IŠTAR OF NINEVEH RECONSIDERED

Gary Beckman
University of Michigan

Forty years ago, M. Vieyra produced his “prolegomenon” to the study of the goddess Istar of Nineveh (1957), a deity found not only in Assyria, but across the periphery of cuneiform civilization. Since that time, a number of scholars have dealt with this subject, and I have now taken it up anew in connection with an edition of the Hittite babilili rituals (CTH 718). These texts, which feature Akkadian language incantations within a Hittite context, are concerned with the worship only of the Istar type Pirinkir (Beckman in press b), but they have drawn my attention to the general question of Istar figures in second millennium Anatolia, among whom Istar of Nineveh enjoyed particular prominence.

The earliest mention of Nineveh of which I am aware is in a text from Drehem dated to the forty-sixth year of Sulgi. It records the offering of a lamb to the deity Šauša of this town. Since Šauša’s later form Šawuška can be identified with Istar, it is more than likely that this document refers to the proprietor of the Istar temple excavated by British archaeologists at Kuyunjik. A text of Šamiš-Adad I informs us that Maništusšu had built this structure, while contemporary inscriptions of the latter’s brother and predecessor Rimuš at Tell Brak and Aššur, as well as of...

4. Schneider (1932, no. 79, lines 5–7): 1 sila₂₂₃₂₃ / 4Ša₂₂₃₂₃ (CIGAL)-ša / Ni-ua-a-kam. See also Whiting (1976, 174) and Wilcke (1988, 227). For the reading of the divine name and for examples (written with various r-signs) in personal names, see Gelb (1952, 54–55). Another early spelling without the velar is attested in a Hurrian text from Mari (Thureau-Dangin 1909, 2, no. 1, line 17): Ša-u₂₂₃₂₃-a-an.

5. Note that in the Ritual of Allaiturḫḫi (CTH 780), edited by Haas and Thiel 1978, 129–201), the deity is found in the Hittite portions as an i-stem (e.g., 4IS₂₂₃₂₂/TAR-iš, i 12) and in the Hurrian “forerunners” as an Akkadian or a-complement (e.g., 4IS₂₂₃₂₂/TAR-an, 92 b. 45) or phonetically as 4Sa₂₂₃₂₂-ga-an (824 b. 12). Without complementation it is not possible to determine for a particular Hittite context whether the logogram 4IS₂₂₃₂₂/TAR was pronounced in Anatolian, Hurrian, or even Akkadian.

6. For preliminary reports, see Thompson and Hamilton (1932), and Thompson and Mallowan (1953). A final publication has never appeared.


8. Mallowan (1947, 27, 66 pl. L, no. 4). The excavator suggests that this vase fragment was brought to the site by Nārub-Sin, whose brick fragments (see n. 10) reveal that he constructed a large building here.

Narrām-Sin at Tell Brak and Nineveh itself (Naab and Unger 1934, 41–44, pl. IV, nos. 6–7) confirm early Sargonic control of the area. But it is by no means certain that the work of Maništuššu was a new foundation, and the goddess may well have been resident here long before. Since recent study indicates that the Hurrians did not enter this region much in advance of Sargonic penetration (Aastour 1987, 15–16), it is possible that they took over this divinity from earlier inhabitants.

If so, they renamed her, for the name Šauša/Šawuška has now been shown to have a clear Hurrian etymology. Writers of later periods indeed recognized Šawuška as the particular Hurrian variety of Istar, as demonstrated by the frequent occurrence of this name in Hurrian-language texts, as well as by a lexical list that identifies her as “Istar (in/of) Su(bartu).” Perhaps the very association of the local Šauša/Šawuška with the southern Istar already in the third millennium came about because of the importance of the latter deity for the Sargonic overlords.

Information from the earlier second millennium concerning the Ninevite goddess is scanty: In the prelude to his Laws, Hammurapi calls himself “the king who made the norms of Isinna glorious in Nineveh, in the temple Emešmeš,” but there is no further evidence from southern sources for reverence paid to Šawuška, or indeed for any cult at all performed in Nineveh. For northern Mesopotamia, the previously mentioned inscription of Šamsi-Adad I attests to his repair of Nineveh’s Istar temple, and Istar of Nineveh is among the types of this goddess whose receipt of offerings is documented in the texts from Nuzi.

While an Istar figure seems to head the pantheon at Alalakh in the period of level IV (Na’am 1980, 209–14), she is never associated with the Assyrian city. At Ugarit a scholarly list provides the sole attestation of our goddess. For the Mittannian king Tušratta, however, Istar/Šawuška of Nineveh was the chief deity. This is apparent from her invocation parallel to the Egyptian Sun God in the Hurrian ruler’s letters to Amenophis III. Tušratta also lent an image...
of the goddess to his Egyptian counterpart. It is unclear whether her mission was to heal the elderly pharaoh or rather to bestow upon him connubial bliss (potency?) in connection with the dynastic marriage between Egypt and Mittanni (Kühne 1973, 37, n. 17).

The Boğazköy archives provide the bulk of our information concerning Istar of Nineveh during the second millennium, but in the Old Hittite period neither she nor any other form of Istar was of any real importance in Hatti. The names Istar and Šawuška are both absent from the early historical texts, while only a single Old Hittite ritual mentions an Istar. The relevant text is CTH 733 (Neu 1980, nos. 109–11; 1983, 342, index), where a number of Hattic deities are assigned differing designations among humans and among their divine colleagues. Thus the goddess Tašimmeti, a concubine of the Storm God, is called “Istar, the Queen” by the gods, while Taḫašišiḫa is known to her peers as “Istar of Arising(?).”

Istar acquired much greater importance in Hatti during Middle Hittite times—as a Hurrian deity introduced under Hurrian influence. The first appearance of Istar in a list of divine witnesses is to be found in a treaty between the Hittites and the Kaššu in the reign of Arnuwanda I and Aššununikal, and the well-known resettlement of an Istar figure from Kizzuwatna to the southeastern Hittite city of Šamuḫa took place in the late fifteenth century. A number of records dealing specifically with Istar of Nineveh, including an invocation rite featuring the queen Taduḫeḫa, were also composed in this epoch.

In the texts from Ḫattuša, the Hurrian Istar is rendered by ḪŠ₂-TAR (HZL no. 263), by ḪLIŠ (HZL no. 286), by ḪGAŠAN (HZL no. 336), as well as by various phonetic spellings of Šawuška restricted to Hurrian contexts. ḪNinna seems to be found in reference to a deity only in texts composed by non-Hittites, while ḪXV is entirely absent. The Hittite pronunciation is shown by phonetic complementation to end in lu, but the full form is not yet known. It obviously cannot be either the Tašimmeti or the Taḫašišiḫa mentioned earlier. Perhaps it is merely a substantivized Luwoid adjective in -alli. For convenience I will continue to use the designation Istar here.

Approximately twenty-five different local varieties of Istar are present in the Boğazköy archives, taking their designations from towns or cities.

25. EA 23: 13–32 (Adler 1976, 170–74). This text also refers to an earlier divine image to the court of Amarna III, in the time of Taššattu’s father.


27. Neu (1980, no. 109) iii 10–12: Taḫašišiḫaš = arauwaš 4IŠAR. Broken no. 110 ii 34 and no. 111 iii 17–18 are similar. HW², 258 is uncertain whether to assign arauwaš to arai- “arise,” or to arauwa- “free.” Cf. Popko (1982, 146).

28. On this Hurrian political and cultural penetration of Hatti, see Wilkem (1982, 44–45).

29. CTH 139 ii 10 (von Schuler 1965, 110).


31. KUB 36:18 (CTH 364, MH.NS), KBo 10:45 (CTH 446, MH.LS), and KBo 16:17 (CTH 571, MS).

32. Although the divine determinative is optional with this writing in Mesopotamian documents, it is regularly present in texts composed at Boğazköy.

33. See Laroche (1947, 96; 1952, 117). This is probably simply an abbreviated writing of ḪŠ₂-TAR. Compare the writing ḪU for Istar at Nuzi (Wilhelm 1970, 37, n. 3), which was not available to Boğazköy scribes due to its common use among them to represent the Storm God.

34. For a partial list, see Wegner (1981, 21).

35. For example, KUB 4:7 obv. 9 (CTH 861, Sumero-Akkadian bilingual), KUB 29:58 iii 35 (CTH 811, Akkadian), and KUB 37:38:3 (CTH 795, Akkadian). The most frequent use of Ninna at Boğazköy is, of course, in the expression GIS/IN(NIN);TUR, indicating a type of lyre or harp (Gurney 1977, 34–35; Bodali 1991, 370).

36. Outside of the context cited above, this deity appears only in KBo 17:15 rev. 12 and KBo 17:40 i 1 (CTH 645 = Neu 1980, no. 27); KUB 53:4 obv. 26 (CTH 682ZG); and the fragmentary HPAC 131:3. I doubt that Taḫašišiḫaš (KBo 21:84 iv 3; KUB 55:39 iii 26, 37; KBo 17:15 obv. 8–9) represents the same goddess, as suggested by Popko (1982, 146).

37. This deity is attested only in the fragments cited in note 27.

38. See HET §§1b. The suggestion of Haas (1978, 68, n. 58) that li here is a Hurrian element should be rejected because forms with this complementation occur only in non-Hurrian contexts.

39. For a listing of local seats of Istar-Šawuška, see Wegner (1981, 157–58), who includes all locations for which worship of this goddess is attested in Hittite documents. But since an
mountains. While most of these places seem to have been situated in northern Syria or southeastern Anatolia, a few—such as Katapa and Lanta—must be sought in the central Hittite area. Still, it is significant that no Istar is called after Ḥattuša, Nerik, Ankuwa, Zipballanda, or any other early Hittite center. The most satisfactory explanation for the association of Istars with but a few central Anatolian cities is importation by a dynasty with southern cultural affiliations. By far the most frequently attested of these geographically designated goddesses are Istar of Šamúha and our Istar of Nineveh, and it is probably the entire class which is referred to as "all the Istars of the land of Hurri."42

The relationship of these Istar-figures to one another is difficult to untangle. On the one hand, mythological texts of Hurrian background employ the epithet "Queen of Nineveh" in addition to, and in alternation with, simple Istar.43 On the other, lists of divine witnesses from the Empire period usually place unmodified Istar, sometimes followed by Istar of the Battlefield, before the goddess of Nineveh,44 who in turn precedes all other local types. Geographic and other epithets are seldom interchangeable, and a deity does not often bear more than one epithet at a time.45 I believe that we are dealing with hypostases of a single divine archetype (see Wilcke 1976–80, 79–80), a situation similar to that surrounding the various Zeus figures of classical antiquity, or the local manifestations of the Virgin in Catholic belief.46 In some respects these Istar-figures partake of a common essence, while in others they are distinct, as demonstrated by the individual offerings made on occasion to large numbers of such Istars.47

While I am inclined to follow the common opinion that the other Istar types of the later Boğazköy texts, in particular Istar of Šamúha, are basically "avatars" or hypostases of the Nine-

44. For convenient access to examples, see the index to Beckman (1996, 156).

45. An obvious exception to this generalization is 4Iš-TAR LIII/SE-Š-RI/marvārius Šamúha, "Istar of the Field of Šamúha" (Lebrun 1976, 15–18).

46. See Cook (1964 [originally published 1914–40], 776–79) for a summary discussion of the various functional and local Zeus/Jupiter figures (which he calls "art-types"), some of whom arose through the extension of the god's sphere of activity, while others represent a fusion of originally independent deities. In his indexes (pp. 1258–59), Cook provides a listing of the numerous epithets borne by this deity.

An interesting example of the merging of gods may also be adduced from Palmyra, where the Levantine Baal Samain and Bel of Mesopotamian origin maintained separate temples, yet seem to have been melded into a single figure as head of the local pantheon. Both could be addressed as Zeus. See Teixidor (1977, 135–40, 143).

47. Sigmon (1996, 611) writes of a "principe d'individuation" through which the original unitary figure of the Christian Lady assumed a variety of local manifestations, most of which acquired unique "curricula vitae" in the form of collections of miracles performed in different sanctuaries. This process of fission is the inverse of the amalgamation of deities into Zeus/Jupiter discussed in the previous note. See the remarks of van der Toorn (1997, 11–12) on the tendency of worshipers to invest a certain quality of divinity in an image or other physical representation of a deity and thus to attribute a particular identity to each regional variety of a god or goddess.

48. See especially the offering lists in KUB 45:4 i and iii. In most instances Iš-TAR has been lost along with the right portion of the column, leaving only the Hurrian geographic designations. See KUB 45, Index, p. x.

49. See, for example, Lebrun (1976, 16).
vite goddess,\textsuperscript{50} any special features of the varie-
ties will become apparent only if each is initially
studied in isolation. Therefore in the discussion
which follows I will adduce evidence solely from
contexts in which an Istar is explicitly said to be
"of Nineveh," or "the Ninevite," or where the
deity and the town appear in contiguity.

Our Istar possesses a number of epithets in
addition to "Queen of Nineveh."\textsuperscript{51} In Hurrian pas-
sages she might be called by the genitival expres-
sion "(she) of Nineveh" (\textit{Ninuwawī}\textsuperscript{52}), or by the
ethonicon "the Ninevite" (\textit{Ninuwahī}\textsuperscript{52}). Also found
are the Hittite phrase \textit{taršikantaš} MUNUS-\textit{aš},
lit. "the woman of that which is repeatedly spoken"\textsuperscript{54}—apparently a reference to her involve-
ment with incantations—and the unclear Luwian
\textit{tiwayali} Istar.\textsuperscript{55}

Despite the hospitality extended to her by the
Hittites, Istar of Nineveh remained a transient in
Ḫatti, maintaining strong connections to her own
town.\textsuperscript{56} In two evocatio rituals she is summoned
thence for worship,\textsuperscript{57} and other evidence reveals
her continued residence in the Assyrian city.\textsuperscript{58} In
addition, a single text each associates her with the
Old Akkadian kings Sargon and Naššum-Sin.\textsuperscript{59}

In Ḫatti, the land of her sojourn, Istar of Nin-
eveh was welcomed in the capital, to whose pan-
theon she belonged during the Empire period,\textsuperscript{60}
and where she possibly had a temple or cult
room.\textsuperscript{61} She was also honored in the Kizzuwat-
naean city of Kummantu\textsuperscript{62} and at a number of
other towns which cannot yet be located.\textsuperscript{63} She

\begin{quote}
the gods of Nineveh, KUB 25.44 i 7 (\textit{CTh} 704, Hurrian), possibly associates of Istar; \textsuperscript{64} KU OB 20.i 1574 i 2 (\textit{CTh} 241); and a damaged
colophon from a shelf list: \ldots KU OB 20.i 1574 i 2 (\textit{CTh} 241); and a damaged
colophon from a shelf list: \ldots KU OB 20.i 1574 i 2 (\textit{CTh} 241); and a damaged
colophon from a shelf list: \ldots KU OB 20.i 1574 i 2 (\textit{CTh} 241); and a damaged
colophon from a shelf list: \ldots KU OB 20.i 1574 i 2 (\textit{CTh} 241); and a damaged
colophon from a shelf list: \ldots KU OB 20.i 1574 i 2 (\textit{CTh} 241); and a damaged
colophon from a shelf list: \ldots KU OB 20.i 1574 i 2 (\textit{CTh} 241); and a damaged
colophon from a shelf list: \ldots KU OB 20.i 1574 i 2 (\textit{CTh} 241); and a damaged
\end{quote}
of "Hurrišša, in Šappatta, in Šapurgurwanta, and in Mallitta. In the similar KUB 57.106 all geographic names have been lost.

64. In KBo 14.142 i 20–33 (CTR 698) various offerings are made to Ḫebat 𒈹𒈹EŠ-TAB 𒈹LUL-AB and other deities, including 𒋀𒈹Š-TAR 𒈹NIN-NU-BA, and in conclusion, ŠA 𒈹E-S-TAB KAŠ-ša 𒊩𒈹u-MA-ra-an ti kA-ME-[A]NI-du-MA [zi], “they pour a libation of beer before all the circle of Ḫebat” (i 32–33). Laroche (1948, 122) includes Ḫatar of Nineveh as no 10 in his reconstruction of Ḫebat’s kaššu.

65. In light of the differences between the east- and west-Hurrian pantheons (Laroche 1976; Trémois 1997, 217–22), the assignment of Ḫatar of Nineveh to this group must have taken place in either Syro-Palestine or in Kizzuwatna, or perhaps even in Ḫattuša.

66. In addition to the ubiquitous Ninatta and Kušša, CTH 714 includes DINGIRMEŠ ḪE-pa-ra-rum-an aš-tu-że-li-i-na, Šarri-naa, Ṣa-[a]-a-zi a-du-za-šu, Taši-[ra]. Sindi, Ea Dam-kina, Aya Simgi, DINGIRMEŠ KHTML-TARU-NA aš-šu-ši-hek-ku-an-ra-ni-ta-[r]-ni, Ištar, Anòti, Umbu Nlkkall, and Uṣur. CTH 715 has Hušana Ḫulutera, the marašši Storm God, and “every Ḫatar.” Finally, CTH 716 associates the Sun Goddess of the Earth and the primeval deities with Ḫatar of Nineveh.

68. KUB 10271 colophon (CTH 714): TUPU-pu ma-ru-an MUNUS-ILLAKAL A-NA 𒄠𒀀S-TAR 𒈹NIN-NU-BA KAŠKAL-ši EZENUTU i-par-ba (QM 77, 4)one tablet, complete: "When the Queen performs the monthly festival for Ḫatar of Nineveh on the road/path." Since it could hardly be envisioned that the monarch would be underway during every month, the KASKAL here is probably yet another reference to the magico-trials set out in evocation rites.

69. Catalogue entry KUB 8692 iii 1–2 (CTR 276): DUB1.KAM SIRḪA 𒊩𒈹i-zi-an-a-ba-ši-ša-ḫa-ša / ŠA 𒄠𒀀S-TAR 𒈹NIN-NA, “One tablet: zinzabūššīya-songs of Ḫatar of Nineveh.” The text referred to is probably preserved in KBa 2236 + KBo 33.151 + 1B.0 350 + KUB 45.40 (+) KUB 47.05 (Chs 1; no. 41). See Inhaltsübersicht to KUB 45, sub no. 40. KUB 47.05 probably also belong to this text.

70. Laroche (1976, 305) suggests “colombe” (?) for this bird. Note also the zinzabūššīya-throny employed in Ḫatar’s cult: BL-BU KUSUGI, zi-in-za-ba-ša-ḫa-ša, KTH 510 obv. 3 (CTH567), and the Ḫatar-hypostasis(?) 𒊩𒈹ZI-DIN-zA-BU-WA-zA-NA, KUB 45.33 obv. 11 (CTH 713).

71. In addition to the preceding examples, see CTH 715. termini technici in this language abound. The attendant personnel is of the sort associated with Hurrianized cult at Ḫattuša, headed by a “seer.”

72. The role played by Ḫatar of Nineveh in the Hitite imperial cult was not especially prominent, for the strand of Hurrian religion that influenced the development of this system was one in which Ḫatar had yielded her position near the head of the pantheon to the Syrian goddess Ḫebat (see Laroche 1976; Trémois 1997, 217–22). Thus our Ḫatar appears rather far down the lists of divine treaty witnesses (see n. 44), and the number of texts devoted to her worship is small compared to those treating the Storm God Teššub, Ḫebat, or even the Protective Deity.

73. In Anatolia, the special competence of Ḫatar of Nineveh lay in the realm of magic. She had chthonic associations, was on occasion approached through a ritual pit, and is once found in the company of the Sun Goddess of the Earth and the primeval deities. The goddess is beseeched to cure disease, including plague, and asked to lift curses.

74. A thorough comparison of this Hurrian magician and healer to other varieties of Ḫatar in Ḫatti remains a task for the future, after special studies have been completed on each of her principal texts.

75. Note the use of the vessels 𒄠𒈹u-rA-šš-ši and 𒄠𒈹u-up-pu-rA-šš-ši (CTH 714; see Kammenhuber 1986), and washing wite 𒄠𒈹u-heš-šu-zi-a wA-tar (CTH 714; see Vieyra 1957, 96–98). Many of the Opfertermini listed by Haas and Wilhelm (1974, 59–142), including kelti, zu-zi-ne-ki-a-ul, hariya, pu-ul-zi-a-ul, and ana-zi-a-ul, also appear in CTH 714. The second line of the colophon of KUB 41.25 (CTH 720) is probably to be restored as (selector) KUB 41.25 𒈹NIN-NA 𒈹UNU-dE-[S]-SA-li-[a]-ša, for which festival see Laroche (1959, 99–100).

76. The special term Ḫatar/Azu (see Gurney 1977, 45–46). In editing CTH 714, Vieyra (1957, 85–87, 89–92) consistently misreads Azu as Sanga. Other personnel active here include musicians (𒈹UM-ŠA-NA), katara-women, the kirešemenan, and the mysterious MUNUSMEŠ KA-KAK ħattanteš, on whom see Lebrun (1979, 115, n. 26).

77. Her worship is the focus of relatively few texts, primarily CTH 714–716, and KUB 41.25 (CTH 720). Note also the lost rituals listed in the ururu report KUB 5.10 + KUB 18.83 (CTH 567). See Vieyra 1957, 122–33, 136); EzzanŠA-zi-zi-an-a-ši, ŠA 𒄠𒈹u-ra-ra-zi-zi-an-a, EzzanA-zi-zi-an, and EZZAN A-zi-zi-an. CTH 716. On these openings to the underworld, see Hoffner (1967).

78. KUB 15.35 + KUB 29.0 3; cf. iv 39 (CTH 716). KUB 15.35 + KUB 29.0 65–65. KUB 48.112. Note 1-EN ut-(an)-u-ak-[ma]-ni… in 11‘.
manifestations. It can already, however, be observed that the Anatolian Istar of Nineveh does not display either the pronounced astral or martial (Lebrun 1976, 17) aspects characteristic of Istar of Šamaš. Nor does she seem to share the latter’s close relationship to the Hittite royal house (Lebrun 1976, 20–24).

The paucity of relevant Assyrian material rules out comparison of the Hittite Istar of Nineveh with her realization in contemporary Mesopotamia. In the first millennium, however, the evidential situation is precisely reversed: Iron Age sources mentioning Istar of Nineveh come exclusively from Assyria. Here I can only touch briefly upon this material.

During the late period, the īmaššaš in Nineveh was repaired on several occasions and even enlarged, and a school of poets seems to have operated under its aegis (see Lambert 1961, 157–58). Istar continued to serve as the primary deity of her city, and her name is frequently invoked in the penalty clauses of contracts concluded in Nineveh.

Our goddess was often connected with Istar of Arbelu, and the characters of both in turn were colored by that of Istar of Assur. Hence the Ninevite was paired with the imperial god Aššur, and under the later Sargonids she was identified with his companion Ninlil (Streck 1916, 746–48).

The Ninevite goddess appears in the company of other deities in letter salutations, and in a curse of Esarhaddon she is invoked: “May Ninlil, dweller in Nineveh, bind upon you (pl.) a [swift] dagger of iron!” In the context of a vassal treaty this might be a metaphor for death in battle, or for assassination.

Aššur-nāṣir-pal I calls upon Istar of Nineveh to relieve his suffering from physical and psychological ills (von Soden 1974–77, 38–45). The goddess’s role as healer seen earlier in Hittite sources thus makes its reappearance here.

79. Wegner (1981) is the point of departure for any such investigation. Through research has thus far been carried out only on Istar of Šamaš (Lebrun 1976, 13–23), Pirinikir (Beckman in press b), and herewith Istar of Nineveh. Sufficient material exists for detailed consideration also of the Istars of Hattarina, Lawzanuya, and Tammuniga, as well as of the Deity of the Night and Pirwa.

80. It is almost certain that the Deity of the Night (DINGIR(GE) of Šamaš is identical to the IŠTAR/Saugal of the same city (Lebrun 1976, 31). KUB 294 i 6–12 (CTH 481) describes the construction of a monument with the Deity of the Night as follows: “The smiths fashion the deity from gold. They also set about deckiing out the deity with the adornments appropriate for her. Stuck on her back like beads are disks of gold, lapis, carnelian, Babylonian stone; chalcedony (?), dūšš-stone, and marble, (as well as) life-symbol(s) and morning stars of silver and gold. They set about fashioning them in this manner.” For transliteration, see Kroon (1963, 6). Whatever the particular shape of the divinity whose likeness is constructed here, the ornamented rear surface seems to represent the night sky.

81. The oracle question KUB 32.130:25–34 (CTH 710) well illustrates this aspect of the goddess’s activities: “Let it be investigated through augury whether this (future worship) is pleasing to you, Istar of the Battlefield of Šamaš, (whether) you will accept the ritual and turn in favor to My Majesty, and (whether) you will stand favorably by me—(and whether) you will stand favorably by me when I go against the land of the enemy, and (whether) you will hold yourself (protectively) before my person for (my) prosperity and survival, and (whether) you will deliver my enemies to me, so that I might destroy them.” For transliteration, see Lebrun (1976, 168).

82. Thompson and Hamilton (1932, 63) claim that a passage in an Assyrian poetic text, now known to have been composed in praise of Tukulti-Ninibu I, is a reference to Istar of Nineveh. See Machinist (1978, 120–21) v 44: īt-zi-ša-ta-ta ĕŠDUR a-bi-ša-ap AS to-se e-nā-ad da-be-ši-ša, “They give the shout ‘O Istar, be merciful’ (and) in the melees praise the mistress.” However, we cannot be certain which Assyrian Istar is intended here. Note especially that it is Istar of Arbelu who is later most frequently endowed with martial qualities (see n. 86).

83. Šamuša continues to be mentioned in the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, e.g., MALATYA 6 (Hrozny 1937, pl. CVII): Šarr-ga (damaged), with the figure of the goddess standing upon two birds. There are no attestations for Nineveh, however.

84. For a fuller compendium, see Menzel (1981, 116–18).

85. Usually in the standard phraseology: “He will pay N mina of (refined) silver and N mina of gold (alloy) to Istar of Nineveh/Istar who dwells in Nineveh.” For transliteration and references, see Menzel (1981, 118).

86. See Streck (1916, 748–50) for the close association of this goddess with both oracles and warfare.

87. It is not certain whether they should be understood as a married couple (Lambert 1953).

88. For example, Waterman (1930, nos. 6, 62, etc.). For further references see the index in vol. IV, p. 139, although the occurrences of our Istar in salutations are not distinguished there from those in other contexts.

Finally it should be noted that Istar of Nineveh displays Hurrian characteristics into the latest times. Sargon II still addresses her by her ancient appellation 90: "Šawuška, dweller(?) in Nineveh,"91 while one section of her temple continued to be known as the bit nathī, or "bedroom," a term that preserves a Hurrian lexeme attested centuries earlier in connection with Anatolian Istars.92 Thus the cult of the goddess Istar/Šawuška endured for at least fifteen centuries at Nineveh. This cult held fast to elements of its non-Akkadian character and at times extended its influence to the ends of the civilized world.

90. Yet another of her names might have been Mullissi, if this is indeed the Neo-Assyrian pronunciation of 𒀕𒈗𒈗 (see Menzel 1981, 117).
91. Lyon (1883, 9, line 54): 4ša-uš-qa ra-ši-bat |error for a-ši-bat|| cf. AHi 980 AB=HA.

References

Gelb, I. J. 1944 Hurrians and Subarians. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
Hirsch, H.
Hoffner, H. A., Jr.
Hrozný, B.
Irš'e', S.
Kammenhuber, A.
Knapp, A. B., ed.
Kronasser, H.
Kühne, C.
Lackenbacher, S.
Lambert, W. G.
Landsberger, B.
Laroche, E.
1952 Le panthéon de Yazilikaya. JCS 6: 115–23.
Lebrun, R.
Lyon, D. G.
1883 Keilschrifttexte Sargon’s. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
Machinist, P.
Mallowan, M. E. L.
Menzel, B.
Michalowski, P.
Naab, J. P., and E. Unger
Na’aman, N.
Neu, E.
Otten, H.
Popko, M.
Popko, M., and P. Taracha
Preussler, C.
1954 Die Wohnhäuser in Assur, WVDG 64. Berlin: Gebrüder Mann.
Renger, J.
Roberts, J. M.
Schneider, N.
Schuler, E. von
Siegelová, J.
Signori, G.
Singer, I.
1996 Muwatalli’s Prayer to the Assembly of Gods through the Storm-God of Lightning (CTH 381). Atlanta: ASOR.
Soden, W. von
Speiser, E. A.
Streck, M.
1916 Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Nineveh’s, VAB 7. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
Teixidor, J.
Thompson, R. C., and R. W. Hamilton
Thureau-Dangin, F.
Toorn, K. van der
Trémollière, M.-C.
Vieyra, M.
Waterman, L.
1930 Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
Wegner, I.
1995 Der Name der Ša(w)uška. SCCNI 7: 116–19.
Weidner, E.
1945 Subarische Gottheiten im assyrischen Pantheon. AF 15: 82–84.
Whiting, R.
Wilcke, C.
Wilhelm, G.
Wiseman, D.