

## Mesopotamian Civilization and the Origins of the New Testament

In this groundbreaking study, Robin Baker investigates the contribution ancient Mesopotamian theology made to the origins of Christianity. Drawing on a formidable range of primary sources, Baker's conclusions challenge the widely held opinion that the theological imprint of Babylonia and Assyria on the New Testament is minimal, and what Mesopotamian legacy it contains was mediated by the Hebrew Bible and ancient Jewish sources. After evaluating and substantially supplementing previous research on this mediation, Baker demonstrates significant direct Mesopotamian influence on the New Testament presentation of Jesus and particularly the character of his kingship. He also identifies likely channels of transmission. Baker documents substantial differences among New Testament authors in borrowing Mesopotamian conceptions to formulate their Christology.

This monograph is an essential resource for specialists and students of the New Testament, and for scholars interested in religious transmission in the ancient Near East and the afterlife of Mesopotamian culture.

**Robin Baker** is Emeritus Professor of Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern Studies at the University of Winchester and a Fellow of University College London. He is the author of *Hollow Men*, *Strange Women: Riddles, Codes and Otherness in the Book of Judges*.

# Mesopotamian Civilization and the Origins of the New Testament

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*For Rachel, with my love, admiration and gratitude*

We believed that the completely new could be transplanted only  
from the completely old.

Béla Balázs, librettist of Béla Bartók's *Bluebeard's Castle*

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## Preface

In late seventh-century Jerusalem, as Judah found itself perched precariously between allegiance to Egypt and a looming threat from Babylon, Yahweh's people took solace in the conviction that Yahweh's city was inviolable. Solomon's temple was the visible guarantee of their God's presence and protection. Whatever happened, they would be safe. Jeremiah came to the temple to fulminate against this belief: 'Do not trust in deceptive words, "This is Yahweh's temple, Yahweh's temple, Yahweh's temple!"' (Jer 7:4).<sup>1</sup>

In denouncing their confidence, Jeremiah uses the phrase *hêkal YHWH* 'Yahweh's temple' three times. The repetition both caricatures an incantation and morbidly parodies the Trisagion of Isaiah's vision of Yahweh's *hêkāl* (Isa 6:1–3), the prophet who promised that Jerusalem would remain inviolate against the last acute threat of obliteration the nation faced from Mesopotamia. The triadic pattern is pregnant for the context; so too is the word *hêkāl* in light of what follows in Jeremiah.

*Hêkāl* is one of many contributions Mesopotamia made to the Bible. It derives originally from Sumerian É.GAL 'great house', mediated by Akkadian *ekallu* 'palace of a king, temple of a god',<sup>2</sup> and north-west Semitic (cf. Dan 5:2–3). In Assyro-Babylonian parlance, it denotes the seat of power, both national and cosmic. This signification permeates its Hebrew usage and colours its expressions in the New Testament such as the topos in Mark, Matthew and John of Jesus destroying the temple and raising it up in three days, and the climactic statement in Revelation

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, translations of biblical texts are my own.

<sup>2</sup> Postgate, 'Palast. Einleitung', 195, 199; Postgate, 'Palast A.', 218; CAD E, s.v.

(21:22), ‘I saw no temple in her, for the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb are her temple’. In 2 Timothy 2:20 the ‘great house’ is a metaphor for the Church.

For this study, *hêkâl* serves as a metaphor for divine kingship and for the Bible’s debt to Mesopotamian conceptions. Isaiah prophesied that David’s seed would be eunuchs in the *hêkâl* of Babylon’s king (Isa 39:7); the New Testament presents David’s seed as the source of everlasting life, the cosmic *hêkâl*.<sup>3</sup> We will see that the ‘great house’ has cast its shadows across the pages of the New Testament. This monograph seeks to identify and evaluate them.

This objective requires analysis of primary sources spanning two and a half millennia, from the mid-third millennium BC to the early second century AD. To keep the project to an appropriate scale for a monograph, I have focused on those aspects of Mesopotamian culture that offer the greatest potential for comparison and contrast with the New Testament’s portrayal of Jesus. They are the four primary male gods whom the exegetical literature has compared with Christ because their identity is defined by sonship and kingship, namely, Ninurta, Marduk-Bêl, Nabû and Tammuz-Dumuzi. Additionally, I have considered the role and origin of omnia in the New Testament since this is a neglected but significant field with direct bearing on Christ and kingship.

It is not simply scale that challenges the project. The history of research into Mesopotamian influence on the New Testament brings its own problems. Inspired by archaeological discoveries in Mesopotamia and cuneiform decipherment, some scholars at the turn of the twentieth century concluded that all that is valuable in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament derives from Mesopotamian prototypes. The Pan-Babylonists lacked rigour and their claims were often wildly intemperate.<sup>4</sup> To this unfortunate legacy was added another. Although the Myth and Ritual school did not indulge in Pan-Babylonian gross excess, its propositions have largely failed to stand the test of time. In part this is thanks to a shift in scholarly preoccupations; in part it is due to unproven presuppositions and its adherents’ tendency to over-generalize correspondences between Mesopotamian and biblical practices and beliefs.<sup>5</sup> The combined effect has been to create a climate of scepticism around this monograph’s subject.

<sup>3</sup> Greene, ‘Jesus’, 429, 440–41, 446.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin R. Foster, ‘Pan-Babylonianism’, in *Religion Past and Present* ([http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888\\_rpp\\_SIM\\_124254](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888_rpp_SIM_124254); accessed 29/10/19).

<sup>5</sup> Rubenstein, *Sukkot*, 20–25; Lincoln, ‘Role’, 221–23.

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The spectre of Pan-Babylonism in particular has impeded the development of an informed, robust debate concerning Mesopotamian legacy. This is needed. The traumatic history does not confer the authority to dismiss sound evidence out of hand. To argue otherwise is to abstract Israel's cult and culture, and the New Testament, artificially from the intellectual landscape in which they developed.<sup>6</sup>

This monograph seeks to contribute to the debate. Its premise is that, assessed soberly, Mesopotamian data offer rich insights for New Testament exegesis. Its purpose is to answer four essential questions: what is the concrete Mesopotamian contribution to the New Testament's portrayal of Christ; in which books is it conspicuously present; to what extent was it mediated; and why did early Christian writers incorporate it?

Writing this book has been wholly absorbing and frequently daunting. To complete it I have relied on friends and colleagues who have been generous with their time, knowledge and encouragement. I owe a special debt to Robert Pynsent for his counsel and support. Neil Messer critiqued drafts of early chapters. Andreas Andreopoulos and Dirk Jongkind enriched my understanding of various topics. The Trustees of the British Museum kindly permitted the use of the images reproduced in the book.

I am particularly grateful to Beatrice Rehl, Cambridge University Press's commissioning editor, for her belief in the project *ab initio* and her expert guidance through its development. I also thank the Press's anonymous readers. Their comments improved the work considerably. For every defect it still contains, I bear responsibility.

By far my greatest debt is to my wife Rachel Forrester-Jones, who brought light into my life every day that I was researching and writing the book. It is to her that I dedicate it.

<sup>6</sup> Sanders, *Adapa*, 13–17.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> , 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992)
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AGL	<i>Analytical Greek Lexicon</i> (London: Bagster, 1900)
AHw	Wolfram von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981)
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , James B. Pritchard (ed.), 2nd rev. ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955)
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
ASM	Hermann Hunger and David Pingree, <i>Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia</i> (Leiden, Boston, MA: Brill, 1999)
Assyrians	<i>The Assyrians: Kingdom of the God Aššur from Tigris to Taurus</i> , Kemalletin Köroglu and Selim Furuh Adali (eds.) (Istanbul: YKY, 2018)
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AYB	Anchor Yale Bible
b	Babylonian Talmud
Babylone	<i>Babylone: À Babylone, d’hier et d’aujourd’hui</i> , Béatrice André-Salvini (ed.) (Paris: Hazan, 2008)

- BAK Hermann Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*, AOAT 2 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968)
- BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
- BATC Eckart Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries: Origins of Interpretation*, GMTR 5 (Münster: Ugarit, 2011)
- BBR *Bulletin for Biblical Research*
- BCM W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Creation Myths* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013)
- BCSMS *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies*
- BDB *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Francis Brown, S.R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs (eds.) (Oxford: Clarendon, 1906)
- BF *Baghdader Forschungen*
- BhH *Biblich-historisches Handwörterbuch*, 3 vols., Bo Reicke and L. Rost (eds.) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964)
- BHS *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
- Bib *Biblica*
- BIS Biblical Interpretation Series
- BJS Brown Judaic Studies
- BOQ W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Oracle Questions* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007)
- BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
- BTT A.R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, OLA 40 (Leuven: Peeters, 1992)
- BWL W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960)
- CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 21 vols. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1956–2011)
- CBC Cambridge Bible Commentary
- CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
- CCRAM *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Mediterranean Religions*, Barbetta Stanley Spaeth (ed.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- CeO *Classica et Orientalia*

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CPLM	Alasdair Livingstone, <i>Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea</i> , SAA 3 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989)
CRRAI	Proceedings of the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
CRRAI 51	CRRAI 51, Robert D. Biggs et al. (eds.), SAOC 62 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008)
CSMSJ	<i>Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Journal</i>
CTMMA	<i>Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
CTMMA II	<i>Literary and Scholastic Texts of the First Millennium B.C.</i> , Ira Spar and W.G. Lambert (eds.) (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005)
CTMMA IV	<i>The Ebabbar Temple Archive and Other Texts from the Fourth to the First Millennium B.C.</i> , ed. Ira Spar and Michael Jursa (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014)
CUMO	Cuneiform Monographs
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
DANE	<i>Dictionary of the Ancient Near East</i> , Piotr Bienkowski and Alan Millard (eds.) (London: British Museum Press, 2000)
DaS	<i>Divination as Science: A Workshop Conducted during the 60th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Warsaw, 2014</i> , Jeanette C. Fincke (ed.) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2016)
DCH	David J.A. Clines, <i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> , 9 vols. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press/Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1993–2016)
DCM	<i>Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne</i> , Francis Joannès (ed.) (Paris: Laffont, 2001)
DDD	<i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> , Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter van der Horst (eds.), 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill/Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999)
Divination	<i>Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World</i> , Amar Annus (ed.), OIS 6 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 2010)
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>

- E. English version
- ECB *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible*, James D.G. Dunn and John W. Rogerson (eds.) (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2003)
- EDSL Simo Parpola, *Etymological Dictionary of the Sumerian Language. Part 1: Lexical Evidence* (Helsinki: NATCP, 2016)
- EKK Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testamentum
- ERB *Encounters by the Rivers of Babylon: Scholarly Conversations between Jews, Iranians and Babylonians in Antiquity*, Uri Gabbay and Shai Secunda (eds.) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014)
- Esarh R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, AfO Beiheft 9 (Graz, 1956)
- ETCSL Electronic Corpus of Sumerian Literature, J.A. Black et al. (eds.), Oxford 1998–2006 (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk>)
- Fs Abusch *Gazing on the Deep: Ancient Near Eastern and Other Studies in Honor of Tzvi Abusch*, J. Stackert et al. (eds.) (Bethesda, MD: CDL, 2010)
- Fs Borger *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994*, Stefan M. Maul (ed.) (Groningen: Styx, 1998)
- Fs Davies *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies*, James K. Aitken et al. (eds.), Beiheft ZAW 420 (Berlin, Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2011)
- Fs Geller *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic: Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller*, Strahil V. Panayotov and Luděk Vacín (eds.) (Leiden, Boston, MA: Brill, 2018)
- Fs Hallo *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near-Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, Mark E. Cohen et al. (eds.) (Potomac, MD: CDL, 1993)
- Fs King *Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays in Honor of Philip J. King*, Michael D. Coogan et al. (eds.) (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994)
- Fs Lambert *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*, A.R. George and I.L. Finkel (eds.) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000)



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- Fs Lanfranchi *From Source to History: Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Worlds and Beyond Dedicated to Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday on June 23, 2014*, Salvatore Gaspa et al. (eds.), AOAT 412 (Münster: Ugarit, 2014)
- Fs Leichty *If a Man Builds a Joyful House: Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*, Ann K. Guinan et al. (eds.) (Leiden, Boston, MA: Brill, 2006)
- Fs Moran *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, Tzvi Abusch et al. (eds.), HSS 37 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1990)
- Fs Oelsner *Assyriologica et Semitica: Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1997*, Joachim Marzahn and Hans Neumann (eds.), AOAT 252 (Münster: Ugarit, 2000)
- Fs Parpola *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, Mikko Luukko et al. (eds.) (Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2009)
- Fs Renger *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, Barbara Böck et al. (eds.), AOAT 267 (Münster: Ugarit, 1999)
- Fs Sjöberg *DUMU-E<sub>2</sub>-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, Hermann Behrens et al. (eds.), OPSNKF 11 (Philadelphia, 1989)
- Fs Stolper *Extraction & Control: Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper*, Michael Kozuh et al. (eds.), SAOC 68 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2014)
- Fs Winter *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by Her Students*, Jack Cheng and Marian H. Feldman (eds.) (Leiden, Boston, MA: Brill, 2007)
- GAG Wolfram von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, Analecta Orientalia 33 (Rome: Pontifical Bible Institute, 1952)
- GDS Jeremy Black and Anthony Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2014)

- GEL Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1849)
- GMTR Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
- Grayson, ABC A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley, NY: Augustin, 1975)
- Gs Black *Your Praise Is Sweet: Memorial Volume for Jeremy Black*, Heather Baker et al. (eds.) (London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq, 2010)
- Gs Finkelstein *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, Maria de Jong Ellis (ed.), *Memoires of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences XIX* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1977)
- Gs Goodenough *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, Jacob Neusner (ed.) (Leiden: Brill, 1968)
- Gs Hurowitz *Marbeh Hokmah: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East in Loving Memory of Victor Avigdor Hurowitz*, 2 vols., S. Yona et al. (eds.) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015)
- Gs Sachs *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, Erle Leichty et al. (eds.), OPSNKF 9 (Philadelphia, PA: Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 1988)
- Gs Scheiber *Occident and Orient: A Tribute to the Memory of Alexander Scheiber*, Robert Dán (ed.) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó/Leiden: Brill, 1988)
- HALAT Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 5 vols., 3rd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1967–1995)
- Heirs *The Heirs of Assyria*, Sanna Aro and R.M. Whiting (eds.), *Melammu Symposia I* (Helsinki: NATCP, 2000)
- Hellenism *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander*, Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White (eds.) (London: Duckworth, 1987)
- HSS Harvard Semitic Studies
- HTKNT Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
- HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
- HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*

*List of Abbreviations*

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ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> , 4 vols. (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1962)
IDBSup	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplementary Volume</i> (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1976)
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IIB	<i>Introduction à la Bible</i> , 2 vols., A. Robert and A. Feuillet (eds.) (Tournai: Desclée, 1959)
Induction	Christopher Walker and Michael Dick, <i>The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian Mīs Pî Ritual</i> , SAA Literary Texts 1 (Helsinki: NATCP, 2001)
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
JANEH	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JSNTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series</i>
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
JW	Josephus, <i>Jewish Wars</i>
KMIANE	<i>King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar</i> , John Day (ed.), JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998)
LABS	Simo Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars</i> , SAA 10 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993)
LANE	<i>Language in the Ancient Near East: CRRAI 53, Parts 1 and 2</i> , L. Kogan et al. (eds.) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010)
LAS	Simo Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal</i> , 2 vols., AOAT

- 5/1-2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970, 1983)
- LCL Loeb Classical Library
- LEH J. Lust, E. Eynikel and K. Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003)
- LGB *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, Robert Alter and Frank Kermode (eds.) (London: Fontana, 1989)
- m Mishnah
- Making *The Making of the Old Testament*, Enid B. Mellor (ed.), CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972)
- Mazar, Studies *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel and Jordan*, Amihai Mazar (ed.), JSOTSup 331 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001)
- MDA René Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne (signes, syllabaire, idéogrammes)*, 5th ed. (Paris: Guethner, 1976)
- MM *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives*, Tzvi Abusch and Karel van der Toorn (eds.), AMD 1 (Groningen: Styx, 1999)
- MMEW Alasdair Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986)
- MT Masoretic text
- MUSN *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 2 parts, Hans-Jörg Nissen and Johannes Renger (eds.), Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1982)
- Mythology *Mythology and Mythologies: Methodological Approaches to Intercultural Influences*, R.M. Whiting (ed.), Melammu Symposia 2 (Helsinki: NATCP, 2001)
- MZL Rykle Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, 2nd rev. ed., AOAT 305 (Münster: Ugarit, 2010)
- NABU *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
- NAC New American Commentary
- NATCP Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project
- NCBC New Century Bible Commentary

*List of Abbreviations*

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NINO	Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTM	New Testament Message
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTT	New Testament Theology
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OCB	<i>The Oxford Companion to the Bible</i> , Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (eds.) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993)
OHCC	<i>The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture</i> , Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (eds.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta
OPSNKF	Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund
OrNS	<i>Orientalia Nova Series</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
PAPS	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
PNA	<i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> , 3 vols., Heather D. Baker and Karen Radner (eds.) (Helsinki: Foundation for Finnish Assyriological Research, 1998–2011)
Puns	<i>Puns and Pundits: Word Play in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature</i> , Scott B. Noegel (ed.) (Bethesda, MD: CDL, 2000)
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RaP	<i>Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond</i> , Nicole Brisch (ed.), OIS 4 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012)
RAW	<i>Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide</i> , Sarah Iles Johnston (ed.) (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2004)
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RIMA 1	A. Kirk Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennium (to 1115 BC)</i> , The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Periods (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987)

- RIMA 2 A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991)
- RINAP 1 Hayim Tadmor and Shigeo Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC), and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011)
- RINAP 2 Grant Frame, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria (721–705 BC)* (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2021)
- RINAP 3/1 A. Kirk Grayson and Jamie Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012)
- RINAP 3/2 A. Kirk Grayson and Jamie Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 2* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014)
- RINAP 4 Erle Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC)* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001)
- RINAP 5/1 Jamie Novotny and Joshua Jeffers, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC), Aššur-etel-ilāni (630–627 BC), and Sîn-šarra-iškun (626–612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1* (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2018)
- RINBE 2 Frauke Weiershäuser and Jamie Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Amēl-Marduk (561–560 BC), Neriglissar (559–556 BC), and Nabonidus (555–539 BC), Kings of Babylon*, *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire* (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2020)
- RIA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, 15 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1928–2018)
- SAA State Archives of Assyria
- SAAB *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
- SAACT State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
- SAAS State Archives of Assyria Studies

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- SaG *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East*, 2 vols., S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting (eds.), CRRAI 47 (Helsinki: NATCP, 2002)
- SANE Sources from the Ancient Near East
- SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
- SBL Society of Biblical Literature
- SBM *The Star of Bethlehem and the Magi: Interdisciplinary Perspectives from Experts on the Ancient Near East, the Greco-Roman World and Modern Astronomy*, Peter Barthel and George van Kooten (eds.) (Leiden, Boston, MA: Brill, 2015)
- SBT Studies in Biblical Theology
- SJOT *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
- SKL Sumerian King List
- SNTSMS Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
- SSPP *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina*, W.G. Dever and S. Gitin (eds.) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003)
- STDJ Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
- StPsm Studia Pohl: Series Maior
- Šurpu Erica Reiner, *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*, AfO Beiheft 11 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970)
- Symbolae *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae: Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae*, M.A. Beek et al. (eds.) (Leiden: Brill, 1973)
- TAI *Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*, Gary M. Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis (eds.), BJS 346 (Providence, RI: Brown University, 2006)
- TBW *The Babylonian World*, Gwendolyn Leick (ed.) (New York: Routledge, 2007)
- TCGNT Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994)
- TDNT *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Gerhard Kittel (ed.), trans. Geoffrey W. Bromley, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964–1976)

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*List of Abbreviations*

TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TWB	<i>The World of Berossos: Proceedings of the 4th International Colloquium on ‘The Ancient Near East between Classical and Ancient Oriental Traditions’,</i> Johannes Haubold et al. (eds.), CeO 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013)
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
UHAI	<i>Understanding the History of Ancient Israel</i> , H.G.M. Williamson (ed.), Proceedings of the British Academy 143 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WAI	<i>The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives</i> , R.E. Clements (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
WdO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WdR	<i>Die Welt der Rituale: Von der Antike bis heute</i> , Claus Ambos et al. (eds.) (Darmstadt: WBG, 2005)
WUNT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>