babylonian-Assyrian Birth Omens*, Geissen (1914), 59ff.
62. P.A. Porter, *op. cit.* ref. 43, 29.
63. E. Leichty, *op. cit.* ref. 45, 14.
64. See R. Bloch, *Les Prodiges dans L'Antiquité Classique*, Paris (1963).

Hence, if the animal imagery of *Daniel* was chosen for its evocative power, and is not purely allegorical, it makes more sense in the context of the Babylonian diaspora than that of Palestinian Jewry.

Daniel 7&8 and Mesopotamian Astrology

In 1909 Cumont[65] published a paper discussing early Hellenistic treatises on astrological geography. At the end of it he referred briefly, and favourably, to a suggestion made to him privately by F.C. Burkitt of Cambridge that the choice of animal images in *Dan. 8* might be related to astrological ideas. According to these ideas the various heavenly bodies or constellations exert influence on particular regions of the earth. The point made by Cumont and Burkitt was that in Hellenistic times the constellation Aries (the Ram) was thought to rule Persia, and Capricorn (the Goat) to rule Syria. The latter, one must assume, was used in *Dan. 8* as a symbol of Alexander the Great and his successors because of the eventual Seleucid domnination of Syria. Amongst the major commentators on *Daniel* Bentzen[66], at least, has viewed this suggestion with some favour, and Porteus[67] seems to give it some credence.

Caquot[68] reviewed some possible sources of the beast imagery of *Dan. 7*. He found mythology (whether Mesopotamian, Syrian, or Iranian) wanting, and the same was the case with iconography. Suggestions of *Old Testament* influence did not satisfy him because[69]

> "On ne saurait toutefois s'en prévaloir pour écarter toute
> influence sur l'auteur de *Daniel* du milieu culturel dans
> lequel vivaient les Juifs de l'époque hellénistique".

He accepted Cumont's suggestion regarding *Dan. 8*, and went on to argue

65. F. Cumont, "La plus ancienne géographie astrologique", *Klio* 9(1909), 263-273.
66. A. Bentzen, *Daniel*, Tubingen (1952), 69.
67. N. Porteus, *Daniel*, rev. ed., London (1979), 122.
68. A. Caquot, "Sur les quatre bêtes de *Daniel VII*", *Semitica* 5(1955), 6-13.
69. A. Caquot, *op. cit.* ref. 68, 8.

that astrological geography was the source of the beast imagery of *Dan. 7* also.

There is an obvious stumbling-block in the way of applying Cumont's explanation of the beasts in *Dan. 8* to those in *Dan. 7*. Of the four beasts in *Dan. 7* only the lion appears in the Zodiac. Moreover (though Caquot does not mention this) in Hellenistic astrology Leo rules over Asia, not Babylonia, which comes under Taurus[70]. However, Caquot pointed out that alongside the Zodiac Hellenistic astrology gave significance to the "paranatellonta" or "accompanying constellations", which rise and set at the same time as the zodiacal constellations. There were 36 of these forming a circle parallel to the Zodiac. Each constellation covered a 10° stretch, and they were supposed to rise at dusk at 10 day intervals, hence they were called "decans"[71]. There were three associated with each sign of the Zodiac. These decans were thought to exert influence on particular earthly regions. The oldest surviving list of the regions ruled by the decans is thought to be that attributed to Teucros. For this Caquot prefers Cumont's 2nd. century B.C. date to the 1st. century A.D. date proposed by Boll[72].

In Teucros' list Persia is under the influence of the Cat. Caquot deals with this by arguing that since the cat was apparently unknown to the Semites (he claims that it is not named in Akkadian, Aramiac, or biblical Hebrew), the author of *Daniel* replaced it by another well-known feline, the panther. Media does not appear in Teucros' list. However, Caquot pointed out, the Bear appears in it as the decan ruling Armenia, which borders Media and, like it, is a northern country from a Babylonian perspective. In Teucros' list Babylon comes under the influence of the

70. F. Boll, *Sphaera*, Leipzig (1903), 296.
71. B.L. van der Waerden, *Science Awakening II*, Leyden & N.Y. (1974), 26f.
72. F. Boll, *op. cit.* ref. 70, 5-11. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie*, V.A.1, Stuttgart (1934), 1132, "Teukros von Babylon", follows Boll's dating.

Dog, one of the decans of Taurus. Faced with this Caquot appeals to the (later) evidence of Ptolemy, who put Mesopotamia under Leo, one of the decans of Virgo. Clearly the author of *Dan. 7* considered none of the astrological creatures suitable for the nameless horror of the fourth beast. Caquot's thesis has not found acceptance with English speaking commentators on *Daniel*[73], but has won the support of his compatriot Delcor[74], although not that of Lacocque[75].

The obvious weakness in Caquot's argument is the fact that he cannot appeal to Teucros' scheme of astrological geography, or any other, in a straightforward way, but has to bring in additional arguments and suppositions. Each of these has its own problems.

(1) Day[76] asserts that the word *ḥātūl* denotes the cat in post-biblical Hebrew, and points out that the *Letter of Jeremiah 21* (ET 22) refers to the cat. He concludes that, "There is therefore no reason why Dan. 7 should not have alluded to the cat if precise astrological symbolism was required". The relevance of the reference to the *Letter of Jeremiah* is that it is generally agreed[77] that, although the earliest extant MSS are in Greek, the work was written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic, probably

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73. See for example:
    J.G. Baldwin, *Daniel*, Leicester (1978).
    L.F. Hartman & A.A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, Garden City, N.Y. (1978).
    N. Porteus, *Daniel*, rev. ed., London (1979).
74. M. Delcor, "Les sources du chapitre VII de Daniel", *VT* 18 (1968), 290-312, and *Le Livre de Daniel*, Paris (1971).
75. A. Lacocque, *Le Livre de Daniel*, Neuchatel & Paris (1976).
76. J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea*, Cambridge (1985), 155. M. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, Vol. 1, N.Y. (1950), and J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, Band II, Darmstadt (1963), list the following examples of the occurrence of *ḥtwl(')* meaning "cat":
    Targ. Isa. 13:22 & 34:14 (Heb. text *'yym*).
    Can. Rab. to 7:2 and *Koh. Rab.* to 6:11.
    Several occurrences in the Talmud.
77. W.O.E. Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha*, London (1935), 268-271.
    B.M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha*, N.Y. (1977), 95-98.
    G.W.E. Nickelsburgh, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishna*, London (1981), 35-42.

ca. 300 B.C.. This suggests that the cat was known to the Jews by 300 B.C. at the latest, unless the translator introduced it into the Greek text. The absence of any reference to cats in the *Old Testament* is, of course, not conclusive proof that the animal was unknown to the Israelites. In view of their contacts with Egypt, where it was common, ignorance of it would be surprising[78].

(2) There are in fact references to the cat in Akkadian literature. In his *AHw* von Soden cites *šuränu(m)* as meaning "Katze", and gives examples of its occurrence from Old Babylonian times onwards in lexical lists, fables, omens and recipes. Landsberger[79] argues that it refers primarily *to the domestic cat* (Bodenheimer[80] questions this), with other words (*murašu, zirqatu, az/şaru*) having reference to various kinds of wild cat and lynx.

(3) It would be strange for an astrological geography of Mesopotamian provenance to omit mention of Media. In the ancient sources Teucros is referred to as τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου. Boll[69] has sifted the evidence concerning Teucros and concluded that all that can be said about his epoch is that he lived no later than the 1st. century A.D.. Cumont[64] argues that the material attributed to Teucros goes back at least to the 2nd. century B.C.. However, he recognizes that because the animals referred to include the cat, sparrow, hawk, ibis, and crocodile, the schema is of Egyptian origin. In addition it is worth noting Neugebauer's[81] conclusion that the concept of decans is the only astronomical concept of real Egyptian origin. The so-called "Chaldean decans" of 36 stars (not constellations)

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78. G.S. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands,* Exeter (1970), 114, refers to an ivory statuette of a cat found in Lachish and dated *ca.* 1700 B.C., commenting that Lachish had regular commercial links with Egypt at that time.
79. B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien,* Leipzig (1934), 8-11, 86f.
80. F.S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands,* Leiden (1960), 108.
81. O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity,* Copenhagen (1951), 81ff.

were quite different[82]. The most we can say, then, is that Teucros
provides evidence that this Egyptian system, in a Hellenized form, was
known in Babylonia by the 1st. century A.D.. However, even this is open
to question. It is possible that the Babylon from which Teucros is named
was the city situated above Heliopolis on the Nile[83], a view which
Gundel[84] attributes to Eisler, and considers very probable. This casts
considerable doubt on the validity of Caquot's appeal to Teucros' schema
to illuminate the animal imagery of *Dan. 7*, especially when there is so
little direct correspondence between the animals and countries of that
chapter and of the astrological schema.

(4) It is a great weakness in Caquot's case that he has to switch his
appeal from Teucros' schema to Ptolemy's when discussing the third beast.
He notes that astrological geographies frequently changed to incorporate
the growing horizons of the ancient world. He may be correct in assuming
that Ptolemy's schema reflects a variant as ancient as Teucros'. However,
it is just as likely, if not more so, that it is the result of later
revisions of the earlier form attested by Teucros. Also, Caquot fails to
note that Ptolemy[85] treats Babylonia, Assyria, and Chaldea as separate
countries, and it is only Chaldea that he puts under Leo. The others he
puts directly under Virgo.

These considerations show that there are too many problems and
uncertainties in Caquot's thesis for it to carry conviction.

Cumont's identification of astrological symbolism in *Dan. 8* might seem to
rest on firmer ground. However, there are problems with it also.

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82. B.L. van der Waerden, "Babylonian Astronomy II. The Thirty-Six
Stars", *JNES* 8 (1949), 6-26.
83. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, 2.2, Stuttgart (1896), 2699,
"Babylon, Stadt in Ägypten".
Lexicon Der Ägyptology, Band I, Weisbaden (1975), 592, "Babylon".
84. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, 5.A.1, Stuttgart (1934), 1132ff,
"Teukros von Babylon".
85. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, trans. F.E. Robins, Loeb, London (1940), 141ff.

(1) The first is the assumption that someone living in Babylonia would use the Ram as an astrological symbol. Van der Waerden[86] has discussed the history of the Zodiac. He showed that the concept developed gradually in Babylon without the aid of any outside influence. The idea of the zodiacal belt was well established by 700 B.C., and the system of 12 equal signs was fixed by 420 B.C.. The Greek evidence points strongly to the conclusion that the Greeks took over the idea of the Zodiac with its 12 signs from the Babylonians soon after 400 B.C.. Most of the Greek names of the signs are clearly translations of the Babylonian names. However, one exception is the Ram. The Babylonian name for this sign is *hun.ga* = *agru*, "the hireling". The origin of the Greek name is not known. Even in Seleucid tablets the traditional Babylonian names are used for zodiacal signs. Hence, one would hardly expect the Ram to appear as an astrological symbol in a text of Babylonian provenance from either the 6th. or the 2nd. century B.C..

(2) The assumption that the Goat would be recognized as an astrological symbol for Greece because of the Seleucid domination of Syria needs questioning on chronological grounds. It would be quite inappropriate in a genuine 6th. century B.C. work, or even in a 2nd. century work wishing to appear as a 6th. century one. In astrological geography Virgo is the symbol for Hellas and Ionia.

In view of these points the possibility of the use of astrological symbolism in *Dan. 8* seems almost as questionable as that of its use in *Dan. 7.*

Conclusion. The Babylonians' great interest in astrology might make the suggestion that astrological ideas lie behind the animal imagery of *Dan. 7&8* seem plausible, even attractive. However, our examination of the

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86.   B.L. van der Waerden, "History of the Zodiac", *AfO* 16 (1952/3), 216-230.

contd.

attempts to establish this has shown that they involve too many questionable assumptions and implausibilities for it to be safe to accept them.

Postscript on Mesopotamian *Mischwesen*

The fact that we have looked at iconography, mythology, birth omens and astrology as possible sources of the bizarre animal imagery of *Dan. 7&8* is an indication of the prevelance of *Mischwesen* in Mesopotamian culture. Below are some selected examples drawn from different areas where that culture had influence.

Cylinder seals. Amiet's collection[87] contains, amongst others, the following examples (see fig. 1):

p87, no. 252   A bull-man (Babylonian, 2350-2200 B.C.).
p145, no. 424   A winged, man-headed, bull (Mitanni, 2nd. millenium B.C.).
p177, no. 524   A winged, man-headed, goat (Assyria, 9th.-6th. cent. B.C.).

Sculptures. The following are examples taken from *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*[88] (see fig. 2):

No. 644 A composite winged creature from Carchemish. It has two heads, one human and one leonine, and a serpentine tail. (9th. century).

No. 658 "The figure of a demon (with lion's body, eagle feet and wings, with tail and penis ending in serpent heads) is engraved on the back of this plaque". (Assyrian, no date given).

A ritual bowl from Temple D in Ebla has an interesting *Mischwesen* carved on it (see fig. 2). Matthiae[89] dates it to *ca.* 1850 B.C..

The so-called "Göttertypentext" provides a description of 27 representations of Babylonian gods and *Mischwesen*. The best preserved extant copy of the text was excavated at Aššur, but its colophon identifies it as an early 7th. century copy of a tablet from Babylon[90]. The following are a couple of striking examples of the creatures

87.   P. Amiet, *Bas-reliefs imaginaires de l'ancien orient*, Paris (1973).
88.   J.B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, Princeton (1954).
89.   P. Matthiae, *Ebla: un impero ritovato*, Turin (1977), 142.
90.   F. Köcher, "Der babylonian Göttertypentext". *MIO* 1 (1953), 57-107.

described:

Col. IV ll. 5-22. A female creature with an ape's mouth, gazelle's ears, sheep's eyes, and two horns, one long and one short. The hands are human. The upper part of the body is fish-like and the lower part canine. It has a flipper tail.

Col. V ll. 43-51. The creature has a dog's head. The upper part of the body and the hands are human, the lower part and the feet are canine. He has a dog's tail, and some unclear avian features.

Green[91] has documented the occurrences in Assyrian art of the "goat-fish", "fish-man" and "fish-woman", as well as giving examples of the "bull-man". The Ištar gate of Babylon provides examples of reliefs of hybrid creatures[92] (see fig. 3).

Boundary stones. In his paper on the history of the Zodiac van der Waerden[96] points out the close similarity between some figures found on Babylonian boundary stones and figures in the 1st. century A.D. round Zodiac of Dendra in Egypt. In particular (see fig. 4) there is a goat-fish (upper-half goat, lower-half fish) and a centaur-like archer (the body is a winged horse, with a scorpion's tail as well as a horse's tail; in place of the horse's head is a human torso which has a dog's head as well as a human one).

The exact significance of these figures is unclear. Hinke[93] thinks it "altogether probable" that they represent constellations related to the Zodiac. Chatley[94], however, says that many think

> "...that wherever in Babylonian or Assyrian boundary stones
> there are bulls, scorpions, etc., they are necessarily zodiacal
> signs, but in many cases this is questionable ... There is no
> clear evidence for the zodiacal series, as such, prior to the
> time of Nebuchadnezzar".

Van der Waerden[95] thinks that,

91. A. Green, "A Note on the Assyrian 'Goat-fish', 'Fish-man', and 'Fish-woman'", *Iraq* 48 (1986), 25-30.
92. R. Koldewey, *Das Ischtar-Tor in Babylon*, Osnabrück (1970).
93. W.J. Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I*, Philadelphia (1907), 113.
94. H. Chatley, Review of *The Royal Art of Astrology* by R. Eisler, London (1946), in *The Observatory* 67 (1947), 187-189.
95. B.L. van der Waerden, *op. cit.* ref. 82, 226.

"We can leave open the question whether the symbol on the
boundary stones already meant a constellation or whether it
represented a minor god, afterwards transferred to the sky."

Conclusion. In the face of such a pervasive occurrence of animal imagery,
much of it quite weird, in Mesopotamian culture, any attempt to isolate a
single source for the imagery of *Dan. 7&8* is not going to be easy. No
claim to have found that source can be secure unless there is a very
close match between its imagery and that of *Daniel.* We have found that
this is not the case for any of the claimed sources we have discussed.
All that can be said is that the use of weird animal imagery is not
suprising in the visions of someone living in Babylon and trained in "the
letters and language of the Chaldeans", as is said of Daniel in *Dan.1:4.*

Figure 1. Cylinder Seal Impressions.

252

424

524

contd.

Figure 2. Sculptures of *Mischwesen*.

Ebla bowl
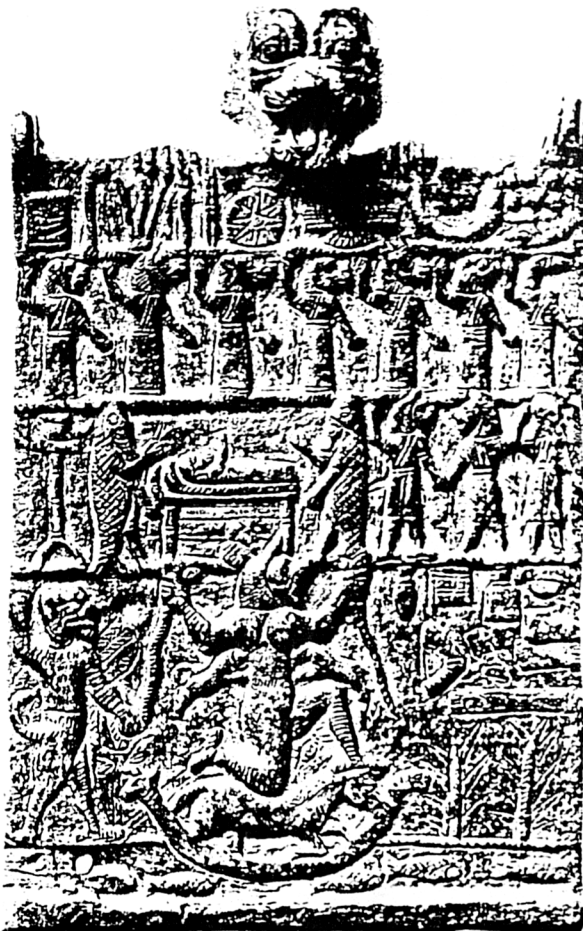
Bronze Pazuzu plaque with exorcising scene.

Composite winged creature, from Carchemish.

contd.

Figure 3.   A Relief from the Ištar Gate of Babylon.

Figure 4. *Mischwesen* from a Boundary Stone.
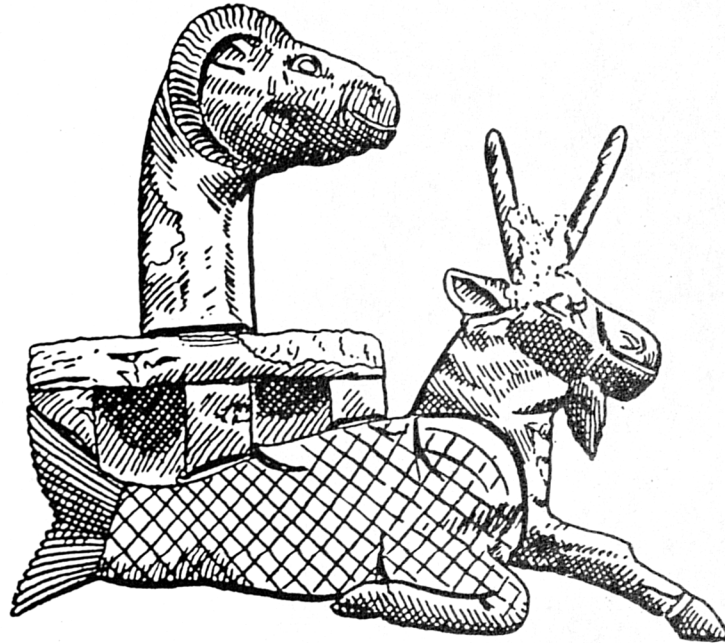
The goatfish (Capricorn) from a boundary stone of Meli-Shipak

The archer from a Babylonian boundary stone.

Chapter II: *DANIEL IN AN APOCALYPTIC CONTEXT*

<u>PROPHETIC SURVEYS OF HISTORY</u>

The purpose of this survey is to try to determine the characteristics of prophetic surveys of history in Jewish and early Christian literature so that these characteristics could be compared with those of the historical surveys in Daniel. Such a comparison could uncover possible literary relationships, the implications of which could then be explored.

The works surveyed were those available in the collections edited by Sparks[1] and Charlesworth[2,3], all the Jewish and Christian apocalypses listed in *Apocalyptic: Morphology of a Genre*, edited by Collins[4], the Nag Hammadi documents in the collection edited by Robinson[5], and the Dead Sea Scrolls edited[6] and summarized[7] by Vermes.

As a result of the survey 28 prophetic surveys of history, other than the 5 in Daniel, were found. Of these 4QpsDan. is too fragmentary to be of much value beyond showing that the surveys in Daniel were apparently imitated at Qumran[8]. The surveys can be divided into three main categories, each with sub-divisions. The general characteristics of the categories and sub-divisions will be described first, before embarking on a more detailed discussion.

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1. H.F.D. Sparks (Ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, Oxford (1984).
2. J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 1, New York (1983).
3. J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 2, New York (1985).
4. J.J. Collins (Ed.), *Apocalyptic: Morphology of a Genre*, Missoula, Montana (1979).
5. J.M. Robinson (Ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, Leiden (1977).
6. G. Vermes (Ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 3rd. ed., Harmondsworth (1987).
7. G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective*, London (1977).
8. J.A. Fitzmeyer, "The contribution of Qumran to the Study of the New Testament", *NTS* 20 (1974), 382-407.

Table 2
Prophetic Surveys of History

CLASS 1 - Non-symbolic, Non-periodized History.

(a) Old Testament Style.

Jub. 1:5-26	Israel's history	2nd. C. B.C.
Jub. 23:16-31	The Maccabean period	2nd. C. B.C.
Vita A&E 29	Israel's history	A.D. 60-300

(b) Enigmatic.

Dan. 11	Cyrus - Antiochus IV	
T. Mos. 2-10	Joshua - Maccabees	1st. C. A.D.
Ap. Elijah 2	Coming of Anti-Christ	A.D. 150-275

(c) Using Gematria.

Sib. Or. 5:1-51	Alexander - Marcus Aurelius	early 2nd. C. A.D.
Sib. Or. 11	Flood - Julius Caesar	early 1st. C. A.D.
Sib. Or. 12	Augustus - Alex. Severus	ca. A.D. 235
Sib. Or. 13	Gordianus III - Odenath	ca. A.D. 265
Sib. Or. 14	Odenath - Arab invasion	7th. C. A.D.

CLASS 2 - Non-symbolic, Periodized History.

(a) 10 Periods.

Sib. Or. 4:49-151	10 Gen./4 Kingdoms	300 B.C./A.D. 100
Sib. Or. 3:156-195	10 Kingdoms	160-150 B.C.
Sib. Or. 1:1-323&2:1-33	10 Generations	1st./2nd. C. A.D.
Sib. Or. 8:1-15	5 Kingdoms	ca. A.D. 175

(b) 12 Periods.

2 Bar. 53-76	Apocalypse of Clouds	early 2nd. C. A.D.
Ap. Ab. 27-23	12 Periods/4 Kingdoms?	A.D. 70-150
Lad. Jac. 4	12 Steps	late 1st. C. A.D.

(c) 70 Periods.

Dan. 9:24-27	70 Weeks of years	
1 En. 91&93	Apoc. of Weeks	pre-167 B.C.
T. Levi 16-18	70 Weeks	2nd. C. B.C.

CLASS 3 - Symbolic Imagery.

(a) Non-animal Imagery.

Dan. 2	Image made of four metals	
T. Naph. 6	The shipwreck	2nd. C. B.C.
2 Bar. 35-40	Forest, vine & fountain	early 2nd. C. A.D.

(b) Using Animal Imagery.

Dan. 7	The four beasts	
Dan. 8	The ram and the goat	
1 En. 85-90	The Animal Apocalypse	165-161 B.C.
T. Jos. 19	The stags and the sheep	2nd. C. B.C.
T. Naph. 5	The bull/eagle vision	2nd. C. B.C.
Rev. 12-14	The woman, dragon & beast	late 1st. C. A.D.
Rev. 17-20	The harlot & the beast	late 1st. C. A.D.
4 Ezra 11&12	The eagle	early 2nd. C. A.D.

The passages are listed in Table 2 according to our classification. For the passages other than those in *Daniel* and *Revelation* dates are given as cited in the volumes edited by Sparks[1] and Charlesworth[2,3]. The date for *Revelation* is the one generally accepted[9]. Nearly all the works covered come from between the 3rd. century B.C. and the 3rd. century A.D. The first group of passages (Class 1) consists of those surveys which use neither symbolic imagery nor periodization. Three sub-divisions can be made:

(a) those which can be said to adopt an "O.T. style";

(b) those which adopt an enigmatic style;

(c) those which are somewhat enigmatic and also use gematria.

There is some animal imagery in *Sib. Or. 13&14*, which will be commented on.

The second major group of passages (Class 2) consists of those which present history without using symbolic images, but use some clear scheme to divide history into periods. There are three sub-divisions:

(a) those using a scheme based on 10 periods;

(b) those using one based on 12 periods;

(c) those using one based on 70 periods.

Here it becomes clear that the divisions are not mutually exclusive. *Dan. 7*, which has been put in Class 3(b), clearly uses a scheme based on 4 periods, as does *Dan. 2* in Class 3(a). This scheme is combined with that based on 10 periods in *Sib. Or. 4*, and possibly in *Apoc. Ab.*. Flusser[10] argues that the *Apocalypse of Weeks* really belongs with those based on a 10 period scheme. The *Animal Apocalypse* includes a scheme of 70 shepherds. The passage in *2 Bar. 53-76* has an element of

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9. D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 3rd. ed., London (1970), 949-961.

10. D. Flusser, "The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel", *IOS* 2 (1972), 148-175.

symbolic imagery. These points will be taken up in the discussion.

The final group of passages (Class 3) consists of those surveys which present some span of history with the use of symbolic imagery. The passages can be further sub-divided into:

(a) those which use non-animal imagery;

(b) those which use animal imagery.

The significance, or otherwise, of this segregation will be another point of discussion.

CLASS 1 (a)

The Book of Jubilees is a rewriting of *Gen. 1 - Ex. 12* in the tradition of Jewish halakhic midrash. It claims to be a revelation given to Moses by an angel of the presence on Mount Sinai. Although occasionally the biblical text is reproduced verbatim, for the most part it is expanded, adapted, or abbreviated to recast it according to the author's purpose and interests. The *halakhoth* presented in *Jubilees* cover a wide variety of issues and differ at many points from those of the Pharisees and Sadducees[11]. They are notable for their severity. Emphasis is put on calendrical matters, and the book advocates a solar calendar of 364 days in which all the feasts fall on the same day of the week each year. The book's chronological framework divides history up into weeks and jubilees of years, dating events in Israelite history to specific times in these cycles. Overall, the thrust of the book is to stress the exclusiveness of the Jews and the blessedness of keeping the Law.

The complete text is extant only in Ethiopic[12], with fragments existing in several other languages. Most of the existing versions, including the

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11. Ch. Albeck, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha*, Berlin (1930).
12. For the Ethiopic text plus the text of fragments in other languages see: R.H. Charles, *the Ethiopic Version of the Book of Jubilees*, Oxford (1895).

Ethiopic, are translations from a Greek version. The discovery of fragments of at least 10 Hebrew MSS of *Jubilees* at Qumran supports the view that the book was originally composed in Hebrew[13].

Paleographical evidence dates the MSS soon after 100 B.C.[14]. VanderKam thinks that *Jub. 34:2-9* refers to the defeat of Nicanor in 161 B.C.. He argues that since *Jubilees* has close affinities with the theology of the Qumran community, yet has a high view of the Jerusalem priesthood, it must have been written before the accession of the Hasmonean priesthood with Jonathan in 152 B.C.. Hence he dates the book between 161 and 152 B.C.[15]. Nickelsburg[16] is not convinced about the reference to Nicanor's defeat. Moreover he points out that there is no clear reference to Antiochus Epiphanes' desecration of the Temple in 23:16ff, where one might expect it. He thinks that the strength of the book's condemnation of Gentile practices fits best in the period of Palestinian hellenization just prior to the Antiochene persecution, and so dates the book to *ca.* 168 B.C.. Davenport[17] has argued for the earlier view that the book dates from the latter part of the 2nd. C. B.C.. However, he thinks that earlier material is included. His literary critical analysis has been found unsatisfactory by VanderKam[18] and Nickelsburg[19].

It is clear that *Jubilees* was popular with the Qumran community. The *Damascus Document (CD 16:3&4)* quotes it as authoritative. However, its

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13. J.C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, HSM 14, Missoula, Mont. (1977). This discusses the various versions and concludes that the Ethiopic is a reliable rendering of the Hebrew *via* a Greek intermediate stage (p.91-95).
14. J.C. VanderKam, *op. cit.* ref. 13, 254.
15. J.C. VanderKam, *op. cit.* ref. 13, 214-285.
16. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Jubilees" in M.E. Stone (Ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, Philadelphia (1984), esp. 101ff.
17. G.L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, Leiden (1971).
18. J.C. VanderKam, "The Putative Author of the Book of Jubilees" *JSS* 26 (1981), 209-217.
19. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *op. cit.* ref. 16, 102 n. 62.

teaching is not identical with that of works composed at Qumran[20]. Either of the early dates for the book would preclude its composition at Qumran. Davenport[17] considers it possible that the final version of the work was produced there.

Jubilees 1:5-26. This passage is a supposed revelation to Moses of the history of Israel from the entry into Canaan to the return from exile. It presents the history in broad outline only according to the pattern: prosperity - apostasy - persecution of the prophets and Law-keepers - defeat and exile - repentance - restoration.

The language and style is very reminiscent of several O.T. passages. In particular there are echoes of: the warnings against disobedience in *Deut. 28:15ff*, the explanation of the fall of the Northern Kingdom in *2 K. 17:7-20*, the promise of repentance and restoration in *Jer. 29:13&14*, and of God dwelling in the midst of his people again in *Ezek. 37:26-28*. For example[21]:

Jub. 1:12	I will send witnesses to them ... but they will not listen.
2 K. 17:13f	Yet the Lord warned Israel and Judah by every prophet and every seer ... but they would not listen.
Jub. 1:15f	... they will seek me, and I will let them find me. And when they seek with all their heart and soul I will grant them an age of peace and righteousness
Jer. 29:13	You will seek me and find me; when you seek me with all your heart. I will be found by you ... and restore your fortunes.
Jub. 1:16	... they shall be a blessing and not a curse, the head and not the tail.
Deut. 28:44	... he shall be the head, and you shall be the tail. All these curses shall come upon you.

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20. D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature" in M.E. Stone (Ed.),
    op. cit. ref. 16, 483-550, esp. 530.
    B. Noack, "Qumran and the Book of Jubilees", *SEA* 22/23(1957/8),
    191-207. The differences cited are matters of degree, not kind.
    Their significance is hard to assess unless one assumes that
    little variety of outlook was allowed at Qumran.
21. The quotations are from the translation by C. Rabin in H.F.D.
    Sparks, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 10-139.

Jub. 1:17	And I will build my sanctuary in their midst, and I will dwell with them and be their God, and they shall be my people.
Ezek. 37:26f	I will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My dwelling place shall be with them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.

Jubilees 23:16-31. In context this is a commentary on *Gen. 25:7*, "These are the days of the years of Abraham's life, one hundred and seventy-five years". Abraham's life was much shorter than those before the flood, and after him life-spans decreased further as a result of sin. The sinfulness of the generations after Abraham is described in v11-15. The following verses describe the last, evil, generation, after which repentance and salvation will lead to renewed longevity.

The structure of v16-31 is:

(1) Sin   v16-21

(2) Punishment   v22-25

(3) Return to the Law   v26

(4) Salvation   v27-31

Nickelsburg[22] says of the description of the sins of the evil generation in v16-21,

> "The description fits admirably the events in Jerusalem before Antiochus' decree of 167: the apostasy of the Hellenizers; the strife in Jerusalem at the time of Jason's attempted coup; the continued presence of Menelaus, the corrupt and bloody high priest".

According to v22-25 God punishes the Jews by sending against them the merciless "sinners of the Gentiles". What is said here is very general, with no allusions to specific events of the Antiochene persecution. Nickelsburg thinks that at most these verses presuppose the massacre and plundering of the Temple in 169 B.C.. The turning point comes

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22. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, London (1981), 77.

when some return to "study of the laws" and "the path of righteousness"

(v26). This leads to a time of peace and joy, the punishment of Israel's

enemies, and the return of longevity.

The whole passage has an O.T. character. Its overall structure is one

that is common in the O.T historical narratives, and also appears in the

passage warning against breaking the covenant in *Lev. 26:14ff* and also

in *Deut. 32.* The language of v16-21 in particular is reminiscent of

these passages, and of *Deut. 28:15ff.* Nickelsburg[23] points out that the

promise of salvation (v27-31) reflects *Isa. 65:17-25.* Despite the fact

that this passage seems to cover the same period as *Dan. 11:21-12:3* the

style of the two passages is very different and no verbal similarities

are apparent. Moreover *Daniel* alludes to quite specific events, whereas

the passage in *Jubilees* is very general. Also, whereas *Daniel* speaks

clearly of resurrection, *Jubilees* no more than hints at life after death

in 23:31, "And their bones shall rest in the earth, and their spirits

have much joy"[24].

The Life of Adam and Eve is extant only in Latin[25]. A shorter Greek

work, *The Apocalypse of Moses*, contains about half the material in the

Vita with a lengthy interpolation[26]. The inter-relationship of these

works, and other books attributed to Adam, is unclear. Nickelsburg has

studied the matter and comes to the tentative conclusion that the *Vita*

is an expansion of the *Apoc. Mos.*, and that both may draw on earlier

Adamic material[27].

23. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *op. cit.* ref. 22, 78.
24. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Inter-testamental Judaism*, Cambridge, Mass. (1972), 1-33, discusses the relationship between *Jub. 23 & Dan. 10-12.*
25. W. Meyer, *Vita Adae et Evae*, Munich (1878).
26. C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, Leipzig (1866), 1-23.
27. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "The Life of Adam and Eve" in M.E. Stone (Ed.) *op. cit.* ref. 16, 113-118.

Both works are haggadic-type expansions of *Gen. 1-4.* A major theme of the books is that although death is a necessary result of Adam and Eve's sin, God promises a general resurrection. For this reason mourning is to last only six days. The seventh day is a sign of the resurrection and the rest of the age to come.

Sparks says of the *Apoc. Mos.*, "There is nothing in it that is necessarily Christian"[28]. The *Vita* contains some clearly Christian passages. It is still a matter of debate whether these indicate that it is a Christian composition, or a Jewish one that has been interpolated[29]. Wells'[30] view that the *Vita* was written "between A.D. 60 and 300, and probably in the earliest years of this period" still seems to represent the consensus[31].

The passage which concerns us, ch. 29, is part of a section in the *Vita* that has no parallel in the *Apoc. Mos..* It is also absent from some MSS of the *Vita*[25]. In it Adam tells Seth of the course of history which was revealed to him when he ate of the Tree of Knowledge. The outline is:

v7a	Israel will settle in Canaan and build the Temple.
v7b	Because of their sin the Temple will be burnt and Israel go into exile.
v8	Israel will return and rebuild the Temple.
v9&10	Iniquity will increase again. "God will dwell with men on earth in visible form" and "raise up for himself a faithful people". Obedience to God will spread.
v11	Men will forsake the Law and be punished, but the righteous "will shine like the sun".
v12	When the judgement comes those purified by water are blessed but the rest condemned.

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28. H.F.D. Sparks, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 142.
29. See the discussion in Nickelsburg, *op. cit.* ref. 27, 116-118.
30. L.S.A. Wells, in R.H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* Vol. 2, Oxford (1913), 129f.
31. A.M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancient Testament,* Leiden (1970), 6f.
    M.D. Johnson in J.H. Charlesworth *op. cit.* ref. 3, 252 expresses the view that the original composition behind the Greek and Latin works was made between 100 B.C. and 200 A.D., probably about 100 A.D., with the translations produced by 400 A.D.

Quite unlike the passages in *Jub. 1&23*, this one is not immediately

reminiscent of biblical passages. Nor, however, is it anything like *Dan.*

11 in style or language, though v11 ("...but the righteous will shine like

the sun before him") may echo *Dan. 12:3a*, ("And those who are wise shall

shine like the brightness of the firmament").

Conclusion. The study of this group of prophetic surveys of history

does not throw any new light on those in *Daniel*.

CLASS 1 (b)

The two non-biblical surveys of history included in this group share

with *Dan. 11* the characteristic of referring to the major figures they

mention in a somewhat enigmatic way, *e.g.* "a king will rise up in the

west" (Apoc. El. 2:6); "a wanton king" (Test. Mos. 6:2).

The Testament of Moses. (Sometimes called *The Assumption of Moses*).

This takes the form of a farewell exhortation given by Moses to his

successor Joshua just prior to Moses' death and the entry of Israel into

the Promised Land.   Following a scene-setting introduction there is a

lengthy predictive survey of Israel's history from the conquest of

Canaan to the end of time, which is preceded by a period of severe

persecution (ch. 2-9). There is then a dialogue between Joshua and Moses

in which Moses encourages a rather apprehensive Joshua. This breaks off

in mid-sentence at 12:13, the end of the document having been lost.

The only extant copy of the text is in a 6th. C. A.D. Latin palimpsest

discovered by A.M. Ceriani in the Ambrosian Library in Milan in 1861[32].

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32. The basic edition of the text is still that in R.H. Charles, *The*
    Assumption of Moses, London (1897), containing the original text, a
    proposed emended text, introduction, translation and notes.

As well as being incomplete, parts of the text are missing or illegible.
The presence of Greek idioms and transliterated Greek words in the text
show that it is a translation from Greek. There is general agreement
that the Greek was itself a translation of a Semitic original[33].

Widely different dates have been suggested for the work. Some have
connected it with the aftermath of the Bar Kokhbah rebellion[34], but the
majority have dated it either to the Maccabean period or the early 1st
C. A.D.. The cause of the debate is the fairly clear reference in 6:6-9
to the 34 year rule of Herod the Great and the partial destruction of
the temple in Varus' campaign of 4 B.C., whilst the description of the
great persecution at the end of time in ch. 8 seems to be a vivid
account of that instigated by Antiochus Epiphanes. Are chs. 6&7
therefore a later insertion into the original work? The debate between
Nickelsburg and Collins[35] puts the arguments on both sides. The
difference is one of emphasis. Is it an essentially Maccabean work
which was updated in the 1st. C. A.D., or is it a 1st. C. work which makes
use of Maccabean traditions? As Priest comments[36], the fragmentary and
unreliable state of the Latin makes it impossible to carry out reliable
literary criticism and so to come to any confident conclusion.

It is generally assumed that the work originated in Palestine, since it
presents history from a Palestinian perspective.

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33. R.H. Charles, *op. cit.* ref. 32, xxxvi-xlv.
    D.H. Wallace, "The Semitic Origin of the Assumption of Moses",
    TZ 11 (1955), 321-328.
34. S. Zeitlin, "The Assumption of Moses and the Revolt of Bar Kokba"
    JQR 38 (1947), 1-45.
    K. Haaker, "Assumptio Mosis - eine samaritanische Schrift?",
    TZ 25 (1969), 385-405.
35. G.W.E. Nickelsburg (Ed.), *Studies in the Testament of Moses,*
    SBL, Sept. Cog. Stud. 4, Cambridge, Mass. (1973), 15-43.
36. J. Priest in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 921.

No one has argued for any Christian influence on the work. Its purpose

seems to have been to encourage an attitude of non-violent resistance

amongst the Jews at a time when they faced Gentile oppression[37]. This,

of course, stands in contrast to the attitude of either the Maccabees or

the 1st. C. A.D. zealots. There is not enough evidence to link the book

with any specific known Jewish party of either the 2nd. C. B.C. or the

1st. C. A.D.

Harrington[38] and Nickelsburg[39] have shown the close relationship in

structure, wording, and theology between the *Test. Mos.* and *Deut. 31-34.*

Indeed. to quote Priest[40],

> "The basic outline of the Testament of Moses follows the
> pattern of those chapters to such an extent that the
> Testament of Moses may be considered a virtual rewriting of
> them".

However, there is also influence from apocalyptic ideas, which is seen in

three ways. The first is the presentation of history as quite detailed

prophecy. The second is the transcendent eschatology of ch. 10.

Thirdly, the theology of the *Testament* is in fact a modification of that

of *Deuteronomy.* The apostasy-punishment-vindication pattern of *Deut.*

31-34 is altered to apostasy-punishment-partial vindication-apostasy-

punishment-eschatological vindication.

There is a similarity to *Dan. 11* in the use of phrases such as[41]:

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"a king from the east" (3:1)
"one over them" (4:1)
"kings will arise over them" (6:1)
"a wanton king" (6:2)
"a powerful king of the west" (6:8)
"a king of kings of the earth" (8:1)
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37. See *e.g.* the comments of H.F.D. Sparks, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 603f.
38. D.J. Harrington in G.W.E. Nickelsburg (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 35,
    59-68.
39. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *op. cit.* ref. 22, 80-83.
40. J. Priest in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 923.
41. Quotations are from the translation by J. Priest, *op. cit.* ref. 40,
    927-934.

The possible significance of these similarities depends partly on the dating of the work. If it does come from the 1st. C. A.D. it is hardly likely that the author would not know the book of *Daniel*. He could, therefore, be copying its style. On any dating of the book there is general agreement that ch. 6, and probably ch. 7, were written in the 1st. C. A.D. Is there evidence in the other chapters of an acquaintance with *Daniel*? Echoes of it have been seen in the following places:

Test. Mos. 3:13:	These things which have come upon us since that time are according to his admonition declared to us at that time.
Daniel 9:3:	As it is written in the Law of Moses, all this calamity has come upon us.
Test. Mos. 4:1:	The unnamed intercessor who prays for the Jews' return from exile after 77 years is usually identified with Daniel, cf. *Dan. 9*.
Test. Mos. 8:1:	There will come upon them [...] punishment and wrath such as has never happened to them from the creation till that time.
Daniel 12:1:	And there shall be a time of troubles, such as never has been since there was a nation till that time.
Test. Mos. 8:1:	... a king of kings of the earth who, having supreme authority...
Daniel 2:37:	... the king of kings, to whom the God of heaven has given the kingdom, the power, and the might, and the glory...

In view of the fact that the Latin text stands at two removes from the probable Semitic original a very close verbal agreement between the *Testament of Moses* and *Daniel* could scarcely be expected. None of the parallels with *Deut. 31-34* which Harrington quotes[39] are any closer. Priest's[42] conclusion is, "... though it is probable that the author of the Testament of Moses was acquainted with the book of Daniel, it is not possible to assert definite dependence on his part". This seems fair. If acquaintance with the book is probable, the most likely explanation

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42. J. Priest in J.H. Charlseworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 924

of the style of *Test. Mos. 2-9* is that it is influenced by the style of *Dan. 11.*

The Apocalypse of Elijah. (In modern editions of this text there are different sets of chapter and verse divisions in use. We use that of Kuhn[43]). This composite work falls into three main sections:

(1) A homiletic discussion of prayer and fasting (ch.1).

(2) A prophetic description of events preceeding the coming of the Antichrist (ch. 2).

(3) A description of the Antichrist (3:1-15). An account of several martyrdoms, including that of Elijah and Enoch (3:16-54). Oracles concerning what will happen "on that day" (3:55-99).

The extant text is based on one Akhmimic and three Sahidic MSS of the 4th. C. A.D. and the early 5th. C. A.D.[44]. A 4th. C. papyrus fragment contains 3:90-92 in Greek. This supports the generally held view that the Coptic versions are translations from Greek.

The dissemination of the work in Coptic in the 4th. C. A.D. suggests that the Greek original was composed no later than the latter part of the 3rd. C. A quotation from *1 Jn. 2:15* at 1:2 and several allusions to the book of *Revelation*, suggest that the *Apocalypse of Elijah* should not be dated earlier than the mid-2nd. C. A.D.

There can be no doubt about the Christian character of the extant work. There are many apparent reminiscences of the *New Testament*. The story of the martyrdom of Elijah and Enoch is strongly influenced by the account of the two witnesses in *Rev. 11*, and there is the quotation

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43. K.H. Kuhn in H.F.D. Sparks, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 762-773.
44. A. Pietersma, S.T. Constable & H.W. Attridge, *The Apocalypse of Elijah: Based on Pap. Chester Beatty 2018, SBL, Texts & Trans. 19, Pseud. Ser. 9*, Chico, Calif. (1981), gives the text of the most complete MSS with variant readings from all the others

from *1 Jn. 2:15.* Above all, there is a clear statement of the doctrine of the incarnation and its purpose in 1:5-7, which echoes *Jn. 3:16&17 & Phil. 2:6-8.* Some scholars have argued for the presence in the work of earlier Jewish material[46].

The prominence of Jerusalem in an eschatological context, as in 3:16ff, is understandable theologically in a Jewish or Christian work. However, the prominence of Egypt in ch. 2 probably indicates the place of origin of the work. In particular, 2:39-45 speaks of a native Egyptian ruler in Heliopolis who helps the Persians free Egypt from the Assyrians and then comes to power in Memphis as a righteous king. This is strongly reminiscent of the *Oracle of the Potter,* an Egyptian text from the end of the 3rd. C. B.C. which is known from Greek versions dated from the 1st. - 3rd. C. A.D.[46]. It is a nationalistic piece, resentful of Greek domination of Egypt.

Wintermute[47] sees some similarities between the *Apocalypse of Elijah* and the book of *Daniel.* These are:

(1)   "...a method of surveying history in the form of future predictions that make use of such coded expressions as 'a king who rises in the north' (2:3 cf. Dan. 11:6) or 'in the west' (2:6 cf. Dan. 8:5) or the three 'kings of Persia' who will struggle with four 'kings of Assyria' for three years (2:42)".

(2)   "...the tendency to repeat certain characteristic motifs and even to repeat the same sequence of events in several different forms".

He also concludes that, "The figure of the lawless one who will appear in the holy places is ultimately derived from the book of Daniel". Here

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45. Most recently: J.M. Rosenstiehl, *L'Apocalypse d'Elie: Introduction, Traduction et Notes,* Paris (1972).
    O.S. Wintermute in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 721-726.
46. See C.C. McCown, "Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature", *HTR* 18(1925), 397-400.
    E. Lobe & C.H. Roberts (Eds.), *The Oxyrhyncus Papyri XXII,* London (1954), 89-99.
    L. Koenen, "Die Prophezeinungen des Töpfers", *Z.Pap.Ep.* 2(1968), 178-209.
47. O.S. Wintermute, *op. cit.* ref. 45, 722ff.

he is referring to *Ap. El. 2:34; 3:5; 3:16; 3:25* & *Dan. 9:26&27; 11:30&31.*

In this case the influence of *Daniel* could have been mediated through

Matt. 24:15 (which alludes to *Dan. 9:27* & *11:31*) since there is a clear

allusion to *Matt. 24:15* in 3:1, but in the light of the two preceeding

points there seems to be a strong case for direct acquaintance with

Daniel.

In the light of this discussion, and the date of the work, it is

reasonable to conclude that the enigmatic style of *Ap. El. 2* is the

result of the influence of *Dan. 11* on the author.   There may also be

influence from the   *Oracle of the Potter*[48], which does use coded

expressions such as, "the hated king from Syria" and "a king from the

Sun/east".   However, the general style of the *Ap. El.* is closer to that of

Dan. 11.

Conclusion.   This discussion of the two prophetic surveys in Jewish and

early Christian literature which are closest in style to *Dan. 11* has

indicated that they are probably influenced by that chapter.   Such a

result is not insignificant.   One aim of this investigation was to assess

Lambert's[49] suggestion that the Akkadian Prophecies "could have been

disseminated in a form intelligible to the Jews".   The form he had in

mind was a Greek or Aramaic translation of the Akkadian texts.   If such

a translation existed and influenced one writer (the author of *Dan. 11*),

it could have influenced others.   We have discovered two striking facts:

(1) The enigmatic, annalistic, historical form similar to that of the

Akkadian Prophecies is rare in these Jewish and Christian prophetic

surveys of history.   Only 3 out of the 32 we have studied use it.

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48. See C.C. McCowan, *op. cit.* ref. 46, 398.
49. W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic,* London (1978),
    15.

(2) Two of these are dependent on the third, *Dan. 11.* There is no evidence of all three being dependent on some other source for their style.

There is therefore no evidence here to substantiate Lambert's suggestion.

CLASS 1(c)

Amongst the historical surveys listed the *Sibylline Oracles* stand out as falling into two distinct sub-groups on their own: non-symbolic surveys which divide history into 10 periods, and non-symbolic surveys which use gematria but not periodization. This may indicate that here we have *sui generis* forms which were developed within the circles which produced the sibylline literature. Our discussion of the *Sibylline Oracles* is much indebted to the introductions to the oracles by Collins in the work edited by Charlesworth[2].

Sibylline Oracle 5 is generally accepted as Jewish (note the bitter complaint about the destruction of the Temple in vs. 398-413). The only evidence of Christian redaction is in the allusion to Jesus' crucifixion in vs. 256-259. Its Egyptian provenance is not disputed. Egypt is prominent in vs. 52-110, 179-285, 435-530. The survey of history in vs. 1-51 covers the period from Alexander to Marcus Aurelius. However v51 is probably a later addition. The favourable reference to Hadrian in vs. 46-50 would hardly be written by a Jew after the revolt of A.D. 132. The reference to the destruction of the Temple and the favourable reference to Hadrian serve to delimit the period of composition for the oracles that make up *Sib. Or. 5* to A.D. 70-130, with a few additions made later.

Sibylline Oracles 11-14 provide a more or less continuous survey of history from the flood down to the Arab conquest of Egypt, with a brief eschatological conclusion (14:352-361). Each book ends with a prayer, and the introductions to each book are similar. No one has suggested that all these books were composed by one author at one time. Rather, they are seen as the product of an on-going tradition.

The date of *Sib. Or. 11* is a matter of dispute. The book ends with mention of Cleopatra and Julius Caesar. However, v. 161 refers to Rome's conquest of Mesopotamia and the Parthians. Mesopotamia was first conquered under Trajan, lost in the time of Hadrian, and then re-conquered in the reign of Septimus Severus. If this is taken as *vaticinium ex eventu*, and not just a later gloss, then the book has to be dated to the 3rd. C. A.D.. In fact it could be argued, as Strugnell[50] does, that *Sib. Or. 11&12* form a single unit, written in the mid-3rd. C., since *Sib. Or. 12* ends with the death of Alexander Severus. However, there are three points that can be taken to militate against this dating:

(1) Book 11 has come down as a separate unit. Book 12 has its own introduction. In view of this it is reasonable to take *Sib. Or. 11* as an independent work written soon after the period of history it portrays. The Parthians were a real threat to Rome in the 1st. C. B.C. and an oracle which proclaimed universal power for Rome would naturally prophesy their defeat by Rome.

(2) The opening summary of previous history in *Sib. Or. 12:1-11* is identical to that in *Sib. Or. 5:1-11*. This summary has what seem to be clear references to *Sib. Or. 11*, namely: "citizen of Pella ... not truly descended from Zeus or Ammon" (*cf.* 11:197, 219); "children of the flock-

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50. J. Strugnell, quoted in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 430.

devouring beast" (*cf.* 11:111); "one of the race and blood of Assaracus" (*cf.* 11:144f). The question here is the direction of dependence. Is *Sib. Or. 5*, written before A.D. 130, a summary of *Sib. Or. 11*, later borrowed in *Sib. Or. 12*, or is *Sib. Or. 11* an expansion of *Sib. Or. 5:1-11*?. As Collins[51] points out, the choice of details in *Sib. Or. 5:1-11* is more easily understandable if that passage is summarizing an earlier Sibyl.

(3) Finally, there is the point, also made by Collins[51], that the statement in 11:171 that Virgil will conceal the Sibyl's writings until after his death makes most sense if the book was written shortly after his death in 19 B.C.. Thus the balance of probabilities favours a date around the turn of the eras. There is no doubt that it was written in Egypt, where its review of history begins and ends, and probably in Alexandria in view of the reference to that city's foundation in vs. 219f and the eulogy in vs. 232-235. The content is thoroughly Jewish with no obvious Christian redaction.

Sib. Or. 12 continues the review of history in Book 11, in the same style. As argued above, vs. 1-11 are borrowed from *Sib. Or. 5:1-11*, and the influence of 5:1-51 is clear in various places in *Sib. Or. 12:1-176*. The book is dated by its latest reference, the death of Alexander Severus in A.D. 235. The book is Jewish (a Christian would not have written of Domitian in the glowing terms of vs. 124-138), though there are Christian interpolations in vs. 30-34, 232[52]. It was probably written in Egypt like *Sib. Or. 11*.

Sib. Or. 13 continues the review of Books 11&12, but covers only the period from Gordianus III to Odenath of Palmyra, in the reign of Gallienus (A.D. 240-*ca.* 265). The reference to the persecution of

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51. J.J. Collins in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 431.
52. See in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 443.

contd.

Decius (vs. 87f) is generally taken to be a Christian comment. Geffcken[53] took the whole work to be Christian. Rzach[54] argued against this on the ground that a Christian would have also surely referred to the persecution under Valerian, and would have represented his capture by the Persians as divine punishment. If vs. 87f is taken as a Christian gloss, nothing else in the book is inconsistent with Jewish authorship. The place of origin is unclear. The interest in Odenath of Palmyra may indicate a Syrian provenance, but there is a eulogy of Egypt and Alexandria in vs. 43-49. Continuity with Books 11&12 favours an Egyptian origin.

The historical allusions in *Sib. Or. 14* are hard to identify with any certainty. It seems to pick up where Book 13 ends and continue to deal with Roman Emperors until v283. From v284 onwards the focus is on Egypt. Scott[55] argues that vs. 340-349 refer to the conquest of Alexandria by the Arabs. This requires a 7th. century date for the book. Nothing in it suggests Christian authorship, and there is a general consensus that it was written by an Alexandrian Jew[56].

The preceding discussion of individual oracles supports the earlier statement that *Sib. Or. 11-14* are the product of an on-going tradition. This had its origin around the turn of the eras in Alexandrian Jewry, and each succeeding author built consciously on the earlier works. Whilst *Sib. Or. 5* seems to come from Jewish circles with different theological concerns from those shown in *Sib. Or. 11*[57] the author knew the earlier work and summarized its content. In its turn *Sib. Or. 5*

53. J. Geffcken, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina*, Leipzig (1902), 59-63.
54. A. Rzach in Pauly-Wissowa (Eds.), *Realencyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft (neue Bearbeitung)*, 2A, Stuttgart (1923), 2160f, "Sybillische Orakel (Buch XIII)".
55. W. Scott, "The Last Sibylline Oracle of Alexandria", *Class.Q.* 9(1915), 207-228.
56. See in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 459.
57. See in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 432.

was used by the author of *Sib. Or. 12.* This inter-dependence accounts for the common use of gematria. The author of Book 11 chose to use this device to veil his historical allusions, and the later authors copied his style.

That the author of *Sib. Or. 11* should use gematria is not particulary surprising. The earliest appearance of it in rabbinic literature is in statements by the Tannaim of the 2nd. C. A.D., but Scholem[58] believes that gematria was known and used by Jews well before then. Hebrew letters were used as numeric signs from at least Hasmonean times[59]. In Christian literature gematria may appear first in the number of the beast in *Rev. 13:18,* or possibly in the groups of 14 generations in *Matt. 1* if they are related to the name David[60]. It is certainly used in *Ep. Barn. 9:8,* a work which comes from the early 2nd. C. A.D., and perhaps from Alexandria[61]. The use of gematria was quite widespread in the hellenistic world, especially amongst the interpreters of dreams[62]. Dreams, of course, were seen as a form of revelation, and the association of gematria with this type of revelation may have encouraged its use in an oracular composition such as the Sibyllines.

Conclusion. Unfortunately for our purpose this class of prophetic historical survey throws no light on the form of the surveys in *Daniel.* The only connection with Daniel might be in the animal imagery used in *Sib. Or. 13:155-170 & 14:12-17,* where, of course, it would be a case of the authors being influenced by *Dan. 7&8.* In fact the assortment of

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58. G. Scholem, "Gematria", *Enc.Jud.*, Vol. 7, Jerusalem (1971), col. 369-374.
59. J. Naveh, "Dated Coins of Alexander Jannaeus", *IEJ* 18 (1968), 20-25.
60. D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew,* London (1972), 74.
61. K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers,* Vol. 1, Loeb,, London (1975), 337-339.
62. S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine,* New York (1950), 69-73.

creatures mentioned in *Sib. Or. 13* (bull, serpent, stag, lion, goat) and

Sib. Or. 14 (bulls, young dogs, hound, lion) does not suggest any one

passage in the *Old Testament* or inter-testamental literature. It looks

like the adoption of the motif of animal imagery under the general

influence of its use in such literature.

CLASS 2 (a)

Sibylline Oracle 4 in its final form is usually dated soon after the

latest event it records, namely the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70,

followed by an earthquake (dated to A.D. 76 by Eusebius) and the

eruption of Vesuvius (A.D. 79), which are presented as God's response to

this sacrilege (vs. 115-134). However, Flusser[63] and Collins[64] argue

that embedded in the final form of the book is a much older oracle. Its

core is found in vs. 49-101. Here the Sibyl speaks of ten generations

divided amongst four world empires - the Assyrian, Median, Persian, and

Macedonian. These are allotted 6, 2, 1, & 1 generations respectively.

The build-up leads the reader to expect the final judgement and/or the

definitive divine kingdom to appear after the tenth generation. Instead

Rome is introduced and the survey of history carried on until A.D. 79. It

looks as if an oracle written before the rise of Rome, and presenting

Macedonia as the last great world power, has been re-used with vs. 102-

151 added as a sequel. It may be that the original conclusion of the

early oracle lies behind the present ending in vs. 173-192, as Collins

suggests. Flusser sees the beginning of the original oracle in vs. 1-3,

18-23, 48. The four nations referred to in the oracle indicate its

provenance in the eastern Mediterranean, where these powers held sway.

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63. D. Flusser, "The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book
    of Daniel", *IOS* 2 (1972), 148-175.
64. J.J. Collins, "The Place of the Fourth Sibyl in the Development of
    Jewish Sibyllina", *JJS* 25 (1974), 365-380.

It must be dated between the conquests of Alexander the Great and the defeat of Antiochus III by Scipio at Magnesia. Collins favours a date not long after the time of Alexander. There is nothing specifically Jewish about it. The Jewish character of the final form of *Sib. Or. 4* is quite clear, for example in its understanding of the eruption of Vesuvius as punishment for the destruction of Jerusalem. *Sib. Or. 4* differs from the other Jewish Sibyls in general, and *Sib. Or. 3&5* in particular, in a number of ways:

(1) It has a fundamentally different attitude to the Temple. Instead of it having a central place, there is an implied rejection of Temple worship in vs. 5-12, 24-34.

(2) The eschatological expectation is different. Vs. 179-182 show belief in resurrection. This is the only passage in the Jewish Sibyllines to do so.

(3) In vs. 163-169 salvation requires baptism and repentance.

These factors, plus the fact that the only clear reference to Egypt is in the re-used oracle (v. 72), leads to the suggestion that unlike the other extant Jewish Sibyllines, *Sib. Or. 4* originated in Palestine in one of the Jewish baptismal sects that was part of the milieu that produced John the Baptizer, the *Ebionites, and the Elcasaites. There is nothing in* the oracle to suggest Christian redaction.

Sibylline Oracle 3. It is generally accepted that this is a composite work[65]. The core of the book is vs. 97-349, 489-829. It consists of three sections, vs. 97-349, 489-656, 657-829, each of which culminates in a decisive intervention by God. All three sections show similar ideas and probably come from one author[66]. The date of the main corpus is

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65. J.J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*,
     Missoula, Mont. (1974), 21.
66. J.J. Collins, "The Provenance of the Third Sibylline Oracle",
     Bull. Inst. Jew. Stud. 2 (1974), 1-18.

fixed by three references to the seventh king of Egypt (vs. 193, 318, 608), who belongs to "the dynasty of the Greeks" (v. 609). This implies a date not later than the reign of Ptolemy VI, since this king is seen as still in the future. Moreover, since this king is a messianic figure, the oracle, which is clearly Jewish, must have been written at a time when Jews were well-disposed to the Ptolemies. This was especially so in the reign of Ptolemy VI. The prominence of Rome in vs. 175-190 may indicate a date after Rome's intervention in Egyptian affairs in the time of Antiochus IV, and so during the second half of Ptolemy VI's interrupted reign, i.e. 163-145 B.C.. Collins[66] argues that the emphasis on war and politics in *Sib. Or. 3*, its positive attitude towards the Ptolemies, and its great interest in the Jewish Temple, all point to its origin in the circle of Jews around Onias, the refugee priest of the High Priestly line who was a prominent general in the army of Ptolemy VI. Since there is no mention of the Leontopolis Temple which was built for Onias, the oracle must pre-date it. If the book was written between Onias' arrival in Egypt and the building of the temple there, it must be dated in the period 160-150 B.C.. The only Christian interpolation in the core of the book is v. 776.

In *Sib. Or. 3:156-161* there is a list of eight kingdoms. However, we should probably assume that the kingdom of Chronos and the Titans mentioned in vs. 110ff is taken as preceding these, and that a final kingdom is expected after Rome (as in vs. 193ff) - giving a division of history into ten periods. Flusser[67] argues that the use of conjunctions in this passage implies a scheme of four kingdoms plus Rome by linking together the Persians, Medes, Ethiopians, and Babylonians. Against this is the oddity of including Ethiopia with the eastern powers, though

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67. D. Flusser, "The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and the Book of Daniel", *IOS* 2 (1972), 160 note 49.

the author of *Sib. Or. 8* does this (*v. infra*). Vs. 162-195 is a separate oracle giving a sketchy survey of history from Solomon to the Roman defeat of the Seleucids, and then prophesying the collapse of Rome because of her immorality, and the messianic reign of the seventh king of Egypt when "the people of the great God will again be strong" (v. 194). This survey refers to ten kingdoms prior to the messianic one. However, several of them – the Pamphilians, Carians, Mysians, Lydians – never had any claim to world rule, and only the Macedonians and Romans really interest the writer.

Sibylline Oracles 1&2 are not separated in the manuscripts and in fact constitute a single unit. There is general agreement that the work consists of an original Jewish oracle with an extensive Christian redaction[68]. The Jewish oracle surveyed history from creation to the eschaton, dividing it into ten generations. The first seven generations are preserved without interpolation in *Sib. Or. 1:1-323*. A Christian interpolation takes up the rest of Book 1. After a transitional passage in 2:1-5, the original sequence is resumed in 2:6-33. However, the passages dealing with generations 8&9 have been lost. The prominence given to Phrygia in 1:196-198, 261f is the only evidence of the provenance of the Jewish oracle. There is nothing to indicate the provenance of the Christian redaction. Assuming an origin in Asia Minor, the dominance of Rome in the tenth generation suggests a time of writing when Roman power in the Near East had been consolidated, *i.e.* after 30 B.C.. There is no reference to the events of A.D. 70, so setting an upper limit to the date. Kurfess[69] suggests a date around the turn of the era. There is reference to the fall of Jerusalem in the Christian

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68. J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 330.
69. A. Kurfess, "Oracula Sibyllina I/II", *ZNW* 40(1941), 151-165.

material (1:393-396), but no later historical event is mentioned. Kurfess argues that the redaction took place before A.D. 150. There are numerous parallels between the Christian material in *Sib. Or. 2 & Sib. Or. 8.* The direction of dependence is not obvious, but Kurfess thinks that the common material is more at home in Book 2. *Sib. Or. 8* was known to Lactantius, and so cannot be dated any later than the mid-3rd. century A.D., making a 2nd. century date probable for the final form of *Sib. Or. 1&2.*

Sibylline Oracle 8:1-15 repeats the list of nations from *Sib. Or. 3:159-161,* but with no mention of Chronos. By linking together the Persians, Medes, and Ethiopians as one, Rome becomes the fifth kingdom. This looks like an attempt to combine the list from Book 3 with the scheme of four kingdoms plus Rome in *Sib. Or. 4:49-151.* The author of *Sib. Or. 8* knew of the ten generations scheme which is used in *Sib. Or. 4,* as the reference to the tenth generation in v199 shows. As we have seen above, *Sib. Or. 8* is to be dated no later then the mid. 3rd. century A.D.. Vs. 1-216 are quite distinct from vs. 217-500 in character, and probably from a different author. The expectation of Nero's return in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (vs. 65-74) indicates a date for the first part of the oracle before the latter's death in 180 A.D.. In view of the prominence of christology in vs. 217-500, and in the Christian Sibyllines in general, the lack of it in vs. 1-216, plus the reference to Nero's attack on "the nation of the Hebrews" (v. 141). may be taken to indicate Jewish authorship of this section.

Sibylline Oracle 7 contains a passing reference to "the tenth time" as a time of judgement in an oracle against Sardinia (v. 97). *Sib. Or. 7* is a poorly preserved and loosely structured collection of oracles, which is

usually dated to the 2nd. century A.D., though indications of date are sparse[70]. It is a Christian work with no clear evidence of a Jewish sub-stratum. The reference to the House of David (vs. 29-39) and condemnation of those who falsely claim to be Hebrews (vs. 134f) may indicate that the author was a Jewish Christian.

Summary. This discussion of the 10 period scheme shows that it is a feature of the Jewish material in the *Sibylline Oracles*. Its first appearance seems to be in *Sib. Or. 4:49-101* (3rd. century B.C.), where it is combined with the 4 kingdom scheme. The same combination may occur in *Sib. Or. 8:1-15*, perhaps in imitation of *Sib. Or. 4*. In *Sib. Or. 1&2, 3* the 10 period scheme occurs on its own. Where did these schemes come from?

THE ORIGINS OF THE FOUR EMPIRES AND TEN PERIODS SCHEMES. Since the work of Swain[71] it has been widely held that the four empires scheme originated in Persia. Thus Winston[72] says, "Embedded in its *(Daniel's)* second and seventh chapters is a *four-monarchy theory* which derives unmistakably from Persian apocalyptic sources". The same is true with regard to *the ten periods* scheme. For example, Collins[73] says, "The division of history into ten periods ultimately derives from Persian religion, but is also found widely in Jewish apocalyptic". The case for a Persian, and more specifically Zoroastrian, source of these schemes has been argued in detail most recently by Flusser[74], and we shall take

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70. J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 408.
71. J.S. Swain, "The Theory of the Four Monarchies: Opposition History Under the Roman Empire", *Class. Phil.* 35 (1940), 1-21.
72. D. Winston, "The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha and Qumran: A Review of the Evidence", *Hist. Rel.* 5 (1966), 183-216.
73. J.J. Collins in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 323.
74. D. Flusser, "The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and the Book of Daniel", *IOS* 2 (1972), 148-175.

his arguments as the basis for our discussion.

As Flusser notes, the earliest known examples of the four empires scheme are those in *Sib. Or. 4 & Dan. 2&7*. In *Sib. Or. 4* the empires are the Assyrian, Median, Persian, and Macedonian. This is the list found in Roman writers, beginning with Aemilius Sura[75], whose work is usually dated to the early 2nd. century B.C.[76], with Rome added as the fifth empire. In *Dan. 2* the list begins with Babylon, but the other empires are not explicitly identified here, or in ch. 7. The explicit re-interpretation of the fourth beast of *Dan. 7* as the Roman Empire in *4 Ezra 12:12* implies that the author was aware of an alternative, more common, interpretation. The most likely one is that adopted by most modern commentators: Babylonia, Media, Persia, Macedonia. In Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* we find the third empire taken as the Macedonian (X.209f) and the last as the Roman (X.276f). This implies the sequence: Babylonia, (Medo-)Persia, Macedonia, Rome. Flusser's argument concerning the Persian influence on *Sib. Or. 4* and *Daniel* consists of the following points:

(1) The sequence, Assyria, Media, Persia, Macedonia, for the great empires must have arisen in the eastern Mediterranean where these powers held sway, and would fit best a region which, having been under Assyrian rule, was taken over by the Medes rather than the Babylonians.

(2) The author of *Dan. 2* knew this scheme but in taking it over replaced Assyria by Babylon. This point is asserted rather than proved by argument. In *Dan. 2* the four empires are associated with four metals: gold, silver, bronze, and iron (part mixed with clay).

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75. For the fragment of Aemilius Sura preserved in Velleius Paterculus see J.S. Swain, *op. cit.* ref. 71, where the Latin text and an English translation are given.
76. D. Mendels, "The Five Empires: A Note on a Propogandistic Topos", *Amer. J. Phil.* 102(1981), 330-337, disagrees and dates Aemilius Sura to the end of the 1st. century B.C.

(3) Servius[77], writing *ca.* A.D. 400, in his commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues IV.4* speaks of the Cumean Sibyl. He says that she divided the generations by metals, said who would rule each generation, the Sun being the tenth and last ruler, and said that at the end of all the generations everything that had been would be repeated. Flusser argues for Persian influence on the Sibyl because he sees in the Sun as ruler a reference to Mithras (often called *Sol invictus Mithras*) who, according to the Persians, will be the eschatological judge. He admits that the idea of a cyclical renewal of the world is Stoic and not Zoroastrian, but suggests that here Servius misunderstood his source. It is not clear from Servius whether the Sibyl associated each generation with a different metal, or shared them out between a smaller number (4?) of metals.

(4) The identification of four world-ages with gold, silver, bronze, and iron is found in Hesiod's *Works and Days 109-201*[78] and Ovid's *Metamorphoses I.89-162*[79]. A slightly different scheme is found in the Zoroastrian texts *Denkard IX.8* and *Zand-i Vohuman Yasn 1* (this text is also known as *Bahman Yasht*)[80]. These speak of the four periods of the millenium of Zoroaster which are characterized by gold, silver, steel, and iron-mixed. In the *Zand* rulers of each period are named. Flusser thinks it probable that the author of *Dan. 2* combined the schemes found in Hesiod and the Persian sources to produce his own with its combination of iron and iron-mixed-with-clay in the fourth age.

(5) The *Zand ch. 1* refers to the fourth age as the one "when thy tenth

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77. For the Latin text see D. Flusser, *op. cit.* ref. 74, note 59.
78. For the Greek text and English trans. see, *Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, H.G. Evelyn-White (Trans.), Loeb, London (1914).
79. For the Latin text and English translation see, *Ovid: Metamorphoses*, Vol. 1, F.J. Miller (Trans.), Loeb, London (1916).
80. See D. Flusser, *op. cit.* ref. 74, for sources and translation of relevant passages. The full English text can be found in E.W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, Part I (*Zand*) & Part IV (*Denkard*), Oxford (1880-1897). The exact meaning of "iron-mixed" is unknown.

century will be at an end, O Spitaman Zarathusht". This phrase is repeated later in 4:16, and there is also a variant of it, "that tenth century, which will be the end of thy millenium" (4.41).

(6) Flusser points out that it is only in Zoroastrian sources that we find the combination of four ages/four metals/ten periods. He concludes therefore that Persian sources are the ultimate origin of these motifs when they occur in the *Sibylline Oracles*, *Daniel*, Jewish apocalyptic, and rabbinical literature.

The Four Empires in Daniel. The argument concerning the provenance of the origin of the sequence of world powers is reasonable. So is Swain's suggestion that it was mediated to the Romans by Persian colonists in Asia Minor. However, the assumption that the author of *Dan. 2* consciously borrowed and adapted this scheme deserves scrutiny. If the order intended in *Dan. 2* is: Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, Roman, the idea of borrowing is superfluous. The sequence simply reflects the historical reality experienced by a Jew living in Babylonia or Judea. If what is intended is the sequence: Babylonian, Median, Persian, Macedonian, the inclusion of the Median Empire is odd since the Medes never gained control of Babylonia or Judea. Swain[71] explained this oddity by the suggestion that the author of *Dan. 2* included the Medes because he adhered to the traditional scheme, apart from the need to replace Assyria by Babylon, and because in any case his knowledge of the period was sketchy. With regard to this point it must suffice here to say[81] that the imagery of the ram in ch. 8 indicates an accurate knowledge

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81. E.W. Heaton, *Daniel*, London (1972), 192, says, "As J.A. Montgomery comments, 'The moments of the vision of the horns well represent the relation of Media and Persia in power and time', and one wonders whether the writer's knowledge of their history is quite as inaccurate as some of the other references ... suggest". On the history see I.M. Diakonoff, "The Median Empire" in I. Gershevitch (Ed.) *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 2, Cambridge (1981), 110-148.

of the relationship of the Median and Persian empires which should make one cautious about suggesting that in ch. 2 the author evidences only imperfect knowledge of the Median Empire.

If the author of *Dan. 2 (&7)* did have an accurate knowledge of the Assyrian, Median, Babylonian, and Persian empires, why did he adopt the sequence : Babylonian, Median, Persian, Macedonian? Gurney[82] comments that the passing of power from one empire to another is not always a clear-cut matter. The perception of when a power becomes "top nation" depends on one's stand-point and interests - as is indicated by the omission of Babylon from the sequence in *Sib. Or. 4.* Throughout the lifetime of the Neo-Babylonian Empire Media could be seen as at least its equal in power, and a potential rival. The Medes had played a major part in toppling the Assyrian Empire and had annexed its northern and eastern portions. Following Nebuchadnezzar's death, whilst Babylon was weakened by court intrigues, Media could be seen as the major power in the eastern Mediterranean world - until Cyrus rebelled and brought the Persians to the fore. Scholars have sometimes commented on the seeming inconsistency in *Dan. 2:36ff* in that the golden head is identified with Nebuchadnezzar rather than Babylonia, while the other parts of the image are identified with kingdoms and not individual kings[83]. Is it too subtle to see here a recognition of the fact that with the passing of Nebuchadnezzar Babylonian power entered irreversible decline and "top nation" status passed to others? Probably not when one adds the fact that the imagery of the first beast in *Dan. 7* has clear allusions to Nebuchadnezzar's experience in *Dan. 4* (note 7:4b & 4:33 and 7:4b & 4:16),

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82. R.J.M. Gurney, "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel 2&7", *Themelios* 2 (1977), 39-45.
83. See for example: N. Porteus, *Daniel*, rev. ed., London (1979); L.F. Hartman & A.A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, New York (1978).

suggesting that the power depicted is not that of Babylon in general, but of Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar. Another point to consider is that the view-point of *Daniel* is that of a Babylonian <u>Jew</u>. We might therefore expect a Jewish slant on the perception of world powers. *2 Kings 17:6 & 18:11* state that when the Assyrians deported many of the Israelites they settled some "in the cities of the Medes". The Judeans were interested in the plight of their northern brothers. We find oracles of Judean prophets expressing the belief that those exiled from the North will return and that this will be associated with a re-union of the two kingdoms under a Davidic ruler, *e.g. Mic. 5; Jer. 30&31; Ezek. 37.* The experience of these exiles could have been of concern to the author of *Daniel,* who was aware of the prophecies of restoration in *Jeremiah (Dan. 9:2)* and who incorporates in ch. 9 a prayer expressing the distress of Judah, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and "all Israel, those that are near and those that are far away, in all the lands to which thou hast driven them" (9:7). At the time when the Judeans were experiencing Babylonian rule some of these exiles, who never felt the power of Babylon, were under the rule of the Medes as successors to the Assyrians. One can therefore suggest that rather than being the result of a combination of adherence to a traditional scheme and an inaccurate knowledge of history, the sequence of world powers in *Dan. 2&7* expresses a Jewish perception of history from the fall of Jerusalem to the expected intervention of God to restore his kingdom. During this period those Judeans and Israelites who are experiencing God's chastisement and who will, if they are faithful, share in the kingdom, experience the power of Babylon, Media, Persia, and Macedonia. If one asks why the Jews of the Egyptian dispersion have no place in this scheme the answer is found in *Jer. 24.* Hope for the future lies with the <u>eastern</u> dispersion, not those in Egypt who had tried to escape God's chastisement.

The Sequence of Metals in Dan. 2. The imagery used here lacks any precedent in the *Old Testament*, which does not use metals to symbolize rulers anywhere else. Flusser recognizes that it cannot be explained by the Persian sources alone. It is closer to that of Hesiod and Ovid than that of the Zoroastrian texts. Hesiod, of course, pre-dates (8th. century B.C.) the penetration of Zoroastrianism into western Iran (6th. century B.C.)[84]. His sequence of metals seems more primitive than that of the Persian texts. The sequence bronze-iron probably reflects the knowledge that before men used iron there was a time when only bronze was used. Line 151 in the relevant passage suggests this, "of bronze were their implements: there was no black iron". The whole passage expresses a nostalgia for the great days of the legendary past[85], and so it is quite understandable that ages of gold and silver should *preface* those of bronze and iron. The scheme of the Persian texts has lost any historical reference. An indication of the date of the extant form of the Persian scheme is given by the statement in the *Zand* that in the fourth, iron-mixed, age sovereignty will be given to the "divs, having dishevelled hair". *Divs* means "evil spirits", but since the rulers of the other ages are human beings this is probably to be taken as metaphorical and condemnatory rather than literally. Eddy[86] identifies these *divs* as the Macedonians. He points out that in the Persepolis reliefs the Persian king and courtiers have well-groomed hair, whereas on coins and in sculptures Alexander is always depicted with dishevelled hair. Also, since the three preceeding ages are said to be ruled by Persians and the fourth has different, devilish (non-Zoroastrian?), rulers it is natural to

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84. M.Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, Vol. 1&2, Leiden (1975/82), being *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1st. Abteilung, 8th. Band, 1st. Abschnitt, Lieferung 2, Heft 2A.
85. In 1. 174f the poet bemoans having to live in the age of iron.
86. S.K. Eddy, *The King is Dead*, Lincoln, Neb. (1961), 19.

think of the Macedonians who conquered the Persian Empire. This indicates that the present form of the scheme cannot be earlier than the Hellenistic age. It is not impossible that it was Hesiod who invented the idea of four ages characterized by metals, as Meyer suggested[87]. However, one can say no more for certain than that he witnesses to the existence of the idea and that it could have been, or become, widespread in the eastern Mediterranean world and have been drawn on independently by the authors of *Daniel* and the Zoroastrian texts. Since the meaning of "iron-mixed" in the latter is unclear it is precarious to assume that *Daniel's* "iron mixed with clay" is based on this rather than an independent and original touch to express a particular historical reality. In fact, just as reasonable as Flusser's speculation is Collins' comment[88] regarding the pattern of four kingdoms plus a fifth,

> "The formative influence of this pattern would seem to be derived not from a Persian source, but from Hesiod's myth of the four ages. It is possible then that the Baham Yasht ultimately derived this pattern from the oracles of the hellenised east, possibly even from Daniel".

If the pattern were derived from *Daniel,* so might be the iron-mixed. However, such speculation goes well beyond the evidence. Momigliano[89] also believes that there is Greek but not Persian influence in the four kingdom scheme in *Daniel.*

The Dating of Material in Zoroastrian Sources. The difficulty of this and of reconstructing a history of the development of Zoroastrian ideas

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87. E. Meyer, "Hesiods Erga und das Gedicht van den funf Menschengeschlechtern", *Kleine Schriften II,* Halle (1924), 15-66.
88. J.J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism,* Missoula, Mont. (1974), 11.
89. A. Momigliano, "The Origins of Universal History", in R.E. Friedman, *The Poet and the Historian,* Chico, Calif. (1983), 133-148. In addition to the previous points he argues that in the Persian texts the declining value of the metals is very important, representing a decline from Zoroastrianism, whereas there is no hint in *Dan. 2* that it has any importance.

is a well-recognized problem.   Gershevitch[90] summarizes the situation

with regard to the extant literature,

> "According to the 9th. century Pahlavi Denkart (Acts of the
> Religion) the texts of the scriptures had been written down
> in Achaemenian times, but Alexander had burnt them; one of
> the Vologeses of the Arsacid dynasty (ca. 250 B.C. - 226 A.D.)
> rescued them from oblivion, and under Ardashir a selective
> canon was established. However, the recording of the text in
> a special Avestic alphabet invented for this purpose, probably
> took place only in the sixth century. During the Arab
> invasion parts of the canon seem to have been lost, but even
> so the author of the Denkart had before him about three times
> more Avestan material than has come down to us in
> manuscripts datable from 1278 onwards".

This means that whilst the extant texts, only available in manuscripts

of the 13th. century A.D. and later, probably contain quite a lot of early

material, this is difficult to isolate from accretions that occurred

during the period of mainly oral transmission until it was written down

in the 3rd. - 6th. century A.D., and also from additions and changes

introduced in the 9th. century, when there was an upsurge of literary

activity once the disruptions caused by the Arab invasion had subsided.

For this reason any attempt to reconstruct the development of

Zoroastrianism can produce only provisional results.

A recent detailed study is that of Boyce. She concludes that[91],

> "There is no trace in Zoroaster's own utterances of any fixed
> chronology, or any speculation about the world-age in which
> Frasho.Kereti will be brought to pass; but in the *Gathas*, as
> in the Christian gospels, there is a sense of urgency, of the
> end of things being at hand".

Zoroaster spoke of "three times": the time of Creation, the time of

Mixture (the struggle between good and evil), and, following the

Frasho.Kereti (the "making wonderful" in which creation is restored to

its original perfect state), Eternity, which was later called the time of

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90. I. Gershevitch, "Old Iranian Literature", *Handbuch der Orientalistik*,
     1st. Abteilung, 4th. Band, 2nd. Abschnitt, Lieferung 1, Leiden
     (1968), 11.
91. M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroasrianism*, op. cit. ref. 84, Vol.1, 233.
     What follows summarizes the discussion on pp. 229-246.

Separation because then good is separated from evil for ever. A detailed chronology seems to have come into being only with the rise of the Zurvanites, a sect that appeared in late Achaemenian times. The earliest datable reference to them is a fragment of Theopompos (4th. century B.C.) preserved by Plutarch[92]. It is generally believed that Zurvanism was influenced by Babylonian astrology, especially by its speculations about recurrent "great years" that repeat themselves throughout time. The Zurvanites believed in a "world-year" divided into periods of 1,000 years. The texts vary as to the length of the world-year. Some give it as 9,000 years (3x3 being a favoured number in Zoroastrianism), others as 12,000 years (corresponding to the 12 months of the calendar year). Boyce[93] thinks that originally the figure may have been 6,000 years, but that this was elaborated as time went on. Zoroaster seems to have taught about some kind of saviour figure. In the fully developed scheme this has become a belief in three saviours, descendents of Zoroaster, who will be born at 1,000 year intervals. Zoroaster is said to have received his revelation in the year 9,000, and the saviours will be born in the years 10,000, 11,000, and 12,000. The millenium referred to in the *Zand-i Vohuman Yasn* is presumably the period 9,000 - 10,000, since Zoroaster is addressed and it is described as "thy millenium" (*Zand 4:41*). The four ages are meant to fit into this period. Whilst it is not possible to date the material about the four ages and the tenth century more precisely than to say that in its present form it cannot be earlier than the Hellenistic period, it is a chronological possibility that the traditions in it could have influenced the scheme in *Sib. Or. 4*. Whether such influence is probable can only

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92. Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 47. For the Greek text and an English translation see *Plutarch: Moralia*, Vol. 5, F.C. Babbit (Trans.), Loeb, London (1984), 115.
93. M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism, op. cit* ref. 84, Vol. 2, 231ff discusses Zurvanism.

be judged by studying the content of the passages in the two works.

Sibylline Oracle 4 and Zoroastrianism. The presence of a combination of two schemes of four and ten periods in both *Sib. Or. 4* and the *Zand* might seem clear evidence of inter-dependence. However, there are also significant differences between the passages:

(1) In the *Zand* the ten centuries are not distributed between the four ages.

(2) There is no mention of the metals in *Sib. Or. 4.*

(3) The first three ages in the *Zand* are assigned to three Persian rulers, and the fourth, probably, to the Macedonian Empire. However in *Sib. Or. 4* all four ages are assigned to different empires.

(4) In the *Zand* the metal sequence seems to signify decreasing adherence to Zoroaster and his teaching. The significance of the number of generations assigned to the empires in *Sib. Or. 4* is not clear. It may well reflect current belief about the relative length of reign of the Assyrians and Medes. Greek sources give the Assyrian Empire a life 3 – 4 times that of the Median Empire[94]. That Media gets 2 generations whereas Persia and Macedonia get 1 each may indicate the ethnic sympathies of the author of the scheme.

(5) The ten periods are an explicit and essential feature of the scheme in *Sib. Or. 4.* The tenth century is only mentioned in passing in the *Zand*, where the mention of it seems intended to focus attention on the (imminent?) end of the period.

These differences indicate that considerable caution should be exercised before asserting that the scheme in *Sib. Or. 4* is dependent on Persian ideas of periodized history. In fact one can readily imagine a quite

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94. R. Drews, *Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, Cambridge, Mass. (1973), 27f (Herodotus gives Assyria 520 yrs., Media 156 yrs.) & 111f (Ctesias gives Assyria *ca.* 1300 yrs., Media *ca.* 300 yrs.).

independent origin for the scheme. The notion of a span of history being divided into 10 generations (not centuries), a fairly obvious scheme in any case, seems to have been an ancient one in the Near-East. Thus we find 10 kings before the Flood in some Mesopotamian sources[95]. In the *Old Testament* there are 10 generations from Adam to Noah before the Flood (*Gen. 5*), and 10 from Shem to Abraham after it (*Gen. 11*). Nearer the time of the Sibyllines we find 10 generations from the Exodus to David in the Chronicler's genealogies (*1 Chron. 6:3-8*). In *Sib. Or. 4* this ancient notion may simply have been combined with the reality of historical experience in a region where folk-memory began with the Assyrian Empire and had recorded the shifts of power since then. We submit, therefore, that the parallel that does exist between the Sibyllines and Zoroastrian texts is too tenuous a basis on which to assert Zoroastrian influence on the Sibyllines.

The Cumean Sibyl. Here there is again a dating problem. Servius wrote *ca.* A.D. 400 and we have no evidence of the date of his source material about this Sibyl. The similarities between the Sibyl and the *Zand* are the use of metals to characterize ages and the number 10. Again one must not ignore the differences:

(1) In the Sibyl the rulers of each of 10 generations are named. In the *Zand* it is the rulers of 4 ages who are named.

(2) It is possible, even probable (*pace* Flusser), that the Sibyl referred to ten metals.

(3) The number 4 is not mentioned at all in the Sibyl, but is central to the Persian text.

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95. W.G. Lambert, "New Light on the Babylonian Flood", *JSS* 5 (1960), 113-123.
    J.J.Finkelstein, "The Antediluvian Kings: A University of California Tablet", *JCS* 17 (1963), 39-51.

The real reason why Flusser sees Persian influence in the Cumean Sibyl is his equation of the tenth ruler, the Sun, with Mithras. Whilst this identification cannot be ruled out of court, another is possible. Collins[96] has collected examples of the old Egyptian mythology that linked the Pharaoh with the sun being applied to Ptolemaic kings from Alexander IV in 311 B.C. onwards. Most notable are the references to a future saviour figure, a "king from the sun", in *Sib. Or. 3:652* & *The Potter's Oracle*. It is therefore possible that behind the imagery of the Cumean Sibyl lies Egyptian mythology about Isis and Osiris rather than Persian mythology about Mithras. In fact whereas in *Sib. Or. 3* & *The Potter's Oracle* the "king from the sun" is the ruler who ushers in the eschatological age of salvation, in Persian sources Mithras is the eschatological judge, not the final ruler who brings in the last age. Flusser appreciates this point but slides over it with a supposition,

> "he could become in the Sibylline text the last, tenth ruler. This change is not difficult, because, as already suggested, the concept of four empires is of Persian origin and a Persian source speaks about a sequence of kings".

Apart from anything else, he here assumes that the mention of metals in the Cumean Sibyl is proof of the Persian four ages scheme being present, making the argument close to circular. Once again, the case for a link between the Sibyllines and Zoroastrian ideas must be pronounced unproven. The Sibyl could be combining the idea of ages associated with metals found in Hesiod with Egyptian ideas about a saviour king, and the round number of ten generations marking out a span of significant history, all without depending on Persian ideas. Flusser's point that the fact that only in Persian sources are the three ideas of four metals/four ages/ten periods linked indicates the priority of the

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96. J.J. Collins, "The Provenance of the Third Sibylline Oracle", *Bull. Inst. Jew. Stud.* 2(1974), 1-18.

Persian texts is a far from obvious one. The combination in the Zoroastrian texts could show that it is a relatively late synthesis of three earlier motifs that occur only in pairs in the earlier sources.

Conclusion. The outcome of this discussion of the appearance of periodized history in the Sibyllines can be summarized as follows:

(1) From the time of Hesiod onwards the idea of four ages characterized by metals was current in the eastern Mediterranean world. *Dan. 2* and *Zand-i Vohuman Yasn* are independent adaptations of it, with *Dan. 2* preserving the original sequence of metals.

(2) Whether the tradition Hesiod attests lies behind the four empires listed in *Sib. Or. 4* we cannot say, since no metals are mentioned. The list could simply reflect the historical reality experienced by the area in which it arose.

(3) The sequence of empires in *Dan. 2&7* is probably not an adaptation of that found in *Sib. Or. 4*, but reflects the historical experience of the Jewish and Israelite exiles in the Eastern Dispersion.

(4) There are no good grounds for supposing that the 10 period scheme in the Sibyllines is derived from of Zoroastrian ideas about periodized history. Its origin is unclear, but may simply arise from using the round number 10 to divide up a span of history, as is done in some old Mesopotamian and Hebrew texts.

(5) The eschatological saviour figure in the Cumean Sibyl is probably described in terms of Egyptian mythology about kingship, as seems to be the case in *Sib. Or. 3 & The Potter's Oracle.* The influence of ideas about Mithras' eschatological role as judge seems much less likely.

CLASS 2 (b)

The Apocalypse of Abraham is an haggadic midrash on *Gen. 15:9-17.* It begins with an account of Abraham's conversion from idolatry whilst living with his father in Mesopotamia (ch. 1-8). This is followed by the apocalypse proper (ch. 9-32) in which God sends the angel Ioael to lead Abraham up into heaven, where he sees seven visions. The vision that concerns us deals with the destruction of the Temple and the punishment of the Gentiles (chs. 27-29, for the separation of these chapters from chs. 30-32 see Rubinkiewicz[97]).

The work is known only in Old Slavonic translation. Whilst the Slavonic is probably a translation from Greek, Rubinstein[98] has argued that various features of the language indicate that the apocalypse was originally written in a Semitic language, probably Hebrew. If this is so the work is probably Jewish and possibly of Palestinian provenance. There are some clearly Christian passages in it, and these are generally seen as interpolations[99]. Most notable is a christological passage in 29:3-13. In 20:5, 7 & 22:5 the God of the *Old Testament* is identified with the evil being Azazel. If the work was originally Jewish these are clearly Christian gnostic glosses. The same hand is seen in 29:3, where the Messiah is said to be a Gentile (though in v9&10 he is clearly Jewish!) and 29:5&7, which link the Jews with Azazel. These glosses may be the work of the Slavic gnostic sect the Bogomils, which arose in the 10th. century A.D.. They taught that the Creator God was evil, and that

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97. R. Rubinkiewicz, "La vision de l'histoire dans l'Apocalypse d'Abraham", in H. Temporini & W. Haase (Eds.), *Aufsteig und Niedergang der Romischen Welt*, Vol. 2, Berlin & N.Y. (1979), 137-151.

98. A. Rubinstein, "Hebraisms in the Slavonic 'Apocalypse of Abraham'", *JJS* 4 (1953), 108-115; "Hebraisms in the 'Apocalypse of Abraham'", *JJS* 5 (1954), 132-135.

99. J.H. Charlesworth, *op. cit.* ref. 2, 684. However, R.G. Hall, "The 'Christian Interpolation' in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*", *JBL* 107 (1988), 107-112, questions this generally held view.

Jesus came to save us from his power. They condemned marriage (cf. Ap. Ab. 23:8-12), abstained from meat and wine (cf. Ap. Ab. 9:7), and did not believe in resurrection of the body[100].

Some manuscripts omit chs. 1-6, and one contains only chs. 1-8. This leads some critics to suggest that the apocalypse was appended to an earlier midrash on Gen. 15[101]. As the book now stands there are clear references to chs. 1-8 in the apocalypse (e.g. chs. 25&26) and so if the work is composite an attempt has been made at unification. Rubinkiewicz[97] argues for unity of authorship.

The vision of the destruction of the Temple in ch. 27 is the climax of the apocalypse. It is generally taken to indicate a post-A.D. 70 date for it. There is in fact no reason why he should not be anticipating the event, though his deep concern about it probably indicates that either it is clearly an imminent event, or in the recent past. A more precise dating than this is not possible. References to apocryphal Abraham literature occur from the 4th. century onwards, but the exact works involved are not clear. However, the reference in the Clementine Recognitions I.32 probably attests the existence of the apocalypse in the 4th. century, and possibly well before this[102].

Early in the vision in ch. 27 Abraham sees a heathen horde attacking the Jews through four "entrances" (vkhod, so four mss.) or "descents" (skhod, so one ms.), and then burning the Temple (v. 3). In 28:3 the reading "four descents" is clearly original, whilst in 28:5 the manuscripts are again split over reading "entrances/descents". Box[103] and Pennington[104]

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100. S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichees*, Cambridge (1947).
    D. Oblenski, *The Bogomils*, Cambridge (1948).
101. J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 682.
102. H.F.D. Sparks (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 1, 366f.
    J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 683.
103. G.H. Box (assisted by J.I. Landsman), *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, London (1918), 74 note 2.
104. A. Pennington in H.F.D. Sparks, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 387 note 2.

prefer the reading "descents" in each place, reasonably so since it is the more difficult reading, yet not impossible. Both point out that the word can also mean "issue, generation". Box thinks that it alludes to *Gen. 15:13*, where Abraham is told that his descendants will spend four generations in Egypt as slaves. However, in the context of the vision the reference is probably to the four world empires of *Daniel*. Box supports this interpretation by a quotation from the *Palestinian Targum* to *Gen. 15:13*, "And behold, Abram saw four kingdoms which should arise to bring his sons into subjection". If the allusion to *Daniel* is there, then it is clear that the fourth kingdom is understood as Rome, since the events of A.D. 70 are in mind.

In the following dialogue between Abraham and God it transpires that Israel will experience a "righteous period" as a result of the "holiness of their kings" (27:7, following Pennington's translation[104]). However, then, "For four generations they will provoke me; and during those generations I will bring retribution upon them" says God, "But in the fourth generation of a hundred years, even one hour of the age (that is a hundred years), they will be held in oppression among the heathen" (28:4&5). The text here seems confused, and when Abraham asks, "How long is an hour of this age?", God answers, "For twelve years of this impious age have I determined to keep them among the heathen" (29:1&2). Further confusion is added in 30:4, where the punishment of the heathen is promised "after the passing of the twelfth hour". Box[105] emends "years" in 29:2 to "hours", and concludes that this age is presented as lasting for 12 hrs., each of 100 yrs. duration. He points out that Josephus in his *Jewish War VI.10* gives the period from David's capture

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105. G.H. Box, *op. cit.* ref. 103, 76 note 12 & 77 note 4.

contd.

of Jerusalem to the destruction of the Temple by Titus as 1179 yrs., and suggests that this may lie behind the 1,200 yrs. scheme of this apocalypse, which implies God's intervention soon after the destruction of the Temple. This suggestion is a possibility, but 29:2 speaks of the 12yr./hr. period as one of oppression and judgement for Israel, and it is hard to see why this period should be thought to begin with David's capture of Jerusalem. Also, there must be room for the "righteous period" mentioned in 27:7 as occurring under the monarchy. We would suggest that the author of the apocalypse may have regarded the division of the kingdom at Solomon's death as the beginning of the period of oppression and judgement. In *2 Chron. 12* the invasion of Judah by Shishak in the reign of Rehoboam is said to have happened because "he forsook the law of the Lord and all Israel with him". Beginning the 1,200 yrs. at the break-up of the kingdom would result in it terminating in A.D. 163, following Josephus' calculation[106]. For an apocalyptist writing some time after A.D. 70 this could be grounds for expecting the imminent intervention of God.

The Ladder of Jacob is extant only in Slavonic, and in two distinct recensions. It has been little studied and there is no real consensus amongst scholars on such matters as date, provenance, and authorship. Pennington believes that similarities between ch. 7 in the longer recension and a Greek work of the 5th. century A.D. indicate an original Greek form of the *Ladder*. He then argues that the *Ladder*,

> "will doubtless have formed part of the Greek Palaea; and
> since the Greek Palaea is usually dated to the 8th. or 9th.
> centuries, a Greek *Ladder* must be pushed back into the 7th.

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106. David reigned for 33 years over the united kingdom (*2 Sam. 5:5*), and Solomon reigned for 40 yrs. (*1 Kings 11:42*). Assuming that David captured Jerusalem a year after uniting the kingdom, this removes 72 years from Josephus' 1179. Hence the 1,200 yrs. from the end of Solomon's reign will terminate 93 yrs. after A.D. 70.

or 8th. century at the least, and it may well be very much earlier"[107].

The similarities between the *Ladder* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham & 2 Baruch*, which we shall demonstrate, may indicate that it originated in much the same *milieu* as these works in the late 1st./early 2nd. century A.D.. However, the presence of manifestly Christian passages and of two recensions whose relationship is still unclear shows that "we are dealing with a document in an almost permanent state of literary flux"[107].

Like the *Ap. Ab.* the *Ladder* is an haggadic midrash, based in this case on *Gen. 28:10-17*, Jacob's vision of the ladder extending into heaven. The ladder is said to have had 12 steps, each with two human forms on it. Jacob is told that the steps are the "times of this age" and the 24 forms "the kings of the heathen tribes of this age" (4:2). These heathen tribes will destroy the Temple in Canaan and the land will lie waste "for four generations (lit. ends/descents)" (4:4&6). This disaster is said to be the result of a ruler arising who will be accepted unwillingly by Jacob's descendants and who will force them to "serve idols and sacrifice to dead things" (4:10). The identity of this ruler is uncertain. In the longer recension he is said simply to be "from your kin", but in the shorter recension he is said to be from "the descendants of your brother Esau" (4:8). It is possible that Jeroboam I of Israel is intended. He is the first king who is said to have caused Israel (or Judah) to have worshipped idols, and the "dead things" could be a derogatory reference to the golden calves which he set up. The contrast between the "living God" of Israel and the lifeless idols is a common

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107. A. Pennington in H.F.D. Sparks, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 453f. The *Palaea Interpretata* is a compendium of miscellaneous items collected together to show that the *O.T.* was fulfilled in the *N.T.*. It was made in Greek and translated into Slavonic in the 10th. century.

theme in Jewish polemic against idols from the time of the Hebrew prophets onwards (*e.g. Isa. 46; Jer. 10; cf. Acts 17:22-31*). However, some features of this ruler are reminiscent of Antiochus Epiphanes, especially his use of force to make the Jews worship idols (4:11&12). Also, the reference in the shorter recension to his descent from Esau, and that the Jews accept him as king unwillingly, remind one of Herod the Great. Whether the original author was painting a picture of the idolatrous ruler, or whether the various features mentioned are the result of later glosses by scribes seeking to interpret the text, it is impossible to say.

If a reference to Jeroboam I is intended, we have a striking similarity between the schema of periodized history in the *Ladder* and the *Ap. Ab.*. Both divide history into 12 periods and speak of four generations of oppression under heathen kings, related to a destruction of the Temple. In both cases the 12 periods seem to begin with the division of the kingdom on Solomon's death. It is probable that in both cases the four generations result from interpreting *Gen. 15:13* in the light of *Daniel's* four kingdoms. Since the *Ap. Ab.* is a midrash on *Gen. 15*, if there is a case of direct dependence of one of these works on the other, then it seems more likely that the author of the *Ladder* has drawn on the schema of the *Apocalypse* than *vice versa.*

2 (Syriac) Baruch is extant in only one complete manuscript, of the 6th. century A.D.[108], though the *Letter of Baruch* (ch. 78-87) appears as an independent work in some copies of the Syriac Bible. The heading of the Syriac text states that the document has been translated from Greek

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108. A.M. Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana*, Vol. V.ii,
       Milan (1871), 113-180.
     R.J. Bidawid (Ed.), "Apocalypse of Baruch", in *Peshitta*, Part 4(3),
       Leiden (1973), i-iv, 1-50.

and a fragment of the work in Greek, dating from the 4th. or 5th.
century A.D. has been found among the Oxyrhynchus papyri[109]. Moreover,
there are some obscurities in the Syriac text that appear to be the
result of mistranslations of the Greek. Charles[110] and Zimmermann[111]
argue on linguistic grounds for a Hebrew original behind the Greek and
Syriac versions, but Bogaert[112] regards the evidence as inconclusive.
Klijn[113] thinks that the similarities between *2 Baruch* and other Jewish
works which probably had Hebrew or Aramaic originals (esp. *4 Ezra, 1&2
Enoch*) favour Hebrew as its original language.

The reference to two destructions of the Temple in 32:2-4 requires a
date after A.D. 70. The quotation of 61:7 in the *Epistle of Barnabas
11:9* requires a date not later than the early decades of the 2nd.
century A.D.[114]. There is no trace of Christian influence in the book.
Since Charles[110] stressed the composite nature of the book opinion has
swung towards the view expressed by Bogaert[115], "on reconnait la main
d'un ecrivain, non d'un compilateur". However, this does not mean denying
that the author made use of pre-existing material, but stresses that he
has put his own stamp on it[116].

The Apocalypse of Clouds is found in ch. 53-76. In a vision Baruch sees
a cloud come up from the great sea. It covers the land and pours out
first black, and then bright, water. This occurs six times. After this
there is a final lot of very dark water before lightning on the top

109. B.P. Grenfell & A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhyncus Papyri III*, London
        (1903), 3-7 (no. 403).
110. R.H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, London (1896).
111. F. Zimmermann, "Textual Observations on the Apocalypse of Baruch",
        JTS 40 (1939), 151-156.
112. P. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch, introduction, traduction du Syriac
        et commentaire*, Vols. 1&2, *Sources Chrétiennes 144/5*, Paris
        (1969).
113. A.F.J. Klijn in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 615f.
114. K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. 1, London (1975), 337-339.
115. P. Bogaert, *op. cit.* ref. 112, 88.
116. A.F.J. Klijn, "The Sources and Redaction of the Syriac Apocalypse
        of Baruch", *JSJ* 1 (1970), 65-76.

of the cloud presses it to earth and shines to light up and heal the whole earth. Twelve rivers come from the sea and become subject to the lightning.

In the interpretation the alternating black and bright waters are shown to refer to alternating periods of sin and righteousness which characterize history from Adam until the restoration and rebuilding of the Temple following the return from the Babylonian exile, dividing it into 12 periods. Unless the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians is intended as a cipher for the events of A.D. 70, the failure to mention the second destruction of the Temple implies that the apocalypse was written before A.D. 70. The final very dark waters represent a final upsurge of evil and destruction prior to the coming of the Messiah to subdue and judge the nations and to establish his kingdom. There is an inconsistency between the interpretation and the vision in that the former refers to the "last bright waters which have come after the last dark waters" (74:4 cf. 72:1), and does not mention the lightning or the 12 rivers. This may be evidence of a reshaping of pre-existing material. However, what is clear is that the final black waters and their sequel lie outside of "normal" history, representing the consummation of history: the birth-pangs of the Messiah (the black waters) and his kingdom (the lightning/bright waters). Since no mention is made of the 12 rivers in the interpretation it is unclear whether they represent the Gentile nations or the tribes of Israel.

Charles[110] suggests the influence of *Dan. 7* on the apocalypse in its reference to the great sea (*Dan. 7:2*), the lightning (*Dan. 7:9&10*), and the Messiah (lightning) coming on the clouds (*Dan. 7:13*). This is possible, but the parallels are not so strong as to be indisputable.

The division of history into alternating good and bad periods has a partial parallel in the Akkadian Dynastic Prophecy, which may refer to

alternating good and bad dynasties[117]. However, the Samaritan view of

history seems even closer to that of this apocalypse[118]. The Samaritans

considered the period from Adam's sin to Abraham to be one of divine

disfavour. A period of divine favour then extended from Abraham to the

end of the Judges period when, according to the Samaritans, Eli set up

an apostate priesthood at Shiloh. The second period of divine disfavour

seems to have ended with the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount

Gerizim in the 4th. century B.C.. The new period of divine favour lasted

until John Hyrcanus' destruction of this temple (ca. 120 B.C.). However,

in some Samaritan documents this second period of divine favour is not

recognized. Presumably the Samaritan scheme was known to the Jews,

and could have influenced the author of the Apocalypse of Clouds.

The Origin of the Division of History into 12 Periods. The origin of

this scheme, which is also found in *4 Ezra 14:11&12*, is unclear. Box[105]

may be right in suggesting an origin in chronological calculations of

the period between David's capture of Jerusalem and its fall in A.D. 70

in the case of the *Ap. Ab. & Lad. Jac..* In these works the segment of

history which is divided into 12 periods begins at some point during the

monarchy, we suggest the division of the kingdom, and extends beyond A.D.

70. However, in *2 Baruch* the period concerned is from Adam to the post-

exilic era. It may be that in this case the scheme has been lifted from

its original context and re-applied, or that *Baruch's* 12-fold scheme has

another rationale. This may simply be the importance of the number 12

for the Jews in view of the 12 tribes of Israel. The reference in *4*

Ezra is too brief to throw light on this.

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117. A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto (1975),
17.
118. J. Bowman, *The Samaritan Problem*, Pittsburgh (1975), 15-28.
R.J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews*, Oxford (1975), 119f.

The Character of the Visions. It is arguable that since these visions use symbolism they should be included in Class 3(a). However, the symbolism is much simpler than that found in those visions. It is the bare minimum needed to establish the numerical scheme, and is clearly subordinate to it. Hence these visions do form a distinct sub-group in which 12-fold periodization of history is the dominant feature.

The Form of the Visions. Niditch[119] has shown that the Apocalypse of Clouds has the same form as the visions in *Dan. 7&8.* Below we analyse both visions in terms of the form we discerned in *Dan. 7&8.*

	Ap. Cl.	*Ladder of Jacob*	
		long	short
(1) Date-line	53:1a	1:1a	
(2) Indication of a vision	53:1a	1:1b	
(3) Description of vision	53:1b-11	1:1c-13	1:1-13
(4) Fear on part of seer	53:12	2:1	2:1
(5) Request for interpn.	54:1-22	2:2-7	2:2-13
(6) Angel's reply	55:1-74:4	3:1-7:17	3:1-5:4
(7) Charge to seer	76:1-5		
(8) Fear/sickness of seer	75:1-8		

A number of points here require some comment. The date-line in *2 Bar. 53:1* is just a vague phrase, "And when I said this...". This is not suprising given the nature of the book as a series of revelations with no real chronological framework. More significant is the fact that the seer's request for an interpretation of the vision has changed from a question to an extended prayer which extols God's power, glory, and wisdom as Creator and Ruler of the Universe. The interpretation is more detailed and much longer in proportion to the length of the vision than is the case in *Daniel.* The order of motifs 7&8 is reversed in the Apocalypse of Clouds, and the nature of the motifs is somewhat

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119. S. Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition,* HSM 30, Chico, Calif. (1983), 233-241. For our analysis of the vision forms in *Daniel* see pp. 249ff.

different. The fear of the seer is here better described as awe and wonder rather than terror, and this is expressed in a hymn of praise. Daniel utters a rather similar hymn of praise when Nebuchadnezzar's dream is revealed to him (*Dan. 2:20-23*). Whereas in *Dan. 8* the seer is charged to "seal up the vision", in *2 Bar. 76* he is charged to go and teach the people. The omission of motifs 7&8 from the *Lad. Jac.* may be the result of the work's complicated history. Certainly ch. 7 with its christological emphasis looks like an expansion of the original ending. In any case, the similarity of form between the *Lad. Jac. & 2 Bar. 53-76* is sufficiently close for it to be considered evidence that the *Ladder* originated in the 2nd. century A.D., because this form is found in other literature of this period besides these two works, as we shall show.

The *Ap. Ab. 27-29* does not fit the above pattern. It is not a symbolic vision but part of what can best be described as an illustrated dialogue between God and Abraham.

Conclusion. The study of this group of prophetic historical surveys has not thrown any fresh light on those in *Daniel*. However, the following points of more general interest have appeared:

(1) *The 12-period scheme may have arisen from chronological calculations concerning the time between Jerusalem becoming Israel's capital and A.D. 70 and/or the significance of the number 12 for the Jews because of the 12 tribes.*

(2) The scheme of alternating good/bad periods in *2 Bar. 53-76* has a parallel in the Samaritan view of history.

(3) The four-kingdom scheme of *Dan. 2&7* has left its mark on the *Apocalypse of Abraham & Ladder of Jacob.*

(4) The imagery of *Dan. 7* may have influenced *2 Bar. 53-76.*

(5) The symbolic vision form found in *Dan. 7&8* occurs in the Apocalypse of Clouds (probably originating before A.D. 70) and the *Ladder of Jacob* (probably 2nd. century A.D.), with some modification.

Class 2(c)

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are a collection of the supposed "last words" of the twelve sons of Jacob. They have a common overall pattern:

(1) The patriarch assembles his family around him and gives details of his early life and experiences.

(2) He speaks at some length about a virtue or vice, which has been illustrated by the experiences related.

(3) He warns (often on the basis of what he has read in "the writings of Enoch") of the evils which will come upon his descendants as a result of their moral decline.

(4) There is then usually an assurance that God will bring salvation to Israel, and also the Gentiles.

(5) Finally he asks to be buried in the family tomb in Hebron. It is usually recorded that this was carried out.

The two main departures from this pattern are in the *T. Levi*, where the discourse about a virtue/vice is replaced by one which is primarily about the divine origin of the priesthood and God's dealings with it, and the *T. Asher*, which lacks the historical narrative about the patriarch's life. The uniform pattern suggests the work of a single author or editor at some crucial point in the work's history.

The *T. 12 Patr.* is known in three main recensions: Greek[120],

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120. M. de Jonge, H.W. Hollander, H.J. de Jonge & Th. Korteweg, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text, PVTG 1 ii,* Leiden (1978)

Armenian[121], and Slavonic[122]. The other recensions are translations from the Greek. Several Semitic texts bearing some, as yet unclear, relationship to the Greek *Testaments* are known. The most important of these are: fragments of an Aramaic *T. Levi* and a late Hebrew *T. Naph.*, both from the Cairo Genizah[123]; fragments of an Aramaic *T. Levi* from Qumran, some clearly being copies of the same work known from the Cairo Genizah[124]; fragments of a Hebrew *T. Naph.* from Qumran corresponding to, but not identical with, the Greek *T. Naph.* 1:6-12, but not related to the Genizah Hebrew text[125].

Charles[126] argued for Hebrew as the original language of the *T. 12 Patr.* on the grounds of the presence of Semitic idioms and apparent mistranslations of Hebrew words. However, Kee[127] argues that the Semitic idioms can be explained as deriving from the author's use of the Septuagint, and that the claimed mistranslations are hypothetical. On the other side he points to examples of clear dependence on the Septuagint (*e.g. T. Jos. 20:3*), the occurence of puns on Greek words (*e.g. T. Levi 6:1*), the pervasive use of technical terms of hellenistic piety for which there are no exact counterparts in Hebrew or Aramaic, and the influence of hellenistic romances on the style and scope of the narrative passages. All this, he argues, points to Greek as the original language.

121. S. Hovsepheantz, *A Treasury of Old and New Primitive Writers*, Vol. 1, Venice (1896), 27-151.
122. N.S. Tikhonravov, *Pamyatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*, Vol. 1, St. Petersburgh (1863), 96-232.
123. Both of these are to be found as appendices in R.H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Oxford (1908).
124. J.T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen", *RB* 62 (1955), 398-406, and *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, Oxford (1976), 252f.
125. J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea*, London (1958), 34, and *The Books of Enoch*, op. cit. ref. 124, 198.
126. R.H. Charles, *APOT*, Vol. 2, Oxford (1913), 287f.
127. H.C. Kee in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), op. cit. ref. 2, 776f.

There are at least ten passages in the *T. 12 Patr.* that are recognized

by most scholars as "Christian interpolations, which seem to have a

special affinity with Johannine thought"[127]. This has led to much

debate about the origin and date of the work. Three views have been

put forward:

(1) That it is a Jewish work of the 2nd. century B.C. with Christian

interpolations[128]. This is the majority view at present.

(2) That it is an Essene writing with very few Christian interpolations.

Many of the supposed interpolations being about the Essene Teacher of

Righteousness, not Jesus[129].

(3) That it is a Christian document of the 2nd. century A.D. which uses

some Jewish source material[129].

The long debate opened up by De Jonge in 1953 has not yet been

concluded. In 1977 Charlesworth[130] was able to state some "points of

consensus" that were reached at a *SNTS* discussion:

(1) The *T. 12 Patr.* was not written by the Qumran sectaries.

(2) It was composed in Greek.

(3) As extant it is clearly Christian but there is a Jewish foundation.

(4) Post-Nicene Christians interpolated the document.

(5) It is a major witness either to Jewish paraenesis just prior to

Christianity, or to the profoundly determinative impact of Jewish ethics

upon Christian paraenesis in the 2nd. century A.D.

The important point for our purposes is the recognition that even if the

work is essentially a Christian production of the 2nd. century A.D.

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128. M. Philonenko, *Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les manucrits de Qumrân*, Paris (1960).
129. M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of Their Text, Composition and Origin*, Assen (1953).
130. J.H. Charlesworth, "Reflections on the SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminar at Duke University on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", *NTS* 23 (1977), 296-304.

it contains Jewish material which might go back as far as the 2nd. century B.C.

The Testament of Levi. Chs. 14-18 form an historical apocalypse. An outline of its contents is as follows:

ch. 14 Levi declares that he knows from the writings of Enoch that in the end-time his descendants will act impiously. He describes their wickedness.

ch. 15 This will lead to the sanctuary becoming desolate.

ch. 16 The book of *Enoch* says that they will profane the priesthood and defile the altars for seventy weeks. A man will come "who by the power of the Most High renews the Law". They will call him a deceiver and kill him. As a result the holy places will be razed to the ground.

ch. 17 The progressive decline of the priesthood is traced through seven jubilees. In the seventh there will be "pollution such as I am unable to declare in the presence of human beings". In the fifth week there will be a return to the land and renewal of the Temple.
The wickedness of the priests will reach a peak in the seventh week.

ch. 18 This describes the glorious age of the eschatological priest. the language echos O.T. prophecies of the kingly messiah.

Three initial comments are worth making. The first is that according to Milik[1-4] some form of this section of the *T. Levi* existed in Aramaic at Qumran. Secondly, as it now stands, ch. 16 has probably been reworked by a Christian editor. There are also Christian interpolations in 14:2 (denouncing the priests "who laid their hands on the Saviour of the world") and 18:7 (making it refer to Jesus' anointing with the Spirit at his baptism). Finally, the "weeks" in 17:10&11 are presumably "weeks of years" in the seventh jubilee. The references are probably to the return from exile and the hellenizing priests of the pre-Maccabean era[131].

Kee[132] suggests that there is a "kinship" between *T. Levi 14-18 & Dan. 9* because of the prediction of the pollution of the Temple and the use

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131. So R.H. Charles, "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs",
     APOT, Vol. 2, Oxford (1913) .

132. H.C. Kee, *op. cit.* ref. 127, 793.

of seventy weeks of years leading upto the appearance of the eschatological priest. He thinks this is the result of dependence on a common apocalyptic tradition. He may be right, but the links between the passages are slender. The seventy weeks are said to be derived from *Enoch*, not *Daniel*. There is no detailed use of the scheme as in *Daniel*. The scheme in ch. 17 has much more in common with *Jubilees* than *Daniel*. It is not clear that the "anointed one" in *Dan. 9:26* is a priest. Finally, references to the pollution of the Temple would be so natural in any work originating from, or referring to, the Antiochene period that it unsafe to use it as evidence of literary relationship.

1 (Ethiopic) Enoch 93:1-10 & 91:11-17. *1 Enoch* is a composite work, made up of five books, each of which has its own title, and usually its own conclusion. The complete work exists only in an Ethiopic version[133]. Extensive parts of the book have survived in Greek[134]. Fragments of eleven manuscripts of parts of the book in Aramaic were found at Qumran[135]. Charles[133], amongst others, had already argued that a Semitic original lay behind the extant versions.

The five books that make up the Ethiopic version are:

(1) The Book of Watchers, chs. 1-36.
(2) The Similitudes or Parables, chs. 37-71.
(3) The Astronomical Book, chs. 72-82.
(4) The Dream Visions, chs. 83-90.
(5) The Epistle of Enoch, chs. 91-107.

No fragments of the Similitudes were found at Qumran. There were,

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133. R.H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, Oxford (1906), gives a critical edition based on 23 MSS, plus fragments of the Greek and Latin versions.
   M.A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, Vols. 1&2, Oxford (1978), gives the text of *Ryl. Eth. MS 23* with variants from 25 other Ethiopic MSS and the Greek witnesses.
134. M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, PVTG, Leiden (1970), 1-44.
135. J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran, Cave 4*, Oxford (1976).

however, fragments from another Enochic work, The Book of Giants. This was already known from Manichean sources[136]. Milik[135] argues that at Qumran there was an "Enochic Pentateuch" which contained the Book of Giants instead of the Similitudes. The latter work, he argues, is a late Christian composition which replaced the the Book of Giants in the 4th. century A.D. when its associations with the Manichees caused it to lose favour. This theory has been subjected to serious criticism, with the consensus being that the Similitudes are a Jewish work dating from the 1st. century A.D.[137].

The view that *1 En. 93:1-10 & 91:11-17* originally formed a single Apocalypse of Weeks has been substantiated by the Qumran fragment 4QEn[g] 1.iv, in which 93:9&10 are followed by 91:11-17. This dates from *ca.* 50 B.C.[138]. Milik[139] expresses the view that,

> "No serious evidence exists to disprove that the author of this Apocalypse of Weeks is the same author as composed the rest of the Epistle, towards the end of the second century or at the beginning of the first century B.C.".

Against this Black[140] argues for the widespread view that the apocalypse is a good deal earlier than this. His main points are:

(1) The historical references in week 7 and the beginning of week 8 are best interpreted as references to the early Maccabean victories before the reconsecration of the Temple. What is said about the restoration of the Temple does not reflect historical reality but *Ezek. 40-48.*

(2) The calculation of historical periods was especially popular in the Maccabean era.

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136. W.B. Henning, "The Book of Giants", *BSOAS* 11 (1943/45), 52-74.
137. J.H. Charlesworth, "The S.N.T.S. Pseudepigrapha Seminars at Tübingen and Paris on the Books of Enoch", *NTS* 25 (1979), 315-323.
   M.A. Knibb, "The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review", *NTS* 25 (1979), 345-359.
   M.E. Stone, "1 Enoch" in M.E. Stone (Ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, Philadelphia (1984), 395-406.
138. See J.T. Milik, *op. cit.* ref. 135, 265-269.
139. J.T. Milik, *op. cit.* ref. 135, 255f.
140. M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, SVTP 7, Leiden (1985), 288.

(3) The surrounding paranaesis in which the apocalypse is embedded draws on its imagery and phraseology (e.g. 91:5/91:11; 92:5/91:17; 92:3,5/91:17). This suggests that the apocalypse is a source document which the author of the Epistle of Enoch incorporated into his work.

The first and third of these arguments are quite substantial. They suggest, says Black, a date ca. 165 B.C.

VanderKam[141] argues for a somewhat earlier date still. He stresses the importance of the number 7 in the apocalypse: the hero is Enoch, the 7th. man, who gives 7-fold instruction; emphasis is put on the last (i.e. 7th.) part of most weeks; the account ends with a reference to 7-fold light. Hence he argues that the author lived at the end of the 7th. week, and the reference to victories in the 8th. week are genuine prophecies, not references to Maccabean victories. He therefore concludes that the book pre-dates the Maccabean uprising and comes from ca. 170 B.C.. Charles[142] had earlier expressed the view that there is in the apocalypse no clear reference to the Antiochene persecution and its outcome, and that it is pre-Maccabean in date. It seems that a date in the period 170-165 B.C. would be accepted by the great majority of scholars who have studied the matter. Surprisingly, no-one seems to doubt that an author would have had the leisure to produce such a work in this turbulent period.

The Apocalypse of Weeks refers to ten weeks, the first seven of which span the period from creation to about 170 B.C.. Usually one major event is mentioned in each week, though in an allusive way.

Week 1.   Enoch is born as the 7th. man.
Week 2.   Growing wickedness. The Flood and the Noachic Covenant.
Week 3.   Ends with the election of Abraham.
Week 4.   Ends with the law-giving at Sinai.
Week 5.   Ends with the building of Solomon's Temple.

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141. J.C. VanderKam, "Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks", CBQ 46(1984), 511-521.
142. R.H. Charles, The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch, Oxford (1912), liii.

Week 6.   Impiety. Elijah's ascension. Ends with the destruction of
               the Temple.
Week 7.   An apostate generation arises. Ends with the choice of of
               a righteous remnant.
Week 8.   The righteous are given a sword to carry out judgement on
               the wicked. At its end the Temple is renewed "in glory
               for ever".
Week 9.   The whole world is judged.
Week 10.   At its 7th. part eternal judgement is passed on the
               Watchers and there is a new heaven. Then there are "weeks
               without number" of goodness and righteousness.

VanderKam[141] points out that there is a careful structure in this

scheme:

(1) Weeks 1 & 10 both mention a seventh entity.

(2) Weeks 2 & 9 both refer to a world-wide judgement.

(3) Weeks 3-5 & 6-8 fall into two groups with similar structure.

(4) The building of Solomon's Temple forms the centre-point.

Knibb[143] points out that the whole of the exilic and post-exilic era,

including the rebuilding of the Temple, is considered a time of apostasy.

He takes the righteous remnant to be the Hasidim of the 2nd. century

B.C..

There is nothing in the Apocalypse of Weeks to suggest any literary

relationship with *Dan. 9:24-27.*

Daniel 9:24-27. This refers to "seventy weeks of years", which are

explicitly linked to Jeremiah's prophecy of seventy years which "must

pass before the end of the desolations of Jerusalem" (*Dan. 9:2 cf. Jer.

25:11&12; 29:10*).

Most commentators[144] divide up the period as follows:

7 weeks   This stretches from "the going forth of the word to
               restore and build Jerusalem to the coming of an anointed
               one, a prince".

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143. M.A. Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Inter-Testamental
      Period", *Hey.J.* 17(1976), 253-272.
144. For example: A. Bentzen, *Daniel*, Tübingen (1952).
                   M. Delcor, *Le Livre De Daniel*, Paris (1971).
                   N. Porteous, *Daniel*, rev. ed., London (1979).

62 weeks	During this period Jerusalem stands, but "in a troubled time". Then "an anointed one shall be cut off". The "people of the prince who is to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary". There is war and desolations.
1 week	This includes half a week during which "he shall cause sacrifice and offering to cease; and upon the wing of abominations shall come one who makes desolate, until the decreed end is poured out on the desolator".

The periods concerned are then taken to be:

7 weeks	586/7 - 538 B.C.
62 weeks	538 - 171 B.C.
1 week	171 - 164 B.C.

According to this view the "going forth of the word" refers to Jeremiah's prophecies of restoration. The first "anointed one" is either Cyrus or Joshua, the High Priest at the time of the return from exile. The "anointed one" who is "cut off" is Onias III. The half week at the end runs from the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus IV to its rededication by Judas Maccabeus. If this view is accepted the 62 week period either has to be explained as a miscalculation, or as primarily symbolic[145].

Some scholars[146] adopt an interpretation which, according to Jerome[147], goes back at least to Africanus, in which the starting point of the seventy weeks of years is the permission given by Artaxerxes I to Nehemiah to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. *Dan. 9:25* is then read as in the *LXX* (ignoring the *MT* punctuation) as saying, "seven weeks and sixty two weeks", meaning a single period of 69 weeks. The two "anointed ones" then coalesce, and are taken to refer to Jesus. There are four problems with this interpretation:

(1) Artaxerxes I did not make a decree about rebuilding Jerusalem, only its walls.

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145. So F.F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*,
      London (1959).
146. See for example: B.K. Waltke, "The Date of the Book of Daniel",
      Bib.Sac. 133(1976), 319-329.
147. G.L. Archer (Trans.), *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, Grand Rapids
      (1977), 94-98.

contd.

(2) It is not easy to explain why the author should say 7+62 instead of just 69, unless there is some significance in the 7 week period. The Massoretic punctuation is both logically and syntactically reasonable.

(3) To make the period end with the crucifixion of Jesus the years are taken as lunar years of 360 days, ignoring the inter-calendrical days. This seems rather contrived.

(4) According to this view there is a gap between the 69th. & 70th. weeks, since the last week refers to the future Anti-Christ who will come at the end of the age.

According to another view[148] the sequence begins with Cyrus' decree but all the periods are to be taken symbolically. The first 7 weeks end with the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the 62 weeks end with Jesus' death, and the final week ends with the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D.. One weakness with this is that Cyrus' decree referred to rebuilding the Temple, not the city.

Lacocque[149] makes the novel suggestion that the 7 week and 62 week periods are not sequential but parallel. The first covers the period from 587 - 539 B.C.. The second covers that from 605 B.C. (the date given in *Jer. 25:1* and so taken to refer to the oracle in vll&12) to 171 B.C. (Onias' murder). The problem here is that what is said of Jerusalem's state during the 62 week period does not allow for the disaster of 586/7 B.C.. Also, it seems more natural to take the two periods as sequential.

None of these interpretations is free from exegetical and/or historical problems. The first, with the numbers taken symbolically, is perhaps the least problematic.

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148. So E.J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, Grand Rapids (1949).
    J.G. Baldwin, *Daniel*, Leicester (1978).
149. A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, London (1979).

The Origin of the Seventy Period Scheme. Milik[150] points out that *1 En.*

10:11&12 refers to the wicked angels being imprisoned for seventy

generations from the time of Enoch and Noah to the Day of Judgement.

He argues that this presupposed that the author (whom he thinks wrote

in the Persian period) knew of an earlier work which divided this span

of history into seventy periods. This work, he thinks, is the "Book of

Periods" referred to in two Qumran fragments (4Q180 & 4Q181) which

contain the phrase "seventy weeks" when speaking of the period of

'Azaz'el, leader of the wicked angels. VanderKam[151] comments,

> "He may be correct that behind the sundry later references
> there lies such a composition, but the evidence that he
> adduces is too fragmentary to allow a reasonable degree of
> certainty".

Milik[152] refers to the combination of "weeks" and "jubilees" in *T. Levi*

17, and points out that seventy weeks is ten jubilees (70*7 = 49*10).

He seems to be implying that this is the origin of the prevalence of the

figure of seventy periods. In his view the link of the seventy periods

with Jeremiah's prophecy made in *Dan. 9* is secondary, an attempt to give

it biblical legitimacy. He does also point out that the seventy

"shepherds" of the Animal Apocalypse in *1 En. 85-90* (which we discuss in

detail later) shows that the scheme of seventy periods "intersects" with

the biblical scheme of seventy nations in *Gen. 10* and the idea of angels

being assigned to nations which can be inferred from *Deut. 32:8.*

VanderKam[153] points out that the seventy period schemes in *Dan. 9, T.*

Levi 16, & 1 En. 85-90 all apply to the period after the Exile. He

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150. J.T.Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran, Cave*
    4, Oxford (1976), 248-252.
151. J.C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition,*
    CBQ Mon. Ser. 16, Washington D.C. (1984), 157.
152. J.T. Milik, *op. cit.* ref. 150, 253f.
153. J.C. VanderKam, *op. cit.* ref. 151, 156f.

sees the inspiration for them in Jeremiah's prophecy alluded to by *Dan. 9*, and such *Old Testament* references to seventy years desolation of Jerusalem as *2 Chron. 36:20&21 & Zech. 1:12-17.*

VanderKam has found a more substantial background to the seventy periods scheme than that suggested by Milik. In our view this is the source of it. However, the idea of the seventy nations has probably influenced the Animal Apocalypse. Overtones of the jubilee idea are also not unlikely. The seventy years in *Jer. 25:11&12; 29:10* seems to be no more than a round number, possibly a lifetime[154]. However the Chronicler links it with the idea of the land needing its sabbath years found in *Lev. 26:34&35.* In its turn the sabbath year idea is closely linked with the Year of Jubilee (*Lev. 25:1-24*). Milik may therefore be right to point out that the seven weeks of "normal" history in the Apocalypse of Weeks contains 49 units, and a jubilee is 49 years, and to see this as no accident. The influence of the jubilee scheme may explain the application of the seventy weeks to the whole of history and not just the post-exilic era.

We have seen that any links between *T. Levi 14-18* and *Dan. 9* are tenuous and that no clear links exist between the Apocalypse of Weeks and *Dan. 9.* *T. Levi 16* claims to have a background in Enoch's writings. The most likely source seems to be the Animal Apocalypse since this applies a seventy period division, admittedly of "shepherds" not "weeks", to the post-exilic period.

Conclusions.

(1) We have not found any evidence of literary dependence between *T. Levi 14-18, 1 En. 93:1-10 & 91:11-17, & Dan. 9:24-27.*

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154. So J. Bright, *Jeremiah*, 2nd. ed., Garden City, N.Y. (1974).

(2) The origin of the seventy period scheme is probably to be found in *Jer. 25:11&12; 29:10*. To this were added the idea of seventy nations guarded by their angels (*Gen. 10 & Deut. 32:8*), and the jubilee concept (*via Lev. 25:1-24; 26:34&35*).

Class 3(a)

The Testament of Naphtali. As we have already mentioned earlier this exists in both a Greek version and a Hebrew version, which differs considerably from the Greek. Kee's[155] view of the Hebrew is that it is a late copy of an original Hebrew document that might underlie the Greek. Korteweg[156] takes a similar view. He thinks that the vision sequence in ch. 5-7 is more coherent in the Hebrew version, and that its clearly negative view of Joseph (the northern tribes) is close to the post-exilic outlook expressed in *Chronicles*. In his view the Greek version is a reworking of the traditional material which lies behind the extant Hebrew text.

We discuss the animal vision of ch. 5 elsewhere. It seems to be a prophecy of Israel's oppression by the Gentiles. The point of the vision in ch. 6, at least in the Greek version, is a promise of deliverance. This vision occurs seven months after the previous one. Is this a reference to Jeremiah's prophecy of 70 years in exile? Jacob and the twelve patriarchs board a ship at Jamnia. Jacob, who is steering, is snatched away and a tempest ensues. The ship breaks up and sinks. Joseph escapes in a little boat, and the others on planks. Levi and Judah share a plank. Thanks to Levi's intercessions the storm ceases

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155. H.C. Kee in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 776f.
156. Th. Korteweg, "The Meaning of Naphtali's Visions" in M. de Jonge (Ed.), *Studies in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, SVTP 3*, Leiden (1975), 261-290.

and all reach land safely. They are re-united with Jacob, who rejoices.

The pairing of Judah and Levi, and the stress on Levi's priestly role, is typical of the *T. 12 Patr.*. The special treatment given to Joseph is notable. In the Greek *Testaments* he is presented as the epitome of the righteous man.

The Hebrew version of the vision is longer and much more detailed. It also differs in various particulars. Most importantly *its emphasis is* not on the <u>salvation</u> from the storm (neither the seven months nor Levi's intercessions are mentioned) but on the <u>cause</u> of the disaster. This is said to be Joseph's jealousy of Judah and Levi, which led him to ignore their instructions about how to steer the ship. Jacob reprimands him for his jealousy. This, Jacob says, will lead to the captivity and scattering of the patriarch's descendants.

If we are to look for any source of the imagery used in this vision, the most obvious one is the story of Jonah. There is, however, very little correspondence in detail, beyond that of a ship caught in a storm at sea. In fact the Hebrew version is not explicit about the storm. It might be that the storm and Jamnia (not in the Hebrew) are importations into the Greek version under the influence of the Jonah story. Jamnia is several kilometers from the coast, and might be a corruption of the Joppa from which Jonah sailed.

2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch. We have discussed this work in Class 2(b), where we saw that it is a Jewish book, dating from the early 2nd. century A.D., but using earlier material.

Chs. 35-46 record a symbolic vision. Baruch falls asleep amongst the ruins of the temple, where he has been lamenting its destruction. He has a vision in which he sees a forest in a mountain-ringed plain. A vine springs up "over against" the forest, and a fountain flows from

under it. When the water reaches the forest it becomes a raging torrent which sweeps away the forest and the mountains, leaving only one cedar. Even that is then uprooted. The vine comes to the cedar and berates it for its wickedness. Baruch then sees the cedar burning and the vine growing. The plain is filled with unfading flowers.

In response to Baruch's prayer God interprets the vision for him. He tells Baruch that "the kingdom which destroyed Zion will be destroyed" (39:3). It will be followed by three others, the fourth and last will be "harsher and more evil than those which were before it, and it will reign a multitude of times like the trees on the plain ... and exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon" (39:5). The lone cedar represents the last ruler of this kingdom. The vine with the fountain under it represents the Messiah, who will destroy the kingdom, bind the last king, and punish him on Mount Zion.

Charles[157] argued that this vision is based on pre-A.D. 70 material because, whereas the first destruction of Jerusalem is mentioned (39:3), there is no hint of its destruction by Rome in what is said about the fourth kingdom, nor of its restoration by the Messiah. Klijn[158] also sees the re-use of traditional material here. He thinks that the insistence in the interpretation that the Messianic age belongs to "this world of corruption" (40:3) is a re-interpretation of the vision which reflects one of the special emphases of the author, which he also finds elsewhere in the book.

It seems clear that the first of the four kingdoms mentioned is Babylon (39:3, "the kingdom which destroyed Zion"). Commentators agree that

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157. R.H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, London (1896).
158. A.F.J. Klijn, "The Sources and Redaction of the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch", *JSJ* 1 (1970), 65-76.

the fourth is Rome since the book appears to be a response to the events of A.D. 70[158]. Presumably the other two kingdoms are Persia and Macedonia. *2 Baruch* shares this scheme with *4 Ezra 12:10ff*, where Daniel's fourth kingdom is explicitly interpreted (indeed seemingly re-interpreted) as Rome. This is only one of several similarities between the two works. Whilst some have seen this as evidence of literary dependence (usually of *2 Baruch* on *4 Ezra*), the consensus now is that, since the theological ideas of the two writings differ considerably, common sources are more likely[160].

It is very likely that one of the common sources was *Dan. 2&7*. In fact the four kingdom scheme in *2 Baruch 39* seems to be an addition to the traditional vision material since there is no hint of it in the vision itself. In the interpretation the whole of the vision is applied to the fourth kingdom. There is a possible verbal allusion to what is said of the third kingdom in *Dan. 2:39* ("Which shall rule over all the earth") in *2 Bar. 39:4* ("That will also have the sovereignty for its time"). As well as the four empires theme another point of contact with *Daniel* may be the use of a single tall tree to symbolize a ruler. This is reminiscent of the vision in *Dan. 4*, where Nebuchadnezzar is represented by such a tree. Another, even clearer, Old Testament source of the vision's imagery is the allegory in *Ezek. 17*. Here a cedar of Lebanon represents the Davidic line of kings. Zedekiah is represented by a vine. It may also be relevant that in *Jer. 23:5&6; 33:15&16* the future new David is called "a righteous branch" in a play on Zedekiah's name. The cedar imagery is also used of Pharaoh in the oracle of judgement in

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159. So R.H. Charles, *op. cit.* ref. 157.
     A.F.J. Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch" in J.H.
     Charlesworth, *op. cit.* ref. 2.
160. So A.F.J. Klijn, *op. cit.* ref. 159, 620.
     H.F.D. Sparks, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 838.

Ezek. 31ˡˑˡ.

Daniel 2. We discussed the origin and meaning of the symbolism of this vision in our discussion of Class 2 (a). There we concluded that this vision adapts the idea of four ages characterised by four metals that was current in the eastern Mediterranean world from at least the time of Hesiod. We also concluded that the sequence of powers intended was Babylon, Media, Persia, and Macedonia.

The Form of the Visions. Niditch[161] argues that the vision report in *2 Bar. 36-43* has the same form as the visions in *Dan. 7&8.* Below we analyse this vision and that in *T. Naph. 6&7* in terms of the form we discerned in *Dan. 7&8.*

	2 Bar. 36-43	*T. Naph. 6&7*
(1) Date-line	36:1a	6:1a
(2) Indication of a vision	36:1b	6:1a
(3) Description of vision	36:2-37:1a	6:1b-10
(4) Fear on part of seer	(37:1b)	
(5) Request for interpn.	38:1-4	7:1a
(6) Angel's reply	39:1-40:4	7:1b-3
(7) Charge to seer	43:1-3	(8:1-10)
(8) Fear/sickness of seer		

Some points here require comment. The date-line in both cases is rather vague: "And when I had said this" (*2 Bar. 36:1a*); "And again after seven months" *T. Naph. 6:1a*). The element of the seer's fear and sickness is absent in both accounts. *2 Bar. 37:1b* simply reports that the seer woke and got up. In the case of Baruch the angel interpreter is replaced by God himself. Naphtali's interpreter is his father Jacob. Whereas Daniel was charged to "seal up the vision", Baruch is charged to speak to

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161. G.K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic and in the Revelation of St. John*, Lanham, Md. (1985), 144-153, discusses these, and other less clear, links between *2 Bar. 36-42, Daniel & Ezek. 17&31.*
162. S. Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition*, HSM 30, Chico, Calif. (1983), 233-241. For our analysis of the vision form in *Daniel* see pp. 249ff.

the people. Naphtali does not receive a charge, but charges his family to take heed to the meaning of the vision, "to be at unity with Levi and Judah". Whilst *2 Bar. 36-43* does seem to follow quite closely the biblical symbolic vision form which Niditch traces through the into the inter-testamental literature, the account in *T. Naph. 6&7* is only superficially similar. Its setting in the testament context may account for the differences. *Dan. 2* does not follow this form, not suprisingly since this vision is woven into the narrative.

Conclusion. The study of this group of prophetic symbolic visions does not throw any new light on those in *Daniel.*

Class 3(b)

1 Enoch 85-90. This, the Animal Apocalypse, is the second and much longer of the two sections in the Book of Dreams (*1 Enoch 83-90*). Milik has published eight fragments from Qumran containing parts of the Animal Apocalypse in Aramaic. Most are from the 1st. century B.C., but he dates 4QEn* to the third quarter of the 2nd. century B.C.[163].

It is generally assumed that the key passage for the dating of the apocalypse is the one just before the eschatological section, since this presumably reflects the author's own era. The passage concerned is 90:6-16. This contains the following elements:

v6&7   The birth of lambs who open their eyes and see. Their cries are
        ignored by the extremely deaf and blind sheep.
v8   One of the lambs is taken away by ravens.
v9-12   The appearance of a sheep with a big horn who rallies other
        sheep and fights against the birds of prey who attack them.
v13-15 An account of a battle between the sheep and the birds in which
        the sheep with the big horn is hard-pressed but is saved by
        divine intervention.

There is general agreement that v6&7 refer to the rise of the hasidic

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163. J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran, Cave 4*, Oxford (1976), 244f.

party[164], and that v8 refers to the removal of Onias III from office (175 B.C.) and his eventual death (171 B.C.). Charles dealt effectively with the earlier view that the sheep with the big horn was John Hyrcanus when he said[165],

> "The interpretation of Dillman, Köstlin, Schürer and others, which takes the "great horn" to symbolize John Hyrcanus, does violence to the text, and meets with the insuperable objection that thus there would not be even the faintest reference to Judas, the greatest of the Maccabees".

Milik sees a parallel between v13-15 and the account of Judas' miraculous deliverance in the battle of Beth-Zur in *2 Macc. 11:6-12.* He considers v16 a symbolic sketch of the situation after the battle, and v17 as the beginning of the eschaton. As a result he concludes[166] that the work was composed "...probably in the early months of the year, during the weeks which followed the battle of Bethsur". The identification of the battle as that of Beth-Zur has found some acceptance[167]. However, the point at which the author introduces the eschaton is unclear, since v16-18 parallel v13-15 in many ways. Charles[168], developing the earlier suggestion of Martin[169], argued that v16-18 are a doublet of v13-15, and that v19 should follow v13 (which parallels v16). VanderKam[167] points out several differences between v13-15 & v16-18 and argues that v18 seems to deal with cataclysmic event associated with the end, not divine intervention in a Maccabean battle. Hence he agrees with Milik's view that the eschaton is introduced at v17. However, he thinks that Milik's date for the

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164. R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, Oxford (1912), 207.
    G.W.E. Nickelsburgh, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, London (1981), 92.
    J.T. Milik, *op. cit.* ref. 163, 43.
165. R.H. Charles, *op. cit.* ref. 164, 208.
166. J.T. Milik, *op. cit.* ref. 163, 44.
167. G.W.E. Nickelsburgh, *op. cit.* ref. 164, 93.
    J.C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, *CBQ Mon. Ser. 16*, Washington D.C. (1984), 162f.
168. R.H. Charles, *op. cit.* ref. 164, 209-211.
169. F. Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, Paris (1906), 228.

composition of the apocalypse is "overly precise" and that the most that can be said is that, since there is no mention of Judas' death in it, it was composed between the battle of Beth-Zur (164 B.C.) and his death (161 B.C.).

The apocalypse covers the span of history from Adam and Eve to Judas Maccabeus. In the main it follows the biblical story-line down to the post-exilic period. However, in the immediate pre-flood period it draws on traditions about the fallen angels similar to those in *1 En. 6-11.* The apocalypse gains its name from the fact that nearly all its characters are represented as animals. The patriarchs up to Jacob are represented as cattle. Jacob's descendants are depicted as sheep. The opponents of the Israelites are represented as either wild beasts or (in the post-exilic period) birds of prey. The main exceptions are angels, who are depicted either as fallen stars (the wicked angels) or humans (the archangels). Noah and Moses are animals who change into men. Whether this indicates their special status, or is simply the result of the fact that they are said to do things animals could not (build an ark/tabernacle) is not clear. The Messiah is a white bull which becomes a horned lamb.

The post-exilic era is divided into periods of rule by seventy shepherds. These in turn are divided into four groups of 12, 23, 23, and 12 sets of shepherds.

The imagery of the Animal Apocalypse very probably has its basis in the *Old Testament.* The most obvious sources would be *Ezek. 34* (Israel seen as God's flock ruled by worthless shepherds) and *Ezek. 39:17-20* (the princes of the earth – depicted as rams, lambs, goats, and bulls – are given as a feast to the birds of prey). The linking of particular animals with particular nations sometimes has a basis in the *Old Testament, e.g.* Ishmael and his offspring as asses (89:13 *cf. Gen. 16:12);*

the Philistines as dogs (89:46f *cf. 1 Sam. 17:43*).

The four eras during which the shepherds rule are:

(1) From the fall of Samaria to the return from exile in Babylon (89:61-71).

(2) From the return to the time of Alexander the Great (89:72-77).

(3) From Alexander to the Seleucid conquest of Palestine (90:1-5).

(4) From the conquest of Palestine to the eschaton (90:6-17).

This seems to be an original adaptation of the four-kingdom scheme found in *Dan. 2&7* and elsewhere (see above). The division into groups of 12 & 23 is probably meant to indicate no more than short and long periods.

As we have seen already when discussing Class 2(c), the seventy shepherds scheme is probably influenced by the seventy nations of *Gen. 10* and the idea of guardian angels of the nations derived from *Deut. 32:8*. In addition to this, VanderKam[170] has argued that the author combined the pastoral symbols and the number 70 because they are linked in *Jer. 25*. After saying that the nations will enslave Israel for seventy years the prophet goes on to speak of God's judgement on the nations (v15-36). The latter part of this prophecy is an oracle addressed to the rulers of the nations, who are called "you shepherds" (v34-38). VanderKam suggests that the references in the Animal Apocalypse to a book which records the excesses of the shepherds' rule may be inspired by *Jer. 25:13*,

> "I will bring upon that land all the words which I have uttered against it, everything written in this book, which Jeremiah prophesied against all the nations".

Beale[171] argues that *1 En. 90:9-27* shows evidence of literary

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170. J.C. VanderKam, *op. cit.* ref. 167, 164-167.
171. G.K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic and in the Revelation of St. John*, Lanham, Md. (1985), 67-88.

dependence on *Dan. 7&8.* There are three main elements in his argument:

(1) The horn imagery does not occur frequently in apocalyptic writings. He considers the occurrences in *T. Jos. 19:6-8, Sib. Or. 3:397-400 & Rev.* are dependent on *Daniel* This leaves only *Ass. Mos. 10:5* not dependent on *Daniel*, apart from the Animal Apocalypse. Hence, he concludes, it is not standard apocalyptic imagery and its use in *1 En. 90* may indicate dependence on *Daniel.*

(2) Four metaphors recur in *1 En. 90, Dan. 7&8*, always in the same order:

    (a) animals growing horns;

    (b) *one horn becoming great;*

    (c) animals warring against one another;

    (d) defeat in battle designated by the breaking of a horn.

(3) He sees considerable similarity between the judgement scenes in *1 En. 90:20-27 & Dan. 7:9-11.* Since the latter is the briefer description he thinks that the former is a later and expanded version.

Commenting on Beale's work, Adela Collins[172] argues that the conclusion of literary dependence is unwarranted because the similarities that do exist can be explained by the independent use of natural symbols or the independent elaboration of symbols taken from a common source (*e.g. Ezek. 34&39*).

Beale points to a very few passages where he thinks there are close verbal parallels between *1 En. 90 & Dan. 7&8.* Examples are:

1 En. 90:12	"... those ravens battled and fought with it".
Dan. 7:21	"... that horn was waging war on the saints and overpowering them".

1 En. 90:12	"... but they did not prevail against it".
Dan. 8:7	"... the ram had no power to withstand him".

1 En. 90:20	"... a throne was set up in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat on it; and they took all the sealed books and opened those books".

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172. A.Y. Collins, review of Beale's book (*op. cit.* ref. 171), *JBL*
     105 (1988), 734f.

Dan. 7:9&10   "... thrones were placed and one that was ancient of days took his seat ... and the books were opened".

We do not think that these are striking enough to provide solid evidence of literary dependence. In the absence of such evidence Adela Collins' comments are valid. The most that it is safe to conclude is that the common themes and imagery in the Animal Apocalypse and *Dan. 7&8* may indicate shared sources and/or traditions, but leaves open the possibility of literary dependence.

Testament of Joseph 19. We have discussed introductory matters relating to the *T. 12 Patr.* in Class 2 (c).

T. Jos. 19 is complicated by three textual problems. Firstly, v3-7 are preserved only in Armenian. Secondly, v8-12 are longer in the Greek version than in the Armenian. Finally, at least v11b in Greek seems to be a Christian interpolation, "...the Lamb of God who will take away the sin of the world, and will save all nations, as well as Israel".

An outline of the content of the chapter is:

v1&2   Twelve stags are grazing. They are scattered abroad in two groups of 9 and 3.

v3&4   The 3 become lambs. As a result of their cries to God they are led into a fertile place, and the 9 join them, also becoming lambs. They all multiply.

v5-9   Twelve bulls are nursing from one cow. The horns of the fourth bull "ascended to heaven and became as a rampart for the herds". Another horn sprouts from between them. A heifer helps the the bulls. A virgin appears in the midst of the horns and gives birth to a lamb, which conquers all sorts of wild beasts and reptiles which are rushing against the bulls. There is rejoicing. (In the Greek of v8&9 the virgin is said to be born from Judah and produces a spotless lamb. To the lamb's left appears "something like a lion". Here there is probably Christian redaction.)

v10-12 Joseph exhorts his children to honour Levi and Judah because the salvation of Israel (Arm. version, see above for Gk.) will come from them.

This really seems to be two apocalypses, v1-4 & v5-9.

The division of the twelve tribes into 9 & 3, rather than the biblical 10 & 2 (e.g. *1 K. 12:21*) is parallelled in *1 En. 89:72* & *1QM 1:2*, where the sons of Levi, Judah and Benjamin are linked together[173]. Charles[174] suggests that the origin of the stag imagery is to be found in *Lam. 1:6*, "From the daughter of Zion has departed all her majesty. Her princes have become like harts that find no pasture; they fled without strength before the pursuer". A likely source of the lamb imagery is *Ezek. 34.*

No one has attempted a detailed interpretation of the imagery of v5-9. Charles[174] suggests that it refers to the rise of one of the great Maccabean leaders. Kee[175] accepts that this is possible, but adds "sectarian leaders and their opponents could as well be depicted in this cryptic fashion". In the Armenian version the cow which provides milk for the bulls is presumably the Promised Land[174]. The fourth bull would be Judah, and the lamb might represent a levitical messianic figure, in accordance with the messianic dyarchy which pervades the *T. 12 Patr.*. The lamb and the lion in the Greek would also represent this dyarchy, though in this case the lamb is born to a virgin from Judah. Charles[174] suggests that in the original of both forms the lamb represented a deliverer from Levi (one of the Maccabeans?). However, he then removes the dyarchy from the Armenian form by suggesting that in the original the bull singled out was the third (*errort*, misread as *tshorrort*), namely Levi, and that it turned into the conquering lamb. This is clearly very speculative.

Beale[176] sees in v6&7 allusions to *Dan. 7&8* because of the following

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173. For the text of *1QM* see E.L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, Jerusalem (1955).
174. R.H. Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Oxford (1908), 192f.
175. H.C. Kee in J.H. Charlesworth, *op. cit.* ref. 2, 824.
176. G.K. Beale, *op. cit.* ref. 171, 89-96.

parallels:

(1) A plurality of horns growing towards heaven from the head of an animal.

(2) Another horn grows towards heaven from the midst of these horns.

(3) This horn becomes involved in combat for/against Israel.

This imagery, he points out, is unique to *T. Jos. 19 & Dan. 7&8.* He also points to a close verbal parallel between *T. Jos. 19:12a* in the Greek text and *Dan. 7:14, 27,* especially in the Theodotic text.

T. Jos. 19:12a   ἡ γαρ βασιλεια αὐτου βασιλεια αἰωνος, ἥτις οὐ
παρασαλευσεται.

Dan. 7:14 (θ)   ἡ ἐζουσια αὐτου ἐζουσια αἰωνιος ἥτις οὐ παρελευσεται.

Dan. 7:27 (θ)   ἡ βασιλεια αὐτου βασιλεια αἰωνος.

Here Beale has stronger evidence for literary dependence than in the case of *1 En. 90 & Dan. 7&8.* The imagery here is less readily explained as due to the independent use of natural symbolism, and there is the uniqueness of the cluster of images to these two passages alone. The evidence of the verbal similarity to which he points is of doubtful value since it is arguable that *T. Jos. 19:12a* in the Greek is a Christian interpolation. The Armenian has, "For my kingdom shall have an end".

Beale suggests that the ultimate source of the bulls/horns imagery in *T. Jos. 19* may be its use in the Blessing of Moses *(Deut. 33:17)*. This, he argues, was combined with an ironic adaptation of the imagery of *Dan. 7&8* (the horn depicts an oppressor in *Daniel,* but is now a protector of Israel). Beale assumes that *Daniel* pre-dates the *T. Jos. 19.* For those who accept a Maccabean date for *Daniel* the question of the direction of dependence may be more open in view of the uncertainty in the dating of the *T. 12 Patr..*

The Testament of Naphtali 5. As we have seen above (Class 3(a)) the *T. Naph.* exists in both a Greek and a Hebrew version. Ch. 5 contains a two-part vision. In the first part (v1-5 in the Greek) Levi captures the sun and rides on it whilst Judah does the same to the moon. Each becomes like the heavenly body on which they ride. The Hebrew version adds that all the rest of Jacob's sons except Joseph rode on stars. This vision seems to be based on Joseph's dream recorded in *Gen. 37:9*, but adapts it to give supremacy to Levi and Judah, not Joseph.

In the second part (v6-8) a bull with two horns and eagle's wings appears. Joseph seizes it and rides it up into the heights. A sacred writing then appears which declares that certain nations (the list varies in different witnesses) will hold Israel captive. In the Hebrew version Joseph's ride ends with a quarrel between him and Judah in which he beats Judah and takes from him 10 of the 12 rods which he is carrying. He then leads all his brothers away from following Judah and Levi. A storm arises and scatters Joseph and his brothers. There is no mention of the sacred writing.

It is clear that in the Hebrew version the bull vision (perhaps based on *Deut. 33:17*) depicts the dominance of the Joseph tribes in the pre-monarchical period, the division of the kingdom, and the exile (at least of the northern tribes). The truncated Greek form of the vision is much less clear. As Korteweg[177] argues, the abbreviation is probably motivated by the desire to remove the negative references to Joseph.

There is general agreement that v8 in the Greek is a later addition to the text[178]. The list of nations occurs in two main forms:

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177. Th. Korteweg, "The Meaning of Naphtali's Visions" in M. de Jonge (Ed.), *Studies in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, SVTP 3*, Leiden (1975), 261-290.
178. R.H. Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, London (1918), 143.
   M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of Their Text, Composition and Origin*, Assen (1953), 55.

(1) Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Chaldeans, Syrians.

(2) Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Elamites, Gelachians/Chelkaeans, Chaldeans, Syrians.

Charles[178] argues that Gelachians/Chelkaeans in the list arose as a result of dittography of "Chaldeans". Bickerman[179] suggests that behind "Chaldeans, Syrians" lies a misunderstanding of the Hebrew construct form "the Chaldeans of Syria", meaning the Seleucids. In support of this he points to the phrase "Kittim of Assyria" for the Seleucids in *1QM*. Hence he argues that the original list was: Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Chaldeans of Syria. This was gradually elaborated due to various misunderstandings to give list (2). If these speculations are right, the original list would date from between Antiochus III's capture of Jerusalem and the end of the Seleucid domination of Palestine (*i.e* 200 - 141 B.C.). It may be based on the list of four empires found in some of the *Sibylline Oracles* (see discussion of Class 2(a)) or on historical realities.

There appears to be no connection between *T. Naph. 5 & Daniel.*

4 Ezra 11&12. *4 Ezra* is the name given in Latin manuscripts to chs. 3-14 of the book which is included in the Apocrypha of English Bibles under the title *2 Esdras. 2 Esdras 1&2 and 14&16* are clearly Christian productions, whereas chs. 3-14 are Jewish in origin.

The primary version of *4 Ezra* is the Latin[180]. Of several other versions the most important are the Syriac[181] and the Ethiopic[182].

179. E.J. Bickerman, "The Date of the Testaments of the Twelve
       Patriarchs", *JBL*, 69(1950), 245-260, esp. 245f. It is a weakness
       in this argument that "Chaldean" had a definite meaning, whereas
       "Kittim" did not, and so could be used as a code-word in 1QM.
180. R.L. Bensley (Ed.), *The Fourth Book of Ezra, the Latin Version
       Edited from the MSS,* Cambridge (1895).
181. R.J. Bidawid (Ed.), *Peshitta,* Part IV.3 , Leiden (1973).
182. A. Dillmann, *Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici,* Tomus V, Berlin (1894),
       152-193.

The Latin sometimes reproduces Greek constructions (*e.g.* the genitive absolute), and some of the differences between the versions can be explained by presupposing corruption or misunderstanding of a Greek exemplar[183]. However, the Latin also contains notable hebraisms (*e.g.* infinitive absolute constructions) and most modern scholars accept Hebrew (or possibly Aramaic) as the original language of the work[184].

The theme of *4 Ezra* is theodicy - the justifying of the ways of God to his suffering people, the Jews. The book claims to be set in Babylon in the 30th. year after the fall of Jerusalem (3:1). It is generally agreed that this really indicates a date at the end of the 1st. century A.D., 30 years after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70[185]. As we shall see, this is supported by the usually accepted interpretation of the Eagle Vision in chs. 11&12.

In terms of content, *4 Ezra* consists of seven revelations given to Ezra, who is called Salathiel, by the angel Uriel. Various unevenesses and inconsistencies in the book led scholars in the earlier part of this century to put forward theories of how the book was compiled in several stages from various supposed source documents[186]. However, as Metzger[187] says, "Many scholars today tend to regard chs. 3-14 as representing the author's own conception and handiwork". They would agree with Weiser[188] that,

> "The inconsistencies and the impression at times of a certain mosaic, especially when apocalyptic conceptions are described, are due to the fact that the author has used current, and in part written, traditions".

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183. B.M. Metzger in J.H. Charlesworth (Ed.), *op. cit.* ref. 2, 518.
184. J.M. Myers, *I & II Esdras*, Garden City, N.Y. (1974), 115-119, lists Hebraisms and Aramaisms.
185. So J.M. Myers, *op. cit.* ref. 184, 520.
186. J.M. Myers, *op. cit.* ref. 184, 119-121, gives a summary of several theories.
187. B.M. Metzger, *op. cit.* ref. 183, 520.
188. A. Weiser, *The Old Testament: Its Formation and Development*, N.Y. (1961), 436.

But they would also agree that he has given them a coherence and unity. In the vision of chs. 11&12 Ezra sees an eagle rising out of the sea with twelve feathered wings and three sleeping heads, the middle one being the largest. It spread its wings over the whole earth, and grew small "opposing wings". One after another the wings raise themselves up, rule over the earth, and disappear, until all twelve feathered wings, and two of the small wings, have gone. Two of the small wings then disappear suddenly, one after another. The middle head then awakes and devours two of the small wings. It rules with much oppression until it disappears. The two remaining heads rule over the earth, but the one on the right devours the one on the left. Finally, a creature like a lion appears and addresses the eagle as the last of the four beasts which the Most High had made to reign in his world. As he condemns it for its sins its last head disappears. The last two wings try to reign, but do so only briefly. The body of the eagle is then burned.

Ezra prays for the interpretation of the vision. He is told that the eagle "is the fourth kingdom which appeared to your brother Daniel. But it was not explained to him as I now explain it to you" (11:11&12). The wings and heads represent a series of kings, of whose reigns brief details are sometimes given. The lion is the Messiah who will arise from the line of David.

Clearly, the eagle represents the Roman Empire - of which the eagle standard was a symbol. Various attempts have been made to identify the wings and heads with Roman rulers, some depending on particular literary hypotheses[189]. Most scholars agree that the three heads are the Flavian Emperors - Vespasian (the middle head), Domitian (the right), and Titus (the left). Domitian's reign ended in A.D. 96, and the vision predicts

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189. B.M. Metzger, *op. cit.* ref. 183, 299-302, gives some representative examples.

an end to the Roman Empire soon after that. Hence it was probably written around the end of Domitian's reign.

The direct reference to *Daniel* in 12:11-13 (cf. *Dan. 7:7ff, 17*) shows the dependence of this vision on that book. The imagery of the eagle combines, in altered form, some of the features of the first and third beasts of *Dan. 7*. Mention of the sea, the winds of heaven and the clouds are also echoes of imagery used in *Dan. 7*[30]. The representation of the Messiah as a lion no doubt has its basis in *Gen. 49:9*, but is also reminiscent of *Jer. 4:7; 5:6; 49:19; 50:44*. It appears that the author has drawn freely on the imagery of the *Old Testament*, especially the beasts of *Dan. 7*, and refashioned it to portray the historical course of the Roman Empire.

The Revelation of St. John. Irenaeus[191], on the basis of received tradition, said that John "saw the Revelation ... at the close of Domitian's reign". Most scholars, both ancient and modern, have concurred with that dating, though some have argued for a date in Nero's reign[192]. The main points in favour of the Domitian date are:

(1) The strong polemic against emperor worship fits with the fresh emphasis put on it in Domitian's reign.

(2) The book refers to some existing persecution, but sees this as a harbinger of worse to come (*e.g.* 2:10; 3:10). Nero's persecution of Christians was brief and local.

(3) Some passages in the book (*e.g.* 13:3; 17:8, 11) are taken as allusions to the Nero *redivivus* myth.

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190. G.K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic and in the Revelation of St. John*, Lanham, Md. (1985), 144-153, mentions these, and other, allusions to *Daniel* in *4 Ezra 11&12*.
191. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* V.30.3, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. I, Grand Rapids, Mich. (1961), 436.
192. D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 3rd. ed., London (1970), discusses the various arguments. He favours a Domitian date.

contd.

(4) The picture of the Asian churches in chs. 2&3 suggests that a period

of development lies behind them. In addition, Laodicea, which is depicted

as prosperous (3:17), was destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 60/61 and

would have taken a while to recover from this disaster.

The much debated issue of the authorship of the book need not detain

us[193]. All would agree with Kümmel's[194] statement that, "he was a

Jewish Christian prophet by the name of John". Some scholars have tried

to discern source documents behind the extant work[195]. However, there

is a consistency of style and grammar throughout the book which

indicates that, if sources were used, they have been thoroughly

rewritten by the author[196]. The Greek of the book is idiosyncratic, with

many semiticisms. Most scholar's would agree with Charles' conclusion[197]

that the author thought in a Semitic language (views differ as to

whether it was Hebrew or Aramaic) whilst writing in Greek.

Revelation 12-14 contains a series of visions which seem to cover the

period from the birth of Christ to the Last Judgement:

12:1-6.	A woman clothed with the sun and with the moon under her feet is about to give birth to a son. A great red dragon with seven diademed heads and ten horns waits to devour the child. When born he is caught up to heaven and the woman flees into the wilderness, to a place prepared by God.
12:7-12.	There is war in heaven. Michael and his angels cast the dragon down to the earth.
12:13-17.	The dragon pursues the woman, who is given eagle's wings to escape into the wilderness. The dragon pours water out of his mouth after her, but the earth swallows it up. He goes off to make war on the rest of her offspring.

193. For the details see D. Guthrie, *op. cit.* ref. 192, 967-969.
194. W.G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, London (1965), 331.
195. For a brief survey see D. Guthrie, *op. cit.* ref. 192, 934-949.
196. R.H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, Vol. 1, Edinburgh (1920), lxxxvii-xci & cxvii-clix. His conclusion is endorsed by G. Mussie, *The Morphology of Koine Greek as used in the Apocalypse of St. John*, Supp. Nov. Test. 27, Leiden (1971), 351.
197. R.H. Charles, *op. cit.* ref. 196, cxliii. So also most recently, S. Thompson, *The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax*, SNTS Mon. Ser. 52, Cambridge (1985).

13:1-10.	A beast rises out of the sea with ten diademed horns and seven heads. It has a blasphemous name. It combines features of the four beasts of *Dan. 7.* The dragon invests it with his power. One of its heads has a mortal wound, but this is healed. The whole earth follows it in wonder and worships the beast and the dragon. The beast makes war on the saints.
13:11-18.	Another beast rises out of the earth. It has two horns like a lamb. It makes people worship the first beast, does signs and wonders, and causes all to bear the mark of the beast.
14:1-5.	John sees a vision of the Lamb on Mt. Zion with an army of 144,000 who bear the name of the Lamb and his Father on their forehead.
14:6-13.	A series of three angels proclaim the downfall of Babylon and call the saints to endure.
14:14-20.	John sees a vision of one like a son of man seated on a cloud. He wears a crown and carries a sickle. The Last Judgement is then depicted in terms of a grape harvest.

Most modern commentators see behind the imagery of *Rev. 12* the sun-god myth that occurs in various forms in the Mediterranean world - the Greek myth of Leto, Apollo and Python; the Egyptian myth of Hathor (Isis), Horus and Set. In these myths the sun-god is a saviour figure. By depicting themselves as Apollo on their coins some Roman Emperors claimed that rôle for themselves[198]. John's use of the imagery is polemical, as Kiddle[199] points out:

> "The <u>true</u> mother of the incarnate Son of God is the messianic people - not Leto, or any other goddess of pagan veneration. And the true Son of God is Christ, not Apollo; it is Christ whose witness and warfare will result in the dragon's ultimate defeat - He and His loyal servants are the true actors in the great struggle between light and darkness".

Kiddle's comment is justified because the imagery also has an *Old Testament* basis. In a number of places Israel is depicted as a woman in labour (e.g. *Isa. 66:7f; Mic. 5:3).* Especially important is *Isa. 26:17f,* where instead of the M.T.,

> "We were with child, we writhed, we have as it were brought forth wind",

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198. H. St. John Hart, "The Crown of Thorns in John 19, 2-5", *JTS* 3(1952), 66-75.
199. M. Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John,* London (1940).

the *LXX* has,

> "We have conceived, O Lord, because of your fear, and have been in pain, and have brought forth the breath of your salvation".

Moreover, *Isa. 27:1* speaks of God slaying the dragon.

The description of the first beast in *Rev. 13* draws heavily on the imagery of the four beasts in *Dan. 7:2-7.* As Beasley-Murray[200] puts it,

> "John has employed Daniel's descriptions of the four beasts to portray his single beast, but he combines into one the features of all four, although curiously he mentions the features in reverse order".

There is general agreement that this beast signifies "worldly government directed against the church"[201] in general, and the Roman imperial power "which, for the province of Asia, annually came up out of the sea, with the annual arrival of the proconsul at Ephesus"[202], in particular. Most of those who emphasize the reference to Rome see in v3 a reference to Nero, the chaos his suicide brought to Rome, and the subsequent *redivivus* myth[203].

With regard to the second beast Beasley-Murray[204] says,

> "Since the description of the beast from the sea adapts Dan. 7:1ff, it is possible that the fundamental features of the beast from the earth are reminiscent of the ram with two horns in Dan. 8:3ff, but there the likeness ends. Quite certainly the change of picture from a horned ram to a horned <u>lamb</u> is in imitation of the Lamb of God (5:6ff)".

He goes on to say that most scholars identify this beast with the priesthood of the emperor-cult, but that it should be recognized that this priesthood operated as part of the wider institutional life of the local Asiatic government. It was the Asiatic league which had promoted

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200. G.R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, London (1974), 208.
201. W. Hendriksen, *More Than Conquerors*, London (1962), 146.
202. G.B. Caird, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, London (1971), 162.
203. So G.R. Beasley-Murray, *op. cit.* ref. 200; G.B. Caird, *op. cit.* ref. 202; W. Hendriksen, *op. cit.* ref. 201.
204. G.R. Beasley-Murray, *op. cit.* ref. 200, 216.

and popularized the emperor-cult. Cullman[205] stresses this wider

dimension when he interprets the second beast as "the religio-

ideological propaganda authority of the totalitarian state".

The references to 1260 days (12:6), "a time, times and half a time"

(12:14), and 42 months (13:5) are no doubt based on the "time, two times,

and half a time" of *Dan. 7:25* and the half-week of years of *Dan. 9:27.*

1260 days are 42 months of 30 days, which in turn is 3½ years of 12

months.

As we have seen above when discussing Class 1(c), the use of gematria in

13:18 has a parallel in *Sib. Or. 5 & 11,* which come from the same era.

Caird[206] gives a useful summary of the various attempts to decode the

number here. Most take it to refer to Nero. Some, however, prefer a

more general symbolism. They point out that in Greek the numerical

value of the name "Jesus" is 888 (*cf. Sib. Or. 1:324-329*), and 777 is the

perfect number. 666 falls short of the perfect number by the same

amount that Jesus exceeds it. Hence "the number may be meant to

indicate not an individual, but a persistant falling short"[207].

There are clear echoes of *Dan. 7:13* in *Rev. 14:14* in the reference to the

clouds and "one like a son of man". The presentation of judgement under

the imagery of the grape harvest is, however, drawn from elsewhere in

the *Old Testament* (*e.g. Isa. 63:1-6; Joel 3:13*). The imagery of *Rev.*

14:1-5 seems to be largely of John's own construction, though there are

many allusions to *Old Testament* passages (*e.g. Ps. 2:6; Ezek. 1:24; Deut.*

23:9f; 1 Sam. 21:5).

What we see, then, in *Rev. 12-14* is a creative use of imagery drawn

largely from the *Old Testament* (with *Dan. 7* as a primary source) but

also from the wider eastern Mediterranean culture. This is used to

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205. O. Cullman, *The State in the New Testament,* London (1957), 76.
206. G.B. Caird, *op. cit.* ref. 202, 174-176.
207. L. Morris, *Revelation,* London (1969), 174.

present the theological dimension of history between the two advents of Jesus as a battle between God and Satan.

Revelation 17-20. Strictly this is not a prophetic survey of history but a statement of the triumph of God. We will discuss it only briefly, concentrating on the short synopsis of history in 17:9-14.

The imagery of the great harlot dressed in scarlet and purple and bedecked with jewels, seated on a scarlet beast full of blasphemous names and with seven heads and ten horns, has clear reference back to chs. 12&13. The harlot stands in contrast to the woman of ch. 12. In the *Old Testament* Jerusalem, Judah and Israel are called harlots because of their unfaithfulness (*Isa. 1:21; Jer. 3; Ezek. 16&23*). The same imagery is used of Tyre (*Isa. 23:16f*) and Nineveh (*Nah. 3*). The beast corresponds to the first beast of ch. 13.

Rev. 17:9 is generally taken to indicate that, at least in the first place, the harlot represents the city of Rome and the beast stands for the empire (note the reference to "seven-hilled Rome" in *Sib. Or. 2:18; 13:45 & 14:108*). The interpretation of what is said of the seven kings in v10 has caused a great deal of debate. Caird[208] summarizes the debate helpfully, and concludes with what is possibly the best interpretation:

> "John did not arrive at the number seven by counting emperors ... The number seven is a symbol which John does not scruple to apply to earthly reality without insisting on numerical coincidence ... the seven kings are a symbolic number, representative of the whole series of emperors ... The one point John wishes to emphasize is that the imperial line has only a short time to run before the emergence of a new monstrous Nero, an eighth who is one of the seven".

The ten kings of v12 are future confederates of the Antichrist, who will hold power only briefly. It may well be that the number ten is simply

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208. G.B. Caird, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, London (1971), 174-176.

traditional and symbolic, denoting completeness, and not to be taken literally[209].

It is clear that in 17:9-14 we have an adaptation and re-interpretation of imagery drawn from *Dan. 7.*

Conclusion. The prophetic surveys of history which we have considered in this class using animal imagery fall into three groups.

T. Naph. 5 stands out as apparently having no connection with *Daniel.* The most likely source of its imagery is *Deut. 33:17,* part of an *Old Testament* "testament".

4 Ezra 11&12; Rev. 12-14 & 17-20 are clearly dependent on *Dan. 7* for their bestial imagery. They modify it to fit with the realities of the Roman Empire to which they wish to refer, and combine it with other imagery from the *Old Testament* and elsewhere.

1 En. 85-90 & T. Jos. 19 seem to bear some relationship to *Dan. 7&8* in their use of the imagery of horned animals involved in conflict. We have seen that a reasonable case can be made for the view that there is literary dependence between *T. Jos. 19 & Dan. 7&8,* the direction depending on a prior decision about the relative dates of the works. The similarities between *1 En. 85-90 & Dan. 7&8* are not such that it is safe to conclude more than that there is <u>some</u> connection between them, whether it be the influence of common sources or traditions, or direct literary dependence. All the major sources that have been suggested for the Animal Apocalypse are *Old Testament* passages. These may well have influenced *Daniel* also. VanderKam[210] speaks in general terms of the influence of Mesopotamian mantic traditions on the books of *Enoch,* but does not refer to any Mesopotamian material in his discussion of the

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209. So G.B. Caird, *op. cit.* ref. 208; L. Morris, *op. cit.* ref. 207.
210. J.C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition,*
     CBQ Mon. Ser. 16, Washington, D.C. (1984), 70f.

Animal Apocalypse. Beale[211] points out that even on the basis of a Maccabean dating of *Daniel* (165/4 B.C., before the rededication of the Temple) this book may pre-date the Animal Apocalypse (dated 164-161 B.C., see above). Hence it is not impossible that *Dan. 7&8* had some influence on the Animal Apocalypse.

It is a striking fact that of the prophetic visions in Jewish and early Christian apocalypses which use animal imagery to refer to historical events, only one has no relationship with *Dan. 7&8*. Three are clearly dependent on *Dan. 7&8*. One possibly is, and the remaining one may have been influenced by these chapters. If one is looking for a single creative source which sparked off the use of animal imagery in this way, the most likely one would seem to be the mind of the author of *Dan. 7&8*.

Overall Conclusions

We will not repeat here the detailed conclusions made at the end of the study of each class of prophetic historical survey, but simply bring together those which bear on the aim of our study, namely to see whether any light can be thrown on the sources of the form and imagery of the surveys in *Daniel*. For details and references see the discussions of the classes above.

Overall the results have been meagre. The study of the non-symbolic, non-periodized surveys which use an Old Testament style (Class 1(a)) or gematria (Class 1(c)) produced nothing of relevance. The same was true of the study of non-symbolic surveys which divide history into 12 periods (Class 2(b)).

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211. G.K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic and in the Revelation of St. John*, Lanham, Md. (1985), 67f.

The study of the few non-symbolic, non-periodized surveys which have an "enigmatic" style rather similar to that of the Akkadian Prophecies (Class 1(b)), provided no evidence to support Lambert's hypothesis that the Akkadian Prophecies were readily available to Jewish apocalyptists in Aramaic (or, for that matter, in any other form).

A re-examination, in relation to the non-symbolic surveys which divide history into 10 periods (Class 2(a)), of the quite widely held view that the four ages/four metals scheme in *Daniel* was derived from Zoroastrian sources has shown that this lacks a sound basis. It is more probable that *Daniel* and the Zoroastrian literature draw independently on a widespread earlier tradition witnessed to by Hesiod.

In the study of non-symbolic surveys which divide history into 70 periods (Class 2(c)) we argued, against Milik, that the basis of the 70 weeks of years in *Dan. 9* is Jeremiah's prophecy of 70 years in exile, not the jubilee concept.

Finally, we have argued with relation to those surveys using symbolic animal imagery (Class 3(b)) that most of the use of this imagery in these surveys is inspired by the animal imagery in *Dan. 7&8*.

This study, therefore, has not given evidence of any previously unrecognized source behind the prophetic surveys of history in *Daniel.*

Chapter III: _DANIEL IN AN OLD TESTAMENT_ CONTEXT

Commenting on the view that the development of Jewish eschatology was

influenced by direct borrowing from foreign sources, R.H. Charles' wrote,

> "In the case of any religion such a method of explanation is
> mechanical, and only to be admitted when it is clearly proved
> that the elements for an internal and organic development
> were wanting."

The principle enunciatied here is a sound one, and requires us to

consider how far the forms and contents of the passages of _Daniel_ under

consideration in this work are explicable as a natural development

within the Hebrew tradition. _Dan. 7-12_ can be divided into four reports

of visionary experiences: chs. 7, 8, 9, 10-12. We will consider first the

forms of these vision reports and then their contents.

VISIONS AND PROPHECY IN THE _OLD TESTAMENT_

The fact that visions are very prominent in _Daniel_ is a matter worthy of

some consideration. Whilst vision reports are not totally absent from

classical pre-exilic prophecy, they play a quite minor part in it.

Visions have a greater prominence in _Ezekiel_, which is set in Babylonia

in the exilic period. In the post-exilic prophecy of _Zech. 1-8_ visions

have become the medium of revelation, as in _Dan. 7-12_. It has sometimes

been suggested that this shift was the result of Babylonian influence.

Thus J.J. Collins comments[2]

> "Zechariah wrote after the Babylonian exile and may himself
> have been influenced by the model of Chaldean dream and omen
> interpretation."

However, the matter is not as simple as that.

K.W. Carley[3] has argued that some of the distinctive features of

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1.   R.H. Charles, _Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel,
       Judaism and Christianity_, N.Y. (1963), 139.
2.   J.J. Collins, _The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel_, HSM 16,
       Missoula, Mont. (1977), 86.
3.   K.W. Carley, _Ezekiel Among The Prophets_, SBT[2] 31, London, (1975).

Ezekiel's prophecies, including his "ecstatic" experiences, were not the appearance of something new in Hebrew prophecy. Rather, Ezekiel shows the traits of the pre-classical prophets, especially Elijah and Elisha. The particular features he discusses are:

(1) The references to "the hand of YHWH" being upon the prophet to indicate some kind of ecstatic state (1:3; 3:14, 22; 8:1; 33:22; 37:1; 40:1). The only strict parallels to this in the *Old Testament* are in the stories of Elijah (*1 K. 18:46*) and Elisha (*2 K. 3:15*). As J.J.M. Roberts[4] has shown the use of the phrase of prophetic experiences is to be distinguished from its more general use in the *Old Testament*, when it denotes a demonstration of God's power, usually against his enemies[5].

(2) There are several references to the Spirit lifting Ezekiel up and sometimes taking him to another place in a visionary experience (3:12, 14; 8:3; 11:1, 24; 43:5). This is related to the experience of the hand of YHWH (3:14, *cf.* 37:1; 40:1). *2 K. 2:16* attests the belief amongst Elijah's disciples that the Spirit could transfer him from one place to another, and it was when the hand of YHWH was upon him that he was able to run before Ahab's chariot from Carmel to Jezreel (*1 K. 18:46*).

(3) The phrase, "and you shall know that I am YHWH" is a common one in Ezekiel. It occurs twice in prophecies given to Ahab in *1 K. 20:13, 28*. Both of these have a three-part structure: reason for the decision – oracle – result. Particularly striking is the fact that the pattern of rubrics in v28 is repeated several times in the oracles against the nations in *Ezek. 25-32*, "Because X said ... therefore ... and you shall know that I am YHWH". This pattern is not found in the oracles against the nations in *Isa. 13-23 & Jer. 46-51*.

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4. J.J.M. Roberts, "The Hand of Yahweh", *VT* 21(1971), 244-251.
5. The use in *Jer. 15:17* falls in this more general category, and the phrase $k^e hezqat\ hayy\bar{a}d$ in *Isa. 8:11* seems to mean "forcefully" rather than to refer to an experience like Ezekiel's.

(4) On nine occasions Ezekiel is instructed to "set his face" toward the object of his oracle (*e.g.* 6:2; 13:17; 29:2). Such an instruction is not found in the earlier canonical prophets. In *Num. 24:1* Balaam "set his face" toward the wilderness where Israel was encamped, and then the Spirit of God came upon him and he prophesied. There is a possible parallel to this in *2 K. 8:11* where Elisha "made his face stand and set (it)" before delivering an oracle to Hazael.

(5) In *Ezek. 8:1* the prophet says, "I was sitting in my house and the elders were sitting before me". A similar phrase is found in *2 K. 6:32*, "Elisha was sitting in his house and the elders were sitting with him", *cf. also 2 K. 4:38; Ezek. 14:1; 20:1.* Now whilst consultation of a prophet by community representatives may not have been uncommon, it is a fact that there is no direct parallel to *2 K. 6:32 & Ezek. 8:1* in the pre-exilic canonical prophets.

Carley points out that apart from point (3) these features are found in the autobiographical material in Ezekiel and so, he argues, are not the result of editorial activity.

Carley's explanation of why these features of earlier prophecy re-appear in Ezekiel is not very satisfactory. He points to some common features in the times of Samuel (when we read of ecstatic prophecy), Elijah, and Ezekiel. In each case the nation was in turmoil and under threat, and the covenant precepts were either neglected or flouted. Carley goes on to say:-

> "Ecstatic experience and Sinai-Horeb covenant tradition are
> constant undercurrents in the history of Israel. But it is
> significant that figures representative of ecstatic prophecy
> should have played dominant roles in forcefully re-affirming
> the covenant precepts in times of crisis. In Ezekiel's day a
> crisis of equal magnitude confronted Israel and he appears to
> have met it with similar resources".

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6.   K.W. Carley, *op. cit.* ref. 3, 72.

This seems reasonable as far as it goes, but leaves unexplained the absence of a resurgence of ecstatic prophecy in the 8th. century, when a similar situation gave rise to the rather less ecstatic classical form of Hebrew prophecy. It also leaves unexplained the differences between Ezekiel and Jeremiah, who were contemporaries.

In fact Carley over-emphasizes the uniqueness of Ezekiel amongst the canonical prophets by concentrating on the five distinctives listed above. There are also points of similarity between Ezekiel and the other prophets, especially Jeremiah. Some of the more notable ones are:

(1) Visionary experiences. These are not as prominent in *Jeremiah*, but such experiences are recorded in ch. 1 (the call visions) and ch. 24 (vision of the figs), and ch. 18 (visit to the potter) also has a visionary quality about it[7].

(2) The use of symbolic actions. The actions of Jeremiah (e.g. ch. 19, breaking a flask; ch. 27 wearing a yoke) may not be as spectacular as Ezekiel acting out the siege and destruction of Jerusalem (ch. 4&5), but are of the same kind.

(3) Jeremiah does not use Ezekiel's language about "the hand of YHWH" (though 1:19 "Then YHWH put forth his hand and touched my mouth" comes close to it) to express the prophet's feeling of divine compulsion. However, he does seem to refer to a similar experience in different language in 20:19, "...there is in my heart as it were a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I am weary with holding it in, and I cannot".

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7. Some understand ch.13 as a visionary experience, but others think that it describes a symbolic action in which Jeremiah hid a linen cloth at Parah (in modern Wadi Farah, *Jos. 18:23*) near Anathoth. For the visionary view see:
    H. Cunliffe-Jones, *Jeremiah*, London (1960).
    W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 3rd. ed., Tübingen (1968).
    For the other view see:
    E.W. Nicholson, *Jeremiah 1-25*, Cambridge (1973).
    J. Bright, *Jeremiah*, 2nd. ed., Garden City, N.Y., (1974).

From our point of view, a recognition of the similarities between Ezekiel and the other canonical prophets increases the significance of one of the major points which Carley does seem to have established, namely that what seem to be some of the more unusual features of Ezekiel as a prophet are in fact features of indigenous Hebrew prophecy and not the appearance of something new introduced from outside.

A rather different reconstruction of the history of Hebrew prophecy is offered by R.R. Wilson[8]. He discerns two main streams of Hebrew prophecy before the exile – an Ephraimite one and a Judahite one. The evidence for Ephraimite prophecy is drawn from the somewhat stereotyped language used to describe the words and actions of prophets in the so-called 'E' material in the Tetrateuch, Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomic History, Hosea, and Jeremiah. Of this Wilson says[9],

> "... it is possible that the stereotypical features of the text
> are the work of the final editors. However, the pervasiveness
> of some of this language suggests that it reflects to a
> certain extent the way in which Ephraimites actually talked
> about prophecy and the characteristic way in which Ephraimite
> prophets themselves talked".

Apart from the actual language used other features of Ephraimite prophecy are:

(1) The title most frequently used for these prophets is *nābî'*, and the cognate verb is used of their activity. The use of the verb in the hithpa'el may indicate ecstatic behaviour, but could mean no more than "to act like a prophet". *1 Sam. 9:9* indicates that at least until the time of Samuel the term *rō'eh* was used as well as, or instead of, *nābî'*.

(2) The prophet received his revelation through possession by the Spirit of YHWH (*e.g. Num. 11:25f; 1 K. 22:24; 2 K.2:9;* also the refs. to "the hand of YHWH" in *1 K. 18:46; 2 K. 3:15; Hos. 9:7*).

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8.   R.R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*, Philadelphia (1980).
9.   R.R. Wilson, *op. cit.* ref. 8, 136.

(3) There is stress on the prophet receiving (*e.g.* *1 Sam. 15:10; 1 K. 12:22; 2 K. 20:4; Jer. 1:1; Hos. 1:1*) and proclaiming "the word of YHWH" (*e.g. 1 K. 22:19; 2 K. 7:1; Jer. 2:4; Hos. 4:1*).

(4) The prophet also acted as intercessor for the people (*e.g. Gen. 20:17f; 1 Sam. 12:13; 1 K. 7:1; Jer. 7:16f; 27:18*).

The paradigm for the Ephraimite prophet is Moses, as summed up in *Deut. 5:4f; 13;1-5; 18:15-22.* That Ephraimite prophets behaved in a distinctive way in the early period is clear from *Num. 11;26f; 1 Sam. 10:11; 19:24.* the references to prophets as "mad" in *2 K. 9:11 & Hos. 9:7* suggest that their behaviour continued to be distinctive, and even bizarre, down to the 8th. century. Wilson finds a parallel between the fortunes of the northern Levites, especially those originally at Shiloh, and those of the Ephraimite prophets. When the Levites officiated at the central sanctuary Ephraimite prophets were in the ascendancy (Eli/Samuel, Abiathar/Nathan). After Solomon banished Abiathar opposition to Solomon is supported by Ahijah of Shiloh. When Jeroboam established non-levitical priests at Bethel and Dan Ahijah condemned him and from then on Ephraimite prophets opposed the northern kings. Wilson thinks that Jeremiah's Ephraimite characteristics resulted from the fact that he belonged to the settlement of former Shilonite Levites at Anathoth.

The evidence for Judahite prophecy is more meagre than that for Ephraimite prophecy. It is culled from references to Judean prophets in the historical books and the writings of Judean prophets. The following distinctive points appear:

(1) The title *ḥōzeh* is employed primarily by Judean authors and is almost always applied to individuals who are clearly Judean (*Amos 7:12; Mic. 3:7; Isa. 29:10; 1 Chron. 21:9; 2 Chron. 9:29*). The context in which the title and its cognate noun are used of prophets indicate that the

ḥōzeh was one who obtained revelations through visions. Wilson concludes that[10],

> "Judean authors seem to have stressed the visual aspects of divine-human communication. Although the Judeans also occasionally describe YHWH speaking to the prophet, more often they refer to the vision which prophets saw. Even when a divine word is mentioned the prophet is often said to have <u>seen</u> the word (*Amos 1:1; Mic. 1:1*)".

(2) When the word *maśśā'* is used to designate a type of oracle, the term always refers to Judean prophets or their works (*Isa. 13:1; Nah. 1:1; Hab. 1:1; Zech. 9:1; Mal. 1:1*). If this type of oracle ever had a distinctive form or content this had disappeared by the time of the extant prophecies.

(3) There are linguistic and theological links between the Judean prophets, *e.g.* the Day of the Lord, the election of David and Zion. There are also affinities with prophetic oracles in the *Psalms.*

Regarding the behaviour of the Judahite prophets Wilson comments[11],

> "Except in the case of Ezekiel there is no indication that trance was a regular part of their characteristic possession behaviour. On the whole, their behaviour seems to have been unremarkable and completely controlled".

He assumes that they attributed their visions to possession by Yahweh's Spirit, but the only evidence for this (outside of *Ezekiel*) which he cites is *Isa. 8:11 & Joel 3:1 (EVV 2:38)*. As commented above[5], *Isa. 8:11* probably does not refer to an experience like Ezekiel's. The evidence from *Joel* is complicated in that Wilson sees Ephraimite influences in the book.

Wilson finds in *Ezekiel* a merging of the two prophetic traditions. The prophet's Judean, and specifically Zadokite, theological background is clear throughout the book. However, there are also Ephraimite features: stress on the experience of the Spirit, bizarre possession behaviour, the

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10.   R.R. Wilson, *op. cit.* ref. 8, 261.
11.   R.R. Wilson, *op. cit.* ref. 8, 286.

phrase "the word of YHWH came to me" (used 45x), the elders coming to

him to seek YHWH (14:3; 20:1). There are also more general deuteronomic

features which, Wilson argues, cannot be explained as redactional because

they[12],

> "... are an integral part of the book at all redactional levels.
> It is not possible to isolate a specifically Deuteronomic
> editorial layer. For this reason it is preferable to assume
> that Ezekiel was influenced by the Deuteronomic reform
> movement before he was exiled to Babylon".

As a result Ezekiel produced his own personal synthesis of the Judahite

and Ephraimite prophetic traditions.

Wilson recognizes that one of the weaknesses in the picture he draws of

Israelite prophecy is the lack of clarity in the picture of Judahite

prophecy - which he attributes to the paucity of evidence[13]

> "In contrast to the Ephraimite tradition, which provides a
> number of narratives that can supply information on the
> relationship between prophets and their societies, the Judean
> traditions furnish little material from which to construct a
> picture of prophecy in Judah".

It is arguable that Wilson has in fact imposed an unreal dichotomy on

the evidence by bringing to it a pre-determined model of the

relationship between prophets and their society. In the first part of

his book he uses anthropological evidence to support a model in which

prophets ("intermediaries", as he calls them[14]) are classified into

"central" and "peripheral" functionaries, depending on their relationship

to the power structures of their society. Whilst he recognizes that the

classification really represents a continuum[15], it does seem to lead him

to look for two, and only two, distinct types of prophets in pre-exilic

Israel. The fact that he does not clearly succeed may be due to the

defectiveness of the evidence, but it may indicate that the model is

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12. R.R. Wilson, *op. cit.* ref. 8, 282.
13. R.R. Wilson, *op. cit.* ref. 8, 253.
14. R.R. Wilson, *op. cit.* ref. 8, 27f.
15. R.R. Wilson, *op. cit.* ref. 8, 85f.

defective.

In our view Wilson's approach requires, and deserves, further study, testing and refinement to see just how valid it is as a means of illuminating the nature of Israelite prophecy. What is interesting, and we think significant, in relation to our work is that, using a different approach, Wilson arrives at the same conclusion as Carley. This is that there is a line of continuity running from the Hebrew prophets of the 10th. century and earlier through to Ezekiel, and indeed on into post-exilic times. The emphasis on visionary experiences in *Ezekiel* and *Zechariah* is seen to be quite natural within the context of Hebrew prophecy and not needing to be explained as a result of external, specifically Babylonian, influence. This conclusion holds, and indeed is strengthened, even if one rejects Wilson's Ephraimite/Judahite distinction, because in Ezekiel he sees a synthesis of the two traditions, which was carried on by Zechariah[16].

Wilson also comments on the more obviously literary nature of the prophecies in *Ezekiel* He considers that many of the oracles "are too complex to have been delivered orally, and they show signs of much editorial reworking"[16]. In his view this increased reliance on writing as a means of communication was the result of opposition causing Ezekiel to curtail prophesying orally in public. There may well be some truth in this. We know that on one occasion such opposition prompted Jeremiah to resort to writing (*Jer. 36*). However, a more important factor may have been the restricted nature of Ezekiel's audience. If he wanted his message to reach other groups of exiles, and Judah, he would have had to resort to writing[17] (cf. *Jer. 29*, but Jeremiah's main concern was with

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16. R.R. Wilson, *op. cit.* ref. 8, 287f.
17. For examples from the ancient Near East of the practice of writing down prophecies and sending them to the intended recipient see: A.R. Millard, "La Prophétie et l'Écriture – Israël, Aram, Assyrie", *RHR* 202 (1985), 125-145.

those in power in Jerusalem).

The conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that the appearance of the vision/dream as the medium of revelation in *Zech. 1-8 & Daniel* can be seen as a development of an element that was always present in Hebrew prophecy, rather than the absorption into the Hebrew tradition of a foreign element. However, one cannot rule out the possibility that one reason for this development in the case of *Daniel* was Babylonian influence. J.J. Collins[18] has rightly emphasized that one of the features of the portrait we are given of Daniel is a willingness to accept Chaldean learning whilst not compromising his Yahwistic faith (*Dan. 1*). Divination was widely practiced and highly regarded in Babylonia. The methods used can be divided into "natural" and "artificial"[19]. The artificial means are condemned in the *Old Testament* (e.g. *Deut. 18:10, 14; 1 Sam. 15:23; 2 K. 17:17*). Presumably they were too clearly attempts by humans to manipulate the deity. Natural means included sudden ecstatic experiences, of which visions were one form. Dream interpretation must have been a doubtful area. Dreams come unbidden, but their interpretation could involve use of divinatory techniques. In the *Old Testament* it is made clear that the ability to interpret is God-given (*Gen. 41:16; Dan. 2:27f*), and no artificial divinatory techniques are involved[20].

18. J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, HSM 16, Missoula, Mont. (1977), 54ff.
19. C.J. Gadd, "Some Babylonian Divinatory Methods and Their Inter-relations" in *La Divination en Mésopotamie et dans les Régions Voisines, 16ᵉ Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Paris (1966), 21-34.
20. A divinatory background for the form of the vision/dream interpretation in the *Old Testament* is suggested by S. Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition*, HSM 30, Chico, Calif. (1983), 247.

THE FORM OF VISION ACCOUNTS IN THE *OLD TESTAMENT*

In order to relate the visions of *Daniel* to others in the biblical tradition some system of classifying visions is needed. J. Lindblom[21] suggested a threefold division into:

(1) Pictorial visions, in which attention is directed simply to the objects or figures which are seen (*Ezek. 37:1-10*).

(2) Dramatic visions, in which the essential element is the action (*Isa. 21:1-10*).

(3) Literary visions, which are visual creations of the imagination (*Isa. 15:1-9*).

Lindblom has another class which he calls "symbolic perceptions", which refers to an experience in which the prophet interprets a real, objective, feature in the material world as a symbol of a higher reality (*Jer. 24:1-10*).

The difficulty with Lindblom's classification is that it does not rest on the literary form of the vision report but on a mixture of the content and the supposed nature of the experience. This makes the distinctions blurred and decisions about classification become rather subjective. For example, it is hard to see why he classes the vision in *Ezek. 1-3* as a pictorial one, whereas *Isa. 6* is classed as dramatic. He admits that there is a dramatic element in *Ezek. 1-3*, especially in the giving and eating of the roll, but decides that in the general structure of the vision the pictorial elements predominate. Similarly, his division of the visions of *Zech. 1-6* into two groups, four being literary visions and four being genuine visions, is hard to follow. He claims that in the visions in chs. 1, 2, 6 the visionary features are scanty and fragmentary and that the conclusion which should round off the scene is missing, yet

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21.   J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*, Oxford (1965), 124ff.

it is hard to see any significant difference in this respect between 2:1-4 (EVV 1:18-21) and 5:5-11. It may be true that the experience described in *Amos 8:1-3* centred on a real basket of fruit, but the form of the report exactly parallels that in 7:7-9.

M. Sister[22] has suggested a different three-fold classification:

(1) Theophanies, in which a divine being is present (*Isa. 6*).

(2) Self-explanatory images (not of a divine being) (*Amos 7:1-3*).

(3) Symbols which need interpretation (*Jer. 24*).

This too is based on content rather than form, and in practice is difficult to use because the categories overlap and a subjective decision has to be made as to which aspect of the vision is the most important one. Thus the visions of the horsemen in *Zech. 1&6* are put in class (3), despite the presence in them of divine beings, at least in the form of interpreting angels.

A somewhat similar classification was made by F. Horst[23]:

(1) Presence visions, in which the prophet looks into the transcendent realm and participates in a heavenly assembly (*Zech. 3:1-7*).

(2) Word-symbol visions. These are divided into two sub-groups:

    (a) Those in which the explanation of the symbolic image is achieved by word-play (*Amos 8:1-3*).

    (b) Those in which there is no word-play (*1 K. 22:17*).

(3) Event visions. This is a non-symbolic vision. The prophet does not participate in the vision. He simply reports what he sees (*Isa. 21:1-10*).

Here the categories are rather more precisely defined than they are by Sister, but there still tends to be an overlap between categories (1) & (2) in particular. For example, Horst classifies *Zech. 2:5-9 (EVV 2:1-5)*

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22. M. Sister, "Die Typen der prophetischen Visionen in der Bibel", *MGWJ* 78 (1934), 399-430.

23. F. Horst, "Die Visionschilderungen der alttestamentlichen Propheten", *Ev.Th.* 20 (1960), 193-205.

as a word-symbol vision although it involves a divine assembly (of two angels) not unlike that of *Zech. 1:7-17 & 6:1-8*, which are classified as presence visions.

B.O. Long·[4] divides vision reports into:

(1) Oracle visions. These are short reports, with simple visionary images, and dominated by a question-and-answer dialogue (*Amos 7:7-9*).

(2) Dramatic word-visions. These depict "a heavenly scene, or a dramatic action, a situation altogether supra-mundane taken as a portent presaging a future event in the mundane realm" (*Zech. 1:8-17*).

(3) The revelatory-mysteries-vision. This is "a report whose basic intent is to convey in veiled form secrets of divine activity and events of the future" (*Dan. 8:1-27*).

Here lack of precision arises because of confusion of form (the main factor in (1)), content (stressed in (1) & (2)), and intention (vital in (3)). Long himself admits that the dialogue form properly characteristic of oracle visions occurs in some visions that he classes as type (2) and is always present in type (3).

Can anything be distilled out of this brief survey of attempts to classify prophetic vision accounts? The answer is, yes. It is clear that there is a basic distinction to be made between symbolic visions, which need interpretation, and non-symbolic or descriptive ones. This is not just a matter of content. In this case form and content are inter-related because the symbolic vision makes use of a question-and-answer form to reveal the meaning of the symbols. This form is absent in the non-symbolic vision account. Symbolic visions can be further sub-divided. Attempts to do this on the basis of the nature of the symbol (*e.g.* Lindblom's pictorial and dramatic distinction) leads to confusion.

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24. B.O. Long, "Reports of Visions Among the Prophets", *JBL* 95 (1976), 353-365.

It would be better to follow Horst's suggestion and adopt the more objective, and so easier to use, criterion of the nature of the relationship between the symbol and its meaning. But here, as Niditch[25] points out, greater precision is needed than Horst seemed to realize. At least three types of relationship can be distinguished: word-play (*e.g.* *Amos 8:1-3*), pure mythical symbolism (*e.g.* *Zech. 2:1-4, EVV 1:18-21*), or some other, usually more complex, relationship.

Considerable confusion has arisen becauses of the theophany/angelic/transcedent element in some visions. This is because there has been an oscillation between reliance on content and form. The question-and-answer form of the symbolic vision requires the presence of a divine interpreter - whether God himself or an angel (or angels). There are differences in the prominence given to this feature of the form, but the confusion found in the works surveyed can best be avoided by focussing attention not on the prominence given to the divine beings (which does not seem to have any clear formal implications) but on the formal criterion of a symbol plus interpretation through question-and-answer. The other visions which involve divine beings can be divided into three groups.

(1) Some are descriptions of events in heaven whose significance is clear, so that no interpretation is needed, *e.g.* *Zech. 3.* These are best treated as a sub-group of the non-symbolic or descriptive visions.

(2) In others the divine being acts simply as a messenger. These visions seem to fall into two sub-groups. In one group the angel unveils the course of future events in some detail, and the account (as we shall see below) has formal characteristics very like those of symbolic visions, *e.g.* *Dan. 9.* The other group consists of narratives

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25. S. Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition, HSM 30*, Chico, Calif. (1983), 4.

describing the visit of a divine messenger bringing instructions or promises from God, *e.g.* *Gen. 18; Judg. 6.* Here there is no fixed format, but three points are notable: there is little or no reference to the appearance of the messenger; his divine nature is not usually realized; and there is an extended dialogue in a narrative framework.

(3) The third group consists of inaugural or call visions. These have been shown to have a distinct form[26] and are therefore best treated as a quite distinct group.

In summary, we suggest the following classification:

(1) Symbolic visions:
      (a) Those depending on word-play for their meaning *(Jer. 1:11f).*
      (b) Those using pure mythical imagery *(Zech. 2:1-4, EVV 1:18-21).*
      (c) Those with some other symbol-meaning relation *(Zech. 4).*

(2) Descriptive visions:
      (a) Describing earthly events *(Isa. 21:1-10).*
      (b) Describing heavenly events *(Zech. 3).*

(3) Visions of a heavenly messenger:
      (a) Prophetic revelations *(Dan. 9).*
      (b) Narrative accounts *(Judg. 13).*

(4) Call visions *(Isa. 6).*

The passages we are concerned with fall into categories 1(c) *(Dan. 7&8)* and (3)(a) *(Dan. 9; 10-12).*

THE FORM OF *DAN. 7&8* IN AN *OLD TESTAMENT* CONTEXT

S. Niditch[27] has complained that most studies of the symbolic visions in the *Old Testament* have been synchronic rather than diachronic. As a result of ignoring the development of the form with time significant variations have either been ignored or have caused confusion. She presents her own diachronic study of a selection of visions. In this she uncovers three major stages in the development of the form.

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26.   N. Habel, "The Form and Significance of the Call Narratives", *ZAW* 77 (1965), 297-323.
27.   S. Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition, HSM 30,* Chico, Calif. (1983).

Stage 1 is represented by *Amos 7:7-9; 8:1-3; Jer. 1:11&12, 13-19; 24.*. Although Amos and Jeremiah were separated by some 150 years there is a fixed pattern of a more or less set number of motifs with rubrics which do not vary very much:

(1) Indication of a vision.

(כה) הראני אדני \ יהוה

(Jer. 1) ויהי דבר יהוה אלי .... לאמר

(2) Description of the vision (not *Jer. 1*) והנה ...

(3) The deity's question to the seer. (ויאמר יהוה אלי) מה אתה ראה

(4) The reply, repeating the description. ואמר ...

(5) The interpretation by God. ויאמר יהוה \ אדני (אלי)

(Jer. 24) ויהי דבר יהוה אלי לאמר

In addition to this the style is simple but rhythmic, with short thought lines and a repetition of key terms to bind the account into a unity. Interpretation of the symbol is fairly straight forward and may use play on words. What Niditch regards as redactional features in *Jeremiah* introduce new elements - a charge to the prophet in 1:17-19, and a date-line in 24:1.

Stage 2 is found in the visions of *Zechariah*. In these there is a good deal of variation, but Niditch traces a course of logical development:

Zech. 5:1-4 →→→ *4:1-6a* →→→ *10b-14* →→→ *2:1-4* →→→ *1:7-17; 6:1-8*

The pattern of elements and rubrics in 5:1-4 is very similar to those in Stage 1. The main changes are that an angel replaces God as the questioner and interpreter, and there is no direct word-play in the interpretation (though there may be an intended rhyme *zō'ṯ hā'ālāh//mᵉgillāh 'āpāh*). In the fully developed form in *Zech. 1:7-17; 6:1-8* the pattern has become:

(1) Date line.

(2) Indication of the vision. היה דבר יהוה

(3) Description of the vision. והנה ...

(4) Question of the seer to an angel.

(5) Answer of the interpreter.

(6) Observation of divine activities (the seer is drawn into them).

(7) Charge to the seer.

Along with the expansion of the form goes a change in style, with less repetition and longer thought lines. In fact the whole account becomes a prose narrative account of the vision. Note that the seer takes the initiative and asks for the interpretation. The relation of symbol to meaning is complex and has a mythic background. The variation of form in *Zechariah* evidences a period of experimentation with the traditional form that had been more or less fixed for about two centuries. Niditch thinks that this reflects the period of social and religious change in which Zechariah lived. She does not comment on the fact that the period between Amos and Jeremiah was not a tranquil one. It is, however, arguable that none of the upheavals that occurred then matched that of the fall of Judah, the exile, and the eventual return. Nor was life in Judah in pre-exilic times ever quite so uncertain as, according to the evidence given in *Ezra*, *Haggai*, and *Zechariah*, it was for the small community of returned exiles in Jerusalem in the years after the first return.

Stage 3 is found in *Dan. 7&8.* the pattern now is:

(1) Date-line.

(2) Indication of a vision.

(3) Description of a vision.   וארו \ והנה

(4) Fear on the part of the seer.

(5) The seer's request for an interpretation.

(6) The angel's reply.   ואמר לי \ ויאמר אלי

(5a) Second question.   }
                             } (Only *Dan. 7*)
(6a) Second reply.   }   כן אמר

(7) Charge to seer. (Only in *Dan. 8*)

(8) Fear/sickness of seer.

The use of multiple questioning in *Dan. 7* is also found in *Zech. 2:1-4 (EVV 1:18-21)*; *4:1-14.* The "observation of divine activities" motif has been absorbed into the description of the vision. The main change is an enhancement of the prose narrative nature of the vision account. This is seen in the addition of the references to the seer's reactions and in the more complex imagery. Repetition, which was a feature of the style of Stage 1, but not much used in Stage 2, reappears as a literary device which gives unity to the account. As in *Zechariah*, the relation of symbol to meaning is complex, with a strong mythic element.

What Niditch has shown is that although at first sight *Dan. 7&8* bear little relation to *Amos 8:1-3*, there is in fact a line of development connecting them. As a result *Dan. 7&8* can be seen to fit into a developing formal tradition of symbolic vision accounts in the *Old Testament*[28]. Therefore, as far as the over-all form of these visions is concerned, there is no need to look outside of the biblical traditions in order to explain it.

Niditch[29] notes that v23-25 stand out in *Dan. 8*. They are written in a much more rhythmic style than the rest of the chapter, with shorter thought lines and considerable parallelism. This at least raises the possibility that here the author is adopting the style of an established genre for prophesying the career of a ruler and his fate. We have argued above[30] that it is here that Babylonian influence is probably to be found.

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28. K. Koch, "Vom profetischen zum apokalyptischen Visionsbericht", in D. Hellholm (Ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterrean World and the Near East*, Tübingen (1983), 413-446, comes to the same conclusion from a careful comparison of *Amos 7:1-3 & Dan. 8*.
29. S. Niditch, *op. cit.* ref. 27, p225.
30. See pp. 106ff.

THE FORM OF *DAN. 9&10-12* IN AN *OLD TESTAMENT* CONTEXT

The form of *Dan. 9&10-12* differs from that of chs. 7&8. It can be

analysed as follows:

(1) Date-line.	9:1	10:1a
(2) Indication of problem.	9:2	10:1b
(3) Supplication.	9:3-19	10:2&3
(4) Appearance of messenger.	9:20&21	10:4-7
(5) Word of assurance.	9:22&23	10:8-11:1
(6) Revelation.	9:24-27	11:2-12:3
(7) Charge to seer.	absent	12:4

There is no clear parallel to this form elsewhere in the *Old Testament.*

There are two partial parallels. The first is in *Habakkuk.*

(1) Introduction.	1:1		
(2) Ind. of problem & supplication.	1:2-4	(2a) Ind. of problem.	1:12-17
		(2b) Supplication.	2:1
(3) Revelation & charge.	1:5-11	(3) Rev. & charge.	2:2-4

The pattern of problem-prayer-answer here is so obvious and natural

that, in the absence of more detailed correspondence to *Dan. 9&10-12* it

is unlikely that there is much significance in this partial parallel.

The other parallel is in a narrative passage, *Isa. 37.*

(1) Introduction/date-line.	v8&9
(2) Indication of problem.	v10-13
(3) Supplication.	v14-20
(4) Introduction of messenger.	v21a
(5) Message.	v21b-29
(6) Sign.	v30-32

In this case the *formal parallel with Dan. 9&10-12 is more marked, but*

there are notable differences in detail. The suppliant is a king, not a

seer; the messenger is a prophet, not an angel; the message is a word of

judgement on Sennacherib, not an unveiling of the course of history.

Again it is very questionable whether what we have here is more than an

accidental likeness due to the natural problem-prayer-answer sequence.

It is more likely that the form in *Dan. 9&10-12* is a variation on the

symbolic vision form in *Dan. 7&8,* with the "indication of problem"

replacing the description of the vision, the supplication replacing the

question of the seer, and the first reference to the seer's fear in the

vision form being similar to the appearance of the messenger and the word of assurance (note in particular the similarity between 8:15-19 & 10:4-11:1). That it is a variant of the vision form is further suggested by the similarity in terminology used to introduce the revelation in 8:16b, 17b; 9:22b, 23b; 10:14a, 14b - note the stress on the need to understand the vision, when there is no vision being interpreted in chs. 9&10-12, nor is the revelation that is given strictly speaking a vision (though the appearance of the angel is presumably a visionary experience). All in all it seems reasonable to conclude that whilst *Dan. 9&10-12* mark the appearance of a new form in the *Old Testament*, it is a form that arises out of the adaptation of an existing form.

Another aspect of *Dan. 9&10-12* that is new is the content and form of the revelation - a quite detailed survey of future history, presented in generally short, enigmatic, phrases. *Dan. 8:23-25* shares these characteristics. Outside of *Daniel* the predictive prophecies in the *Old Testament* relate to a single event or situation. The only extended historical surveys are those in *Ezek. 16, 20, 23*. These differ from the Danielic ones in a number of ways:

(1) They are concerned mainly with the past, as a means of exposing the sin and readiness for judgement of Judah and Israel, though they do end with a statement of what God will do in the (near) future. In fact ch. 20 at least can be seen as an expansion of the prophetic judgement speech form which is common in the classical prophets[31] - an expansion which is foreshadowed in *Amos 2:6-16*. The surveys in *Daniel* have a quite different purpose and bear no relation to the judgement speech form.

(2) They do not present history in any detail, simply painting in the

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31.   C. Westerman, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*, London (1967).

outline with broad strokes. There is much more detail in the allusions to specific rulers and events in *Daniel*, especially in 11:4ff.

(3) Their style is quite different. *Ezek. 20* is ordinary prose. *Ezek. 16&23* are patent allegories whose meaning is quite transparent, especially in the light of the well-established prophetic use of the marriage relationship as a picture of the Israel-Yahweh relationship, and of adultery/harlotry as a symbol for apostasy.

The only other *Old Testament* passages that come to mind as in any way comparable with the Danielic ones are the Testaments/Blessings of Jacob(*Gen. 49*) and Moses (*Deut. 33*). Both have a future orientation, though this is more marked in *Gen. 49* both in the rubric ("what shall befall you in the days to come") and in the contents, but neither presents anything like a detailed survey of future events. The statements made about the *future of each tribe* are broad generalizations. The style is poetic with considerable use of poetic imagery, and although some of the allusions are obscure it is quite unlike the enigmatic style in *Daniel*. In addition one should not ignore the fact that *Gen. 49 & Deut. 33* are the death-bed utterances of men whereas in *Daniel* we have angelic revelations given in the context of an ecstatic experience. Clearly the Testaments/Blessings form is quite different from the vision form of *Daniel*, and there is no obvious connection between them. It is interesting that this distinction of form continues in post-biblical literature even when the content of the historical surveys in the two forms becomes similar[32].

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32. A.B. Kalenkow, "The Genre Testament and Forecasts of the Future in the Hellenistic Jewish Milieu", *JSJ* 6 (1975), 56-71.

THE ANIMAL IMAGERY OF _DAN. 7&8_

In our study[33] of possible Mesopotamian sources of the animal imagery of _Dan. 7&8_ we concluded that none of the possibilities suggested (iconography, mythology, birth omens, astrology) was very convincing. One avenue remains to be explored - the _Old Testament._

Daniel 7.   Commentators[34] sometimes make the following points with regard to possible _Old Testament_ background to the animal imagery of this chapter:

(1) In the _Old Testament_ Nebuchadnezzar is referred to as a lion (_e.g. Jer. 4:7; 49:19; 50:17_) and his armies as eagles (_Jer. 49:22; Ezek. 17:3_).

(2) _Prov. 30:30_ describes the lion as "the mightiest among beasts". In the _Old Testament_ the lion and the bear are often linked   as the two most ferocious beasts (_e.g. 1 Sam. 17:34; Amos 5:19_).   Note especially _Prov. 28:15_:

> "Like a roaring lion or a charging bear
> is a wicked ruler over a poor people."

The _Old Testament_ references to the Medes stress their ferocity (_Isa. 13:17f; 21:2ff; Jer. 51:11, 28_).

(3) In _Hosea 13:7f_ God says:

> "So I will be to them like a lion,
> like a leopard I will lurk beside the way.
> I will fall upon them like a bear robbed of her cubs,
> I will tear open their breast,
> and there I will devour them like a lion,
> as a wild beast would rend them."

Here we have the three beasts named in _Dan. 7_ (though in a different order) plus a fourth, unnamed beast.

We think that these points are sufficiently weighty to warrant the

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33.   See pp. 116ff.
34.   For example:
     J.A. Montgomery, _The Book of Daniel_, Edinburgh (1927).
     E.W. Heaton, _Daniel_, London (1956).
     A. Lacocque, _The Book of Daniel_, Paris (1976).

conclusion that the imagery of the four beasts that appear in *Dan. 7* has its essential background in the *Old Testament*. As Collins[35] says with regard to this passage, "The specific list of beasts in this vision finds its closest parallel in Hosea 13:7". This therefore probably provides the framework for the animal imagery. The change in order of the bear and leopard can be explained on the grounds mentioned by Heaton[36], that in the *Old Testament* the bear is "second to the lion, as silver is second to gold". *Dan. 7* does, of course, have a close relationship with *Dan. 2* where Babylonia and Media are represented by gold and silver. The use of this animal imagery, and in particular its rather bizarre nature, may well be a result of the author's acquaintance with Mesopotamian *Mischwesen* and birth-omens. In our view this is only a secondary influence. Overall, we would agree with Day's[37] conclusion that,

> "the fundamental basis for the four types of beast is drawn from Hos. 13:7-8, with some influence from ancient near-eastern *Mischwesen*."

In our discussion[38] of *Enūma Eliš* as a possible source of the imagery of *Dan. 7* we concluded that the motif of the beasts rising from the turbulent sea may well be used because it echoes <u>both</u> the *Old Testament* passages about God's conflict with the sea and the monsters in it, <u>and</u> is reminiscent of the Babylonian New Year Festival. In this way a polemical point is made, namely that it is the Most High, the God of Israel, who is the Creator who overcomes the beasts which incarnate chaos and evil.

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35. J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel, HSM 16*, Missoula, Mont. (1977), 104.
36. E.W. Heaton, *op. cit.* ref. 34, 176.
37. J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea*, Cambridge (1985), 157.
38. See pp. 117ff.

Daniel 8. Although an astrological basis for the beast imagery of *Dan. 8* has found more acceptance[39] than is the case for *Dan. 7*, we have seen that there is good reason to reject it[40].

Delcor[41] suggests a non-astrological reason for the use of ram imagery to refer to the king of Persia. He quotes the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus[42] as evidence that the Persian kings wore ram's head helmets. However, this evidence relates to Shaqur II at the battle of Amida in the early 4th. century A.D.. There does not seem to be any evidence of crowns or helmets with ram's horns being worn by Persian kings earlier than the 3rd. century A.D.[43]. Hence this evidence is not relevant to Daniel's choice of imagery.

Even those who accept an astrological origin for the animal imagery point out that in the *Old Testament* the ram and the goat are symbols of power, and so of leadership, quoting such passages as *Jer. 51:40; Ezek. 34:17; 39:18; Zech. 10:3.* In fact the only other animal imagery used with any frequency in the *Old Testament* of leaders is that of the lion (*e.g. Jer. 4:7; Ezek. 19:2ff.; Nah. 2:10ff.*). Eagle imagery is used in *Ezek. 17.* The fact that lion and eagle imagery has already been used in ch. 7 may have prompted the change in ch. 8 to the only other imagery of

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39. It is received favourably by:
    A. Bentzen, *Daniel*, Tübingen (1952).
    M. Delcor, *Le Livre de Daniel*, Paris (1971).
    N. Porteus, *Daniel*, rev. ed., London (1979).
    D.S. Russell, *Daniel*, Edinburgh (1981).
    J.J. Collins, *op. cit.* ref. 34, 107.
40. See our discussion on pp. 137f.
41. M. Delcor, *op. cit.* ref. 39, 170.
42. Ammianus Marcellinus, Vol. 1, Loeb, J.C. Rolfe (Trans.), London (1935), XIX 1.3, p. 471.
43. E. Porada, *Ancient Iran: The Art of Pre-Islamic Times*, London (1965), 216, provides an illustration of a 3rd. century hunting bowl depicting a king wearing a ram's horn helmet. However none of the crowns or helmets depicted from earlier periods have this feature. The same is true of the royal head-gear depicted in the works on Persian art by R. Ghirshman, *Persia: From the Origins to Alexander the Great*, London (1964); *Iran: Parthians and Sassanians*, London(1962).

leadership that is common in the Hebrew tradition. With regard to the apportioning of the images here Hartman and Di Lella[44] comment,

> "The symbolic animals are well chosen; just as a male sheep cannot withstand an attack by a male goat, so the Persian empire was easily overcome by Alexander."

In the light of this evidence we think that the *Old Testament* provides an adequate background for the choice of the animal imagery in this chapter.

CONCLUSION

We have shown that as far as the overall form of *Dan. 7&8* is concerned it fits well into an established tradition of symbolic vision accounts in the *Old Testament*. The form of *Dan. 9&10-12* has no clear biblical parallels, but seems to be an adaptation of the symbolic vision form used in *Dan. 7&8*. This is understandable as a development within the biblical tradition and no external influence need be invoked.

Dan. 8:23-25; 9:24-27; 11:4-45 have no precedent in the *Old Testament* in terms of content and style. Here there could be Babylonian influence, as we have argued earlier in this work[45].

Finally, we have shown that it is probable that the animal imagery of *Dan. 7&8* has its basis in the *Old Testament*. In particular we have pointed to *Hos. 13:7f* and the use of the ram and the goat as symbols of leadership. None of the suggested Mesopotamian sources of the imagery carries conviction.

Having said all this about the possible influences on the author of *Dan. 7-12*, one must not ignore the fact that he was free to take the traditional forms and imagery which he inherited and adapt them and add to them in whatever ways suited his purpose best.

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44.   L.F. Hartman and A.A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*,
        Garden City, N.Y. (1978), 234.
45.   See pp. 106ff.

Chapter IV: CONCLUSIONS

<u>The Characteristics of the Akkadian Prophecies</u>

We found that the prophecy texts share the following set of characteristics:

(1) They purport to present a series of historical events (which appear to be genuine), at least some of which are expressed as predictions.

(2) The texts are clearly structured, usually by a sequence of reigns, but in the case of the Marduk Prophecy by his journeys.

(3) There is a tendency to use phraseology typical of omen apodoses, though the extent of this varies in the texts.

(4) The language is generally concise, annalistic, and enigmatic. The main characters are referred to by ciphers.

(5) The reigns referred to are usually presented in either wholly positive or wholly negative terms.

(6) The Marduk Prophecy and the Šulgi Prophecy stand apart from the others because of their 1st. person style and the inclusion of an historical retrospect before the prophecy.

In the light of point (6) we divide the prophecies into two groups:

The Prophetic Speeches (the Marduk & Šulgi Prophecies) with the structure: Narû-style introduction + *Historical retrospect* + *Prophecy*

The Prophetic Surveys (the Uruk & Dynastic Prophecies, Text A) with the structure: Introduction + Prophecy

We concluded that Text B is not a true Prophetic Survey because:

(1) In a few cases it includes omen protases.

(2) In a few cases is explicitly includes variant omen apodoses.

(3) There seems to be a fairly regular alternation of good and bad times.

(4) It does not seem to relate to any actual sequence of historical

events.

It seems to be a literary creation, of unknown purpose, based on the omen literature.

We concluded that LBAT 1543 is probably a collection of omens concerning the deaths of rulers.

Our survey of the literary affinities of the Akkadian Prophecies showed that their closest links are with the omens, with some atypical chronicles (*The Weidner Chronicle, The Chronicle of Early Kings*) and, in the case of the Speeches, the narû-literature. We argued that Biggs'[1] claim that the link with the omens is exclusively with the astrological omens is an overstatement based on a partial analysis of the prophecy texts. There is a strong link with the astrological corpus, but the authors do draw on other types of omens as well.

In our discussion of the historical omens we found good reasons to agree with Nougayrol[2], Goetze[3] and Finkelstein[4], against Glassner[5] and Starr[6], that in general they relate to real historical events. This, we argued, shows that the close relationship between the prophecy texts and omens is in no way inimical to their use of genuine historical materials. Indeed it means that it would not be suprising for their authors to

1.   R.D. Biggs, "The Babylonian Prophecies and the Astrological Traditions of Mesopotamia", *JCS* 37(1985), 86-90.
    R.D. Biggs, "Babylonian Prophecies, Astrology, and a new Source for 'Prophecy Text B'", in F. Rochberg-Halton, *Language, Literature and History* (Fs. for E. Reiner), New Haven, Conn. (1987), 1-14.
2. J. Nougayrol, "Note sur la place des 'présages historiques' dans l'extispicine babylonienne", *EPHE Sect. Sci. Rel., Ann.*, 1944/5, 5-41
3. A. Goetze, "Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts", *JCS* 1(1947), 253-265.
4. J.J. Finkelstein, "Mesopotamian Historiography", *Proc.Amer.Phil.Soc.* 107(1963), 469.
5. J.J. Glassner, "Naram-Sîn poliocète. Les avatars d'un sentence divinatoire", *RA* 77(1983), 3-10.
6. I. Starr, "Notes on Some Published and Unpublished Historical Omens", *JCS,* 29(1977), 157-166.
    I. Starr, "The Place of the Historical Omens in the System of Apodoses", *BO,* 43(1986), 628-642.

make use of such material in their literary creations.

The Purpose of the Akkadian Prophecies

We concluded that all the prophecy texts have a propagandist purpose.

There is general agreement that the Marduk Prophecy is to be related to

the return of his statue from Elam and his elevation to the supreme

position in the pantheon which occurred in the late 12th. century B.C..

Grayson[7] has speculated that the Šulgi Prophecy was intended to assert

the traditional privileges of Nippur in the face of the growing status

of Babylon. We argued that the emphasis is not on the status of Nippur

but of Enlil, whose sanctuary was in that city. In our view both

Prophetic Speeches, and probably the *Weidner Chronicle*, relate to the

struggle that accompanied the elevation of Marduk within the pantheon.

The Marduk Prophecy and the *Weidner Chronicle* represent the pro-Marduk

position, whilst the Sulgi Prophecy defends the traditional status of

Enlil, whose position was being usurped by Marduk. The preservation of

the Šulgi Prophecy, despite its representation of the losing side of the

argument, may be because of the assimilation of Marduk to Enlil which is

suggested by the epithet "Enlil of the gods" which is applied to him in

Enūma Eliš VII.149.

We agreed with Lambert's[8] view that the Uruk Prophecy was written to

support Nabopolassar's dynasty, and to claim some of its glory for the

city of Uruk. Whereas Grayson[9] regards the Dynastic Prophecy as anti-

Seleucid polemic, we argued for a new interpretation of it as a piece of

propaganda intended to support the claim of Seleucus II to the throne of

Babylon. Although we made some tentative identifications of the

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7. A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto (1957),
   16 note 8.
8. W.G. Lambert, *The Background to Jewish Apocalyptic*, London (1978),
   10-12.
9. A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.*, ref. 7, 24-37.

rulers referred to in Text A, its unclear introduction and missing ending make it impossible to say anything definite about its purpose. Its similarity to the other Prophetic Surveys suggests that it could be intended to support a particular dynasty or ruler.

Akkadian Prophecies or Apocalypses?

This debate has been confused by the vague definitions of "apocalypse" used by some scholars. We rejected the 'check-list' of diverse characteristics used as a definition by Hallo[10] and other scholars because it is difficult to use (how many of the items on the list have to occur for a text to be 'apocalyptic'?) and there is disagreement about the contents of the list and their relative importance. Instead we adopted the definition produced by a special seminar of *The Society of Biblical Literature*[11]. It was based on a survey of all the texts from the period 250 B.C. - A.D. 250 which are normally regarded as apocalypses. Judged by this definition the Akkadian texts are not apocalypses because:

(1) They lack a narrative framework in which a revelation is mediated by an other-worldly being to a human recipient.

(2) They also lack other common features of this narrative framework - parenesis and symbolic imagery.

(3) There is no real element of eschatological salvation in the Akkadian texts, whereas this is fundamental to the apocalypses.

(4) Personal afterlife is the most consistent aspect of the eschatology of the apocalypses, but there is no hint of it in the Akkadian texts.

Clearly, on the basis of this definition, the designation "apocalypse" is not appropriate for the Akkadian texts. In that they do purport to

10. W.W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses", *IEJ* 16(1966), 231-242.
11. J.J. Collins (Ed.), *Apocalypse: Morphology of a Genre, Semeia 14*, Missoula, Mont. (1977).

predict future events it seems reasonable to call them "prophecies". The term is used for a variety of oracular phenomena in the ancient Near-East and should not be taken to imply that these texts have any particular similarity to biblical prophetic texts.

Daniel and the Akkadian Prophecies

Recognition[12] that Babylonian learning, especially so-called "mantic wisdom", is an important element in *some Jewish apocalyptic works*, and the Babylonian *Sitz im Leben* of the stories about Daniel[13], opens up the possibility that the Akkadian Prophecies influenced the author of *Daniel.* We noted the following literary affinities between *Daniel* and the Akkadian Prophecies:

(1) **Verbal affinity.** This is limited to the phrase "(after him) a king shall arise", which occurs in *Dan. 8:23; 11:2,* in *Text A* and (with slight variations) in the other Prophetic Surveys. Variants on the phrase also occur in *Dan. 11:2, 3, 7, 20, 21; 12:1.* Since the phrases, "in his place shall arise" and "a king shall arise", are not found in the *Old Testament* outside of *Daniel* (nor in Egyptian prophetic texts), they may echo the similar phraseology of the Akkadian Prophecies.

(2) **Stylistic affinity.** The "concise annalistic history with names censored and the verbs in the future tense"[14] found in the Akkadian Prophecies and *Dan. 8:23-25; 9:24-27; 11:2-45,* but not elsewhere in the *Old Testament,* may well indicate the literary influence of the Akkadian Prophecies on the author of *Daniel.*

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12. P.R. Davies, *Daniel (O.T. Guides),* Sheffield (1985), 72.
    K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel,* Darmstadt (1980), 170f.
    J.C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition, CBQ Mon. Ser. 16,* Washington D.C. (1984), 52-75.
13. J.J. Collins, "Court Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic", *JBL* 94 (1975), 218-234.
14. W.G. Lambert, *The Background to Jewish Apocalyptic,* London (1978), 9.

(3) **Affinity of form.** Both *Dan. 11* and the Akkadian Prophecies take the form of concise surveys of a series of kings' reigns. There is nothing like this elsewhere in the *Old Testament* or Babylonian prophetic literature. Hence it is tempting to suggest some link between them.

We concluded that a literary relationship between the Akkadian Prophecies and *Daniel* is probable. However, we noted that this does not prove that *Dan. 11:2-39* is a *vaticinium ex eventu.* There is nothing in the Akkadian texts to parallel the supposed transition to true prophecy in *Dan. 11:40-45.*

Mesopotamian Sources of Animal Imagery

Animal imagery, some of it quite bizarre, is a pervasive feature of Mesopotamian culture. However, none of the suggested sources for the imagery of *Dan. 7&8* carried conviction on close scrutiny. Iconography, *Enûma Eliš, VAT 10057, and Šumma Izbu* do not contain any close parallels to the beasts portrayed in *Dan. 7&8,* and none of them explain the sequence of the four beasts. The claim that astrological geography can explain both the type of beasts and their sequence was found to rest on too many doubtful assumptions to be convincing.

We concluded that at most there are two ways in which the animal imagery of *Dan. 7&8* shows evidence of Mesopotamian influence:

(1) In the motif of the beasts rising from a sea stirred up by "the four winds of heaven". The latter phrase is rare in the *Old Testament,* occurring only in passages where Babylonian influence is possible, but common in Akkadian literature.

(2) In view of the prevalence of *Mischwesen* in Mesopotamian art, mythology, and birth omens, it would not be suprising for a Jew trained in "the letters and language of the Chaldeans" to use the kind of imagery found in *Dan. 7&8.*

Apocalyptic Prophetic Surveys of History

Our study of these showed that they can be classified into distinct groups:

(1) Non-symbolic, non-periodized history.
    (a) Old Testament style.
    (b) Enigmatic.
    (c) Using gematria.
(2) Non-symbolic, periodized history.
    (a) 10 periods.
    (b) 12 periods.
    (c) 70 periods.
(3) Symbolic imagery.
    (a) Non-animal imagery.
    (b) Animal imagery.

We found nothing to support Lambert's[15] hypothesis that the Akkadian Prophecies were readily available to Jewish apocalyptic writers in Aramaic (or, for that matter, in any other form). Indeed, the two surveys, besides *Dan. 11*, which are closest to the style of the Akkadian texts (*T.Mos. 2-10* & *Ap.El. 2*) are probably influenced by *Dan. 11*. The very rarity of this form (3 out of 32 Prophetic Surveys of History) is striking.

It is interesting that most of the animal imagery in these Prophetic Surveys of History seems to be derived from *Dan. 7&8*.

We also concluded that the quite widely held view that the four ages scheme in *Daniel* was derived from Zoroastrian sources lacks a sound basis. It is more likely that both *Daniel* and the Zoroastrian sources draw independently on a widespread earlier tradition witnessed to by Hesiod. In addition we argued that the sequence of the four empires in *Dan. 2&7* (in our view, the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Macedonian) is not an adaptation of a pre-existing scheme, but reflects the historical experience of the Judean and Israelite exiles in the Eastern Dispersion. Some other incidental conclusions arose from this study:

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15. W.G. Lambert, *op. cit.* ref. 14, 15.

(1) The division of history into 10 periods probably arose from using the round number 10 to divide up a span of history, as is done in some ancient Mesopotamian and Hebrew texts. Derivation from Zoroastrian sources is unlikely.

(2) The 12 period scheme may have arisen from chronological calculations concerning the time between Jerusalem becoming Israel's capital and A.D. 70 and/or the significance of the number 12 for the Jews because of the 12 tribes of Israel.

(3) The origin of the 70 period scheme is probably to be found in *Jer. 25:11&12; 29:10.* To this were added the idea of 70 nations guarded by their angels, derived from *Gen. 10 & Deut. 32:8,* and the jubilee concept *(Lev. 25:1-24; 26:34&35).*

Symbolic Visions in the *Old Testament* and *Dan. 7-12*

We argued that the prevalence of the vison/dream as the medium of revelation in *Daniel* (and *Zech. 1-8*) can be seen as a development of an element always present in Hebrew prophecy, rather than the result of the absorption of a foreign element. The development may, however, have been encouraged by the rôle of dream interpretation in Babylonian divination.

Our discussion of previous attempts to classify the vision accounts found in the *Old Testament* led us to propose a new, more detailed, classification:

(1) Symbolic visions.
    (a) Those depending on word-play for their meaning.
    (b) Those using purely mythical imagery.
    (c) Those with some other symbol-meaning relation.
(2) Descriptive visions.
    (a) Describing earthly events.
    (b) Describing heavenly events.
(3) Visions of a heavenly messenger.
    (a) Prophetic revelations.
    (b) Narrative accounts.
(4) Prophetic call visions.

We accepted the essential validity of Niditch's'[16] work in which she traced the development of a symbolic vision form within the *Old Testament* from Amos onwards, and then into the inter-testamental literature. *Dan. 7&8* fit into this developing formal tradition. *Dan. 9 & 10-12* do not, but are close enough to it for us to suggest that they have a variant form which is an adaptation of it. Thus the form of the vision accounts in *Dan. 7-12* shows no clear evidence of needing to be explained by foreign influence.

Niditch notes the distinctiveness of the style of *Dan. 8:23-25*. We could find nothing in the *Old Testament* to parallel this passage and *Dan. 9:24-27; 11:2-45* in either style or content.

The Animal Imagery of *Dan. 7&8*

We found good reasons to agree with those who think *Hos. 13:7&8* provides the essential framework for the imagery of the four beasts in *Dan. 7.* Contributing to it are *Old Testament* references to Nebuchadnezzar as a lion and his armies as eagles, plus the traditional linking of the lion and the bear as the two most ferocious wild beasts. *Old Testament* references to the Medes mention their ferocity.

In the *Old Testament* the ram and the goat are symbols of power and leadership. This is sufficient to account for the imagery in *Dan. 8.*

The Hebrew of *Daniel*

In Appendix 1 we argue that in *Daniel* the jussive has lost its distinctive meaning, and that wāw consecutive + cohortative is on the way to replacing the wāw consecutive + imperfect as the normal 1st. person form. In the Qumran non-biblical scrolls this transition is complete.

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16. S. Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition*, HSM 30, Chico, Calif. (1983).·

The Implications of These Conclusions

Amongst the majority of scholars who have adopted a 2nd. century B.C. date and Palestinian provenance for *Daniel* there have been those who have recognized a Babylonian origin for the material in chs. 1-6. Montgomery[17], for example, argued that chs. 1-6 were pre-Maccabean and Babylonian in origin, whilst chs. 7-12 were composed in Judea in the first years of the Maccabean uprising. More recently Collins[18] has said that "There is wide agreement among scholars that the tales originated in the Eastern Diaspora". His own view is that[19],

> "...these tales have had a long prehistory. The origin of these traditions is most naturally to be sought in the eastern Diaspora. Whether they attained their present form there or in Judea is less certain. There is no doubt that the revelations were composed in Judea and so we must assume that the tales were brought back from the Diaspora at some point."

Until recently acceptance of the 2nd. century B.C. date for chs. 7-12 seems to have prevented scholars from giving much consideration to the possibility of direct Babylonian influence in these chapters. When Caquot[20] suggested the influence of Babylonian astrological geography on the symbolism of chs. 7&8 he assumed that this was transmitted through the syncretistic Hellenistic culture of the 2nd. century B.C., and not derived directly from Babylonia. When arguing that the imagery of ch. 7 is drawn from the Babylonian New Year Festival Heaton[21] suggests that it was transmitted to the author through the liturgy of the pre-exilic cult in Jerusalem.

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17. J.A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, Edinburgh (1964), 96.
18. J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, Missoula, Mont. (1977), 55.
19. J.J. Collins, *Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, Grand Rapids, Mich. (1984), 35. Note also the bibliography relating to the tales on p. 40.
20. A. Caquot, "Sur les quatre bêtes de *Daniel* VII", *Semitica* 5 (1955), 6-13.
21. E.W. Heaton, *Daniel*, London (1967), 169-174.

There is now an increasing consensus that Jewish apocalypticism was indebted to some degree to the "mantic" element in Babylonian wisdom[22]. This has made scholars more alert to the possibilities of direct Babylonian influence in *Dan. 7-12*. In this thesis we have examined the suggestions that have been made so far in this regard. Our study has shown that there is limited, but significant, evidence of Babylonian influence in these chapters.

(1) The use of the dream/vision form of revelation. This is not foreign to the Hebrew tradition, but its prominence in *Dan. 7-12* may well reflect the Babylonian interest in dream interpretation as a means of divination.

(2) The motif of the beasts rising from a sea stirred up by "the four winds of heaven" may well be used because of the use of this imagery in the Babylonian creation epic *Enūma Eliš*. If the beasts do represent Babylon, Media, Persia and Greece, then their geographical location from a Babylonian perspective follows the normal order of reference to the winds in Akkadian literature (S, N, E, W).

(3) The appearance of the *Mischwesen* in *Dan. 7* is plausibly explained by their prevalance in Mesopotamian art, mythology and birth omens. We could not, however, locate one specific source for the particular imagery used.

(4) Finkelstein [23] has argued convincingly that the oddness of the phrase *bēn 'ūlay* in *Dan. 8:16* is the result of the use of an Akkadian idiom.

(5) The form of the prophetic surveys in *Dan. 8:23-25; 9:24-27; 11:2-45* is very probably based on the form used in the Akkadian Prophecies.

The first four items can be explained as the result of the general

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22. See most recently J.J. Collins, "The Place of Apoclypticism in the Religion of Israel", 539-558 in P.D. Miller *et. al.* (Eds.), *Ancient Israelite Religion*, Fs. for F.M. Cross, Philadelphia (1987).
23. J.J. Finkelstein, "Mesopotamia", *JNES* 21 (1962), 73-92, esp. 89f. See Appendix 2.

influence living in Babylonian culture had on the author of the visions. However, we argued earlier[24] that point (3) may be particularly significant. Birth omens may have been a major source of bizarre animal imagery, and reason for its prevalence, in Mesopotamia. Such omens had little importance amongst the western Semites. The animal imagery of *Dan. 7&8* would have had much greater evocative power if addressed to Jews living in a Babylonian setting, where the imagery was 'live', than if addressed to Palestinian Jews.

When Lambert suggested that the author of *Dan 11* had been influenced by the genre of Babylonian literature represented by the Akkadian Prophecies, he recognized that this raised a problem if the author was a Palestinian Jew. He said[25],

> "Jews in Palestine, as well as those in Babylonia in the Hellenistic period, would certainly know of the existence of Babylonian learning, but in general the formidable cuneiform script would prevent any first-hand acquaintance."

He therefore suggested that the Prophecies might have been translated into Aramaic or Greek. However, he provides no solid evidence to support this. He points to the fragments attributed to Eupolemus[26] as evidence of Jewish interest in the Babylonian historical traditions translated into Greek in the first half of the 3rd. century B.C. by Berossus. With regard to the Prophecies, however, he admits that[27], "In Greek I have not discovered any fully comparable texts antedating Daniel". As far as Aramaic is concerned he can only point to four lines of religious content from Papyrus Amherst 63 and some of the Aramaic proverbs attributed to Ahiqar as evidence of Aramaic literature influenced by Mesopotamian

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24. See the discussion on pp. 127ff.
25. W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London (1978), 13f.
26. B.Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature*, Cincinnati (1974), provides a valuable study of Eupolemus and his possible sources.
27. W.G. Lambert, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 15.

traditions. This is a very slim basis on which to conclude that the

Akkadian Prophecies would have been available in Greek or Aramaic

translation to a Palestinian Jewish author.

We have looked tor further evidence to support this conclusion, but have

not found any. Much more of Papyrus Amherst 63 has been published since

Lambert referred to it. This document, which is variously dated to the

4th.[28] or 2nd.[29] centuries B.C., contains Aramaic texts written in demotic

script. One of these texts is a story about Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šum-

ukin [30]. This story is similar in character to the demotic story-cycle of

Pedubastis [31]. Some of these stories show a knowledge of Assyrian and

Persian traditions, no doubt as a result of the conquest of Egypt by

Assyria and Persia.

Amongst the papyri found at Elephantine there is an Aramaic version of

the story and proverbs of Ahiqar. Cowley[32] argued that this was a

translation of an Akkadian original because the narrative is set in the

Assyrian court, it contains some authentic reminiscences of that milieu,

Assyrian names are accurately transcribed, and there are some Akkadian

loan words. Lindenberger[33] points out that the same reasoning would

support an Akkadian original for the book of *Daniel.* He goes on to say

that, "a consensus has begun to emerge among Aramaists that Aramaic is

the original language of Ahiqar, story and proverbs alike". Moreover, his

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28.   C.F. Nims & R.C. Steiner, "A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2-6 from
         the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script", *JAOS* 103(1983), 261-274.
29.   S.P. Vleeming & J.W. Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63,*
         Amsterdam (1985), 7.
30.   R.C. Steiner & C.F. Nims, "Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin. A Tale
         of Two Brothers from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script", *RB*
         92(1985), 60-81.
      S.P. Vleeming & J.W. Wesselius, *op. cit.* ref. 29, 31-37.
31.   K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period In Egypt,* Warminster
         (1973), 455-461 provides a brief discussion of these stories.
32.   A.E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.,* Oxford (1923),
         206f.
33.   J.M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar,* Baltimore (1983),
         16f.

own study confirms the view that the story originated in Mesopotamia, but that the proverbs had a separate origin in northern Syria. Part of the evidence for this view is the difference in the character of the Aramaic of the two parts of the work, and the fact that the proverbs (unlike the story) are virtually free of Akkadian loan words.

We have considered the so-called Graeco-Babyloniaca texts[34] and shown that they do not provide evidence of cuneiform texts being translated into Greek. Rather, they are probably the result of scribes using the alphabetic script to record changes in the pronunciation of Akkadian in the late Babylonian period.

It seems to us that it is significant that the evidence of Mesopotamian traditions appearing in Aramaic or Greek that we have considered so far all relates to what can be described as popular historical tales. This is just the kind of material that one might expect to be transmitted orally from one culture to another. It would seem much less likely that rather esoteric material such as the Akkadian Prophecies would be transmitted in this way.

It is, of course, a fact that Babylonian astronomy was communicated to the Greeks[35]. As Lambert comments[36],

> "...there is no reason to suppose that any Greek learnt to read and use the appropriate cuneiform tablets ... Presumably learned Babylonians took the pains to teach Greeks in Greek. This of course was highly specialized - Berossus himself knew nothing of it".

Lambert goes on to say that if one asks what other product of Babylonian civilization, besides astronomy, might have been so popular as to merit translation into Aramaic or Greek, then "prophecies are an obvious possibility". To support this he points to the proliferation of the

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34. See pp. 111f.
35. See our discussion of the Zodiac on pp. 137f.
36. W.G. Lambert, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 16.

Sibyls, the interest in oracles, and the birth of the horoscope in the Hellenistic age.

Whilst there is some plausibility in Lambert's argument at this point, the fact is that there is no firm evidence to show that the Akkadian Prophecies were translated into Greek or Aramaic. One would have thought that an even better candidate for translation would be some of the astrological omens associated with the astronomical learning transmitted to the Greeks. Yet what evidence there is for even this is problematic because the omens that are possibly of Babylonian origin "have not been exactly identified in cuneiform", as Lambert[37] admits.

Our study of prophetic surveys of history in Jewish and early Christian apocalypses was carried out in order to see if we could find any evidence of independent knowledge of the Akkadian Prophecy genre by different authors. In fact it is striking that only 3 of the 32 surveys we identified used a form and style similar to that genre. One of these was *Dan. 11*, and the other two (*T.Mos. 2-10 & Ap.El. 2*) are probably influenced by *Dan. 11*.

In the light of this lack of evidence that the Akkadian Prophecies were translated into Greek or Aramaic, and the other indications of Mesopotamian influence in *Dan. 7-12*, we think it more likely that the author's milieu was Babylonian rather than Palestinian, and that he was someone capable of reading cuneiform literature, as *Dan. 1* claims for its hero. Of course, if one wants to preserve a Palestinian and Maccabean setting for the book it is possible to argue, as Collins does[38], that the author belonged to a group of Babylonian Jews who had recently returned to Judea. Alternatively one can argue that the extant book of *Daniel* is

37. W.G. Lambert, *op. cit.* ref. 25, 20 note 28.
38. J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, HSM 16, Missoula, Mont. (1977), 57f.

a 2nd. century Palestinian revision of Babylonian traditions brought to the west at some point by returned exiles. All this seems unnecessarily complicated, and to verge on special pleading unless one has strong reasons for insisting on a Palestinian provenance for the visions in either their original or present form.

The major reason for assuming a Palestinian provenance is the view that the origin of the book must be linked with the Maccabean revolt. The proposed link between *Daniel* and the Akkadian Prophecies does not throw any light on the dating of the book. If our interpretations of the extant Prophecies are correct, they come from between the late 12th. and mid-3rd. centuries B.C.. It is interesting that the Uruk Prophecy was probably composed early in the 6th. century (the traditional date for *Daniel*) and that the latest extant Prophecy, the Dynastic Prophecy, dates from nearly a century before the Maccabean revolt. However, it would be unwise to read much significance into this as far as the dating of *Daniel* is concerned. New discoveries could change the picture, and in any case the author of *Daniel* could have known, and been influenced by, earlier texts.

More relevant to the dating question are the unusual uses of the jussive and cohortative in the Hebrew of *Daniel* which we have highlighted. In its frequent, but not exclusive, use of the wāw consecutive + cohortative as the 1st. person wāw consecutive form *Daniel* is similar to the "memoir" sections of *Ezra-Nehemiah*. However, it seems to represent an earlier form of Hebrew than that evidenced in the non-biblical scrolls from Qumran, where the wāw consecutive + cohortative is the standard 1st. person form. Archer[39] comes to the same conclusion, on other grounds, and Morag[40] also stresses the distinctiveness of Qumran Hebrew as

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39. G.L. Archer, "The Hebrew of Daniel Compared with the Qumran Sectarian Documents" in J.H. Skilton (Ed.), *The Law and the Prophets*, (Fs. for O.T. Allis), Nutley, N.J. (1974), 470-481.
40. S. Morag, "Qumran Hebrew: Some typological Observations", *VT* 38(1988), 148-164.

compared to Late Biblical Hebrew.

This conclusion is in accord with the results of the study of the Aramaic

of *Daniel* carried out by Kitchen[41]. He concluded that[42],

> "The Aramaic of Daniel (and of Ezra) is simply a part of
> Imperial Aramaic - in itself, practically undatable with any
> conviction within c. 600 to 330 BC".

as a result he says[43],

> "... there is nothing to decide tha date of composition of the
> Aramaic of Daniel *on the grounds of Aramaic* anywhere between
> the late sixth century and the second century BC. Some
> points hint at an early (especially pre-300), not late, date -
> but in large part could be argued to be survivals till the
> second century BC, just as third-second century spellings or
> grammatical forms must be proved to be original to the
> composition of the work before a sixth-fifth century date
> could be excluded."

These conclusions have been endorsed by Kutscher[44]. Archer[45] has shown

that the Aramaic of *Daniel (& Ezra)* comes from a considerably earlier

period than that of the *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran. He also argues

for Akkadian influence in the Aramaic of *Daniel* in the strong tendency to

defer the verb until late in a clause, often after the object itself.

Kaufman[46] recognizes this as a feature of both Eastern and Imperial

Aramaic which results from the influence of Akkadian.

These studies of the Hebrew and Aramaic of *Daniel* point to a date of

composition closer to that of *Ezra-Nehemiah*[47] than that of the Qumran

41. K.A. Kitchen, "The Aramaic of Daniel" in D.J. Wiseman *et. al., Notes on
    Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, London (1965), 31-79.
42. K.A. Kitchen, *op. cit.* ref. 41, 75.
43. K.A. Kitchen, *op. cit.* ref. 41, 79.
44. E.Y. Kutscher, "Aramaic" in T.A. Sebeok (Ed.), *Current Trends in
    Linguistics 6*, Paris (1970), esp. 399-403.
45. G.L. Archer, "The Aramaic of the 'Genesis Apocryphon' compared with
    the Aramaic of Daniel" in J.B. Payne (Ed.), *New Perspectives in the
    Old Testament*, Waco, Texas (1970), 160-169.
46. S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic and the Development
    of the Aramaic Dialects*, Ph.D. diss., Yale (1970), 149-151.
47. Most commentators date the composition of this work to the 4th.
    century B.C., see for example:
    J.M. Myers, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, Garden City, N.Y. (1965).
    D.J. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, London (1984).
    H.G.M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, Waco, Texas (1985).

documents.

Conclusion. We think that the evidence and considerations which we have presented lead most reasonably to the conclusion that *Dan. 7-12* originated in a Babylonian setting, and at a date considerably earlier than the 2nd. century B.C..

APPENDICES

<u>APPENDIX 1.</u> The Anomalous Jussive.

An "anomalous jussive" is one that occurs, with or without a pre-fixed simple wāw, where an imperfect would be expected.

The definition is somewhat loose since people's expectations vary. This study is based on the occurrences listed by Gesenius-Kautzch[1], A.B. Davidson[2], and S.R. Driver[3].

G-K and Davidson state that the anomalous jussive is especially *common* in the later books of the *Old Testament*, and imply that it is a feature of late biblical Hebrew (LBH). However, neither Polzin[4] nor Kropat[5] mention it in their studies of LBH. This is because they base their work on *Chronicles*, in which it occurs only once, in a passage parallel to *Samuel*, from which the jussive is copied (*1 Chron. 14:15//2 Sam. 5:24*). It may be significant that the anomalous jussive in *1 K. 8:1* is replaced by the imperfect in *2 Chron. 5:2* (according to the consonantal text; the Q uses the vowels of the jussive and the *LXX* throws no light on the matter). There are no anomalous jussives in *Ezra-Nehemiah*. In fact anomalous jussives appear in texts from widely differing periods: *Gen. 49:17; Num. 24:7, 19; Eccl. 12:7; Jer. 13:10; Ezek. 14:7; Amos 5:14; Mic. 3:5; Nah. 3:11; Zeph. 2:13.* What seems to have influenced grammarians is the fact that most examples come from *Psalms* (at least 10) and *Job* (at least 27), and these are taken to be "late" books. However, the evidence can be interpreted to mean that the anomalous jussive is not so much a feature of LBH as of poetic Hebrew. In fact most of the examples outside of *Job & Psalms* come from poetic passages in the history books

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1. E. Kautzsch, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 2nd. English edition, translated by A.E. Cowley, Oxford (1910), §109.
2. A.B. Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, 3rd. ed., Edinburgh (1973), §64.
3. S.R. Driver, *The Hebrew Tenses*, 3rd. ed., Oxford (1892), App. II.
4. R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, HSM 12, Missoula, Mont. (1976).
5. A. Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik*, BZAW 16, Berlin (1909).

(e.g. Gen. 49:17; Num. 24:7, 19; 1 Sam. 2:10; 2 Sam. 22:14) or the prophets (so most of the examples given above). Outside of *Daniel* (which has 10 examples) there are only 11 examples in prose passages. The prose:poetry ratio is 21:67.

The conclusion suggested by this evidence is that the anomalous jussive was a feature of Hebrew poetry over a long period, which occasionally appears in prose.

A number of suggestions have been made to explain anomalous jussives:

(1) In some cases it is argued that there is at least an element of a true jussive sense, so that the anomaly is only apparent, *e.g.* command, *Ps. 11:6; Zeph. 2:13*; purpose, *Lam. 3:50; Ezek. 14:7.*

(2) Driver argues that when the jussive stands at the head of a clause without wāw it may be a reminiscence of the normal wāw consecutive imperfect. Its use may have arisen because the shorter form of the imperfect used with the wāw consecutive became associated with the idea of a connection with what precedes, and so is used on its own sometimes when there is a desire to preserve this idea of connection, *e.g. Job 18:9* where *yah^azēq* could stand for *wayyah^azēq.* Driver admits that this explanation does not apply when there is reference to the future, or where for other reasons a wāw consecutive imperfect would be inappropriate, *e.g. Job 24:25* where *wayyāśēm* could not follow *mî yakzîbēnî.*

(3) When there is a preceding wāw it is sometimes argued that this should be repointed as wāw consecutive imperfect, *e.g. Job 13:27; Prov. 15:25.* In other cases repointing as wāw simple + imperfect is possible, but requires assuming that the vowel in the final syllable is written defectively, *e.g. Job 34:9; Mic. 3:4.*

(4) G-K argue that many cases can be explained by the influence of the rhythm of the sentence, at least in poetry. They point to three cases.

contd.

(a) When the word comes at the head of a clause and so is as far removed from the main pause as possible. As Davidson points out, this is an unlikely explanation since the verb normally comes in this position anyway. Why then are so few jussives?

(b) When the word comes immediately before the main pause, *e.g.* *Job 24:14.*

(c) When the word is actually in pause, *e.g. Deut. 32:18.*

(5) Those who assume that it is primarily a feature of LBH argue that the form is used devoid of its original signification.

In *Old Testament* prose *Daniel* accounts for about half the total number of anomalous jussives. Of the 10 in *Daniel* 9 appear in 11:4-30 (all with prefixed wāw). This concentration is unusual. The nearest comparison in prose is in *Deut. 28:8-36* (3, none with wāw). An even higher concentration, in a shorter passage, does occur in poetry in *Job 20:23-28* (4, one with wāw).

A study of the anomalous jussives in prose shows that (see list below):

(1) None can be explained on the basis of the influence of the rhythm of the sentence since none come immediately before, or in, pause.

(2) Plausible repointing is only possible in two cases, *1 K. 14:5; Dan. 8:12* (though we argue against it in the latter case, see below). The possibility of repointing those in *Daniel* as imperfects with simple wāw and the vowel written defectivley seems unlikely since in some cases the imperfect of the same root appears with the vowel written in full (11:3,18,29,32).

(3) Most have a prefixed wāw so that Driver's suggestion that they replace a wāw consecutive imperfect is not applicable.

(4) In about one-third of the cases they may carry an echo of a true jussive sense. However, the commonest sense, result, is one that is rare for true jussives, and not recognized in some grammars.

The conclusion to which this points is that in prose anomalous jussives are used, perhaps as a matter of style copied from poetry, without any true jussive sense or other obvious significance.

The cohortative is used in *Daniel* in a way that parallels the jussive. There are 12 cohortatives (all with prefixed wāw), only two of which have a clearly cohortative meaning. These cohortatives are over half of the 1st. person verbal forms in *Daniel* (all with prefixed wāw, see below). This suggests that the mood has lost its significance for the author. Polzin[6] suggests that this is generally true in LBH in view of the similar use of the cohortative form as a common wāw consecutive prefixed 1st. person form in the "memoir" sections of *Ezra-Nehemiah*. In fact these three sections of the *Old Testament* account for over half (55) of the biblical wāw consecutive + cohortative forms (95 in all)[7].

Müller[8] suggests that the general use of the cohortative for the 1st. person wāw consecutive imperfect arose from analogy with the use of an apparent jussive form with the wāw consecutive in the other persons, the cohortative in LBH being treated as the 1st. person form of the jussive. This suggestion is supported by the evidence of the non-biblical Qumran scrolls, in which the *only* 1st. person wāw consecutive form is the cohortative[9]. The evidence from Qumran indicates that the Hebrew of *Daniel*, in which the 1st. person forms are mixed, belongs to an earlier stage in the development of the language than that evidenced in the

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6. R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew, HSM 12*, Missoula, Mont. (1976), 54f.
7. See L. McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, Sheffield (1982), Appendix 3, esp. p. 214, though the two examples cited for *Chronicles* appear not to exist (*cf*. R. Polzin, ref. 6).
8. A. Müller, cited by S.R. Driver, *The Hebrew Tenses*, 3rd. ed., Oxford (1892), §72. This is accepted by E.J. Revell, "First Person Imperfect Forms With *Waw* Consecutive", *VT* 38(1988), 419-426.
9. E. Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Ph.D. Thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1976), §310.123; *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, HSS 29*, Atlanta (1986), 44.

scrolls[10].

It is striking that no wāw + cohortative forms occur in *Chronicles.* Polzin[11] suggests that this is due to differences in scribal practice between the scribes who preserved the *Ezra-Nehemiah* traditions and the Chronicler's circle. However, there is another possible explanation. The three pieces of literature in which the form is most common are all written in the 1st. person "memoir" form. Perhaps in LBH the wāw + cohortative was considered appropriate for this type of literature, but not for reported speech in narrative prose.

Summary of conclusions:

(1) The anomalous jussive was a feature of Hebrew poetry over a long period. There is no satisfactory explanation for its use.

(2) Its use in prose is probably copied from its poetic use. The anomalous jussive in prose does not retain any true jussive sense.

(3) In the 1st. person "memoir" sections of *Ezra-Nehemiah* & *Daniel* the wāw + cohortative is often used instead of the wāw consecutive imperfect. This is probably by analogy with the use of an apparent jussive form with the wāw consecutive of other persons.

(4) In the non-biblical Qumran scrolls the *only* 1st. person wāw consecutive form is the cohortative. This indicates that the Hebrew of *Daniel* belongs to an earlier stage of the language, along with the "memoirs" of *Ezra-Nehemiah.*

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10. G.L. Archer comes to the same conclusion in his article "The Hebrew of Daniel Compared with the Qumran Sectarian Documents" in J.H. Skilton (Ed.), *The Law and the Prophets,* (Fs. for O.T. Allis), Nutley, N.J. (1974), 470-481.
S. Morag, "Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations", *VT* 38 (1988), 148-164, stresses the distinctiveness of Qumran Hebrew as compared with LBH.
11. R. Polzin, *op. cit.* ref. 6, 55.

Anomalous Jussives in Prose.

Ex. 22:4	יַבְעֶר־	
Lev. 15:24	וּתְהִי	Result
Deut. 28:8	יְצַו	Desire(?)
28:21	יַדְבֵּק	
28:36	יוֹלֵךְ	
Ruth 3:4	וִיהִי	Command
1 Sam. 10:5	וִיהִי	
2 Sam. 5:24	וִיהִי	Command (//1 Chron. 14:15)
1 K. 8:1	יַקְהֵל	//2 Chron. 5:2 has יַקְהִיל
1 K. 14:5	וִיהִי	Theodotian(Codex A), V, suggest וִיהִי
Jer. 13:10	וִיהִי	Result
Ezek. 14:7	וְיַעַל	Purpose
Dan. 8:12	וְתַשְׁלֵךְ	Repoint[12](?) as וַתְּשַׁלֵּךְ
11:4	וְתֵחָץ	
11:10	וְיָשֹׁב	
11:16	וְיַעַשׂ	Result(?)
11:17	וְיָשֵׂם	
11:18	וְיָשֵׁב	Q has וְיָשֵׂם and some point as וְיָשֵׁב
11:19	וְיָשֵׁב	Purpose
11:25	וְיַעַל	
11:28	וְיָשֹׁב	
11:30	וְיָבֵן	

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12. The Greek VSS and 2 Hebrew MSS take the verb as passive. However, this produces an awkward change in subject since the subject of the following two verbs must be the horn. Montgomery (*The Book of Daniel*, Edinburgh (1927)) finds the tense sequence here difficult, but, as he says, the verbs can be taken as frequentative rather than future.

1st. Person Forms in *Daniel*.

Root	Cohortative	Imperfect
אכל	1:12*	
אמר	9:4; 10:16,19; 12:8	
בקש	8:15	
דבר	10:16	
נפל	8:17	
נשא		8:3,27; 10:5
נתן	9:3	
פלל	9:4	
פתח		10:16
קום		8:27
ראה		8:2
שמע	8:13	8:16; 10:9; 12:7
שתה	1:12*	

*These are true cohortatives.

The Anomalous Jussive and the Versions.

As an indication of how the versions treat the anomalous jussive in prose, we list the cases where the MT has a wāw + an anomalous jussive of the verb "to be".

The texts quoted are:

MT: *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, K. Elliger & W. Rudolph (Eds.), Stuttgart (1976).

Tg: *The Bible in Aramiac*, A. Sperber (Ed.), Leiden (1959/68).

LXX: *Septuaginta*, 6th. ed., A. Ralphs (Ed.), Stuttgart (1935).

V: *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, 3rd. ed., B. Fischer et. al. (Eds.), Stuttgart (1983).

Lev. 15:24:

MT: ותהי נדתה עליו

Tg: ויהי ריחוקה עלוהי

LXX: καὶ γενηται ἡ ἀκαθαρσια αὐτης ἐπ'αὐτῷ

V: *et omne stratum in quo dormierit polluetur*

Ruth 3:4:

MT: ויהי בשכבו

Tg: ויהי בעידן משכביה

LXX: καὶ ἐσται ἐν τῷ κοιμηθηναι αὐτον

V: *quando autem ierit ad dormiendum*

1 Sam. 10:5:

MT: ויהי כבאך שם העיר

Tg: ויהי כמיעלך לתמן לקרתא

LXX: καὶ ἐσται ὡς ἀν εἰσελθητε εκει εἰς την πολιν

V: *et cum ingressus fueris ibi urbem*

2 Sam. 5:24:

MT: ויהי בשמעך את קל צעדה

Tg: ויהי כמשמעך ית קל צן חתא

LXX: καὶ ἐσται ἐν τῷ ἀκουσαι σε την φωνην του συγκλεισμον

V: *et cum audieris sonitum gradientes*

1 Chron. 14:15 (//2 Sam. 5:24):

MT: ויהי כשמעך את קל הצעדה

Tg: ויהא כמשמעך ית קך מלאכיא

LXX: καὶ ἐσται ἐν τῷ ἀκουσαι σε την φωνην του συσσεισμον

V: *cumque audieris sonitum gradientes*

1 Kings 14:5:

MT: ויהי כבאה והיא מתנכרה

Tg: והוה כמיעלה והיא משתניא

LXX: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἰσερχεσθαι αὐτην καὶ αὐτη ἀπεξενοντο

V: *cum ergo illa intraret et dissimularet se esse quae erat*

Jer. 13:10:

MT: ויהי כאזור הזה אשר לא יצלח לכל

Tg: ויהון כזרזא הדין דלית ניה צרוך לכל מדעם

LXX: καὶ ἐσονται ὥσπερ το περιζωμα τουτο, ὃ οὐ χρησθησται εἰς οὐθεν

V: *et erunt sicut lumbare istud quod nullo usui aptum est*

Here it can be seen that whereas the Targums preserve the jussive form in 4 of the seven passages, the other versions translate them by future tenses.

There is no extant Targum of *Daniel.* Both the Greek (Theodotic & Origenic) and Latin versions translate the anomalous jussives in *Daniel* by the future tense.

The wāw + cohortative forms in *Daniel* (other than the true cohortatives in 1:12) are translated by past tenses (*i.e.* as wāw consecutive forms) by these versions, except in the Theodotic text of 8:17 where πιπτω is presumably an hortatory subjunctive (Origen's text has ἐπεσα).

APPENDIX 2. The Meaning of *bên ûlāy* in *Daniel 8:16.*

Daniel 8:2:

עַל אוּבַל אוּלַי   In the *Old Testament* אוּבַל occurs only in *Dan. 8:2,3,6.*

BDB derive it from the root יבל "to bear along, conduct". In *Isa. 30:25*

יבל (in plural construct) means "conduit". Hence here אוּבַל is taken

to mean "water course, river". This is how Symmachus understood the

text since Jerome cites his reading as, *super paludem Oulai.* Origen has

the reading προς τη πυλη 'Ωλαμ (Oὐλαμ, Aἰλαμ). This derives the word

אוּבַל from a Semitic root meaning "gate". BHS suggests that the Akkadian

phrase *abul ālim* might be behind the Hebrew. However, this requires the

changes abul >> 'ûbal and ālim >> 'ûlay, which seem improbable. The

translator of the Theodotic text simply transliterates the phrase as επι

του Ουβαλ, omitting the אוּלַי (in v16 אוּלַי is replaced by Ουβαλ). For

grounds for rendering it as "water course" rather than "gate" see v16.

Daniel 8:16:

בֵּין אוּלַי   Those who take אוּבַל אוּלַי   in v2 to mean "city gate"

have to emend אוּלַי here to אוּבַל   and then read "in the gate" here.

Most commentators translate the phrase as "between (the banks of) the

Ulai". Occasionally in the *Old Testament* בֵּין   does mean "in the midst

of" (*Isa. 44:4; Ezek. 31:10, 14*). Finkelstein[1] has shown that in Akkadian

the phrase *bīrīt nārim* means "a riverine peninsula", *i.e.* either a region

within a U-bend of a river or between a river and its tributary where

they meet. He takes אוּבַל אוּלַי   to mean "a canal or tributary of the

Ulai" and בֵּין אוּלַי   to indicate that the angel stood on the

"peninsular" area between the tributary and the Ulai near their meeting

place. The attempt to render some local designation of the region

explains the oddness of the Hebrew.

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1. J.J. Finklestein, "Mesopotamia", *JNES* 21 (1962), 73-92, especially
   89f. The phrase *bīrīt šušan ʰᵘlaya* occurs in one of
   Assurbanipal's inscriptions.

APPENDIX 3. Excursus on Chronicle 25.

Chronicle 25[1] covers the late Kassite period, but unfortunately throws little light on the reigns of interest to us relating to Text A. Between sections dealing with Adad-suma-uṣur and Enlil-nādin-apli (probably, Ninurta-nādin-šumi is possible but less likely according to Walker's reconstruction) there are three sections in which the king's name is lost:

l. 11   "they killed him".
ll. 12&13   A king who conquered Mari.
ll. 14-18   "fear of Elam fell on him", famine, "they killed him in a rebellion".

These three sections cover a period in which 8 (or 6) kings are known to have ruled Babylonia. Clearly the text is selective and the identification of the kings chosen is unfortunately problematic. Of the kings concerned only Zababa-šuma-iddina and Enlil-nādin-aḫi were defeated by Elam⁻ and so Walker suggests that ll. 14-18 could refer to one of them. However, both were apparently deposed by Elam, whereas l. 18 says, "they killed him in a rebellion". Walker thinks it "possible, but highly speculative" to suggest that l. 11 refers to Meli-Šipak who, according to Weidner's[3] view, is said in Text A to have been "put to the sword in a rebellion". The only kings known to have campaigned against Mari around this period are the Assyrian kings Tukulti-Ninurta I and Aššur-bel-kala, but mention of either of them here would be chronologically out of place by about half a century.

Walker says that the absence of any introduction or colophon and the size and shape of the tablet indicate that it is a unique piece written

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1.   C.B.F. Walker, "Babylonian Chronicle 25: A Chronicle of the Kassite and Isin II Dynasties", in G. van Driel *et. al.* (Eds.), *Zikir Šumim*, Leiden (1982), 398-417.
2.   J.A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*, Chicago (1976), 247-252.
3.   E.F. Weidner, "Babylonische Prophezeiungen", *AfO* 13(1939/41), 234-237.

for private use. The entries are extracted from more detailed
chronological material, some of which was also used by the compiler of
Chronicle 24, and probably also the compiler of Chronicle 22.

We would like to make some "possible, but highly speculative"
suggestions about this section of Chronicle 25. It is very probable that
the king who conquered Mari was an Assyrian. The most likely candidate
in the period concerned is Tiglath-Pileser I. In his inscriptions he
notes that he crossed the Euphrates 28 times to fight the Arameans in
regions ranging from Carchemish to Rapiqu on the N.W. borders ot
Babylonia⁵. This may have brought him into conflict with Mari. He was
a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar I, whom we suggest is the subject ot
ll. 14-18, which give an Assyrian view of him. Walker rejects this
possibility because l. 14 does not seem to accord with his victory over
Elam. However, according to Brinkman's reconstruction⁶ his first
campaign in Elam ended in failure when plague struck his army. This
could be what is meant by "the fear of Elam fell on him". He is known
to have carried out building work in Babylon and Nippur. Maybe he did
build a city on the Euphrates, as l. 15 says, or the reference could be
to his work in Babylon itself. Nothing is known of how his reign ended.
Since he was the outstanding ruler of the period it would be strange if
he were not mentioned at all in Chronicle 25. Although the chronicle
concerns mainly Babylonian kings there is an interest in relations with
Assyria (ll. 1, 3-7, 26) and Tiglath-Pileser was the major figure at the
time of the Isin II Dynasty. His reign coincided with those of

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4. A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, TCS V,* Locust
        Valley, N.Y. (1975), 50-59.
5. E.F. Weidner, "Die Feldzuge und Bauten Tiglathpilesers I", *AfO*
        18(1957/8), 342-360.
    A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,* Vol. 2, Weisbaden (1976),
        27 l. 97 (34).
6. J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia,* Rome
        (1968), 162-166. D.J. Wiseman, *CAH,* 3rd. ed., Vol. 2.2, Cambridge
        (1975), 454f, accepts this reconstruction.

Nebuchadnezzar I and his three successors. Prior to Nebuchadnezzar's reign is as good a place as any to give him special mention. Chronicle 21 jumps from Adad-šuma-uṣur to Zababa-šuma-iddina because it is interested in Assyrian-Babylonian relations and the intervening kings did not clash with Assyria. Chronicle 25 may follow the same pattern, in which case 1. 11 would refer to Zababa-šuma-iddina's brief reign. If so, his killers were the Elamites who deposed him.

APPENDIX 4. The use of *KI.MIN* in the Uruk Prophecy.

Since *KI.MIN* occurs fairly frequently in omen texts, and the Akkadian

Prophecies seem to have affinity with these texts, a study of the use of

KI.MIN in omens might throw light on its use in the Uruk Prophecy.

In the series *Šumma Izbu*[1] it is used in three ways:

(1) If used in a protasis, it indicates the repetition of a phrase from

the previous protasis. Thus in Tablet I, ll. 42ff we find:

If a woman gives birth to two goat horns, ...
If a woman *KI.MIN* a gazelle horn, ...
If a woman *KI.MIN* [........
If a woman *KI.MIN* clay, ...

(2) When used in an apodosis it can indicate repetition of the apodosis

of the previous omen. So, we find in Tablet IV, ll. 17ff:

If a woman gives birth, and at birth (the child) is already afflicted
with a wart of flesh: the land will experience unhappiness; that house
will be scattered.
If a woman gives birth, and at birth (the child) is already afflicted
with a wart of his own skin: *KI.MIN.*
If a woman gives birth, and at birth (the child) is already afflicted
with a bump of flesh: *KI.MIN.*

(3) If an omen has two or more apodoses, *KI.MIN* can be used to indicate

repetition of the protasis of that omen. There is an example of this in

Tablet I, l. 11:

If a woman gives birth to a wild bull: the king will have no opponent;
KI.MIN: there will be a despotic king in the land.

In the astrological series *Enūma Anu Enlil* as published by Virolleaud[2]

repetition in protases is usually indicated by *MIN* alone (used in the

same way as *KI.MIN*), and repetition of a preceding apodosis is indicated

by *ŠU.BI.DIL.ÀM* (Virolleaud transliterates this as *ŠU.BI.AŠ.A.AN*). However,

in the tablets published by Reiner[3] we find examples of *KI.MIN* in

apodoses:

1. E. Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu, TCS V*, Locust Valley, N.Y.
   (1970).
2. Ch. Virolleaud, *Astrologie Chaldéene*, Fasc. 1-14, Paris (1908-1912).
3. E. Reiner & D. Pingree, *Enūma Anu Enlil: Tablets 50&51, Bib. Mes. 2(2)*,
   Malibu, Calif. (1981).

(2) To repeat the apodoses of the previous omen:

III.14a   If the stars are visible at sunrise: in that year rain and flood
will persist.
III.14b   If planets, either three or four, stand at sunrise one after
another: *KI.MIN.*

(3) To repeat the protasis of the same omen:

III.19   The star of Ningursu: the verdict (?) will be ....; *KI.MIN* little;
KI.MIN will perish.

The Assyrian dream omina collection *Ziqīqu*[4] contains few examples of

KI.MIN in apodoses, and the contexts are so broken that it is not

possible to be sure of their exact significance.   However, it occurs a

number of times in protases, for example (p. 333, ll. X + 9ff):

If he carries an axe and [........
If he carries and axe and goes out in the street: ....
If *KI.MIN* and tears down a house: ....
If *KI.MIN* and tears down the *ip-pul* of a house: ....
If *KI.MIN* and tears down a door: ....

Here, again, it repeats a phrase from the previous protasis.

The series *Iqqur Ipuš*[5] provides examples of both uses of *KI.MIN* in

apodoses that we have seen so far.   However, it also contains examples

of another use, namely to repeat only a word or phrase from the

apodosis of the previous omen (§79. ll. 14ff):

If it is the month of Tešrît, and (the halo) does not have an opening
(and) the wind blows from the West: that month the country will take
refuge in the strongholds.
If it is the month of Araḫsamna, and (the halo) opens to the South: that
month the country of Elam *KI.MIN* in the strongholds.
If it is the month Kislev, and its opening is towards the North: that
month the country of Akkad *KI.MIN.*
If it is the month Ṭebet, and its opening is towards the East, that
month the country of Subartu *KI.MIN.*

This series exhibits another interesting feature.   Repetition in the

protasis is always marked by *MIN* alone, indicating repetition of a phrase

from the protasis of the previous omen.   In some cases a double *MIN* is

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4. A.L. Oppenheim, "The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near
East", *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 46 (1956), 179-353.
5. R. Labat, *Un Calendrier Babylonien des Travaux, Signes, et des Mois,*
Paris (1965).

used to indicate repetition of two phrases (§92 ll. 1ff):

If, in the month Nisan, the thunder rumbles and the earth exudes "bile":..
If, in the month Aiar, *MIN MIN* ....
If, in the month Siwan, *MIN MIN* ....

We can summarize our findings as follows:

(1) In protases *KI.MIN* indicates repetition of a phrase from the protasis

of the previous omen.

(2) In single apodoses *KI.MIN* indicates repetition of either a phrase

from the apodosis of the previous omen, or the whole apodosis.

(3) In multiple apodoses *KI.MIN* indicates repetition of the protasis of

that omen.

The Uruk Prophecy. The fact that the Uruk Prophecy contains apodosis-

like sentences, and that *KI.MIN* in apodoses can be used to repeat either

just a phrase or a whole apodosis may seem to leave the significance of

the five-fold *KI.MIN* in the Prophecy a totally open question. However,

we believe that the evidence does favour Lambert's[6] reading of it.

The one consistent feature in the use of *KI.MIN* in the omen series

studied is that it is *unambiguous.* It is quite clear what is to be

repeated from what precedes.

The relevant section of the reverse of the Uruk Prophecy reads:

7. ... After him a king will arise, but he will not provide justice in the
   land, he will not give the right decisions for the land.
8. KI.MIN KI.MIN KI.MIN KI.MIN KI.MIN He will take the property of
   Babylonia to Assyria.

In the absence of protases, the only way the the scribe of the Uruk

Prophecy could indicate unambiguously that the whole of the preceding

sentence was to be repeated five times would be to put each *KI.MIN* on a

separate line. Since he did not do this it seems best to assume that he

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6. W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic,* London (1978),
       11 note 16. He takes it to indicate repetition of phrases only.

meant that five phrases from the previous line are to be repeated. We think Goldstein' is wrong when he says that Lambert's choice of the five phrases is arbitrary. It makes good sense to divide it as he does:

arkīšu / šarru / illâmma / dīni māti ul idânu / purussê māti ul iparras

This gives five distinct thought units, three of which contain words that are common in omens, and two contain phrases that occur frequently in omens. One can see why the scribe should choose this division.

Finally, the use of a two-fold *MIN* in omen protases illustrated above provides at least a partial parallel to this five-fold *KI.MIN* and favours taking it in the way Lambert suggests.

Conclusion. In our view the above evidence favours Lambert's interpretation of l. 7 of the Uruk Prophecy.

There is an *historical consideration* which may also favour this interpretation. According to Goldstein Nabu-nasir would be one of the bad rulers referred to by the *KI.MIN*. This in not inconceivable, but the fact is that, as Brinkman puts it[9]

> "Nabonassar was able to achieve relative stability in Babylonia for almost a decade and a half and to hand on his kingdom intact to his son. Though the central government of his time could hardly be considered strong, the land was more peaceful than it had been for many years"

This, following years of strife and confusion under his predecessor, was a notable achievement, and no doubt positively appreciated by his subjects.

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7. J.A. Goldstein, "The Historical setting of the Uruk Prophecy", *JNES* 47(1988), 43-46.
8. J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, Rome (1968), 228.

APPENDIX 5. Excursus On Dating *Daniel 7&8.*

The question of the date of *Dan. 7&8* is raised by Niditch's[1] work. She sees the form of the vision account in these chapters as a further development of that found in *Zech. 1:7-17 & 6:1-8,* and implicit in this is the assumption that these chapters are from a later period than *Zechariah.* However, Niditch, commenting on the diversity of form in *Zechariah,* states that the line of development in the vision account form which she proposes is a logical one, not a chronological one, and is not evidence of a datable process[2]. Rather, the diversity is evidence of experimentation and rapid change in a time of social upheaval and religious change.

Now the fact is that the difference between the forms in *Dan. 7&8* and those in *Zech. 1:7-17 & 6:1-8* is much less than that between the most primitive and most developed forms in *Zechariah.* This could be because of a marked deceleration in the rate of change in the century or two between *Zechariah* and *Dan. 7&8,* assuming a 2nd. century date for latter. However, it could also be taken as evidence that *Dan. 7&8* come from the same period as *Zechariah,* and that instead of a unilinear development:

Amos →→→ Jeremiah →→→ Zechariah →→→ Daniel

there was a branching of traditions:

Amos →→→ Jeremiah →→→ ⟨ *Daniel*
Zechariah
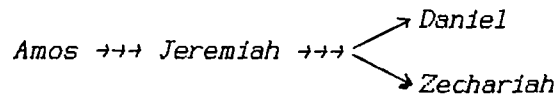
E.W. Nicholson[3] has argued that the redaction of *Jeremiah* took place amongst the Babylonian exiles. It is in redactional material in *Jeremiah* that Niditch finds the first developments away from what she calls the Stage 1 form of the vision account, with the addition of date-line and

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1.　　S. Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition, HSM 30,* Chico, Calif. (1983). See the discussion of her work above on pp. 249ff.
2.　　S. Niditch, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 73.
3.　　E.W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles,* Oxford (1970).

charge to the seer. These motifs appear in *Dan. 7&8*, but only in the most developed stage in *Zechariah*. It is therefore arguable that adaptation of the symbolic vision account form began in exilic circles and that in *Daniel* and *Zechariah* we see the result of further developments in two different traditions. These traditions need not necessarily have developed in isolation. Even if *Daniel* represents a tradition at home in Babylonia and *Zechariah* gives an insight into Judean developments, the book of *Zechariah* provides evidence of contact between Judea and Babylonia (*Zech. 6:9*; and presumably the oracle in 2:10ff (EVV 2:6ff) addressed to those in Babylon was expected to come to their attention). Hence the history of development does not provide clear evidence regarding the dating of *Dan. 7&8*.

The fact that some visions in *4 Ezra & 2 Baruch* "continue the thread from Daniel rather precisely"[4] is not really relevant as far as dating is concerned, especially since the author of *4 Ezra* is clearly dependent on *Daniel*, and the author of *2 Baruch* may well be dependent on *4 Ezra* and/or *Daniel*[5].

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4. S. Niditch, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 233.
5. G.W.E. Nickelsburgh, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, London (1981), 281ff.

APPENDIX 6. The Introductions of the Prophetic Surveys.

Longman's claim that all the Prophetic Surveys belong to the genre of "Fictional Royal Autobiography" depends on there being evidence that they have an autobiographical introduction. The evidence he cites is[1] as follows.

The Uruk Prophecy.

(1) Obv. 1 *itātu (IZKIM-MEŠ)-ú-a,* "my signs".

(2) Obv. 8 may be read as *ašaṭṭaršu,* "I shall write it". Kaufman[2] rejects this, preferring *an-na-a ša-ṭar-šu,* "this is its writing", because otherwise the *an-na* is left hanging. Longman argues that it can be explained in various ways (what precedes it is too damaged to read):

        (a) *annu,* "this".
        (b) It could be from *anna,* "yes" or "now/indeed".
        (c) It could be the end of some other word [...]-an-na.

(3) Obv. 21, "you have acquired", makes sense if embedded in a 1st. person discourse.

We think that points (2) & (3) are weak. However, even if they are granted, there remains the point, which Longman recognizes[3], that this is only half the battle. An autobiography is 1st. person <u>remembrance of the past,</u> and there is no evidence that this is what the obverse of the text contained. The 1st. person verbs could arise for any number of reasons – for example a dialogue between gods rather like that in Text B (where it is in reported speech).

The Dynastic Prophecy.

In this case Longman[4] argues that Col. I.1&2 could end in the first person subjunctive of the ventive (*-ninni*). He admits that this is "slim

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1.   T. Longman, *Fictional Akkadian Royal Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study,* Ph.D. diss., Yale (1983), 330-379.
2.   H. Hunger & S.A. Kaufman, "A New Akkadian Prophecy Text", *JAOS* 95 (1975), 371-375.
3.   T. Longman, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 351.
4.   T. Longman, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 356f.

evidence" that the text had a 1st. person introduction, let alone an autobiographical one.

Text A.

Here he sees[5] only a "hint" of a 1st. person introduction in Col. I.7, which reads *ŠEŠ.AD.ka*, "brother, your father". The "you", he argues, must correspond to an "I" as the writer/speaker/narrator.

In each case Longman tries to bolster the (very) weak evidence for the 1st. person narrative and to make the transition to autobiography by appeal to the "generic probability" argument. This takes the form: the Akkadian Prophecies all belong to the same (sub-)genre. The Marduk and Šulgi Prophecies are clearly autobiograpical. Therefore the others probably are. This is a dangerously circular argument, tending to assume what has to be proved, and to ignore the possibility of overlapping genres or sub-genres. In addition, of course, there is no evidence at all that the supposed 1st. person of the introductions of the Surveys is a royal personage, as in the case of the Speeches.

We think that Longman has failed to establish his case regarding the possible nature of the introductions of the Surveys.

There is an additional point to be considered. As Longman notes[6], the first person style is not restricted to the introduction of the Marduk Prophecy, but occurs at least six times in the rest of the text (II.26 (2x), 2'; Aššur III.1', 7'; III.21'). It also occurs in the body of the Šulgi Prophecy (III.20'f, Longman does not note this). The more fragmentary

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5. T. Longman, *op. cit.* ref. 1, 372.
6. See T. Longman, *op. cit.*, 430-435, for his readings of the text at these points. At Aššur III.1' he restores -*ia*, "he will bring [me in forevJer", where Borger restores "him" ("Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten", *BO* 28 (1971), 3-24). We think that Longman is right here.

state of this text may explain why there are not more extant 1st. person forms. There are *no* 1st. person forms extant outside of the introductions in the Prophetic Surveys. This casts further doubt on Longman's attempt to make them strict parallels to the Speeches.

In view of the very fragmentary state of the introductions of the Prophetic Surveys we think it best to remain open-minded about their nature.

APPENDIX 7. Parallels between Omen Apodoses and the Prophecies.

In some cases the parallel phrase occurs in more than one omen. In each case only one occurrence is noted in astrological and/or non-astrological omens. See pp. 68f for the principles followed in selection of the parallels and discussion of the more doubtful cases. The abbreviations used in this appendix are:

ACh	Ch. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, Paris (1909).
AChS	Ch. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne, Supplement*, Paris (1910)
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung.*
CT	*Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum.*
Izbu	E. Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu*, Locust Valley, N.Y. (1970).
Iqqur	R. Labat, *Un Calendrier Babylonien des Travaux des Signes et des Mois*, Paris (1965).
KAR	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts.*
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.*
L	R. Largement, "Contribution à l'Étude des Astres Errants dans l'Astrologie Chaldéenne (I)", *ZA* 52 (1957) 235-264.
R1	E. Reiner, *The Venus Tablet of Ammisaduqa*, Malibu (1975).
R2	E. Reiner, *Enuma Anu Enlil, Tablets 50&51*, Malibu (1981).
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale.*
TCL	*Textes Cunéiform du Louvre.*
Th	R.C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, London (1900).
YOS 10.	A. Goetze, *Old Babylonian Omen Texts*, New Haven (1966).

The Marduk Prophecy

II.3	*aḫu aḫašu ikkal*	
	aḫu aḫašu ikkal	*L* 21.107f (astro.)
II.4	*rū'ā rū'āšu ina kakki irassib*	
	rū'ā rūt'āšu ...]	*ACh* Adad 12.1.2 (astro.)

II.9   *nēšu alaktam iparrasū*

        nēše išeggûma alaktu ipparas   *L* 17.93 (astro.)

        nēšu innadarma alakta iparras   *AfO* 26 p.52 1.12 (ext.)

II.10   *kalbū išeggù(?)ma*

        kalbē išeggûma   *AChS* Ištar 37.iii.32 (astro.)

        kalbū išeggù   *RA* 40 p.85 1.11 (ext.)

II.10f *nišī unaššakū mala unaššakū ul iballuṭū imuttū*

        amēlūtu ... unaššakū ša unaššakū ul [iballuṭ]   *AChS* Ištar 37.iii.32f (astro.)

Aššur   *[ūmī pa]llêšu irrikā*
III.8'

        šarru ūmīšu irrikū   *R2* 13.4 (astro.)

        ūmī rubî irrikā   *Izbu* 10.49' (birth)

Aššur   *rubû šu idannimma mah[ira la] [irašši]*
IV.4

        šar Subarti idannimma mahira la irašši   *Th* 88 obv. 11f (astro.)

        šar māti idannin / mahira la irašši   *Izbu* 4.55/2.50' (birth)

III.8'f *dīš(?) kuṣṣi ana ebūri dīš(?) ebūri ana kuṣṣi uštabarra*

        dīš kuṣṣi ana ebūri dīs ebūri ana kuṣṣi uštabarra   *L* 20.109ff (astro.)

III.10'f *ebūr māti iššir mahiru idammiq*

        ebūr māti iššir mahira napša mātu ikkal   *ACh* Sin 25.35 (astro.)

        ebūr māti iššir   *RA* 40 p.82 1.17 (astro.)

III.12 *dalhātu izakkâ lemnētu inammirā*

        išātum inammirū dalhātum izakkâ   *Th* 186 rev. 3 (astro.)

The Šulgi Prophecy

IV.3'   *epiš ekalli šaši inamziq*

        bēl bīti šuati inamziq   *CT* 38 12.79 (building omen)

IV.4'   *rubû šū marušta immar*

        [ekal]lu marušta immar   *YOS* 10 42.i.18 (ext.)

IV.7'   *ṭāhazu u qablum ul iparrasū*

        ṭāhazu u qablum ippušū   *CT* 30 20 Rm 570 rev. ii.2 (ext.)

IV.9'   *aḫu aḫašu ikkal*

             aḫu aḫašu ikkal   *L* 21.107f (astro.)

IV.10'f   *nišū mārišina ana kaspi ipaššarā*

             nišū mārišina ana kaspi ipaššarā   *ACh* Sin 25.6 (astro.)
                                                                  Izbu 1.130 (birth)

IV.12'   *mātātu ištēniš inneššā*

             mātātu inneššī   *Iqqur* 73.11 (astro.)
                                                                  CT 40 7 K2285+ 1.55
                                                                  (house omen)

IV.15'   *ummu eli mārtiša bābša iddil*

             ummu eli mārtiša bābša iddil   *Izbu* 1.50 (birth)

V.6   *[ru'u]a ru'uasu ina kakki uḫallaq*

             ru'ua ru['uašu ...]   *ACh*   Adad   12.1.2
                                                                  (astro.)

V.24   *nindabê ilī rabûti ukân*

             nindabê ilāni išakkan   *L* 8.34 (astro.)

Text B

7f.   *[ešātu] ušteššera dalḫātum izakkâ*

             ešātum(!) ušteššera dalḫātum izakkâ   *AChS* 33.56f (astro.)
             (text: *ekātum*)

10.   *lapnūti išarrû mār šarûti ilappinū*

             lapnu išarra / šarû ilappin   *KUB* 37 168 rev. 6/4
                                                                  (ext.)

13.   *šarru māssu ušazzaqa*

             girra nakiri māta ušazzaqa   *ACh   Sin   35.28*
                                                                  (astro.)
             amīlu šū šarru ušazzaqšu   *CT* 39 49.44 (animal
                                                                  omen)

13.   *šar Akkadê šipiršu ul ikaššad*

             šar Akkadê šipiršu la (i)ka[ššad]   *L* 10.45 (astro.)

14.   *mār šarri ... mātu ištēniš ibbalakkassu*

             mātu ištēniš ibbalakkat   *Izbu* 11.139' (birth)

             rubû māssu ibbalakkassu   *Iqqur* 87.6 (astro.)
                                                                  RA 44 p.16 1.2 (ext.)

15.   *šarru u malikišu ina ekalli inâr*

             šarru ina ekallišu idâkūšu   *Izbu* 2.59' (birth)

contd.

15.   *ālu itti āli bītu itti bītti inakkir(?)*

   ālu itti āli bītu itti bītti inakkir   *CT* 27 1.17 (birth)

16.   *aḫu aḫašu ru'ua ru'uašu ina kakki irassip*

   aḫum aḫašu iddak   *RA* 27 23.30 (ext.)
                ACh   Sin   24.23
                (astro.)
       ru'ua ruſ'uašuﬞ   *ACh*   Adad   12.i.2
                (astro.)

23.   *kakki ᵈIrra dannu ina māti išakkan*

   kakki ᵈIrra dannu ina māti ibašši   *L* 5.27f (astro.)

23f.   *nišu māti ... ḫušaḫḫa īmurā damqa immarā*

   nišē ša ḫušaḫḫa imurā pašaḫa immarā   *ACh*   Ištar   20.97
                (astro.)

24.   *taqtīt palê nazaq māti*

   taqtīt palê nazaq māti   *ACh* Sin 19.7 (astro.)
                CT 39 21.155 (river
                omen)

26.   *kussû kussâ idarris*

   kussû kussâ idarris   *Izbu* 6.17 (birth)

29.   *Ešnunna uššab*

   Ešnun uššab   *ACh*   Adad   6.7
                (astro.)

(Here *wašābu* = 'to be inhabited', as in *CT* 39 10 K149+ 1.24 (Šumma Ālu))

38.   *māſtu bēla šﬞanâ*

   mātu bēla šanâ   *Izbu* 5.80 (birth)

PBS 13 84:

obv. 26.   *mātum šubtam neḫtam uššab*

     mātum šubtam neḫtam uššab   *YOS 10* 20.13 (ext.)
                Izbu 4.54 (birth)
                ACh   Šamaš   14.18
                (astro.)

obv. 32.   *rū'u rū'ā(?)šu*

     rū'ā rūſ'āšuﬞ   *ACh*   Adad   12.i.2
                (astro.)

rev. 6.   *ḫušaḫḫu dannu ina māti ibašši*

     ḫušaḫḫu dannu ina māti ibašši   *KAR* 427 rev. 28
                (ext.)

rev. 8.   *išpikū rīqūti [...*

            išpikū rīqūti imallû   *Th* 207 rev. 3f
                                             (astro)
                                           CT 38 15.40 (house omen)

rev. 9.   *nišū ša ḫušaḫḫa īmurā akala napša ikkalā*

             nišū ša sunqa īmurā akala napša ikkalā   81-2-4 234 rev. 1
                                             (? omen)
                         mātu akala napša ikkalā   *KAR* 423.i.23 (ext.)

rev.12.   *ekatu dalḫatu ašātu la[...*

             ekātum ušteššerā dalḫātum izakkâ   *ACh* Ištar 33.56f
                                             (astro.)

rev. 13. *nišū mārīšina ana kaspi ipaššarā*

             nišū mārīšina ana kaspi ipaššarā   *ACh* Sin 25.6 (astro.)
                                           Izbu 1.130 (birth)

rev. 16. *ḫušaḫḫi še'i u tibni ibašši*

             ḫušaḫḫi še'i u tibni ina māti ibašši   *R1* 30a (astro.)

Text A

obv. II.3 *mātu aburriš uššab*

             mātu aburriš uššab   *Izbu* 6.12 (birth)
                                         Th 12 obv. 6
                                         (astro.)

obv. II.3 *libbi māti iṭâb*

             libbi mati iṭâb   *Th* 124 obv. 7
                                         (astro.)

obv. II.3 *nišū [nuḫša] [immarā]*

             ummāni nuḫša immar   *Th* 31 obv. 5
                                         (astro.)
             nišu māti nuḫša immarā   *CT* 39 28.6 (falcon omen)

obv. II.4 *šarū iṭibbu (illakū)*
 (III.5)
             šarāni ṭābūti illakū   *R2* 2.13 (astro.)

obv. II.5 *ṣer'û bilassa ut[tar]*

             ṣer'û bilassa uttar   *CT* 40 48.38 (falcon omen)
             ṣer'û bilassa inašši   *R2* 10.18 (astro.)

obv. II.7 *zunnū u mīlū ibaššu*

             zunnū u mīlū ibaššu   *R1* 5 (astro.)

obv. II.8 *rubû šū ina bārti ina kakki iddâk*

        rubû [..ina] bārti iddâk   *CT* 40 36.48
                                            (accident omen)

obv. II.14 *šannumma ša šumšu la nabû*

        mamman ša šumšu la nabû   *TCL* 6 10.9 (birth)

obv. II.15 *kabtūtišu ina kakki igammar*

        rabûtišu ina kakki igammar   *CT* 39 29.30 (falcon
                                            omen)

obv. II.18 *nišū sūnqa danna immarā*

        mātu sūnqa danna immar   *Izbu* 6.7 (birth)

obv. II.19 *ūmūšu ikarrû*

        ūmūšu ikarrû   *Iqqur* 81.2 (astro.) &
                                            38.4 (non-astro.)

obv. II.21 *nārāti sakiki umallû*

        ⁿᵃʳPurattu sakiki umallû   *AChS* Sin 15.24
                                            (astro.)

obv. III.3 *nišūšu nuhša*

        nuhuš nišī   *Th* 181 obv. 2
                                            (astro.)

obv. III.6 *alpū ina ṣēri aburriš [irabbiṣū]*

        [ar]ḫi ina ṣēri aburriš irabbiṣā   *L* 20.109f (astro.)

obv. III.7 *dīš kuṣṣi ana ebūri dīš ebū[ri ..*

        dīš kuṣṣi ana ebūri dīš ebūri ana kuṣṣi uštabarri L 20.109ff
                                            (astro.)

rev. II.6 *ana Akkadê nukurtu [...*

        nukurātu ina māti ibaššiā   *Iqqur* 83.2 (astro.)
                                            RA 44 p.17 1.34
                                            (ext.)

rev. II.14 *nišū limutta immar*

        mātu limutta immar   *ACh* Sin 29.21
                                            (astro.)

rev. II.15 *šarûti ilappinu lapnūti išarrû (v.* Borger *AfO* 18(1957/8), 118)

        šarû ilappin / lapnu išarra   *KUB* 37 168 rev. 4/6
                                            (ext.)

rev. II.17 *ummu itti mārtiša kittu itami*

        māru itti abīšu kittu itamu   *Th* 124 obv. 2
                                            (astro.)

The Dynastic Prophecy

II.9 *arkišu māršu ⟨ina⟩ kussê u[ššab(?)]*

arkišu māršu kussâ [uššab(?)]   *Th* 239.3 (astro.)

(Thompson restores *iṣabbat* but the context, a natural death of the king, favours *uššab*.)

II.16 *ana Akkadî uṣamm[ar]*

ana māti uṣammara   *CT* 20 33.109 (ext.)

II.22f *šarru šū eli māti idannim[a ...] mātāti kalašina biltum [...*

šarru idannima [matāti kaJlašina bilta inašššu KAR 423 l.29
                                                  (ob. sacr. vic.)

III.5 *šarra šâšu ša rēs[i ...*

ša rēšišu itebbima idâkšu   *Izbu* 21.8 (birth)

III.22 *libbi mati [iṭab(?)]*

libbi mati iṭâb   *Th* 1.3 (astro.)

The Uruk Prophecy

obv. 23f *šarru ina ekallišu ana minât arḫi utassar*

šarru ina ekallišu ana minât arḫi utassar *Th* 166 obv. 3f
                                                  (astro.)

rev. 6 *nāri sakiki umallu*

ⁿᵃᵣPurattu sakiki umallu   *AChS* Sin 15.24
                                                  (astro.)

rev. 14 *bītāt ili ana ašrišina utâr*

bītāt ilani ana ašrišina utâr   *L* 5.35f (astro.)

rev. 15 *nāri tamarāti tuḫdu u ḫegallu umalli*

tuḫdu u ḫegallu māti ibašši *TCL* 6.1 rev. 6 (ext.)

APPENDIX 8. English Translations of the Akkadian Prophecies.

THE MARDUK PROPHECY

This translation is based on the Akkadian text provided by: R. Borger,

"Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten", *BO* 28 (1971), 3-24.

Col. I

1   O Ḫarḫarnim, Ḫaiašum,
2   Anum, Enlil,
3   Nudim[mud], Ea,
4   Muati(?), Nabium,
5   You great gods, hear my secrets(?)!
6   When I have girded my loins(?) I intend to speak my words(?).
7   I am Marduk, the great lord,
8   the wanderer(?), the scout (look-out), who goes round about in the mountains,
9   the wandering(?), the scouting(?) one who entered upon(?) the lands,
10   who in every land
11   from sun-rise to sun-set
12   went around, I ...
13   I gave a command and I went to the land of Ḫattu.
14   I interrogated(?) the Hittites.
15f   I set up the throne of my Anu-splendour there.
17   During the 24 years I spent there,
18f   I established there the merchants of the residents of Babylon.
20   Its (Ḫattu's) [... ...] property and its goods
21f   used to travel(?) [to] Sippar, Nippur [and] Babylon.
23   [A king of Babylon(?)] arose
24   and took(?) [my hand(?)]
25   ...[... ...] Babylon,
26   ...[... ...] was in order(?)
27   The market place of [Babylon(?)] was good.
28   ... the crown of my Anu-splendour
29   and the statue ... [... ...]
30   water, rain (? wind?) [... ...]
31   three days [... ...]
32   The crown of my Anu-splendour [... ...]
33   and the statue [... ...]
34   for my body ... [... ...]
35   I turned home. [Regarding Babylon I said,]
36   Bring [your dues],
37   your lands [to Babylon!]
38   [... ...]
Lacuna
1'   [... ...]
2'   [... ...]
3'   [...] Baltil was good(?) [...]
4'   [...] Ekur(-)Baltil [...]
5'   Its [sanctuaries he causes] [to shine] like precious stones.
6'   Luxuriant [...] the [...] I(?) gave [to it(?)]
7'   [...] .... [...]
8'   [(each) month, day and] year ... [I blessed (it)]
9'   After I had girded [the loins(?)] of the people of Enlil together with him

10' [...] I endowed [him(??)] with wings like those of the birds.
11' He filled every land.
12' I fulfilled [my days(?)], I
13' [...] of destinies I presented to him.
14' [...] ... I gave him a firm promise.
15' I turned home. Concerning Babylon I said,
16' Bring your dues, your lands,
17' to Babylon! ...

18' I am Marduk, the great lord,
19' the lord of destinies and decisions, I ...
20' Who has undertaken such a journey?
21' Just as(?) I have been away, I have returned home. I gave the command.
22' I went to the land of Elam,
23' the gods went altogether with me. I myself gave the command.
24' The food-offerings of the temple I myself stopped.
25' Šakkan (the cattle-god) and Nisaba (the cereal-god) I caused to ascend to heaven.

Col. II

1   Siris (the beer-god) made the heart of all the land sick.
2   The corpses of the people blocked the gates.
3   Brothers consume one another,
4   friends kill one another with the sword.
5f   The nobles place a hand on (stretch out a hand to) the poor.
7   The sceptre becomes short. Bad times come to the land.
8   Usurpers(??) diminish the land.
9   Lions block the way.
10   Dogs [become mad] and bite the people.
11   All whom they bite do not recover, but die.
12   I fulfilled my days, I fulfilled my years.
13f Then I longed after my city Babylon and Ekur-Sagila.
15   I called(?) the goddesses together.
16   I commanded, Bring your dues
17   your lands, to Babylon!
18   ....

---

19   A king of Babylon will arise.
20   The astounding(?) temple
21   Ekur-Saggil he will renew.
22   The ground-plan of heaven and earth
23   he will illustrate in Ekur-Saggil.
24   Its height he will change. Tax-exemption
25   he will institute for my city Babylon.
26f He will take my hand and cause [me] to enter into my city Babylon and Ekur-Sagila for ever.
28   The (processional) ship Matusa he will renew,
29   its rudder filled with ṣarīru-metal(?),
30   its quarters(?) overlaid(?) with pašallu-metal.
31   Sailors, who operated it,
32   he caused to embark on it.
33   They were stationed(?) on the right and left opposite each other.
34   A king(?) who like the stars of Ekur-Sagila
35   [...   ...] ... [...]
Lacuna

contd.

1'   [...] ... [...]
2'   [he will make to go in] for ever.
3'   Madaḫḫedu [he will renew],
4'   its rudder filled with ṣarīru-metal,
5'   its quaters(?) [overlaid with pašallu-metal(?)].
6'   Sailors [who operate it]
7'   [he will] [cause to embark] on it.
8'   Nabium, the son [... ...]
9'   It goes, the [... ...]
10' and Ekur [... ...]
11' for ever [... ...]
12' This prince ... [... ...]

13' Ekur ... [... ...]
14' river of the gods [... ...]
15' pure water [... ...]
16' Ekur ... [... ...]
17' The hand of the deity Nin[... ...]

Aššur III

1'   [He will] cause [him to go in] for ever.
2'   ....
3'   ....
4'   ... he will strengthen.
5'   Ekur ....
6'   Its(His) ... he will give to him(it).
7'   [This ruler] will experience the favour of god,
8'   [the days/years] of his reign(?) will be long.
9'   [Ekur-]Egišnuga[l]
10' he will cause to sparkle like precious stones.
11' [The temple(?)] of Ningal,
12' the temple(?) of Sîn,
13' with(?) his captured(??) silver, property(?)
14' and goods
15' on the gates of the deity [...]
16' ... [...]

Aššur IV

1   With(?) Sîn [...]
2   from Egišnugal [...]
3   the land altogether [...]
4   This ruler will be powerful and [have no rivals].

----

5   He will attend to the city, the dispersed he will gather.
6   Ekur-Egalmaḫ and the (other) sanctuaries
7   he will cause to sparkle like precious stones. Ningal,
8   Gula and Kurnunītum(?),
9   from the city of Ḫariddu(?), they
10   and the temples, the rooms of their delight,
11   he will exchange(?).
12   This ruler will cause his land to eat luxuriant plants.
13   His days will be long.
14ff Unclear
17   [...] cities.
18   The sanctuaries he will cause to sparkle like precious stones.
19   The gods altogether

20   he will exchange(??).
21f The scattered land he will gather and consolidate.
23   The gate of heaven
24   will become(?) permanently open.

Col. III

1'   [... ...] will become(?) open.
2'   [... will not(?)] die(?), but remain(?) alive.
3'   [...] will ... happen.
4'   [...] ... will be permanently fixed.
5'   Ningirsu will rule.
6'   The rivers will give fish.
7'   The meadow(?)-field will give full yield.
8'   The winter-grass will last until summer,
9'   the summer-grass will last until winter.
10'   The harvest of the land will prosper, the market value will be
      favourable.
11'   Evil will come under control,
12'   confusion will be cleared up, mischief will be put right.
13'   Clouds will always exist.
14'   A brother will have compassion on his brothers.
15'   A son will venerate his father like a god.
16'   A mother [will] a daughter [... ...]
17'   The bride will be garlanded(?), her [man] she will revere.
18'   Compassion will always exist between people.
19'   The husband/man, his offspring [...] will be established.
20'   This ruler will rule all the lands.
_____
21'   But I, all you gods,
22'   have an agreement with him. He will destroy Elam.
23'   Its cities he will destroy,
24'   its fortresses he will ...
25'   The "great king" of Dēr
26'   he will cause to rise from his position which is unsuitable for him.
27'   He will remedy his desolate state.
28'   His misfortune [he will] him/to him ... his hand he will grasp
29'f and cause him to enter for ever into Dēr and Ekur-Dimgalkalamma.

Col. IV

1'   [... ...]
2'   ...[... ...]
3'   40 litres [... ...]
4'   40 litres [... ...]
5'   10 litres flour [... ...]
6'   1 litre [... ...]
7'   1 litre honey, 1 litre butter,
8'   1 litre dried figs, 1 litre raisins,
9'   1 litre cooking oil(?),
10'   1 litre good .....
11'   1 regular sheep,
12'   A fattened calf,
13'   will be burned to breath(?) and clouds.
14'   Each month, day, and year ..... I will bless him.
_____
15'   O Ḫaḫarnim, Ḫaiašum, complete.
_____

16' I god Šulgi.
     Subscript:
17' Copy of a writing-board, an examplar from Babylon.   Written and
     collated.
     Stamp:
18' The palace of Aššurbanipal
19' king of the world, king of the land of Aššur.

THE ŠULGI PROPHECY

This translation is based on the Akkadian text provided by: R. Borger,

"Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten", *BO* 28(1971), 3-24.

Col. I

1   I, god Šulgi,
2   beloved of the god Enlil and the goddess Ninlil.
3   The hero god Šamaš has spoken to me,
4   my lady goddess Ištar grants me a revelation.
5   ... day and ... [...]
6f   Whatever my father(?) had learned from the world of the great gods
     [...]
8   The city of Ur wants to sing(?) continuously,
9   the city of Larsa wants [...]
10   They climb down from its roofs [...]
11   from the roofs of the gatehouses [...]
12   wild animal and wild ass [...]
13-17   Too little preserved; likewise 1'-18'

Col. II

Lacuna of at least 13 lines
1'   Traces only
2'   I ruled the four corners of the world
3'   from sunrise
4'   to sunset, I ...
5'   I established the city of Nippur-Duranki.
6'   When I spoke even the gods obeyed me.
7'   With my special care(?)
8'   I have built these walls
9'   and made them firm.
10' It spoke to me, Enlil, Build ...!
11' It spoke to me, Enlil ...
12' and I broke off ...
13' It spoke to me, Enlil,
14' Give battle!
15' It spoke to me, Enlil
16' and I broke off ...
17' In his family(??)
18' over the world ...
19' It spoke to me, Ninlil,
20' Settle(?) god Humba
21' of the king of Susa(?)!

Col.III

A small lacuna
1'   [... ...]
2'   [... ...]
3'   [...] Babylon,
4'   [...] inhabitants of Nippur
5'   [and(?)] Babylon
6'   who [...] should not stand(? be scattered?).
7'   [... will] give to him
8'   [sceptre and(?)] (symbols of) rule.
9'   [... will] give to him
10'   [...] world
11'   [since(?)] the inhabitants of Nippur
12'   [and Babylon(?)] will have been careless
13'   and will not have declared right judgement
14'   on the righteous(? poor?).
15'f This ruler will experience woe and pain.
17'   To the king of Babylon
18'   and Nippur
19'   are given all the lands.
20'f Some king, who will come after me from ...
22'f The land of Elam will fall(?) into complete confusion in the east.
24'   The Hittites [... ...]
25'   Babylon [... ...]
26'-29' Too damaged to read.
Lacuna of about 17 lines

Col. IV

Lacuna of about 17 lines
1'   [...] will be built(?)
2'   At the outskirts of Babylon
3'   the builder of that palace will complain.
4'   This ruler will experience evil.
5'   His heart will not be glad.
6'   During his reign
7'   battle and strife
8'   will not cease.
9'   During this reign brother will devour brother,
10'f The people will sell their children for money,
12'   The whole land will fall into anarchy,
13'   husband will abandon wife,
14'   and wife abandon husband,
15'   mother will bar the door to daughter.
16'   The property of Babylon will go
17'   to Subartu (Assyria)
18'   and to the land/city of Assyria.
19'   The king of Babylon
20'ff   will deliver up in Assyria the contents of his palace, his
          property, to the ruler of Assyria
23'   For the future,
24'   forever Baltil

_____

A small lacuna

contd.

Col. V

```
1    [...] ....
2    [...] and(?) criminal courts(?)
3    Not present?
4    will be brought about.
5    Friends will strike one another down with the sword,
6    colleagues will destroy one another with the sword.
7    [The lands(?)] will all collapse.
8    [the people (? the great ones?)] will diminish.
9    Nippur will be destroyed.
10   This [ruler(?)] will raise his head (in triumph).
11   A/the city, which lies on the bank of the Tigris
12   and/or the Euphrates [...]
13   At Enlil's command
14   the reign of the king of Babylon
15   will come to and end [...]
16   Whoever in [...]
17   will raise himself(?) [...]
18   the land [...]
```

```
19   raised (in triumph) Badtibira
20   he will restore.
21   Giršu and Lagaš
22   will be renewed.
```

```
23   The shrines of the gods will be rebuilt.
24   The food offerings of the great gods he will establish.
25   [The ...] and the shrines/chests
26   he will restore.
27   The shrines of Nippur,
28   [Dēr(?)], Isin
29   [and Marada(?)] will be rebuilt.
30   [...] will be restored.
```

Col. VI

```
Lacuna of about 17 lines
1'    Unclear
2'    [I god Šulgi] complete.
The rest broken.
```

TEXT A

The translation given is that of A.K. Grayson & W.G. Lambert, "Akkadian

Prophecies", *JCS* 18(1964), 7-30.

Obverse.

Column I is too broken for translation.

Col. II

```
Lacuna
1    [... ...]... ...[...]
```

```
2    [A prince will arise] and rule for eighteen years.
```

<div align="right">contd.</div>

3   The land will rest secure, fare well, (and its) people will [enjoy] prosperity.

4   The gods will ordain good things for the land, favourable winds [will blow].

5   The ... and the furrow will yield abundant crops.

6   Šakkan (the god of beasts) and Nisaba (the goddess of grain) will ... in the land.

7   There will be rains and floods. The *people* of the land will enjoy themselves.

8   But that prince will be put to the sword in a revolution.

---

9   A prince will arise and rule for thirteen years.

10   There will be an Elamite attack on Akkad and

11   the *booty* of Akkad will be carried off.

12   The shrines of the great gods will be destroyed. Akkad will *suffer* defeat.

13   There will be confusion, disturbance, and disorder in the land.

14   The nobility will lose prestige. Another man who is unknown will arise,

15   seize the throne as king, and put his grandees to the sword.

16f He will fill the wadis of Ṭuplijaš, the open country and the hills, with half the extensive army of Akkad (*i.e.* they will die in battle there).

18   The people will suffer need (and) hardship.

---

19   A prince will arise but his days will be short and he will not be master of the land.

---

20   A prince [will arise] and rule for three years.

21   [... ...] the canals will be full of mud.

22   [...   ...] ...

23   [...   ...] ...

Lacuna

Col. III

Lacuna

1   ...[...   ...]

2   That king [will rule the] (Four) Quaters [... ...]

3   His people will *be filled with* prosperity [... ...]

4   He will re-establish the regular offerings to the Igigi which had ceased [... ...]

5   Favourable winds will blow, abundance ... [... ...]

6   The cattle [will lie down] in green pastures.

7   The winter-grass [will last] until summer (and) the summer-grass [will last until winter.]

8   The offspring of the beasts [... ...]

---

9   A prince will arise and rule for eight years.

10   ... [...   ...]

11   ... [...   ...]

Lacuna

Reverse

Column I is too broken for translation.

Col. II

Lacuna

1   [...   ...]...[...   ...]
----
2   A prince will arise and [rule] for three years.
3   The remainder of the people [...   ...]
4   The cities will be devastated, dwellings [...   ...]
5   There will be rebellions and [...   ...]
6   Hostilities against Akkad [...   ...]
7   The rites of Ekur and Nippur ...[...   ...]
8   ...   ... Nippur [...   ...]
9   The Amorites [*will put*] that prince to the sword.
----
10   A prince will arise and rule for eight years.
11   The shrines of the gods ... [...   ...]
12   [*He will not restore*] the rites of the great gods. [...   ...]
13   [*There will be no*] rains or floods. [...   ...]
14   The people will suffer misfortune.   [...   ...]
15   The rich *will be impoverished*, the poor will become rich, ... [...   ...]
16   *The rich man* will *beg from* (lit. 'extend his hand to') the poor man,
     [...   ...]
17   [...] ... mother will speak *truthfully* to daughter [...   ...]
18   [...] will dwell and the fortunes of the land and [*people will have a*
     turn for the worse.]
19   [...] ... will ravage the land (and) the king [*will bring*] *hardship* upon
     the land.
20   [...   ...] ... [...   ...]
Lacuna

THE URUK PROPHECY

The translation is that given by H. Hunger & S.A. Kaufman, "A New Akkadian

Prophecy Text", *JAOS* 95 (1975), 371-375.

Obverse

1   ...my signs
2   ....
3   ....
4   ...they will be made
5   ...it was made
6   ....
7   ...it passed
8   ...this is its writing
9   ...there will be hard time in the land
10   ...his name
11   ...they stood
12   [...the son of the king] will not succeed to the throne of his father.
13   [...someone] of Uruk will seize the throne.
14   ...He will restore the [temples(?)]
15   ...He will bring about destruction.
16   ...he will *estabalish*
17   ...he laid in(to) Dēr
18   ...he will be shut up
19   ...he will live in Dēr
20   ...he will go to Dēr

21 ...you(pl.) have acquired
22 ...its omen is unavoidable(?)
23 ...The king will be shut up in his palace for several
24 months.

Reverse

1 [Somebody] will arise and come to rule the devastated part of the land.
2 ...from the Sealand, who had ruled in Babylon.
3 After him a king will arise, but he will not provide justice in the land, he will not give the right decisions for the land.
4 He will remove the ancient protective goddess of Uruk from Uruk and make her dwell in Babylon;
5 a goddess who is not the protective goddess of Uruk he will make dwell in her sanctuary and devote to her people not belonging to her.
6 He will impose heavy tax on the people of Uruk. He will devastate Uruk, fill the canals with mud,
7 and abandon the cultivated fields. After him a king will arise, but he will not provide justice in the land, he will not give the right decisions for the land.
8 Ditto ditto ditto ditto ditto He will take the property of Babylonia to Assyria.
9 After him a king will arise, but he as well will not provide justice in the land, he will not give the right decisions for the land.
10 He will subdue the world, and all the world will tremble at the mention of his name.
11 But after him, a king will arise in Uruk who will provide justice in the land and will give the right decisions for the land.
12 He will establish the rites of the cult of Anu in Uruk.
13 He will remove the ancient protective goddess of Uruk from Babylon and let her dwell in her own sanctuary in Uruk.
14 The people belonging to her he will devote to her. He will rebuild the temples of Uruk and restore the sanctuaries of the gods.
15 He will renew Uruk. The gates of Uruk he will build of lapis lazuli. He will fill the rivers and fields with abundant yield.
16 After him his son will arise as king in Uruk and become master over the world.
17 He will exercise rule and kingship in Uruk and his dynasty will be established forever.
18 The kings of Uruk will exercise rulership like the gods.

THE DYNASTIC PROPHECY

The translation is that given by A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto (1975), 30-37. Although there are almost certainly two columns missing between cols. 2&3, we retain Grayson's original column numbering.

Col. I

Lacuna
1-6 Too broken for translation

----

7   [... ...] later time
8   [... ...] will be overthrown.
9   [... ...] will come to an end.
10 [... .ar]my of Assyria
11 [... ...] ...
12 [... ...] will attack and
13 [... ...] Babylon, will attack and
14 [... ...] will be overthrown.
15 [... ...] he will bear ... and
16 [... ...] ... he will come and
17 [... ...] he will seize
18 [... ...] he will destroy.
19 [... ...] he will ...
20 [... ...] he will bring [exten]sive [booty] into Babylon.
21 [... ... Esagil] and Ezida
22 [... ...] he will decorate.
23 [... ...] he will build the palace of Babylon.
24 [... ...] ... Nippur to Babylon
25 [for N year]s he will exercise sovereignty.

Col II

1   ... [... ...]
2   ... [... ...]
3   ... [... ...]
4   *will go up from* [... ...]
5   will overthrow [... ...]
6   For three years [he will exercise sovereignty].
7   Borders and ... [... ...]
8   For his people he will [... ...]
9   After his (death) his son will [ascend] the throne ([...])
10 (But) he will not [*be master of the land*].

----

11 A re[bel] prince will arise ([...])
12 The dynasty of Harran [*he will establish*].
13 For seventeen years [he will exercise sovereignty].
14 He will oppress (lit. 'be stronger than') the land and the *festival*
    of *Esa[gil* he will *cancel*].
15 All the lands [*will bring to him*] tribute.
16 He will plot evil against Akkad.

----

17 A king of Elam will arise, the sceptre ...[...]
18 He will remove him from his throne and ([...])
19 He will take the throne and the king who arose (from) the throne
    ([...])
20 The king of Elam will change his place ([...])
21 He will settle him in another land ([...])
22 That king will oppress (lit. 'be stronger than') the land an[d (...)]
23 All the lands [*will bring to him*] tribute.
24 During his reign Akkad [will not enjoy] a peaceful abode.

Col. III

1   [...] ... [... ...]
2   ... kings ... [... ...]
3   Which/of his father ... [... ...]
4   For two years [he will exercise sovereignty].

5   a eunuch [*will murder*] that king.
6   *Any* prince [*will arise*],
7   will attack and [seize] the thr[one].
8   For five years [he will exercise] sovereignty.
9   The army of the Hanaeans [...]
10   will attack ... ... [...]
11   [*The Hanaeans will bring about the defeat of*] his army.
12ff They will plunder and rob him. Afterwards he (the king) will refit [his] army and ra[ise] his weapons.
15   Enlil, Šamaš, and [*Marduk*]
16   will go at the side of his army [and]
17   the overthrow of the army of the Hanaean he will [bring about]
18   He will carry off his extensive booty and
19   [*bring (it)*] into his palace.
20   The people who *had* [experienced] misfortune
21   [*will enjoy*] well-being.
22   The mood of the land [will be a happy one].
23   Tax exemption [... ...]
Lacuna

Col. IV

Lacuna (about six lines)
1   [... ...] ...
2   [*For N years*] he will exercise [*sovereignty*].
----
3   [... ...] ...
----
4   [... ...*will attack*] and seize the land.
5   [... ...]
6   [... ...] will be extinguished.
----
7   [... ... a secret/taboo of] the great gods
8   [You may show it to the initiated but to the uninitiat]ed you must not show (it).
9   [It is a secret/taboo of Marduk, lo]rd of the lands.
----
10   [... ...] first, tablet
11   [... ...] Munnabtum
12   [... ...] written, collated
13   [... ...] ...
14   [... ...] ...
Lacuna

TEXT B

The translation given is that of R.D. Biggs, "More Babylonian 'Prophecies'",

Iraq 29 (1967), 117-132.

1   [If the star(?)] ... rises and passes over [from] east to west, [...] ...
2   [it makes a frightful(?)] sound and the land hears, [... the ...] hear,
3   there is a sulphur [fire] with ... going along beside it,
4   (that means?): its message is by means of fire. The messenger(?) of Enlil brings greetings to Anu-rabû,
5   [a mes]senger brings the greeting of Anu-rabû to Enlil and is immediately dispatched(?) with haste, then
6   [they look(?)] (favourably) upon him(?), and (there is?) the sound of

the opening(?) of the doors of heaven which the land hears.

7   Anu [commands] Enlil to promulgate a *mīšaru*-act. A *mīšaru*-act will be promulgated, [the confusion]

8   will be corrected, the disturbance cleared, those who have dis[persed will be gathered back],

9   those who have been removed Ditto, the righteous will be re-established, and then [...] ...,

10   the poor will become rich, the rich [will become poor] ...,

11   the possessions of the lowly will be safe, the office-holder will return to his office, the [...] will denounce(?) the [...s],

12   their denouncer will be executed in the ... ot the guardhouse, variant: in the ... of the prison, and then [...].

13   The king will cause his land to complain, the king ot Akkad will not acheive his goal, the king of Babylon [will be killed].

14   The entire land will rebel against the prince who will sit on the throne and [he will not conquer his] enemies, [an enemy]

15   will murder the king and his counsellors in the palace. City [will turn against] city, family will turn against family,

16   brother will slay brother, friend will slay friend, the possessions [of his palace] will go out.

17   The housekeeper's storage container will be opened and the people of the land will plunder (it). The official of [Enlil and] the king will be slaughtered.

18   The shrines of the great gods will be obliterated, there will be a reduction of the inhabitants of Nippur by slaughter.

19   The great gods will consult one another, send word to one another, and then

20   they will restore the king's rule. The booty of Iamutbal will be carried off.

21   A son of the king who is not mentioned by the people (as a successor) will arise and seize the throne.

22   The son of the king will control the temples of the gods. There will be death among the domestic animals in the land,

23   the mighty weapon of Erra (*i.e.* plague) will be in the land and the people of the land, the children [of the king(?)] who have experienced famine

24   will experience good times whose duration(?) will be indicated to you as seven years; end of the reign, complaint of the land,

25   downfall of the king together with his family. The counsel of the land will change; the entire country will take up arms, and then

26   one throne will overthrow another. Either the great gods will consult one another and the rule of the king will be short(?), ... [...]

27   or there will be an Amorite attack against the land later on and then there will be destruction of the sanctuaries,

28   destruction of the king, variant: destruction of the land and [its] people. The (astrological) omen concerns

29   Ešnunna; Ešnunna will be (re-)inhabited, [...], the interior of the land will be happy, there will be destruction of Elam and its people

30   ... will return ... [...]

31   In Eri[du, Ad]ab, Ur, Uruk, and [Larsa there will be ...].

---

32   If a torch (*i.e.* a meteorite) flashes from the height of the sky to the horizon, [...] shines very brightly,

33   at the same time Adad thunders, the whole [day the ...]

34   cannot be seen, (and) a wind(?) between [...]

35   to Enlil, its (astrological) omen [concerns] Elam,

36   Elam will lie waste, its shrines will be destroyed,

37 [the regular offerings of the] major [gods] will cease, ... [...]
38 prices will increase, [the land] will have another [master], in the
    ninth month [the king(?) of ... will die(?)].

---

39 If a tor[ch ...]

PBS 13 84

Here we give the translation of the part of this fragment of Text B

provided by R.D. Biggs, "Babylonian Prophecies, Astrology, and A New Source

for 'Prophecy Text B'", F. Rochberg-Halton, *Language, Literature and*

History: Philological and Historical Studies presented to Erica Reiner, New

Haven, Conn. (1987), 1-14. We also give our translation of obv. ll. 1-20,

based on Biggs' transliteration. Obv. ll. 4-21 correspond to ll. 18-39

above, with omission of ll. 24, 30, 33, 36. Note the negative form of l.

14 compared with l. 29 above.

Obverse

1-3 Traces only
4   [... wi]ll be oblitera[ted ...
5   [... one an]other will send [...
6   [... booty of Iamutba]l will be carri[ed off ...
7   [... the thron]e(?) will seize [...
8   [...] dwelling in the land [...]
9   [...] who have experienced famine
10   [... ov]erthrow of the king, including his family.
11   [... throne] will overthrow thr[on]e.
12   [... attack of Amori]te against the land later on.
13   [... the omen] concerns Ešnunna
14   [... will be inhab]ited: the interior of the land will not be happy.
15   [... Ada]b, Ur, Uruk and Larsa.

---

16   [If ... ve]ry [bright]ly shining (explanation): white
17   [...] another cannot be seen,
18   [...] to Enlil
19   [...] offerings of the gods will cease.
20   [... third m]onth, 20th. day, will see its/his work(?).

---

21   [If a torch (*i.e.*, meteor) ... and] is very red (explanation): bright
22   [...], in it is ...
23   [...] ... Enlil [will speak(?)] to Anu-rabû,
24   [...], the land will be plundered,
25   [...], the land of Akkad will [...],
26   [...], the land will live in calm,
27   [..., the ...] will diminish,
28f (blank or traces)
30   [...] ... in the entire(?) land [...],
31   [...], daughter [will bar her] door to her mother,
32   [...], friend [will slay] friend,
33   [...], Nergal(?) [will ...]

34   [...] ... [...]
35   [...], Enlil [will speak(?)] to Anu-rabû, [...]
36   [confusion] will clear up, troubles [will be settled],
37   [...] strong [...]
38   [..., a man] will betray [another man], a woman will betray another
      woman, [...]
39   [...] ... [...]
40   [...], alternatively(?) a son of the king [will ...]
41   [...] will occur, collapse of temples, [...]
42   [...] ..., a severe famine [will occur ...],
43   [...] will seize, a famine(?) [...]
44   [...], (explanation): the king [...]

Reverse

1   [...] ... [...]
----
2   If a star flashes all day long [...]
----
3   If a big star which is like a torch [flashes(?)] from [... to ...],
4   its appearance is very dark, [...],
5   a star at an unexpected time ... [...],
6   there will be a severe famine in the land and a mother [will even
      bar her door to her own daughter],
7   human flesh, everything(?) there is [will be ... Enlil] will bring
      about good things [for the land],
8   and then empty storage bins [will be filled],
9   the people who experienced a famine will eat plentiful food, [...]
----
10   If the Fish has a conjunction with Jupiter [...]
----
11   If Venus enters the moon and brings the watch to an end [...]
12   woes(!), troubles, confusion (and) bad things [will occur in the land]
13   people will dispose of their children for cash, [...],
14   the king of Elam will be surrounded in his own palace, [...],
15   destruction of Elam and its people, [...],
16   there will be a dearth of barley and straw, [...],
17   human beings, cattle, sheep [...].
----
18   If The Fish [has a conjunction] with [...],
19   [...] ... strong [...],
20ff About four lines missing
24   Traces
----
25   [If...] Venus [...]
26   [...] the stars can be seen(?) [...]
27   [...] ... will rebel against the king, [...],
28   [...] among them will seize the throne and the whole land [will ...]
29   that [country] will diminish at his command, [...],

----
30   If The Wolf [has a conjunction] with The-Demon-with-a-Gaping-Mouth
31   Copy of a text from Nippur, [copied] from an earlier exemplar.

LBAT 1543

The translation given is that of R.D. Biggs, "More Babylonian 'Prophecies'",

Iraq 29(1967), 117-132.

Obverse(?)

1' Traces only
2' [the ... will be] slaughtered.

3' [...] ..., he [will die] from the sting of a scorpion.
4' [...] ..., the ruler will exercise rule for 27 years.
5' [...] ... will trample the land of Subartu. [There will be] destruction
6' [of ...], his ... will not occur, the elders of the ruler's land will [give bad] advice
7' and the ruler will bring harm upon his land,
8' [the ruler] will slaughter his [officials]. They will kill that ruler in his own town, and
9' the [šatammu-officials] will plunder his palace.

10' [If ...] the 'wolf star' [and ...] have a conjunction(?), he will die before his time.
11' [A son of the king] will not seize the [throne], the opinion (of the land) will be solidified and the ruler will [exercise rule] for 7 years.
12' [...] ... whose name is called, the ... of the land(?) [...]
13' [...] ..., his ..., brothers ... [...]
14' [...] ... will be in the land, [...]

Reverse(?)

1' Traces only
2' [...] ... in ...
3' [... the ruler] will exercise rule for [N] years.
4' [...] ..., will dwell
5' [...] he will establish a holy town(?)], ...,
6' [prices] will rise, the land of Amurru [...] ...
7' [there will b]e(?) a [...], the land of Amurru [...] ...
8' [...] their [...], friend [will kill friend(?)] (there will be) plague(?).
9' [...] ... his son will not seize the throne.

10'-15' Too damaged to translate.

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