

1995

Lilith : the edge of forever

Filomena Pereira
San Jose State University

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LILITH
The Edge of Forever

A Thesis
Presented to
The Office of Graduate Studies
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies:
History and Religion of the Ancient Near East

by
Filomena Pereira
December, 1995

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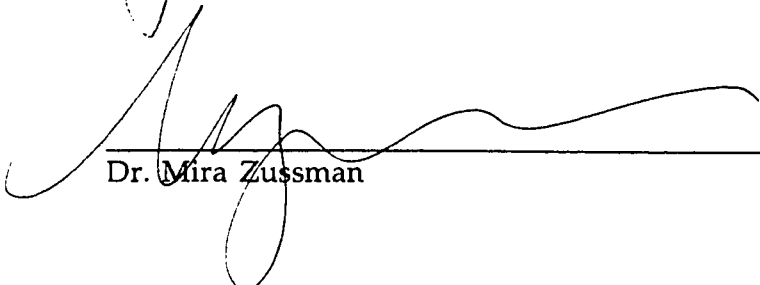
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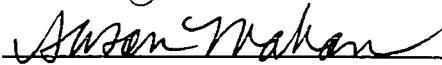
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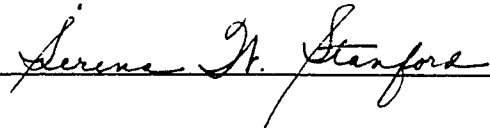


Dr. Mira Zussman



Dr. Susan Mahan

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ABSTRACT

LILITH

The Edge of Forever

By Filomena Maria Pereira

This thesis addresses the topic of the mythic character of Lilith. It traces her historical-religious background in Mesopotamia and the Levant. It examines her images and roles as they were transformed through the last four thousand years. It analyzes a set of modern literature produced within the last two centuries which has been inspired by the mythic themes and legends surrounding the character of Lilith. It concludes with an examination of the dual nature of Lilith, her historical roles, her metaphysical and psychological aspects as well as the connection between Lilith, other Goddesses and mortal women.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To all who have provided guidance and assistance on this project, I am deeply grateful. I am especially obliged to Karen Voss, who first introduced me to Lilith. To the members of my committee, James Freeman, Susan Mahan and Mira Zussman, thank you. Despite this being a subject outside their fields of study, they kindly offered their assistance. I am as always indebted to Dr. Freeman for his patience. To family, friends and colleagues who have listened to my stories and struggles, thank you for your encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Lost in Dark Folds	10
Utukku limnu	13
Gilgamesh	19
Sumerian King List	22
Huluppu Tree	25
Burney Relief	30
Chapter 2: Stripped of Power	40
Arslan Tash I	43
Nippur Bowls	49
Hebrew Amulets	56
Chapter 3: Days in the Desert	62
Bible	63
Talmud	67
Midrash	70
Kabbalah	72
Origins of Creation	73
Origins of Evil	91
Origins of Lilith	95
Chapter 4: Queen of Shadows	101
Old Character	105
Re-Integration	112
Re-Imaging	117
Chapter 5: Touch Peace	129
Balanced unity: masculine and feminine	129
Elemental force: active and passive	133
Dual nature: cosmic and demon	145
Historic roles: wife, mistress, queen	147
Metaphysical: transcends the three realms	151
Psychological: counterpart of the feminine	153
Connectedness: goddess and woman	154
Bibliography	167

THE EDGE OF FOREVER

One night, the Call was too great, too urgent, too demanding.
I could resist it no longer -- I had known it would be coming.

I had prepared for it, leaving the safety of Green Fields, Blue Oceans and
Timeless Flight.
Said goodbye to my companions from the Days in the Desert.
Stood ready - Stripped of Power, waiting.

I had feared it and wanted it.
Pride in the challenge, fear in failure.
Failure trapped in the Underworld forever.

Trapped in the Queen of Shadows, prize of the great Demon Lover.
Forever lost in Dark Folds -- poised between Release and Destruction.

Expand your own Heart, Enfold All
Create All that is Without
Reach to that which is Not
Touch Peace.

There is No Release, there is No Destruction.
Stand ready, Stripped of Power.
Wait.

Filomena Pereira
Spring 1993

PREFACE

This work is the result of eight years of study. It was first inspired in 1987 while taking a class at San Jose State University entitled Gods and Goddesses created by Carol Christ and at that time being taught by Karen Voss. Before this class, although I had always been interested in mythology and was familiar with many Goddesses, it had never truly occurred to me that the concept "Goddess" could hold the same power as the "God" from a childhood of Catholic mass. The title of Merlin Stone's book, When God Was a Woman, entered my consciousness as a new paradigm. Had there once been a time in which the divine feminine held the same respect and love, had been worshipped with the same awe and reverence that today is not only reserved but legislated to the one masculine "God?" At last, I saw the tree with the coiled serpent in my front yard. And, in that tree was the divine feminine.

INTRODUCTION

. . . there is not a single link in the chain where the substance of *Ein-Sof* does not remain present and immanent. Even from the viewpoint of the human condition it is potentially possible to contemplatively ... [trace the links back to their source]... and reveal ... 'the processions of the substance' Such a moment of revelation is the supreme happiness to which the mystic can attain in his lifetime (Scholem 1974, 150).

This thesis is the culmination of eight years of study designed to further develop such a "moment" which occurred to me in 1987.¹ It is an examination of the mythic character of Lilith, of how after a span of millennia, she is still an active energy, of how she is found in that self which has its being in the collective unconscious. Her influence is still felt today as inspiration to poets, playwrights, novelists, musicians and artists. Her story is intimately interwoven into the fabric of the mythic tradition of western civilization. She rides the mystic undercurrents, source of spiritual renewal

¹ Term paper, "Lilith Rising," November 12, 1987

and awakening to life. She is a part of the living tradition of long dead ancestors.

Lilith transcends and operates diachronically in the three realms of Heaven, Earth and the Underworld by virtue of her three roles as the mistress of the god Yahweh (heaven), first wife of Adam, (earth) and Queen of the Underworld (nether world). The Emerald Tablet explains this phenomena.

What is below is just as what is above, and what is above is just as what is below for the purpose of penetrating the miracle of each thing. Herein is the strong strength of all strength: because it overcomes each subtle thing and penetrates every solid.²

Lilith also operates in such a way that is the counterpart and completion of Eve and the Shehkinah or Matronit, the other two divine feminine beings of Hebrew mythology. Lilith functions as the epitome of the "other" (the dark or shadow) side of the feminine. She has been split and separated from the "holy" (the light or bright) side of the feminine. This process of separation has its origins in cosmology (the realm of the above) and is reflected psychologically on earth (the realm of the below). Together Lilith and Eve form a complete feminine being which operates in the mortal realm (microcosm) and Lilith and Matronit form a complete feminine being which operates in the divine realm (macrocosm). These two metaphysical and psychological concepts are interlinked.

The Lilith explored in this thesis has a dual nature. She is a cosmic force, an elemental being, part of the process of original creation. This cosmic force is envisioned as a numinous being, well understood by the educated, religious functionaries of Sumer and Babylon and by the later Kabbalists. As

² Karen Voss, unpublished translation.

part of cosmogony of the *sitra ahra*, (the "other side") or the Underworld, Lilith is related to the ancient chthonic Goddesses. But, she is also the wild-hair seductress and child-killer of Hebrew demonology, the demon of Semitic amulets and incantation bowls. This demon is part of the superstition of folk legend which grew out of the fears of simple people, both Babylonian and Hebrew, who interpreted their experiences in ways which suited their customs and traditions. At first glance these two images seem to share little more in common than a name. However, there is as much to be learned from the demon form of Lilith as there is from the cosmic form.

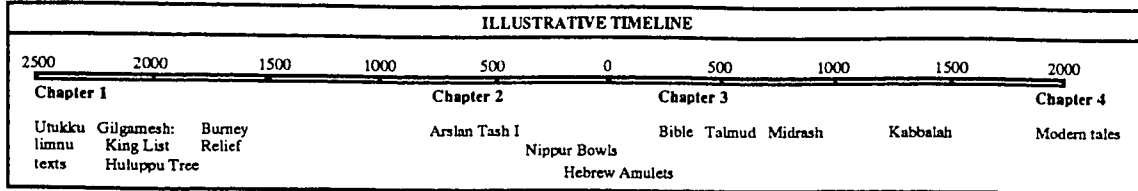
The thesis is divided into five chapters. The first two outline the ancient literary and iconographic material which may have made a contribution to the modern Lilith. "Lost in Dark Folds" covers the earliest sources which may refer to a form of Lilith. Only a few ancient references were to be found in the literature. These are fragmentary Sumerian texts which have come to light via their incorporation into the later Semitic writings of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Much of this material was found in ruins of the library of Ashurbanipal, the mid-first millennium Assyrian king who had his scribes copy ancient texts throughout Mesopotamia to furnish this remarkable library. "Stripped of Power" examines incantations and amulets directed against a demon-form which mostly likely can be identified as an early form of Lilith. The incantation bowls and amulets were probably based on earlier Babylonian and Egyptian magical material. These date from as early as the first millennium BCE through to the present for some of the Hebrew amulets. From these early incantations, the demon-form of Lilith is already identifiable as the creature in Hebrew demonology.

"Days in the Desert," the third chapter follows Lilith's development and transformation within Hebrew mythology from Biblical, Talmudic, Midrash and Kabbalistic sources. Jewish mythology, especially the Kabbalistic writings are the primary sources for the modern form of Lilith. It is also from this point onward that her character is recognizable in the form known today. The Hebrew sources for the legend of Lilith are found in a few entries from the Bible and Talmud, and especially the famous midrash of Ben Sira. But, primarily her development and transformation can be attributed to the writings of Kabbalistic mystics, an elite group of the few literate people of the Middle Ages. These spiritual seekers likely incorporated ancient ideas available via translations of ancient texts while elaborating on their own Talmudic traditions as well as developing their own insights.

Chapter four "Question of Shadows" examines modern works inspired by the Lilith legend. Modern works refers specifically to the art, music and literature of approximately the last two centuries available in English. This chapter also includes examples of tales from modern Jewish writers. These storytellers continue the ancient themes while adding their own current perspectives. This material has been limited to what is available in the English language because although, there is much material written in non-English languages,³ it is beyond my ability to examine. The choice of which pieces to include was based on emotional content, diversity in type of art form (i.e., poetry, play song) as well as diversity in time period.

³Listed in bibliography.

The outline below illustrates chronologically these four chapters.



Whenever possible, the material has been divided chronologically to provide a clearer understanding of each era and culture and what each contributed to the development of the character of Lilith. For example, it would be inappropriate to discuss the tale of Lilith as the first wife of Adam before it was written sometime after 500 CE. Also within each chapter, whenever possible, only the material associated primarily with that unit is discussed. However this was not always possible. The Semitic material of the first millennium BCE, although primarily attributed to the Assyrians and Babylonians, was readily available to the Hebrews.⁴

The final chapter "Touch Peace" covers Lilith's association with other Goddesses, her special qualities and her historical roles. This section is an attempt to place within a theoretical framework the preceding material. What is Lilith's association with other Goddesses? A connection with Eve and the Matronit/Shekhinah has already been mentioned, but what about the Christian divinity, Mary and the chthonic side of Goddess such as in Black Madonna or Kali? Lilith also has special metaphysical qualities which may explain something of her endurance. Lilith plays an important psychological

⁴ This is the reason for including the Hebrew amulets in chapter two with the ancient material instead of in chapter three with the other Jewish material.

role in the lives of mortals, both male and female. For men, she plays the double role of the anima and mother. In the role of mother, she may appear either as the nurturing or the devouring mother. For women she is the cast-out, shadow self. She is the dark feminine which has not found peace nor rest, which has no place or proper role within the feminine of a patriarchal society. She is also that ancient positive image of the Great Goddess as the Cycle of Life and Death. Through mythic reversal, she became the negative image of the Great Dragon, the seductress of men (as a form of anima) who bears demon children and the murderess of infants (the devouring mother). Even as a demon, though, she still maintains the power of Bringer of both Life and Death.

The scope of this thesis covers approximately 4,000 years of the historical review and is, therefore by necessity, incomplete. The trail is long, complex and intertwined. However, one of the goals of this thesis has been to compile a broad range of sources of Lilith material, especially those sources rarely found in the better known discussions. Because of this, it was difficult to have to omit material. There has been no attempt to understand the astrological inflexion, the speculation by certain astrologers that Lilith is a second, dark moon orbiting the earth.⁵ There has been no attempt to trace the associations of Lilith with the classic Lamia or other cultural variations. The foreign language literature could not be reviewed. There is a great deal more modern literature than was possible to survey. The modern literature discussed is only a small fragment. It was possible to review only one piece of music. There is a series of photographs and woodcuttings which could not be

⁵ A list of sources has been included in the bibliography.

discussed. If from a scholarly point of view, we are left with too much room for speculation, from a mythic perspective, we also have much room to grow, "myth grows spiral-wise until the intellectual impulse which has produced it is exhausted" (Levi-Strauss 1963, 229). It seems that the "impulse" of Lilith is not exhausted.

This thesis is an interdisciplinary study of a mythic character. The methodologies employed throughout cover several disciplinary fields, including anthropology, religious studies, history and psychology. The choice of methodology was primarily dictated by the material content of each chapter. For example, Chapter 1 examines the early material in the context of historical review while Chapter 2 looks at the literary, textual content of incantations and amulets. Chapter 3 employs primarily a theological, philosophical perspective of Jewish literature, especially the Kabbalah material. The approach in Chapter 4 is a literary review of modern works, and Chapter 5 is set within a psychological framework, influenced primarily by Jungian psychology. Feminist methodology has also been employed throughout the thesis where it seemed the most appropriate approach to the material.

The undertaking of this project was received with both discouragement and enthusiasm. Discouragement because much of the material is fragmentary in nature. Other studies of Lilith have mostly been written by psychologists who have worked with the material as it applies to archetypal imagery. However, one of the more thorough reviews of the general material is by Siegmund Hurwitz in the first part of his book, Lilith, the First Eve. Hurwitz is both a Jungian analyst and scholar of Jewish mysticism.

Raphael Patai includes a lengthy chapter on Lilith in The Hebrew Goddess utilizing primarily Jewish mythological themes. Lilith's recent popularity has made her more accessible, but she has been inspiring humanity for thousands of years. Because of this, it is important to make an attempt at understanding her influence. Much questionable speculation has been written about Lilith, however, this should not be a deterrent. The value of understanding her contribution to western mythology is too great, too vital an active force to remain unnoticed by either scholars or lay-persons.

The title of each chapter is based on lines from the poem "The Edge of Forever." This poem came unbidden on a cold morning in the spring of 1993, about halfway through my masters work. It came with the force of the unbidden, that dark companion who beckons to be found. Once the words were captured, they began to focus and reflect the course of my work -- journey into the Underworld, search for peace and union with the Shadow. Reach into the depths of Self. Say farewell to the old and familiar, leaving behind self illusion and the illusion of self. Forget. The Queen of Shadows and Demon Lover are powerful friends and enemies when one walks in their realm. They promise fear and triumph in the depths of Self.

The call to the "in-world" journey once heard cannot be ignored. It becomes a siren's song leading the traveler ever closer to dangerous shores of exploration and discovery. Poetry acts as a guide to the journey, what to bring, what to leave behind. It offers its own resolution. Structure cannot exist where there exists structure. In order to create anew, the journey must proceed through Self. It must reach through, by the paradoxical route outside of Self. In other words, figuratively refolding, ultimately recreating and

enfolding all within and without Self. It offers hope by allowing a touch of peace, a peace which can bring rest and refreshment, but only momentary. Peace is not permanent, no thing is permanent.

The journey continues the flow as patterns in an ongoing stream of causes and conditions linked across space and time. The flow along the eternal path of creation and destruction, which is neither; there is no release and no destruction. Both are illusions of the traveller's journey, what the Buddhists call emptiness. The poem advises to stand ready, stripped of power -- that power which is illusion of power and the power of illusion. Stand ready, stripped of power, wait. Wait with patience for that next step which is beyond that which was and that which was not -- the step beyond the path of existence, the emptiness.

One of my intuitions regarding those who make this journey is they become a part of the transformation of Lilith themselves.⁶ They become caught in the "waves of the Red Sea." "But the element in which this process exists is -- Time. Time is the whole point. Timing. The surfer on the wave."⁷ Sometimes swimming, sometimes surfing, much time struggling with the paradox which is Myth. Each surfer adding flavor to the alchemic mixture.

⁶ This is clearly seen in the modern tales and poems.

⁷ Doris Lessing, 1971, Briefing for a Descent into Hell.

Chapter 1

Lost in Dark Folds

Once upon a time long, long ago ...

May he vanquish Tiamat; may her life be strait and short
Into the future of mankind, when days have grown old,
May she recede without cease and stay away forever
(ANET 72).¹

These are the words of *Enuma Elis*, the Babylonia creation story. They are said of Tiamat, the primordial Mother Goddess who is here symbolic of all Goddesses who have been rejected, cursed or invoked to "recede without cease." For thousands of years, especially in the West, these words have rung true of the attitude toward Goddesses in general, and perhaps one in particular. She is Lilith -- envisioned variously as Goddess, Queen, Consort, Mother, Harlot, Murderess and Demon -- but always Goddess. Yet, she does not recede.

The historic origins of the mythic character of Lilith are lost in the "folds" of time. Although it is believed that a form of Lilith may have played a part in the mythology of the Ancient Near East dating back to the time of the Sumerians, there is insufficient evidence to support anything other than speculation of a Sumerian origin. The origins of the word *lilith* itself are equally still a puzzle to scholars. According to R. Campbell Thompson (1908)

¹ ANET, abbreviation for Ancient Near Eastern Texts ed. by James Pritchard, 1950.

lilitu and *lilu* either come from the Sumerian word LIL or the Semitic root לילה. He states,

if we are to find a Semitic derivation for it [the word Lilith] at all, and if it has not been taken over from the Sumerian, which seems most probable, it may be connected with *lalu*, 'to be abundant,' *lalu*, 'luxuriousness' and *lulu*, 'lasciviousness, wantonness' (1903, xxxvii).

He believed that *lilitu* was "the word from which the Hebrew Lilith was borrowed" (xxxvii). Thompson was not surprised that the Rabbis should have compared לילה, 'night,' with לילית, 'Lilith,' but in his view "this is now untenable [*lilitu* and *lilu*] are certainly not connected with the Hebrew *lailah*, 'night,'" (1908, 66). However, whether because of this error or some other reason, Lilith has been and continues to be associated with darkness and the operative forces of night. Thompson believed the most likely scenario was a Semitic adaptation of an original Sumerian word LIL.

The Sumerian word LIL has been translated variously as wind, geist or spirit and is best illustrated as part of the name of one of the best known divinities of ancient Sumer, the god ENLIL. The exact translation is not completely agreed upon, however scholars generally agree that LIL is that quality of the atmosphere between heaven and earth; the stuff that separates the two. Enlil is one of the primordial great gods. He emerged early in creation from An (heaven) and Ki (earth) which the Sumerian's imagined as a semi-circular heaven above, covering a flat earth below. Below the An-Ki was the Underworld. This universe comprised of An-Ki and the Underworld was surrounded by the "boundless sea." The sea was the "first cause," the "mother, who gave birth to heaven and earth." The emergence of Enlil separated the An-Ki into two spheres. The stars, sun, moon and planets were

next to come into existence. They are different from Enlil in substance only in that they have luminosity, but they are generated from the LIL. The literal translation, according to Samuel Noah Kramer, is wind or perhaps a gaseous substance. The word EN means Lord, Enlil has been translated as the "Lord Wind." However, Enlil is also conceived of as all the elements of the atmosphere which separate Heaven and Earth (Kramer 1963, 113).

The importance of Enlil cannot be overstated. According to Thorkild Jacobsen (1970) there is a tradition which states that Enlil "drove the pickax into the *uzu-e*. In the hole was the vanguard of mankind" (112). The *uzu-e* is the "flesh producer" and is called the *Uzu-mu-a*, "(place where) flesh sprouted forth." According to this tradition, it was Enlil who penetrated the Earth to produce humans. Afterward, Enlil "bound up for her (Ki) the gash in the 'bond of heaven and earth' so that the 'flesh producer' might grow the vanguard" (113) of humanity. The location of this 'wound' and the 'severed bond' was the most sacred area of the temple in the city of Nippur, the spiritual center of Sumer. It is known as the *Dur-an-ki*, the 'bond of heaven and earth.' This creation occurred "in the year (known as) 'Abundance, born in heaven, ...' [when] the people had broken through the ground like grass (lit.: plants and herbs)" (Jacobsen 1970, 112).

The same root word LIL which forms Enlil also forms Lilitu. This similarity of root words was not been discussed in the available literature. And, although it is intriguing to note there may be similarities between these two names, it would be a mistake to prematurely rely upon such a connection without further evidence.

This chapter will examine four isolated pieces of data that may or may not contribute to the earliest form of Lilith. These include the *utukku limnu* (evil demon) texts, the *lil-la* reference in the Sumerian King List, the tale of the Huluppu Tree and the Burney Relief.

UTUKKU LIMNU

There is a class of supernatural beings bearing what may have been an early variation of the name of Lilith. These beings have been discussed by R. Campbell Thompson in Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia first published in 1903 and in Semitic Magic published a few year later in 1908. According to Thompson, a majority of the Sumerian material dealing with the spirit world was wholly incorporated into Semitic Babylonian and Assyrian supernatural doctrines.² The early Semitic languages recognize the idea of "gods" (*ilu*, singular, *ilani*, plural) and "soul" (*ekimmu*), but it is impossible to say how much of their "later psychology and eschatology was original, and how much was borrowed [from the Sumerians]" (1903 xxii).

From extant texts in Sumerian and Akkadian, Thompson has distinguished three classes of "evil" spirits: devils, ghosts and demons (1903 xxiv):

Class	Description	Names
Devils	who had the same nature as gods, rode on noxious winds bringing storms and pestilence	Gallu Ilu

² Much of this material was later incorporated into Hebrew mythology which has contributed to the mythology of western culture.

Class	Description	Names
Ghosts	disembodied human souls who could find no rest so they wandered the earth	Utukku Ekimmu
Demons	half-human, half-supernatural spirit beings	Rabisu Alu Labartu Lilitu Lilu Ardat Lili Idlu lili ³

Chief among these beings were the *limnu* or "evil" ones. They were routinely listed together in incantations (Thompson 1903, xxiv; Knudsen 1959, 59; Prosecky 1975, 251ff; Wilson 1979, 96):

Utukku limnu	Evil Spirit
Alu limnu	Evil Demon
Ekimmu limnu	Evil Ghost
Gallu limnu	Evil Devil
Ilu limnu	Evil God
Rabisu limnu	Evil Fiend

According to Thompson, this list was augmented by two additional types of spirit beings:

Lamashtu Group	Lilitu Group
Labartu (Lamashtu)	Lilu
Labasu	Lilitu
Ahhazu	Ardat Lili

Seven decades later, Wilson acknowledging that Thompson's work still contributed much to our understanding of evil spirits of Mesopotamia, added that

³ Not mentioned in Thompson 1903, but added in 1908.

a recent study of the tenth Tablet of the *udug-hul-a-mes* series⁴ reveals that a distinction was made between the *lemnu* (evil) group of demons⁵ ... and the *kamu* (captive ?) group⁶. These two lists of demons consist of the same names that Thompson identified in 1903 (1979, 96).

The *gallu* is a devil which sometimes assumed the form of a bull. It is neither male nor female. It prowls the streets. The *ilu limnu* or "evil god" is a generic term. The *rabisu* is a lurking demon which "sets the hair of the body on end," but little more is known about it (Thompson 1903, xxxv). The *alu* is a demon which hides in dark corners and caverns in rocks. It haunts ruins and deserted buildings, roaming the streets at night. It waits for its victims, enveloping them, or it enters bedrooms by night stealing away the unwary while their eyes are closed. The *alu* can appear without mouth, limbs or ears. It can also appear to be partly human. According to Thompson, it is probably the offspring of a *lilitu* or *ardat lili* by a mortal male to whom she had attached herself (1903, xxvi). From Tablet B, Plate XXVII, line 18-19, Thompson translates "an evil demon that the man hath created on a bed by night in sleep" (1903, 129).

The *larbartu* (*lamashtu*) has a whole series of texts dedicated against it. She is a female demon, referred to as the daughter to Anu. She makes her home in the mountains or the reedbeds. Her head and face are those of a lion, her appearance is white as clay. She has the form of an ass from whose lips pour spittle, she roars like a lion and howls like a jackal (Hurwitz quoting

⁴ Prosecky, J. in *ArOr* 43 (1975), 245-255

⁵ *namtaru, utukku, alu, etimmu, gallu, ilu, rabisu*

⁶ *lamastu, labasu, ahhazu, lulu, lilitu, ardata lili, mukil res lemutti*

Myhrman 36). The *ahhazu* and *labasu* were a similar type of demon to the *larbartu* (Thompson 1903, xxvi).

The *utukku* were originally the ghosts of the dead who rise from the Underworld. In this form, the spirit of Enkidu appeared to Gilgamesh after his death and the spirit of Samuel conversed with Saul. This form is similar to the *ekimmu* (Thompson 1903, xxiv) which was the "departed spirit," the soul of the dead which could find no rest and so wandered over the earth. After death, the proper course of the soul was to enter the Underworld where it existed from the offerings and libations of its descendants on earth. If this was not possible because the corpse remained unburied or had no descendants, the *ekimmu* prowled the earth. This was also the fate of men and women who

died violent or unnatural deaths or who departed this life before fulfilling or completing certain duties could obtain no rest, and were compelled to remain as disembodied spirits to haunt mankind, until they were laid to rest by exorcism (Thompson 1903, xxxi).

This leads us to the demons which are of primary concern. From their description, this group belongs to both the "ghost" and "demon" class of spirits. They are the four: *lilu*, *lilitu*, *idlu lili* and *ardat lili*. *Lilu* is the masculine form of the feminine counterpart, *lilitu*. The *idlu lili* is the masculine counterpart of the *ardat lili*:

The *ardat lili* that hath no husband,
The *idlu lili* that hath no wife.⁷

In this context "stress [was] laid on its masculinity, *idlu* being the word for a grown man of full strength" (67). The word *ardatu* always implies a woman

⁷ Haupt, A.S.K.T., 11, ii, 30 (Quoted in Thompson 1908, 67).

of marriageable age (66). The implication is that these spirits had not found mates during their lifetime and were, therefore, condemned to return from the dead to fulfill their reproductive duties.

Although the word *lilitu* may have been borrowed for the name of the later Hebrew Lilith, it is the *ardat lili* whose function brings her into close relations with human beings. The Hebrew Lilith's function as seductress (i.e., the succubus) probably came from the *ardat lili* (Thompson 1903, xxxii ff). It is the *ardat lili* who is described as a restless ghost "that has no husband." She is forced by sexual desire to wander around, unable to rest, until she is satisfied. However, it is difficult to distinguish between the characteristics of the two.⁸

He whom the ardat lili hath looked upon,
The man with whom the ardat lili hath had union.

The ardat lili attacketh the man's dwelling, amid untimely
dead(?), a maid that cannot menstruate ... like a woman, that
hath no modesty ... like a woman (Thompson 1908, 67).

According to Thompson, these ghosts appear to be variations of the "night-wraith that hath no husband" (Thompson 1903, xxxii) whose characteristics resemble the later Lilith of Rabbinic tradition who was said to have bore Adam "devils, spirits, and *lilin* (the Assyrian *lilu*)" (1908, 70)⁹.

Various other demon characteristics from ancient Assyrian times can be seen in the later Jinn of the Arabs which could become corporeal beings and are more like hairy beasts, some having animal shapes such as an ostrich or snake. Jinn have the power to temporarily take the shape of humans. This corresponds to general Northern Semitic beliefs "in demons of a

⁸ It seems likely that *lilitu* and *ardat lili* are descriptive of one spirit.

⁹ This legend is found in the Talmud.

precisely similar kind, hairy beings (*se'irim*), nocturnal monsters (*lilith*), which haunted waste and desolate places in fellowship with jackals and ostriches" (Thompson 1908, 57). A further description of this class of spirits comes from a text ascribing sickness to demons including, "the phantom of night (*lilu*) that in the desert roameth abroad, unto the side of the wanderer have drawn night, casting a woeful fever upon his body" (1908, 97).

With regard to the female demon's particular characteristics, "the ghoul (*lilith*) works harm in the dwelling of a man, the maid (who has died) before her time, the maid who cannot menstruate as women do, the maid who hath no womanly modesty (?)" (Thompson 1908, 120). According to Thompson, it appeared that "some mystical significance was clearly attached to the absence of this monthly function [menstruation], or there would have been no mention of the girl in such a list of ghosts" (120). This text contributes to the function of these spirits as returning from the dead to procreate with humans.

The *lilitu* and *ardat lili* are also associated with ghosts of women who died in childbirth and thus return from the dead looking for their child. On this point, Thompson quotes Skeat in Malay Magic¹⁰

if a woman dies in childbirth, she is supposed to become a *langsuyar* or flying demon the original *langsuyar* was supposed to be a kind of night owl, like the *Lilith* of Rabbinic tradition (1903 xxxiii).

If the woman died giving birth, "she becomes a ghost which will return for its babe. The infant, too, incurs the risk of attack from female spirits such as the *lilith*, the *lamia*, or the *labartu*" (Thompson 1908, 136). Thompson has

¹⁰ Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 325 (quoting Sir William Maxwell)

identified this type of spirit with the function of seduction of mortal males, bearing demon children to them as well as being the spirit of dead mothers who return for their infants. These mothers can wander the earth in the form of birds. In further discussing the association with birds, Thompson states "the owl was a bird of ill-omen among the [ancient] Assyrians the Arabs of the present day [1903] consider the owl to be the wraith of a woman seeking her child" (1903, li). And "among the Arabs of Palestine, the Egyptian eagle owl is an enchanted woman, who possesses baneful influences over childbirth ..." (1908, 21).

Among the other references to demons in general, Thompson discusses where they are said to dwell: "the occupation of ruins by specters is a universal superstition..." (1903, xli) and "deserts and ruins were also favorite haunts of the ghosts and goblins." (1903, xl) And, from Tablet B, line 98, "where thou standest is forbidden ground, a ruined, desolate house is thy home." Isaiah 34:14 also mentions the desert as the home of various ill-omened creatures, one of which has been variously translated as Lilith.

With this brief survey of the earliest material, we already begin to see the basic elements in the Lilith motif. She has been identified with nocturnal habits, mating with mortals, birds (especially the owl), and with children resulting from mating with mortals.

... a hero and king ...

GILGAMESH

There are two literary references which may also be associated with an early form of Lilith. These references are associated with Gilgamesh, the king

of Uruk. Here we are no longer dealing with the spirit of a dead human, but with divine beings, whether demons or gods¹¹ is uncertain. The great hero Gilgamesh was himself semi-divine. The references in question are:

1. The father of Gilgamesh is listed in the Sumerian King List as a *lil-la* or *lil-lu* demon.
2. Gilgamesh cuts down a primordial tree belonging to the goddess Inanna, in its trunk a divine female being by the name of *lil-la-ke* has made a home.

Although today Gilgamesh is best known through his great Epic journey, there was a long oral tradition surrounding his character¹². Gilgamesh's adventurous stories were so wide spread and numerous that originally scholars believed him to be a mythic king instead of an historic ruler. Literary evidence now shows that Gilgamesh was in fact an historic king (Kramer 1963, 45 ff and Jacobsen 1976, 195 ff) who ruled in Uruk around 2600 BCE. His name not only appears in the Sumerian King List, but in a list of historic kings who repaired the temple of Ninlil in Nippur, as well as in association with two other contemporary rulers (Kramer 1963, 46).

Five hundred years after his reign (approximately 2100 BCE), the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur still considered Gilgamesh to be their ancestor. They revived interest in his various legends and passed them down for future generations. However, the Epic itself only dates from around 1600 BCE. This is toward the end of the Old Babylonian kingdom. The best preserved copies, however, come from the library of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh which dates to around 650 BCE.

¹¹ In the ancient world, the difference between demon and god is not always explicit, nor is there always a rigid distinction between the two.

¹² See Jacobsen's [The Treasures of Darkness](#) 1976.

The Gilgamesh Epic tells the story of the two great friends, Gilgamesh and Enkidu. And, how it came about that after the death of Enkidu, Gilgamesh was so grief struck and horrified by death that he went in search of the only mortal to have achieved immortality, Utnapishtim, so that he too may learn the secret of eternal life. Gilgamesh plays the part of the solar hero following the course of the sun westward into the Underworld (Wensinck 1978, 3). There he eventually met Utnapishtim and learned that he would not be able to achieve eternal life. Utnapishtim's immortality was a singular act of the god Enlil in response to a particular unrepeatably event. However, in compensation, Utnapishtim told Gilgamesh about a plant of renewal which Gilgamesh obtained from the bottom of the sea. He named this plant 'Man Becomes Young in Old Age' (ANET 96). But having gained the plant of rejuvenation, Gilgamesh lost it to the serpent.¹³ He eventually returned home having learned the truth of what the gods had told him all along, the best one may hope for is to be merry by day and by night, to look upon the smile of his wife and hear the laughter of his children. Gilgamesh is symbolic of all solar heroes who battle the symbols of the other two great cosmic bodies in the heavens, the Earth and the Moon. Gilgamesh also killed Gudgalanna, the Bull of Heaven; Humbaba, the guardian of the eastern forest; and the serpent at the base of the primordial tree when he roused the Anzu bird and the *li-la-ke*.¹⁴

¹³ The ancient symbol of wisdom and renewal.

¹⁴ One possible interpretation of these deaths is parallel to the image of Mithra sacrificing of the bull, here the release of energy into the world as represented by Gudgalanna, Humbaba and Serpent.

Sumerian King List

The most often noted translation of the Sumerian King List is Thorkild Jacobsen's 1939 publication. The reference to the father of Gilgamesh begins on line 12:

divine Lugal-banda, a shepherd,
reigned 1,200 years;
divine Dumuzi(d), a ---
reigned 100 years;
divine Gilgames--
his father (was) a lillu-demon--
a high priest of Kullab,
reigned 126 years: (89-91)

Here we learn of the succession of three kings. These kings may or may not have had any relationship to each other as kingship did not necessarily pass from father to son.

The question of Gilgamesh's parentage is an interesting puzzle. His mother was the goddess Ninsun, but it is his father that is the mystery. Regarding the *lil-la* or *lil-lu* demon, Jacobsen¹⁵ took his clue from Thompson's Semitic Magic where in 1908 Thompson described the group of four demons -- *idlu lili*, *ardat lili*, *lilu* and *lilitu*. Twenty-two years later (nine years before Jacobsen published his translation of the King List), Thompson published a transliteration of the Epic of Gilgamesh where he reiterates his description of the four "vampire-type" demons and states "the mother of Gilgamesh is well known as the goddess Ninsun, the consort of Lugalbanda, but the name of his father is still unsettled" (9).

In trying to identify Gilgamesh's father, it is necessary to take into account his singular divine status. Gilgamesh is described as being 2/3 divine

¹⁵ See Sumerian King List pages 90-91 and footnote 131, p. 90.

and 1/3 mortal.¹⁶ With this combination, it does not seem possible that either of his parents could have been fully human. Thompson referred to earlier translations of the Sumerian King List, where

Fortsch in OLZ. 1915, 367 saw the beginning of the name as A- . . . , taking it from Poebel's kings list, where the father of Gilgamesh is described a a- . . . the lord of Kullab. But this looks so much like the new Weld-Blundell text, which gives lil-la, that whatever a- . . . may represent, we are entitled to depend on the lil-la as the father of Gilgamesh (1930, 9).

Thompson found parallels in Langdon's "noting of Aelian's story about Gilgamesh how his mother 'secretly bore a son by an obscure man,'" as well as the story of how Nectanebus, a magician, is said to have been the father of Alexander by visiting his mother, Olympias, in the form of a snake. He also mentions the legend that Cain's real father was not Adam, but a demon who mated with Eve in the form of the serpent (1930, 9-10). In the legends of the Ancient Near East, there is precedence for the mating of divinity with mortals to produce children who have semi-divine natures but who are still ultimately mortal.

In the 1947, A. Leo Oppenheim in his article "Mesopotamian Mythology II" also reviewed the divine origin of Gilgamesh. "We know that the mother of Gilgamesh was a goddess while his father (Lilla(1)) obviously was of human extraction" (20). To account for Gilgamesh's two-thirds godhead, Oppenheim proposes the translation of ("[us]-te-is-bi-[su]) as meaning that Ninsun "improved upon" Gilgamesh's divine nature. This increase of Gilgamesh's divine nature, Oppenheim felt eliminated the need for any divinity in the father. Instead it was his mother who by decree

¹⁶ ANET p. 73.

increased his divine status. Oppenheim explains that according to Mesopotamian mathematical terminology,

"one part" means "half," but "two parts" means "two thirds" (and consequently "three parts" = "three quarters"), endows the above explained reasoning with a cogency and a persuasiveness which it sadly lacks for our intellectual and emotional attitude towards such theological niceties (21).

Oppenheim also found a parallel for increased godhead in *Enuma Elis* where "Ea endows Marduk with a 'double godhead' in order to improve upon him" (21). The two-thirds godhead permitted Gilgamesh to battle cosmic forces and to survive the journey into the Underworld, but ultimately the one-third mortality condemned him to share the fate of mortals.

The quantity of divinity in Gilgamesh is important in establishing his paternity. The candidates are Lugal-banda, the mortal hero and king who was deified after his death, a high priest of Kullab (a region of Uruk) or a LIL-LA-demon. Dumuzi whose name proceeds Gilgamesh's in the King List is not mentioned as a candidate by scholars. If his mother "improved upon" his nature, then it may be possible that Lugal-banda was the father. The high priest of Kullab is usually thought of by scholars as an adjective, not as a separate king. A demon, whose own nature is semi-divine, would in part account for the unusual division of thirds, however, the demon's own nature would also have been singular. Oppenheim's argument also has merit. But, it is also possible that we have not yet completely understood a particular cultural reference to paternity which would have been clear to ancient listeners.

The Huluppu Tree

The second reference associated with Gilgamesh is to a being called *Lil-la-ke* mentioned in the Sumerian tale "Gilgamesh and the Huluppu Tree" translated by Samuel Noah Kramer in 1939. This is one of a number of stories which were not incorporated into the great epic journey. The text dates to approximately 2000 BCE and undoubtedly was a copy of much earlier material (Kramer 1938, 1). The story begins in mythic time, the "once upon a time" of Sumer. In Sumerian literature this is described as 'after Anu claimed the heavens, after Enlil had taken away earth, after Ereshkigal¹⁷ had been placed¹⁸ in the Underworld.' It was in this time that a Great Tree was uprooted by the fierce South Wind and carried down the primordial river. A goddess wandering along the bank found the Tree and brought it to Inanna who planted it in her garden and cared for it. She hoped to make from the wood a throne and bed for herself. After the Tree matured, however, Inanna was unable to cut it down because it had been inhabited by three beings.

Kramer's translation reads as follows:

At its base the snake who knows no charm(?) had set up for itself a nest, in [its] crown the [Zu]-bird had placed (his) young, in its midst Lilith had built for herself a house (1938, 5).

At this point in the story, Inanna went to Gilgamesh, "her brother, comes to her aid, the hero Gilgamesh, stood by her" (9). With his huge bronze axe, weighing seven talents and seven minas, Gilgamesh slew the serpent. The

¹⁷ Ereshkigal is the Queen of the Underworld in Sumerian religion. Her consort is variously named as Nergal, the son of Ninlil and Enlil and occasionally as Gudgalanna, the great Bull of Heaven. These two names many actually refer to one deity.

¹⁸ It is interesting to note that the masculine god An (Heaven) took "heaven" (the upper sphere) for himself, Enlil, another masculine god, took away the feminine Ki (Earth, the lower sphere) and the indication is that Ereshkigal was placed by some 'unnamed force' into the Underworld. The implication for masculine/feminine dynamics is worth further consideration.

Zu-bird fled with its young into the mountains and the being *lil-la-ke* whom Kramer translated as Lilith "destroyed her house and escapes to the desert places" (10).¹⁹ Gilgamesh cut down the Tree and gave it to Inanna who made her throne and bed. From the base of the Tree, Gilgamesh made two magical objects. These were the *pukku* and *mikku*, whose exact translation is not known. Kramer believed these were musical instruments, something like a drum and stick which in another Gilgamesh story played an important role. The instruments fell into the Underworld where Enkidu went to retrieve them.

Kramer believed that the female being *Lil-la-ke*, who had made her home in the tree, was none other than Lilith (2). There is no further explanation in the article for how he acquired this understanding. Although in 1983, Kramer maintained his belief that *Lil-la-ke* was Lilith when he collaborated with Diane Wolkstein in adapting the *huluppu* story for her book Inanna, Queen of Heaven and Earth. Kramer's enormous influence in Sumeriology has contributed to the general acceptance of the being in the "Huluppu Tree" as Lilith.

The *huluppu* tree story contains another element which is highly informative. It features one of the most enduring triads of the Ancient Near East: bird, serpent and tree and their connection with a divine being. All three images are standard, traditional motifs of Mesopotamian mythology. Another story that demonstrates the antiquity of this triad dates back to legendary dynasty of Kish. Etana, the first king named in the Sumerian King List, had remained childless. The only cure was a "plant of birth" which

¹⁹ Note that Thompson has already stated that demons were associated with desert places.

Etana would have to bring down from Heaven. The problem was how to fly to Heaven to retrieve the plant. Etana asks Eagle, who had been trapped in a pit by his friend Serpent for having betrayed him. Etana rescued Eagle who helped him in his quest by flying them up to Heaven. The remaining section of text is missing. However, the name of Etana's son was recorded, leading to the conclusion that the story ended well. In this tale we again see the three symbols of plant (tree), bird and serpent (ANET 114).

A unique study elaborating on the themes under discussion is J. V. Kinnier Wilson's The Rebel Lands published in 1979. Wilson, who for many years worked in the oil industry, argues for an explanation of myth through the "geology" of Mesopotamia. The mixture of oil and natural gas associated with the area around Iran and Iraq has been contained underground, or in the Nether World, by pressure for millennium. This pressure on occasion gives rise to small amounts of 'seepage.' The antiquity of this seepage is evidenced by the formation of 'detrital bitumen.' The escape of columns of oil and natural gas may have at times ignited and burned, perhaps giving rise to 'eternal fires.' This characteristic was demonstrated in the not too recent past. Under high pressure, the burning columns of gas form what appears to be the head of a lion. What Wilson believes to have been likened to the "Lion head" mentioned in various texts in reference to Ninurta,

I was a man after the heart of my father Enlil,
I was a Lion-head, the beloved of my mother Ninlil;
I was born in the mountainland, I was the strong one of the
mountainland (21).

Enlil enters Wilson's argument as the father of Ninurta, the greatest of the 'Lion-heads.' He is his father's champion against his great enemy, the

Anzu (Zu) bird. The same Zu bird who made its home in the crown of the *huluppu* tree in Inanna's garden. Earlier Anzu had been appointed by Enlil to watch over the Tablets of Destiny which conferred upon the wearer the office of "Enlilship." According to the story, Anzu stole the Tablets and went off into the mountains where Enlil could not reach. The qualities or aspects in these Tablets are referred to as "mes"²⁰ one of which is the responsibility of Enlilship to control these powers, some of which were capable of destroying the world. Ninurta who possesses 'the Seven (weapons) of battle' challenges Anzu. Wilson translates an Assyrian tablet:

(The light) by its intensity (?) removed his sight,
-- At the time that it removed it did the fire arise.
Anzu it so disturbed he [Ninurta] then (easily) cut his throat;
-- At the cry of the Lion-head had the fire ignited (25)

This passage details the destruction of Anzu by Ninurta. The Anzu has traditionally been regarded as the personification of the thunder-cloud, imaged as an enormous vulture floating with outstretched wings in the sky. The story of Ninurta destroying the Anzu is parallel to Gilgamesh's routing of the Anzu bird from the crown of the *huluppu* tree. According to Wilson there was an

(oil) snake at its base, the Anzu (cloud) at its top and ki-sikil-lil-la(-ak), 'the Lilith' of the gas demons at its centre. The point of this example lies in the suitability of regarding oil, dust cloud and gas as a single concept (the Tree), if lil-la is taken in the way suggested (58).

²⁰ *Me* has been translated both as objects and as qualities which keep the cosmos as well as cultural elements operating. They are symbols and sources of power. They include such qualities as en-ship, godship, queenship; objects such as royal insignia, exalted shrine, battle standard; attitudes such as rejoicing of the heart, falsehood, wisdom, attention, fear; and they include 'descent into the nether world,' and 'ascent from the nether world.'

This reference to 'the Lilith' as a gas demon led Wilson to argue an interesting case. The generally accepted translation of the Sumerian word LIL is wind, geist or spirit. Wilson speculated that the word LIL may actually means "gas," literally the geological clouds of natural gas associated with the oil fields (57). In this case, *lil-la* would "specifically meaning 'gas-demon'" (58, note 3).

The other adversary of Ninurta mentioned is Asag, born of An and Ki (heaven and earth). His outward appearance is not described in the extant material (Wilson 1979, 27), however Wilson proposes him as a candidate for "the seven-head Snake" (*mus-sag-imin*) from the Converse Tablet (28).

Moreover,

The fact that lugal-e III 43 has 'musen anzumusen mus-sag-imin, 'the Anzu-bird and the seven-headed Snake,' written together and on the same line is perhaps some evidence for supposing that it is Asag who is here associated with Anzu, especially as one could think that they were adversaries of comparable status (28).

This may be entirely possible considering the ancient association of bird and serpent in the imagery of Mesopotamian mythology. Once again we have a parallel story to Gilgamesh battling with the creatures of the "Huluppu Tree." In light of Wilson's argument, it is interesting to note that in the Burney Relief, the goddess is standing on two lions. There is reference to Ishtar "who harnessed the Seven Lions" and Inanna, "on the Seven great Lions you rode, rising into the heavens" (Wilson 1978, 19).

BURNEY RELIEF

Perhaps the most controversial artifact associated with Lilith is a bas-relief which first appeared as a full-page, frontal photograph on page 1047 in the "Illustrated London News" on June 13, 1936, under the title, "A Puzzling 'Venus' of 2000 B.C.: A Fine Sumerian Relief in London." It is a relatively large bas-relief of a divine female being.²¹ The divinity of this being can be identified by the horned crown of Sumerian deities. She has large wings and taloned feet and stands on two lions with two owls on either side. Her hands are held out at shoulder height with palms open holding either the "ring and rod" symbol or a length of cord looped over her fingers. The location of where the artifact was found was not identified, however, according to the caption "exhaustive chemical examination" showed it to be dated to approximately the Isin-Larsa period. Mr. Frank Davis, who wrote the brief caption, stated the problem of identifying the goddess, "the owls are a puzzle, for Minerva²² was not yet born." In 1936 the relief was the property of Mr. Sydney Burney and became known as the Burney Relief.²³

Within a few years of the publication of the photograph, a number of well known scholars (Kreling, Opitz, Van Buren and Frankfort) speculated on the identity of the deity. Although no definitive identity could be proven, the relief became associated with the character of Lilith and subsequently has been referred to in the literature as the Lilith Relief. Although, today it is

²¹ Height 19 1/2", width 14 1/2", average thickness 1" - 1 1/4", head of goddess projects from background 1 3/4", heads of lions and owls project approximately 2".

²² Minerva is the Roman name of the Greek warrior goddess of wisdom, Athene, whose symbols are the owl and the olive tree. Serpents are also associated with her.

²³ The relief is now located in Japan (E. Finkel, British Museum, personal communication, December 1994).

known by this name, this identity has not been proven and, therefore, it will be referred to here by its original name.

Three critical articles associated with the identification of this relief will be discussed.²⁴ The first article published was by Emil Kraeling in 1937 and is only three pages long. Kraeling was convinced of the authenticity of the relief. Using the horned crown, he identified the being as "belonging to the divine order, but not necessarily a goddess of the Ishtar rank" (16-7). The wings suggested to him a demon associated with the wind, while the owls "indicate the nocturnal habits of this female demon [Lilith]" (18). Kraeling knew of two evil demons from pictorial representations: Lamashtu and Pazuzu. Pazuzu he eliminated as being male. Lamashtu he dismissed because she is pictured composed of various animals. He, therefore, associated her with the Sumerian Lilitu whom he identified with Lilith. At the end of the article, Kraeling adds in a note, although Lilitu/Lilith was a demon, "she is here on the way to becoming a goddess" (18). He found in the relief evidence for both demonic and divine rank, believing it to show the transition from demon to deity even if "in this instance the rise to divine rank was only temporary" (18).

Elizabeth Douglas Van Buren, also writing in 1937, found the relief to have parallels in the image of the "Warrior Ishtar" (354). Van Buren identified a close parallel to a clay relief, from the Louvre (AO 6501), of a nude goddess in the same position as the Burney Relief wearing the horned crown. This goddess has similar wings and legs ending in bird feet. The goddess is

²⁴ Dietrich Opitz doubted the authenticity of the relief. He wrote in German, therefore, I am not able to comment further.

standing on the backs of two ibexes, instead of lions, who are profiled instead of facing forward as on the Burney Relief. As for the owls, Van Buren found "no counterparts in reliefs or figurines of clay, but they were not entirely unknown in Sumerian art" (355). Van Buren also cites several passages associating Ishtar with birds,

My Queen unto the vault of heaven joyfully wings like a bird(?)
(356)

Queen (of heaven), who puts on the 'Garment of heaven,' who rises in the sky valiantly, over the sky she flies (357)

Although van Buren mentioned the passage from the story "The Huluppu Tree" regarding Lilith, her only comment was that Thompson suggested "here Lilith is the name for the owl" (356), without citing where Thompson made this comment. She made no further connection to other deities. Van Buren believed the deity in the Relief to be Ishtar.

The most thorough examination of the Burney Relief was by Henri Frankfort in his 1939 article. Frankfort began by stating that the uniqueness of the Burney Relief cannot be used as criteria for judgment since our knowledge of Mesopotamian art is so limited. He warned that further research may be side-tracked by either "unwarranted doubt as well as by lighthearted acceptance" (128). This is especially true as it was apparent that previous scholars had at their disposal only a "press-photograph" which he felt explained various errors in the description of the relief. Frankfort proposed to use two criteria, based on internal evidence, to examine the relief. First, "stylistic qualities" he felt should agree with better authenticated pieces and the "iconography" should not conflict with general trends of ancient beliefs known from text and monuments (128).

Frankfort identified the Burney Relief as belonging "to a group of large and monumental works of terracotta, made during the last third of the Third millennium B.C., of which but a few fragments have come down to us" (128), instead of one of the various popular, mass produced plaques which previous scholars had used for comparison. "The Burney Relief is an original work of art, probably a cult object ... parts of it are modelled in high relief the plaque was not cast in a mould" (129). He gave a thorough description of the relief as well as identified traces of red ochre on the body of the goddess. The feathers of the wings of both the goddess and owls show traces of black and red, while the manes of the lion are incrustated with a black, bituminous paint. The living form of the goddess, her knees and stomach as well as the musculature of the lions, Frankfort compares to the "best examples of Mesopotamian art" (132).

According to Frankfort, the Burney Relief belongs to a type of monument art which may be classed as an "object of worship." This may explain the forward facing direction of not only the goddess, but the lions and owls -- facing the approaching worshipper. He gave as examples of this type of art the great beasts along the gateways of Assyrian palaces and a relief from the Assur temple at Assur where the central god and "subsidiary deities regard the approaching worshipper" (133) as well as the Karaindas temple at Uruk where various deities hold a flowing vase face forward. The difference between the monumental pieces and the small plaques may be "between the pictorial reference to a god and a symbol of his presence" (133). Stylistically, then the Burney Relief agreed with other monumental pieces of artwork.

Van Buren compared the Burney Relief with AO 6501 from the Louvre, however, as this object has ibexes instead of lions and the owls are missing, Frankfort believed that different figures were being depicted. According to Frankfort, these were two representations of goddesses who combine the characteristics of humans and birds. He points out that such bird-beings are well-known from the numerous cylinder seals found throughout Mesopotamia. The images suggest these bird-beings are associated with demons of the Underworld,

Sometimes they are shown holding a crouching man in their talons and another in each hand. Elsewhere they are depicted as captives, bereft of the crown of divinity, and held by the wings by two heroic figures, which seem once to be attendants of the sun-god (Frankfort 1939, 134).

One such divinity associated with bird-like features is Nergal, the Lord of the Underworld. In Enkidu's dream before his death, he saw a figure with the face of a "great bird and with claws like those of an eagle" (134). The dwellers of the Underworld have also been described as birdlike.

Another being from the Underworld with similar characteristic was Lilith whom Kraeling had already associated with the Burney Relief. Frankfort had no objection against this identification since as a succubus who destroys her lovers, she could be depicted as beautiful. If the interpretation of the "ring and staff" as symbols of justice is correct, they could be wielded by a demonic character whose visit was considered a punishment for some unknown sin. The crown of divinity was consistent with Lilith's nature as "the line of demarcation between gods and demons is far from rigid" (135). Again the story of the Huluppu Tree is cited with its association of Zu-bird, serpent and mythic being all making a home in the primordial tree.

Thompson had already identified the spirit of the dead woman (the *lilitu*) with owls (1908, 20) both of which have "the habit of nocturnal flight" (Frankfort 135). Although the evidence is circumstantial, Frankfort accepted a possible identification of Lilith as the deity in the Burney Relief.

In addition to the main elements of the Burney Relief, namely the female being, the lions and the owls, the following symbolic objects can clearly be seen:

- horned crown
- rod and measuring line
- bracelets
- a necklace
- object draped on shoulders over the necklace

A comparison not found in the literature is that of the above objects with a description of the ceremonial objects with which Inanna/Ishtar adorned herself before her journey into the Underworld. There are interesting parallels in a number of these items. Below is a table using three translations: Kramer, Jacobsen and Wolkstein working closely with Kramer.²⁵ Inanna prepared herself by "gathering" the "seven" mes.²⁶

Kramer:	Jacobsen:	Wolkstein: ²⁷
1. Sugurra crown	1. Kaffieh and aghal (desert headdress)	1. Shugurra crown of the steppe
2. Wig	2. Wig	2. Dark locks
3. Measuring rod and line of lapis	3. Pure yardstick and measuring line	3. Small lapis beads

²⁵ Kramer 1969 Sacred Marriage Rites, Jacobsen 1987 The Harps that once ..., Wolkstein 1983 Inanna Queen of Heaven and Earth.

²⁶ Although the number seven is given in the text, there are actually nine items named as adorning Inanna's body.

²⁷ Wolkstein worked closely with Kramer. Her translation reflects a later version of Kramer's original work.

4. Small lapis stones	4. Small lapis lazuli beads	4. double strand of beads
5. Sparkling stones	5. Yoked oval stone beads	5. royal robe
6. Gold ring	6. gold bracelets	6. Ointment called "Let him come, let him come"
7. Breastplate	7. breast-shields (named) "O man, come hither, come hither!"	7. breastplate called "Come, man, come!"
8. Gala-garment (of ladyship)	8. robe of office of queenship	8. gold ring
9. Kohl	9. kohl (named) "O may he come, may he come!"	9. Lapis measuring rod and line

The crown, rod and ring, bracelets, necklace and breastplate are clearly visible on the Burney Relief. The items which cannot be identified with certainty are the wig and kohl. The gala-garment, if this is an article of clothing, is missing as the goddess stands nude. Otherwise, in the Burney Relief, we have a goddess adorned in ceremonial regalia. This would support Frankfort's theory that the Burney Relief was used as an object of worship, whoever the goddess may have been. Unfortunately, this interesting line of questioning cannot be developed further at this point.

In summary, we have reviewed three literary and one iconographic artifact which may shed some light on the original form of Lilith. These were the ghosts of women, the LILITU who died without fulfilling their reproductive duties to society and therefore became ghosts/demons that haunt the living, even to the point of mating with them in order to fulfill their duty. Thompson also found a connection between this type of ghost and

women who died in childbirth returning as ghosts to seek their infants.

These ghosts were also associated with birds, especially the owl.

If the father of Gilgamesh were a LIL-LA-demon, then it could be established that this type of ghost/demon could be considered a progenitor of mortals. Thompson found parallels for this belief in the story of Nectanebus, the magician who in the form of a snake was said to have fathered Alexander as well as the legend that Cain's real father was a demon who mated with Eve in the form of the serpent.

We also have a mythic being, LIL-LA-KE, who dwelled in the primordial tree. Although, seemingly unrelated to the ghosts of mortals, this being does have a relationship with Gilgamesh and parallels the recurring themes of tree, bird and serpent found throughout ancient Mesopotamia. Along these lines, in his epic journey, Gilgamesh comes to the tree at the Eastern horizon. The "tree consists of precious stones, pink and blue, the colours of the sky and of the sun rising behind the morning clouds. It is placed on the shore of the ocean where the sun begins its course; so it is the tree of light" (Wensinck 1978, 3).

Osiris was enclosed in a tree, as symbolized by the coffin, and thrown into the sea where his body traveled to Byblos. There a tree grew around the coffin which the king of Byblos used as a pillar for his castle. The Asherah, worshipped in Byblos, were made of wood and stylized in the form of an early version of an Egyptian coffin. Merlin Stone speaks of the tree as the body of Hathor "to eat from it was to eat of the flesh and fluid of the goddess" (1976, 215). Hathor was known as the Eye of Wisdom and the Serpent Lady as well as the Lady of the Sycamore. James Frazer speaks at length about the tree

sacred to Roman Diana (the Greek Artemis). Hera had an orchard of apple trees around which the serpent Ladon coiled. And, of course, there was the serpent associated with the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Garden of Eden.²⁸

In addition, there are a number of creation myths in which a great serpent plays a part. For example in one Greek creation story, Eurynome created Ophion, the great serpent. They mated to create the Universal Egg which Ophion coiled around seven times out of which came creation (Graves 1955, 27). The Babylonia goddess, Tiamat, was called a Great Serpent. The god Marduk used her disemboweled body to create the universe. Athene can also be seen with serpents coiled around her shoulders or coming out from beneath her helmet. At Delphi, Pythia, the priestess had the great serpent, Python, at the foot of her tripod where she sat as prophetess. There is also the Egyptian Cobra Goddess, Wadjet, who along with companion Nekhbet, the Vulture Goddess, formed the uraeus of the divine headdress. Behind and surrounding these goddesses is the solar disc. Wadjet and Nekhbet symbolized the two halves of Upper and Lower Egypt. They were also the embodiment of the two Crowns. Also, from neolithic Anatolia, there is the great Vulture Goddess and from Mesopotamia we have discussed the Anzu bird, the great thundercloud.

The association of goddess, tree, bird and serpent are ancient and enduring. We have only mentioned a few of these associations. However, certain themes seem to emerge from these stories. For example, the tree as the "embodiment" of the divinity, housing the potential power of Life giving

²⁸ See section on Jewish legends

energy. It is also the axis mundi connecting the three realms of heaven, earth and the underworld. The serpent coiled at the base of the tree is a symbol of lunar energy, of "renewal" released into the world by the solar hero.

In the Burney Relief, we have a Goddess of the Underworld. This goddess may or may not have some association with the deity of the Huluppu Tree. However, her association with owls connects her with other lunar deities and with the Underworld, as well as with the great solar animal, the lion.

Chapter 2

Stripped of Power

... magic to fight demons ...

. . . . the bewitching lilith who haunts the house of Zakoy;

bound is the bewitching lilith who haunts the house of Zakoy with a belt of iron on her pate;
bound is the bewitching lilith with a peg of iron in her nose;
bound is the bewitching lilith with pinchers of iron in her mouth;

bound is the bewitching lilith who haunts the house of Zakoy with a chain of iron on her neck;
bound is the bewitching lilith with fetters of iron on her hands;
bound is the bewitching lilith with stock of stone on her feet

And let there be health unto him, to his house, his dwelling,
and his buildings, and to his wife and his sons and daughters¹

Leaving behind the ancient, fragmentary references of Sumerian literature and iconography, we turn to the practice of magic. From the earliest times of the great walled cities of Sumer (circa 3000 BCE), their history was essentially one of conflict between powerful city-states such as Kish, Ur and Uruk. It was not until around 2300 BCE that for the first time these Sumerian cities were united under Sargon the Great and held together through the lifetime of his grandson Naram-Sin. This period of relative prosperity was followed by a time of great change. Once again the major cities divided into independent city-states to be conquered, divided and re-conquered, each time held only briefly by various leaders -- the invading Gudians, the Neo-

¹ C. H. Gordon's translation of a Mandaic incantation bowl from Teheran, 1951 p. 310.

Sumerians, who left great royal tombs at Ur, and finally the Isin-Larsa dynasties. The entire region was once again reunited, during the middle of the second millennium under the great Babylonian ruler, Hammurabi. The Old Babylonian kingdom brought another period of great prosperity. And, although, the region was never divided again into the old city-states, the kingdom of Babylon too collapsed. It arose briefly a few centuries later under the leadership of the Kassite Babylonians. But it was not until the middle of the first millennium BCE, under the Neo-Assyrian empire, that the great ruler Ashurbanipal created the library which preserved much of our knowledge of ancient history and literature. Even with numerous gaps, much of the political history of the Ancient Near East can be traced. Much of it was recorded and has been found. However, this cannot be said for the history of Lilith. There is no material that can be associated with her for a period of over a thousand years, from approximately 2000 BCE to 700 BCE. Not until the middle of the first millennium, with its emphasis on magic, does the character once again emerge from the shadows.

In the Ancient Near East during the first millennium BCE, as at other times, the practice of magic was composed of two elements: the physical operation (practice) and the incantation (words of power). The power of the spoken word can be seen as early as "The Theology of Memphis" where Ptah created the universe with his heart (mind) and tongue (words) (ANET 3-6). The Babylonian Marduk also used the Word when he ordered the moon to "monthly, without cease, form design with a crown" (ANET 68). And certainly from Genesis "in the beginning, when God made heaven and earth," he created with his Word. It is then only natural that in both the

liturgy and magic, words of power has been used. Although most of magic wording was regarded as part of the black arts to be avoided, these words appear repeated in the incantations and amulets which form part of the magical practices of not only the Ancient Near East (Montgomery 1913, 52) but of the modern world.

The power to "bind" was as prominent a part of Babylonian magic as it is part of the practice in modern magic. The idea of being able to capture, to "bind" or "seal" demons with the words of magic would enable one to control them (Montgomery 1913, 53). Solomon was said to have had the power to control demons. So it is not surprising, then, that among the seals that bind demons most often mentioned are the Seal of Solomon, the six-pointed star. Also popular are the seal of the house of Enoch and the seals of the angels of the Most High. Little is known of the actual 'practice' of magic in the ancient world. However, in one case a sorcerer is depicted with a 'magic bough' in his hand "this is the use we find in Babylonian magic, in which a branch of the datepalm or tamarisk was held aloft to repel the demons" (Montgomery, 55). Present day entertainment magicians still hold the magic wand in their hands.

There is no direct evidence connecting the ghostly demons, the *lilitu* of late third millennium Sumerian texts to general Semitic incantation material of the first millennium BCE. And, although the connection may be intriguing, it is still speculative to associate the two. However, once we are dealing with the numerous inscriptions recorded on the Nippur bowls and the Hebrew amulets directed against demons known as '*liliths*,' there is no mistaking the being under discussion as a demon-form of the Lilith known

today. Texts have been found in various languages including Aramaic, Phoenician, Hebrew, Syriac, Mandian and Coptic among others which describe beings with similar characteristics to Lilith. This chapter reviews three sets of such inscriptions: Arslan Tash I, the Nippur bowls and Hebrew amulets. The Arslan Tash I plaque is reviewed separately because of the great interest and controversy it has generated. The magic bowls from Nippur and the Hebrew amulets will be reviewed as a group.

Arslan Tash I

One of the most intriguing incantations is found on an amulet dating from approximately 600-700 BCE. This unique plaque,² along with a second smaller plaque,³ were discovered in 1933 at Arslan Tash in Syria by the Count du Mesnil du Buisson. Arslan Tash I, as the plaque is known, has received extensive attention during the last six decades. However, within the last ten years, the authenticity of the Arslan Tash tablets have come into question.

The first photographs of Arslan Tash I were published in 1939 by the Count. On the top half of the obverse, there is pictured a sphinx, a winged figure with a lion body and human head wearing a pointed headdress. At the bottom, there is a she-wolf with a scorpion tail. This animal has projecting from its jaws the legs of what appears to be a human figure. On the reverse side stands a male figure which has been identified as a god. He is holding a small axe in his right hand and wears a short skirt. The incantation is inscribed throughout the plaque with additional lines near the figures.

² Measurements: 82 mm high, 67 mm wide, 22 mm maximum thickness.

³ Arslan Tash II is not discussed as it does not contain any epithets of interest here.

The plaque was originally believed to be an incantation to assist women in childbirth, it is now agreed to be an incantation against demons in general. However, there is no agreement on the language of the text which is a unique mixture of various languages. Albright believed it to be Aramaic characters with Canaanite text and Phoenician grammar with verbal and stylistic parallels to Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew (1939, 6). Gaster found the text to be written in "pure Canaanite, not in Aramaic, as was at first supposed" (1942, 43). While Torczyner believed "the language used throughout the inscription is in every particular pure biblical Hebrew" (1947, 19). Cross and Saley found the "text proved to contain Canaanite incantation inscribed in a typical Aramaic script ... the orthography regularly follows Phoenician rather than Aramaic practice" (1970, 42). Gibson finds both orthography and script to be influenced by Aramaic while the language to be of "a hitherto unknown inland Canaanite dialect" (1982, 79). As Teixidor has said "the tablets are known for being whimsical in grammar and language" (1984, 454).

The particular inscription of interest to us are a few lines associated with the winged sphinx. These lines have been variously translated. In 1939 the Count du Mesnil published the first photographs of Arslan Tash I along with an article in which he commented on the passage of interest. In his transliteration of the text, he identified the name לִי־לִי with *lly* which appears

être le nom ou l'épithète d'un démon nocturne, apparenté à la diablesse Lilith, לִי־לִי, bien connue par ailleurs. On songera aussi au nom du démon assyrien Lilû et à Ll des tablettes de Ras-Shamra, la divinité à laquelle on sacrifie, semble-t-il, des oiseaux (432).

du Mesnil identifies the nocturnal demon with a Lilith. The inscription reminded him of the demon *Lilu* in Assyrian texts and the *Li* of the Ugaritic tablets. Whether the being in the inscription is meant to be Lilith or night devils in general is not known. However, from its first publication, this short passage has been associated with Lilith by various scholars who have reviewed it.

Writing several months after the du Mesnil article appeared, W. F. Albright translated the particular passage as follows:

O Flyer in a dark chamber
go away at once, at once, O Lile (9)

In footnote 33, he credits du Mesnil with having correctly identified the Akkadian demon *Lili* with the passage. He reviewed Thompson's list of demons *Lili*, *Lilitu* and *Ardat lili*, however "just which of the three is reflected by our *Lly* is obscure; perhaps this female demon was a conflation of all three, like the Biblical and later Jewish Lilith." Albright makes the assumption that the name is derived from Akkadian *Lilu*, but points out that du Mesnil also mentions a possible connection with the Ugaritic *Ll*.

Three years later in 1942, T. H. Gaster in his article "A Canaanite Magical Text" translated the passage,

O thou that fliest into darkened chambers
pass over, right now, right now, O Lilith!

He felt the letters לִלִי (*Lly*) were clearly identifiable and went on to carefully review the pertinent literature. He mentioned the child-stealing witch identified with the classical strix or night-owl (Strygoi in Rumania and the Balkans) as well as the Arabian screech-owl. The passage from Isaiah 34:14 he translates as identifying Lilith with "kites" and jackals and cites Skeat's Malay

Magic. He reviewed the "much-discussed" (46) Burney Relief and Kramer's Huluppu Tree (47). He identified other parallels "evil spirits of Babylonia are often portrayed as winged beings, " "evil spirits are identified with owls," and "demons often have the form of birds" (47). He went on to describe parallels with Lilith "who cometh in darkness," (48) and "out of dark places she proceedeth against children and women" (49). He concluded that this collection of parallels showed a clear identification of the "child-stealing demon with עִפְתָּא, or winged creature, is in line with a well-established magical tradition, traceable both before and after the date of the composition of our text" (48). In 1952 Gaster published another article, "The Child-Stealing Witch Among the Hittities" in which he referenced the parallel of the Hittite witch called Stragleress with the Arslan Tash I incantation. This being an equivalent

of the Akkadian Lamastu, the late Jewish Lilith, and the Greek Gello. Thus, in Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur, XXXVI 4 she is called "Strangleress (h-n-i-q-u-t-a who kills children", and ib., XVIII 5 f., she is "Lilith ... who assaults and strangles (w-h-n-q-a) children" (134-5).

and

In the Canaanite magical plaque from Arslan Tash, where she is portrayed as a wolf, she is called "the one who strangles (h-n-q-t) the lamb" and with this du Mesnil has aptly compared an equivalent Arabic expression still used for the child-stealing witch (135).

These scholars agreed with the association of לִלִית with *Lly* and with *Lilitu* as well as with Lilith. All three beings have the same characteristics.

In 1947 H. Torczyner published the first article to generally disagree with the previous translations.

To the Ephata-demons in the chamber of darkness;
Go away, terror, my nightly terror!

He does not use the personified name of Lilith, but identifies the beings simply as "nightly terror" associated with Ephata-demons. He was the first to point out that the incantation was not "to assist women in childbirth, but ... against night-demons in general" (18). This interpretation has subsequently been agreed upon.

It was not until 1970, with new photographs, that Cross and Saley presented a revised translation.

O Fliers, from the dark room pass away!
Now! Now! night demons.

Again, the personification of Lilith is not mentioned. They state "the incantation is cited in poetic form, a dicolon with the parallel pairs: 'pt' and llyn" (46). In footnote 25, they identify "llyn is the normal plural of *lilit*, the usual West Semitic form of the name. Cf. also Rabbinic llyn, night demons or lilit's" (46). They identify the beings "with the 'Lilit's,' the night demons well known from later magical texts and from Rabbinical lore" (47). They noted that the "survival of the demonic epithet illustrates the fantastic conservatism of magical themes" (47). If one accepts this theory of conservatism and the interpretations of the variations forms of "*lil*" with Lilith, then the being mentioned in Arslan Tash I may be an early form of Lilith. However, Cross and Saley did not make this connection.

In 1982 Gibson reviewed a compilation of Phoenician texts. He included a review of the Arslan Tash inscriptions. Here is his translation of our passage,

Against the Flying ones: From the dark chamber
pass now, now, night demons!
From the house begone outside!

In footnote 20, he explains his interpretation. The word which has been translated in the past as Lilith, he translates as 'night creature.' He agrees with G. R. Driver's 1959 article "Lilith" in which the creature of Isaiah 34:14 is translated as a 'nightjar' owl (56)..

the Phoen. adjct. ל לִי 'night creature', therefore another mixed form since the pure Aram. form would have been לִילִיּוֹ. Cp. לִילִיּוֹת in Isa. 34:14, in the original perhaps simply a bird like 'nightjar' (NEB) and unconnected with the Akkad. demon *lilitu* or the Lilith of Jewish folklore (87).

Gibson does not see a connection between the 'night demons' of the passage which he identified as "simply a bird," with either the *lilitu* or with Lilith.

Then in 1984, Teixidor in a review of Gibson's book, added a startling comment. In 1983 he had examined the tablets at the Aleppo Museum. Upon handling them for the first time, he was surprised to find them very light, "indeed suspected 'mouflage'" (454). P. Amiet, who had also carefully studied the reliefs, appended his remarks to Teixidor's 1983 article in *Aula orientalis*. By 1984 he felt compelled to state his discovery.

What we both hinted at in our articles can now be said plainly: to me, to Amiet, and to some of our colleagues, both epigraphists and archaeologists, the Arslan Tash tablets are a forgery of the 1930s. This conviction exempts me from discussing them here (454-5).

Here, briefly, we have the history of this special plaque. Are the tablets genuine or not? Qualified scholars will have to answer. However, for the present purposes, authenticity is perhaps not so much the critical point. What is obvious about the short inscription under discussion is that it is so

typical of the numerous other incantations against "flying night spirits" that for six decades scholars considered it of such value as to be worthy of their attention. The various epithets of the "night demon" in this plague are typical characteristics of the Lilith we are studying. It is no more difficult to imagine her in the context of the Arslan Tash amulet (700 BCE) or the Nippur bowls (500 CE), even though almost one thousand years separates the two.

Nippur Bowls

A number of inscribed and decorated bowls were excavated at Nippur by the University of Pennsylvania Expedition during the season of 1888-89. Most likely their discoverer was Professor Peters who indicated that most of the bowls were found in the ruins of houses, among what he suggested were Jewish settlements (Montgomery 1913, 13). Twenty-four years later, James Montgomery published his classic work Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur where he translated 40 of these bowls along with the text from one skull and an additional text "of peculiar magical contents" (15). This peculiar text tells the story of the famous encounter between the Prophet Elijah and Lilith.⁴

⁴ Shaddai. Sanui Sansanui Semniglaph Adam YHWH Kadmon Life Lilith. In the name of Y' the God of Israel who besits the cherubs, whose name is living and enduring forever. Elija the prophet was walking in the road and he met the wicked Lilith and all her band. He said to her, Where art thou going, Foul one and Spirit of foulness, with all thy foul band walking along? And she answered and said to him: My lord Elija, I am going to the house of the woman in childbirth who is in pangs (?), of So-and-so daughter of Such-a-one, to give her the sleep of death and to take the child she is bearing, to suck his blood and to suck the marrow of his bones and to devour his flesh. And said Elija the prophet --- blessed his name! -- With a ban from the Name -- bless it! -- shalt thou be restrained and like a stone shalt thou be! And she answered and said to him: For the sake of Y' postpone the ban and I will flee, and will swear to thee in the name of Y' God of Israel that I will let go this business in the case of this woman in childbirth and the child to be born to her and every inmate so as do no injury. And every time that they repeat or I see my names written, it will not be in the power of me or of all my band to

The bowls were written in three languages: Talmudic Babylonian, Syriac and Mandaic. Although a precise date is difficult, Montgomery believed "for a round date the bowls might be placed on palaeographical grounds at about 500 A.D." (28). All the texts are magical incantations against various forms of illness and demons. Especially mentioned among the demons are the *liliths* who are named in 26 out of the 40 bowls. According to Montgomery, the incantation bowls belong to a specialized form of magic. Theories for their use varied, but Montgomery believed the bowls refer to the Jewish legends of Solomon's magical ability to confine demons in vases (41). This explanation he found on the bowls themselves, "covers to hold in sacred (accursed) angels and evils spirits," and "a press which is pressed down upon demons" (41).

According to Montgomery the bowls were primarily a "domestic phylactery" (43) against the intrusion of evil spirits who entered the house through the gates, doors, bolts, lintels, hinges, etc. The "bedchamber is the special object of care" (43). While their clients' primary concern was for the home, they were especially concerned regarding disturbance in their sex life. "The Lilis and Liliths which predominate in the categories of demons are

do evil or harm. And these are mynames: Lilith, Abitar (Abito?), Abikar, (Abiko?), Amorpho, Hakas, Odam, Kephido, Ailo, Matrota, Abnukta, Satriha, Kali, Batzeh, Taltui, Kitsa. And Elija answered and said to her: Lo, I adjure thee and all they band, in the name of Y" God of Israel, by gematria 613, Abraham, Isaac and Jael, and in the name of his holy Shekhine, and in the name of the ten holy Seraphs, the Wheels and the holy Beasts and the Ten Books of the Law, and by the might of the God of Hosts, blessed is he! – that thou come not, thou nor thy band to injure this this woman or the child she is bearing, nor to drink his blood nor to suck the marrow of his bones nor to devour his flesh, nor to touch them neither in their 256 limbs nor in their 365 ligaments and veins, even as she is (= thou art?) not able to count the number of the stars of heaven nor to dry up the water of the sea. In the name of: 'Hasdiel Samriel has rent Satan.' (259-260). Another version of the same story lists the names of Lilith as: Abito, Amizo, Izorpo, Koko, Odam, Ita, Podo, Eio, Patrota, Abiko, Kea, Kali, Batna, Talto and Partasah (262).

personifications of sexual abnormalities" (49). The practitioners or exorcists ranged from professional sorcerers to priests to lay people. The eclectic nature of the bowls "does not [specifically] imply a Jewish exorcist, nor Jewish clients" (50). The clientele were Jewish as well as non-Jewish.

For the practice of magic, there is first the spoken word and secondly the act of magic itself (52). The bowl had to be a new one and the sorcerer sat upon an uncleft rock (53) or unhewn altar which goes along with the "primitive aversion to iron" (53). The figures in the bowls represent simulacra of gods and demons, in this way, they were manipulated to perform the will of the sorcerer (53). Most of the figures represent demons, "especially the lilith are represented" (54). Among the other magical symbols found in the bowls are the serpent, with its tail in its mouth, and the circle with a cross in the center. In one case, the sorcerer is depicted with a magic bough in his hand.

Use of branches in magic shows that the early inhabitants of Babylonia were in no wise different from other nations in believing that trees were inhabited by spirits or gods, and it is on this principle of giving a sentient or perhaps divine nature to inanimate objects that so many of the amulets can be explained (Thompson 1903, XLLX).

The praxis was only a minor part of bowl-magic. Montgomery believed the incantation or "the spell is almost the all in all" (56). This consisted of the speaking or writing of certain syllables, words or phrases which in themselves possess the magic capable of binding the evil powers of the demon.

Montgomery found that in this form there was a divorcing of religion from magic. In bowl incantations, the monotonous repetition is "sufficient, without invocation of, or reference to, the divine powers" (56). In other

words, the efficacy was placed in the words of magic themselves not in the powers of the god.

However, it was necessary to perform the magic at the right time. There were auspicious days for expelling demons (55). For the Babylonians Nisan 1 was particular auspicious, while for Jews the New Year's day in Tishri had the same character. The Egyptian calendar gave all the days in the year according to their propitiousness or unpropitiousness for magic (55). Of course, the solstices and equinoxes were and still are good times for magical rites.

Believers, both Jewish and Non-Jewish, felt the most efficacious results would be obtain by knowing as many of the various names of the deity or demon as possible. They feared "lest no one name exhaust the potentiality of the spiritual being conjured" (58). According to Montgomery, this dates back "to the root-idea of the efficiency of a knowledge of all the names if possible; the fifty names of Marduk, the hundred names of Allah the many names of Hekate" (58). The names of the demons must be known exactly, especially "Lilith⁵ who receives an extravagant accumulation of designations; she is akin to Hekate and the 'Hekatian names' are showered upon her" (59). An important part of the knowledge required for magic was the sacred scriptures, the epics and legends. However, in the Nippur bowls Montgomery found a notable "lack of scriptural quotation and reference. Very frequent is 'The Lord rebuke thee, Satan,' at the end of the inscription" (63). According to Montgomery, the magic of the bowls is a

⁵ See the various names in the two version of the story of Lilith and Elijah.

degenerate survival of the religious and magical developments of ancient Egypt and Babylonia, of the Hellenistic world, of Judaism and in the study of its demonology, we are dealing with a mass of time-worn and banal demons (68).

Although personal names were not common in general, *liliths* were a class of demons that had a long list of names. Even the names of the parentage of the *liliths* are given (77-8). The sorcerer was required to know these and use them in their invocation. "This is the female demon represented in the old Babylonian texts by the Labartu, in the Jewish by the Lilith, in the Greek by the Gello or Baskania" (68). And, "... it is the Liliths which enjoy the greatest individual vogue in our demonology.... the Liliths are definite terrors, whose malice is specific and whose traits and names are fully known" (75).

According to Montgomery, the *liliths* appeared in the Babylonian incantations as masculine and feminine, *lilu* and *lilit*, along with an *ardat lili*. These are the only ancient Babylonian demon names that survived in the Nippur bowls (110). Montgomery commented on the origin of the name of Lilith,

whether Semitic form ליל, 'nightmare, nighthag,' etc. with Schrader, Halevy, et al., or from the Sumerian lil, 'storm,' with Sayce, Zimmern, R.C. Thompson, lies beyond my present scope.... I would suggest that the prime connection is not etymological but semantic: lil = wind = רוּחַ = spirit; Lilis and Liliths are specialized form of רוּחַיָן (76).

In the Mandaic bowls, Lilith was assimilated with the figure of the witch. The description from these bowls reminded Montgomery of "the witches' nights which are the theme of still existent folklore" (78). This is the Lilith of the epithets 'cursing,' and 'undoing.' A parallel to this idea is the "Lamia, the Empusa, the Gello, the Marmolyke and Gorgons, and the *incubi*

and *succubae* "(78).⁶ This idea is a parallel to Montgomery's Text No. 42 which presents the legend of the Lilith-witch's encounter with Elijah.

Although the bowls showed a connection with ancient Babylonian magic, they are also linked with classical Hellenistic magic which contributed much to Jewish magic. In identifying who had written the bowls, Montgomery concluded,

Egyptian, Jew, Greek, Christian, Gnostic, all contributed each one his magical names, mysterious formulas, bits of sacred history, each outbidding the other in the effort to attain the same ends and arriving at an indistinguishable limbo of monotonous sameness. The texts were written for all who would use them, and those who received their magical traditions adapted them to the changing fancies of age and climate (115).

For Montgomery, the bowls were an eclectic collection, divorced from the content of religion, which came to reinforce a new current of superstition, "gods have become names, rites esoteric and selfish and malignant, holy writings formulas. It is not Judaism we have been studying but a phase of *fin de siecle* superstition" (116). Thorkild Jacobsen agreed with Montgomery when he wrote about the end of another millennium which had similar characteristics. In Toward the Image of Tammuz, he stated "the first millennium B.C. ... Mesopotamian civilization drew toward a close without producing any major new religious directions" (46). He pointed to Israel and Greece as the new direction for western civilization "heir[s] ... to preceding millennia" (46).

In 1941 Cyrus H. Gordon published eight additional texts of Aramaic incantation bowls. These are also heavily laden with incantations against

⁶ The incubi corresponds to the male *Lilu* and has been extended to the form of goat, satyr, faun.

Lilith. Supporting Montgomery's conclusion that the incantations are an eclectic collection, J. Drescher published in 1950 an article entitled "A Coptic Amulet" which illustrated the

variety of non-Christian sources ... besides the usual Gnostic and Jewish elements, we have mention of (i) Mithras, (ii) that very old attribute of the sun, the chariot (here chariots), found in Classical, German, and Persian mythology as well as in the Veda, (iii) the great name of God known only to the camel -- an ingredient of Arab origin? (265).

Gordon studied two additional magic bowls found in west-central Iran, one from Khuzistan and another from Hamadan. In his article "Two Magic Bowls in Teheran" published in 1951, he translated the bowls. In both bowls the Liliths are mentioned. The Aramaic bowl begins "ye are bound and sealed, all of you devils and demons and liliths ..." (307). The text from the Mandaic bowl which begins ". . . [the bewitching lilith] who haunts the house of Zakoy" (310) appears at the beginning of this chapter. The significance of the eclectic nature of these bowls indicates a widespread, pervasive belief in the demon Lilith and the use of magic as efficacious protection against her. Beliefs regarding the operation of magic, dating back thousands of years, have survived into the modern world. It is, therefore, logical that the object of this magical protection, Lilith, should also survive.

Hebrew Amulets

From the eclectic incantation bowls of mixed cultures, we move to the more specific Hebrew amulets. In his 1930 work Amulets and Superstitions, Sir Wallis Budge included a chapter in which he reviewed the available material on Hebrew amulets. Budge described eight types of amulets used by the Hebrews. The first was the Saharon. It was made of metal in the form of a crescent moon and worn for protection from the Evil Eye. The crescent moon represented the power of protection of the waxing moon. Later on, various Arabic peoples added the star which was adapted as a symbol of Islam. The second type was the Teraphim. These were small figures of gods made of clay or semi-precious stones. They are the same figures that Rachel, the daughter of Laban, took from her father's house when escaping with Jacob. The figures were considered "house-gods" and would have formed part of the property of the household. They were the prophylactic and atropaeic figures belonging to the house. The third type are called Lehashim. This was an amulet "associated with the whispering of incantations, spells, charms, prayers, etc.," (214). Bells were also attached to clothing as an amulet. The tinkling sound of the bells was intended to drive away evil spirits. The Babylonia, Assyrians and Egyptian wore figures of gods as amulets sown into their clothing. The Hebrews also adopted this practice. A sixth type of amulet were the Totaphoth. These are the frontlet bands worn between the eyes inscribed with special formula. These fillets or bandlets were worn either between the eyes or on the hand. The Mezuzah was a strip of leather inscribed with verses from Deuteronomy and attached to the door-post. And

the seventh type described by Budge were the *Sisith*. These are tassels, fringes or locks (of hair) attached to borders of garments.

Although amulets were considered pagan objects by the rabbis, their antiquity as protective agents and the popular belief in their efficacy was such that they were unofficially adopted by Hebrew leadership (Budge 217). Their efficacy was especially believed when they were inscribed with the Great Name of God and words from Hebrew scriptures. The Hebrew amulets formed part of an underlying popular belief in the mystical, curative and protective powers of talismans in general. Budge stated the "true history of the use of Hebrew amulets ... derived from the Kabbalah" (218) which, by using internal textual evidence, he believed to be much older than the 10th century. According to Budge, the Hebrews borrow many ideas from the Babylonians and Egyptians and "mould them in accordance with the fundamental principle of the Unity of God and of the limited power of evil spirits" (218). Budge quotes Gaster on the use of amulets as "a recognized part of the medical practitioner, who would use drugs and amulets indiscriminately or conjointly, for the use of the amulet is as widespread as that of any other medicine" (218).

Examples used by Budge of inscriptions for amulets included extracts from the Bible, "I will put none of the diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians" (Exod. 15:26) and "Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day; nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday" (Ps. 91:5-6). The "noon-day devil" the "terror by night" and "pestilence" were names of devils that caused sickness (Budge 219). The formula would have

been repeatedly pronounced aloud, each time dropping a letter so that as the formula diminished so did the sickness.

The "perfect" Hebrew amulet, according to Budge, would contain the follow parts:

- 1) the magic name Abrakala
- 2) text from the Bible
- 3) the prayer, equivalent to the pagan incantation
- 4) threefold Amen and the threefold Selah (222)

Procedures for preparation of the amulet had to followed exactly. These include the Name of God written as in the scroll of the Law, no letter to touch the next, written in purity while fasting, wrapped in leather or cloth and wrapped round with clean leather, and so on following precise ritual formula. Among the most popular symbols used were the shield of Solomon, the six-pointed star, the circle with shield inside, and the pentagram (222).

Prolific among specialized amulets were the ones to protect pregnant women. One of the most important is an amulet from the Book of Raziel. This amulet is rectangular in shape divided in the middle by a decorative border. On the right side are three stylized figures with the inscription indicating they are Adam, Eve and the "night devil Lilith" with the names of the angels Senoi, Sansenoi and Samangeloph above. On the left are three seals of the angels protecting Adam, Eve and Lilith. The inscription below indicates that the woman will be protected in the Name of God from all evils and calamities which are enumerated (Budge 225). Other types of amulets were intended to give the wearer success in business, secure love and friendship and protection from violence. But the "greatest of all the amulets

known to the Hebrews was, and is, the Book of the Law, it was the greatest of all the child-bed amulets" (235). Miniature copies of the Torah one inch high by three-quarters wide placed in a metal case are still worn.

For his book Hebrew Magic Amulets published in 1966, T. Schrire studied over one thousand amulets. He described six groups of amulets. The name of Lilith and Psalm 121 was most common in the group six.

- 1) generally protective amulets
- 2) promotion of health
- 3) protection against the Evil Eye
- 4) prevention of miscarriages
- 5) promotion of fertility and most frequent
- 6) protection of mother and child in childbed (51)

Especially for the danger of childbirth, Lilith under one or more of her numerous names, was evoked along with the names of the three angels "Sanvai, Sansanvai and Semanglof to neutralize her evil work" (Schrire 18). Schrire quoted from Hida the encounter of Elijah and Lilith (115)⁷. Elijah was himself originally an angel whose name was Sandalphon. He was one of the greatest and mightiest of the angelic hosts with the power to impose

⁷ Elijah, blessed be his name, was walking one day and met Lilith. He said to her, "Unclean one, where are you going?" She replied "I am going to the house of the woman A the daughter of B who is in childbed to give her a sleeping draught and kill her and to take her child and eat it." Said Elijah, "May you be interdicted from this by the name of the Lord, blessed by He! Be silent as a stone." She replied "O Lord, release me and I swear by the name of God to forsake my evil way, and as long as I see or hear my own names I will immediately retreat and not come near that particular person. I shall tell you what my names are so that whenever I hear or see them I shall have no power to do evil or to injure and I swear to disclose my true names to you. Let them be written and hung about the house of such women as are in childbed or around the child and immediately I shall run away. And these are my names: "Lilith, Abiti, Abizu, Amrusu, Hakash, Odem, Ik, Pudu, Ayil, Matruta, Avgu, Katah, Kali, Batuh, Paritasha." From all those who know these names and use them I promise to run away. Therefore hang the names in the houses of women in childbed or with child or on an amulet, and neither the child nor its mother will ever be injured by me. Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah, Selah, Selah.

restrictions on Lilith's activities (116). Both Montgomery and Schrire's translations have been included to illustrate how the same myth may vary.

Schrire found in the amulets he studied the belief that Lilith appeared to

the Sons of Man in their dreams and causes them to have nocturnal emissions from which source specters -- 'lilin' -- are produced so that the propagation of the species is continued and ensured by the union of men and spirits in their sleep (116).

Considering that some of the amulets Schrire examined are dated to the twentieth century, it is remarkable to find the same motif described by Thompson regarding the *lilitu* of ancient Babylon. Schrire also found in his amulets the classic examples of the Lilith in Jewish mythology which

undoubtedly derives from very ancient sources appearing as Lilatu 'a female demon' in Assyrian literature and earlier still as Lillaku in Sumerian tablets of the story of Gilgamesh in which he was supposed to have lived in a willow-tree Huluppu. A connection between these similarly named demons can scarcely be denied (117).

For Schrire, as for other scholars, the connection of Lilith with the ancient "goddess/demon" is accepted.

Schrire compiled a list of over 200 of the most popular 'words of power' used on Jewish amulets. Here is a breakdown of the most frequent names by number and percentage:

Name	Number	Percentage
Lilith	17	8.3%
God names	32	15.7%
Bible passages	47	23.0%
Angel names	61	30.0%

The remaining 23 percent were various Words of Power. It is notable that Lilith's name should appear in almost 10 percent of the amulets.

Summarizing this chapter, we have reviewed three sets of inscriptions. The controversial 2,600 year old Arslan Tash I with its intriguing passage against a "night-being" which for 60 years has fascinated scholars with its potential for connecting various forms of ghostly demons and night creature that haunt the lives of mortals. The 40 bowls from Nippur continue the theme of fear of 'night demons' personified as Liliths and emphasize the need for protection through the practice of magic which found not only among the Babylonians, but all the cultures of the Ancient Near East from which western civilization is a direct heir. Even the parts of magic (praxis and words of power) have been preserved in modern practice. The Hebrew amulets, which appear to have a connection to the Nippur bowls, contain the same elements of the practice of magic with its emphasis on protection against the demon Lilith. These amulets have preserved the name of Lilith into the modern world. Continuing with Hebrew mythology, we will now turn to Jewish literary texts: the Bible, Talmud, Midrash and Kabbalah, sources for the development and transformation of the modern Lilith.

Chapter 3

Days in the Desert

... and they told tales to the children ...

As generation followed generation, a larger picture became apparent ... a vision in which image was linked to image, theme to theme, metaphor to metaphor, until finally legend was linked to legend in a way that suggested the possibility of an unbroken bridge of legends built across the gaps in the biblical narratives and chronology (Schwartz 1983, 9).

In Judaism each generation contributed its own understanding. While other religious traditions stopped reimagining their stories once they were written down, for Jews the tales remain flexible while maintaining a link to the biblical narrative, the source from which to return to again and again. Although the rabbis scrupulously followed each word of the Torah (the Old Testament of the Bible), they approached the recorded tales as though they were still in the oral form, sometimes dramatically reimagining even the most sacred stories. According to Schwartz "determining the resolution of certain incomplete biblical narratives took on extraordinary importance" (6). This is the way of Jewish tradition.

This chapter examines Lilith's development and transformation in Jewish mythology. We begin with two brief passages in the Bible: Genesis 1:27 and Isaiah 34:14. Although her name is not mentioned in Genesis, the ancient rabbis speculated that it was to Lilith that these passages make reference. There is still considerable controversy as to how the name לילית

which appears in Isaiah should be translated. The Talmud added several passages of information to her biography. Attempting to fill in the gaps of the Creation story, the ancient rabbis added dimension to the supposed "first" woman whom they identified with the demon Lilith, already familiar from oral tradition. The pivotal tale of her development as the first female is owed to the "Alphabet of Ben Sira," that exceptional midrashic tale of how Lilith came to be the first wife of Adam and how the two eventually separated. However, it is within Kabbalah that the greatest transformation of Lilith occurred. We owe our understanding of the cosmic aspects of Lilith to the Kabbalists. It was the Kabbalists who first speculated that she manifested at the beginning of time, at the opposite end of the spectrum to God, as symbolized in the tales of Lilith as the mistress of the god Yahweh and the Queen of the Underworld. The creative impulse surrounding the character has not yet been exhausted. Modern Jewish writers continue to use the ancient motifs. A few of these modern tales will be examined in the next chapter.

Bible¹

The Torah or the Five Books of Moses are shared with and known to Christians as the Old Testament of the Bible. These texts recount for both Jews and Christians the creation of the cosmos and humanity.² These five books contain the basic canon of Hebrew Scriptures. It is in these texts that we learn of the establishment of community between the god Yahweh and the

¹ The word Bible is used interchangeable with Torah.

² How Lilith first entered Jewish mythology can be speculated from various ancient sources. However, how she entered the Christian world is not known with certainty. This is an area for further research.

tribe of Israel, as well as the basic laws of Jewish tradition. It is generally agreed that some of the myths preserved may be as much as five thousand years old. Although the stories have been handed down virtually unchanged since they were completed around 100 CE, nearly two thousand years of translations has left much controversy over the exact meaning of specific wording (Schwartz 1983, 5).

Because of this, it is not surprising that two versions of the creation of human beings should be preserved in Genesis.

Genesis 1:27	So God created man in his own image; in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them (New English Bible 1976, 2)
Genesis 2:22	The Lord God then built up the rib, which he had taken out of the man, into a woman (New English Bible 1976, 3).

What is unknown is why both versions have survived the various edits.³ The first version tells how god created male and female at the same time while the second version tells how god created woman from man. For the ancient Jewish rabbis, who "firmly believed that every word in the Torah was divinely inspired" (Schwartz 3), the contradictory passages had to be resolved. Were there two women, one created at the same time as man and another created later? Or was there just one woman? Why was there a need for a second creation? What happened to the first?

³ Biblical scholars generally agree at four editions: "J" for deity name Jehovah (Yahweh), "E" for deity name Elohim, "D" from the book of Deuteronomy and "P" referred to as the Priestly Code.

In these two passages, we see the beginning of the development and transformation of the next phase of the life of Lilith. Since the ancient rabbis felt compelled to find answers to these questions, they wove into the tales of the Talmud, Midrash and Kabbalah (the primary literature of Judaism) their inspiration and interpretation. Thus the first passage, it was agreed, referred to a first wife of Adam called the First Eve or Lilith and the second to his second wife Eve. The details of this story were recorded in the midrash known as the Alphabata of Ben Sira.

There are various, conflicting translation of the passage in Isaiah 34:14. Below are four different translations of the biblical text:

Jerusalem Bible:	Wild cats will meet hyenas there, the satyrs will call to each other, there too will Lilith take cover seeking rest.
New American Standard Bible:	And the desert creatures shall meet with the wolves, the hairy goat also shall cry to its kind: yes, the night monster shall settle there and shall find herself a resting place.
King James Bible:	The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet wit the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; the screech owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest.
New English Bible:	Marmots shall consort with jackals, and he-goat shall encounter he-goat. There too the nightjar shall rest and find herself a place for repose."

Scholars do not agree that the creature in Isaiah is the Lilith we are examining. For example, this passage could not be found in The Legends of the Jews by Ginzberg, that most learned of Jewish scholars. Thompson agreed with the translation of the 'screech owl' for the passage (1908, xxxvii).

However, G. R. Driver in his 1959 article entitled "Lilith" disagrees with general translations of לִילִית, the Hebrew word appearing the Isaiah 34:14. He reviewed the previous translation⁴ and found them unsatisfactory. His disagreement is based on the fact that

all the other creatures mentioned are real (wolves, eagle-owls, marmots, jackals, sand-partridges, black kites) or may be such (he-goats). All the creatures must be *einusdem generis* according to every rule of construction (55).

He also objected to the translation using the Sumerian LIL-LA or the Akkadian *lilu, lilitu*. Although he grants that "it may be recognized" in the text from Arslan Tash⁵ and in the later Aramaic incantations from Nippur. He objected because "there is no reason to expect such a loan-word in any passage of the Old Testament where no ancient Vs. attests it" (55).

Owls have been proposed as a possible alternative translation, for example, the tawny owl or the night owl. However, these species are not desert birds (Driver 1959, 55). Driver, therefore, offers a translation of "goat-sucker" or "night-jar" owl. According to Driver, there are several species of this bird found in the desert fringe of Palestine (56). He translated *lilit* as "night-jar" and *lilo* as "night owl," both are related to a root word "descriptive of its rapidly twisting and turning flight" (56). Both goat-suckers and night-jars are active at dusk (56). Using this linguistic argument, he concluded that if his explanation is accepted, "the passage cites four beasts ... and four birds ..." (57)⁶.

⁴ Various other translations: 'night-monster,' 'tailless-ape,' 'fabulous monster,' lamia,' 'avenging fury,' tannin' (whale), and 'storm-wind.'

⁵ Discussed in Chater two.

⁶ It has already been noted that the owl was associated with Lilith as well as Athene and, of course, the Burney Relief.

Hurwitz believed the passage in Isaiah referred to Lilith, she "together with other spectral figures -- has already become a colorless spirit of the desert" (1992, 85). However, this passage would presuppose that Lilith was generally well known. Later scholars, influenced by the Talmud, describe her as "a female demon, as an animal that howls in the night, or as a bird which flies about" (Hurwitz 1992, 87). These two brief passages offer clues to the beginning of the legend of Lilith within the Jewish tradition. In the Talmud, her character began to take on the additional image of a seductress in the negative form.

Talmud

The Talmud consists of two interrelated texts. The first is called the Mishnah. It was written around 200 CE and consists of comments on Biblical passages. The second is called the Gemara and was written around 500 CE. This is a commentary on the Mishnah. The pages of the Talmud reflect this unique relationship. The middle of the page contains the Mishnah in bold type and surrounding it is the Gemara in smaller type.⁷ Both are surrounded by the traditional commentaries of later Rabbis in even smaller type. The Mishnah is an elaboration of Biblical passages which is governed by a strict set of rules and regulations that according to Schwartz, "if followed precisely could create an entire legal world" (1983, 97).

These commentaries on commentaries whose source always led back to the Torah permitting the religion to evolve with "the premise ... that a tradition must continually expand its boundaries in order to incorporate all

⁷ The poem "Lila" in Chapter four has been reproduced to reflect this model.

generations at the same time" (Schwartz 1983, 6). The commentary itself became regarded as sacred since all commentary "claimed its source in the Oral Law" (6). This is important because the oral tradition was considered to be "in a direct line with those handed down from Sinai" (6). An example of this complex, hylex-style mythic logic is a midrash in which Moses is sent by God to sit in the classroom of the Rabbi Akiba who lived over a thousand years after Moses. Moses finds it difficult to understand some teachings of Akiba although Akiba quotes Moses as the source of his teachings. In this midrash there is an "implicit belief that the later generations had succeeded in contributing to an understanding of the Torah, so that Moses, the predecessor, must turn to his successor Rabbi Akiba for a complete understanding of the law that he himself transmitted" (6-7). The later commentators worked with the assumption that there was missing information from the biblical narrative and that they could, within the limits of precise rules, uncover this missing information.

By constant meditation, the rabbis resolved incomplete and obscure passages. This is how the myth of Lilith developed. Here are a few of the most prominent Talmudic passages concerning Lilith:⁸

BT: Traktat Erubin 18b:

Rabbi Yirm'ya ben El'azar said: "All those years in which Adam the first man was in isolation from Eve he begat spirits and demons and Lilin . . ." Rabi Meir said: "Adam the first man was very pious. When he saw that through him the punishment of death was ordained, he sat in fasting for 130 years, and put fig belts on his flesh for 130 years. But we are talking {about spirits, demons, and Lilin} whom he begot through spontaneous emission of seed."

⁸ Raphael Patai's translation from the Gates of the Old City have been used except for Sanhedrin 109a which is a translation from Hurwitz p. 88.

BT: Traktat Nidda 24b:

Lilith is a demoneess who has a human face and has wings.

BT: Traktat Erubin 100b:

Lilith has long hair.

BT: Traktat Sanhedrin 109a

"Rabbi Jirmija ben Eleazar said: They (which means the people who tried to build the Tower of Babel) were divided into three groups ... Those who said: Come, we will arise and make war (against God), were (turned into) apes, ghosts and Lilin."

BT: Traktat Shabbat 151b:

Rabbi Hanina said: "It is forbidden to sleep alone in a house, for he who sleeps alone in a house, Lilith gets hold of him."

These passages primarily refer to Lilith as a "seductress" and "succubus." In other words, this is the demon-form featured prominently in the Nippur bowls and Hebrew amulets, which were influenced by the earlier Babylonians and Assyrians, who themselves incorporated ancient Sumerian religious concepts. Thompson associated the "sductress" and "succubus" lore with the *ardat lili* spirits from the Sumerian texts. If a man slept alone, he was in danger of being set upon by the *ardat lili*, who was also associated with ghosts of women who died in childbirth and returned from the dead as flying demons in the form of night owls looking for their lost children. The rabbis also believed that a man could have children by Lilith. Although these children were not visible, they would hover around a man's deathbed to claim him as their father. Women were not excluded from visitations by spirit lovers either. Thompson mentions the B'ne Elohim "who took wives of the daughters of men" and the parentage of Isaac.⁹ According to Mohammedan tradition, it was Gabriel's breath, which he breathed into the

⁹ "and the Lord visited Sarah as he had said, and the Lord did unto Sarah as he had spoken. And Sarah conceived, and bear Abraham a son in his old age."

Virgin Mary, that caused the conception. There is also the legend that Cain's real father was not Adam, but one of the demons (1908, 73).

Midrash

In the realm of the Aggadah, additions and innovations continued long after the work of the Talmud was completed. These legends were collected in several major anthologies, whose midrashim came to be widely regarded as a part of the legacy of the Oral Law (Schwartz 1983, 8). In following the development and transformation of Lilith, the Alphabet of Ben Sira has had perhaps the most widespread and enduring influence. The tale most likely dates from the ninth and tenth centuries C.E. It appears to have been popular even in the Middle Ages. Hurwitz quotes Heller as describing the "Alphabet" as originally two separate sections, "each containing 22 proverbs, which begin with the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet" (125). The two sections were later compiled, accounting for variations in the numerous versions. In one version the angels come down to earth and begin to speak with Lilith, another version they track her down to the Red Sea while in yet another they find her in the desert.

Siegmund Hurwitz has used the Leyden Codex edition in the original Hebrew for his translation. This version has been selected because it is one of the most satisfying found in translation. The story is told from the time of King Nebuchadnezzar, the Neo-Babylonian king who captured Jerusalem, destroying the temple of Solomon. He had thousands of Judeans deported to Babylon. The king, whose son has fallen ill, asked Ben Sira to heal him. Ben Sira wrote an amulet for the prince. He inscribed the names and images of

the healing angels on the amulet. When Nebuchadnezzar asked Ben Sira who they were, he replied they are Senoi, Sansenoi and Semangloph and proceeded to tell the king the following story.

When the Almighty -- may His name be praised -- created the first, solitary man, He said: It is not good for man to be alone. And He fashioned for man a woman from the earth, like him (Adam), and called her Lilith. Soon, they began to quarrel with each other. She said to him: I will not lie underneath, and he said: I will not lie underneath but above, for you are meant to lie underneath and I to lie above. She said to him: We are both equal, because we are both (created) from the earth. But they didn't listen to each other. When Lilith saw this, she pronounced God's avowed name and flew into the air.¹⁰ Adam stood in prayer before his Creator and said: Lord of the World! The woman you have given me has gone away from me. Immediately, the Almighty -- may His name be praised -- sent three angels after her, to bring her back. The Almighty -- may His name be praised -- said to him (Adam): If she decides to return, it is good, but if not, then she must take it upon herself to ensure that a hundred of her children die each day. They went to her and found her in the middle of the sea, in the raging waters in which one day the Egyptians would be drowned. And they told her the word of God. But she refused to return. They said to her: We must drown you in the sea. She said to them: Leave me! I was created for no other purpose than to harm children, eight days (after birth) for boys and twenty for girls. When they heard what she said, they pressed her even more. She said: I swear by the name of the living God that I, when I see you or your image on an amulet, will have no power over that particular child. And she took it upon herself to ensure that, every day, a hundred of her children died. That is why we say that, every day, a hundred of her demons dies. That is why we write her name on an amulet for small children. And when she (Lilith) sees it, she remembers her promise and the child is saved (Hurwitz 1992, 119).

This is a pivotal story in the legend of Lilith. It opened the way for the later Kabbalistic transformation of her character into a cosmic being. By this role as the first wife of Adam, she has become defined for all time. Even though she

¹⁰ There is some controversy in the literature regarding Lilith's use of the "sacred name" of god and "flying into the air." See Hurwitz 1992, 122-3.

was mentioned in the Talmud in connection with Adam, their struggle as husband and wife was unknown until the telling of this story (Hurwitz 177). Yet this story leaves us with more questions than answers. Why does Adam not go after his wife? Are there reasons for Lilith leaving which we are not told? Is she unhappy? Why? Why does she become a demon? Why after the angels find her and practically beg her to return, she does not? Why is Yahweh so quick to make a second female? Why does he use a part from the man's body? Perhaps because these are questions which still deeply affect the relationship between the masculine and the feminine, that most primordial of adult relationships, they continue to haunt the imagination of the modern world.

Kabbalah

Kabbalah is the general term given to the mystical branch of Judaism. It is the name for the practitioners as well as to the body of texts which make up this branch of Jewish literature. The time period usually associated with the primary Kabbalists writings is roughly 1200 to 1700 CE. Mysticism is the religious impulse to reach beyond established tradition. It satisfies the need of certain individuals for direct divine experience. Jewish Kabbalism can be divided into two parts, the practical and the speculative. The practical is the branch of white magical works using the mystical value of Hebrew words and letters which can be linked to the incantations and amulets of earlier periods. This branch has been variously misunderstood and confused with Christian magic as the work of the devil. The speculative branch deals with fundamental philosophical concerns. Like rabbinical literature, Kabbalistic

themes were built upon the sacred scriptures of Judaism but differing in direction. For Kabbalists the creation of the universe is the result of a complex process from the unmanifest to the manifest, accomplished through the emanated attributes of the limitless and unknowable *En-Sof* as it developed through the first manifestations symbolized by the *Sifiroth*. The best known and respected text of Kabbalah is the Zohar. The Zohar is a compilation of texts consisting, after Scholem, of 19 books. Its authorship has been credited to Moses de Leon although, like mystical material in general, the true authorship is not without controversy (Ponce 1973, 53 ff).

It is from the Kabbalah that the modern character of Lilith received the greatest transformation.¹¹ However, in order to understand how the Kabbalists developed and transformed the demon Lilith, the first wife of Adam, into the cosmic Lilith, we need to understand something of how their speculations operate. The review of creation presented is that of Isaac Luria (1534-72) as it is a particularly comprehensive model. The Lurian model transformed in fundamental ways the very thinking of Kabbalists.

Origins of Creation

"In the beginning . . ." one is already within the field of time, or more precisely within the continuum of 'space/time.' This is the starting point for most creation stories -- already within a manifest universe where the primordial creator(s) were already in existence. This is typical of The Theology of Memphis, *Enuma Elis* as well as the Bible. Ptah, the Egyptian deity, creates with his heart and tongue (mind and word) while Apsu and

¹¹ Some of the passages from the Zohar associated with Lilith: I: 9b, 19a, 19b, 27b, 34b, 54b, 56a, 56b, 148a, 148b; II: 54a, 55a, 163b, 267b; III: 19z, 69a, 76b, 77a, 148b, 180a.

Tiamat are the commingling oceanic parents of the Babylonians. In the Bible, too, the creator god is already part of the manifest. The god Yahweh already existed in order for him to have "created heaven and earth." Sumerian texts, too, begin usually with reference to a distant 'time' when Heaven and Earth were separated while hinting of a yet more ancient 'time' when the primeval sea, the goddess Nammu, was the primordial creator. But even She is part of the manifest universe. For a creation story which looks to the first manifestation, when "No-thing-ness" and "No-time-ness" existed, we turn to the Kabbalists and their concepts of original creation.

That which is beyond the point of first creation or emanation, the early Kabbalists called *Ein* (or *Ayin*) which means "No Thing." Halevi states that *Ein* "is neither below nor above; nor is it in movement or in stillness" (1979, 5). *Ein-Sof* ("Infinity, Without End") is the name used to refer to the god that is "absolute nothing and absolute everything." The Kabbalists generally agreed on this concept of *Ein-Sof*, however, later disagreement occurred on whether *Ein-Sof* is "Him who has no end" or "That which as no end." Does *Ein-Sof* have the personal attributes of the Creator God of Scripture or is *Ein-Sof* a neutral, impersonal concept?¹² They also disagreed on whether *Ein-Sof* and Creation are one and the same thing or whether *Ein-Sof* is a "him/thing" apart from Creation. Nor was there agreement on the first step from "concealment" to "manifestation." All did agree, though, that no description of this process could objectively reflect the actual process. At best any description would be "from the perspective of created beings and was

¹² My bias: *Ein-Sof* is separate from the god of scripture whom I call Yahweh. The term "God" is used when quoting sources.

expressed through their ideas, which in reality cannot be applied to God at all" (Scholem 1974, 90).

According to Scholem, the Kabbalists thought of "God" in the abstract in terms of "God himself" or of "God in relation to his creation." God in relation to "His own nature" is beyond any speculation because there is nothing, no 'thing-ness' or 'time-ness,' of which to conceive. We, as part of 'that which was created,' cannot speculate beyond that creation. Therefore, we can only speculate on god in relation to that which was created, in other words, the relationship between "God" and "Creation" (1974, 89ff).

Whether *Ein-Sof* first "emanated outward" or "contracted inward" is impossible to know. But, in order to have an "event," it is necessary to have two elements which are in reality one -- time and space. Whether this event occurred inward (contraction) or outward (emanation), it resulted in triggered time, setting the direction of the "arrow of time," and in creating "space." Events take place both in "time" (sometime) and "space" (somewhere). Whichever happened, the result would have been similar: a "space/time" universe. And now, in this "space/time" universe, we can speculate about the first occurrence because something occurred which allowed conscious thought in the form of physical beings to come into existence. Before that original event, there is nowhere or nothing which human thinking can reach. For "space/time" beings, there is no "being-ness" without "space/time."

Before Isaac Luria (1534-72), all kabbalistic doctrines of emanation and creation shared the common theme of an "inner uni-directional development . . . by means of more or less continuous stages" (Scholem 1974,

124). In other words, Creation had been a continuous, outward process from *Ein-Sof*, yet that creation had been intimately bound to *Ein-Sof*. Lurianic doctrine introduced ideas which eventually caused an "enormous chasm between *Ein-Sof* and the world of emanation" (124). Lurianic kabbalism is based on three main doctrines (Scholem 1974, 128-144):

- *zimzum* ("contraction")
- *shevirah* ("breaking of the vessels")
- *tikkun* ("cosmic restoration and reintegration")

zimzum

The first act of *Ein-Sof* was not one of emanation outward, but of a contraction inward. Since 'everything that was' was *Ein-Sof*, there was no room for Creation, not until *Ein-Sof* contracted, making it possible for "something which is not *Ein-Sof* to exist" (Scholem 1974, 129). This is the act of *zimzum*, whereby *Ein-Sof* withdrew from a "place," from a "point" which is called primordial space.¹³ From this point forward, all levels of manifestation are traceable. When the impetus to create occurred, "*Ein-Sof* gathered together the roots of *Din* ("judgment") concentrating the power of *Din* into one place" (130). *Zimzum* was, therefore, an act of "judgment and [of] self-limitation."¹⁴ After *zimzum*, the power of *Din* was left behind in primordial space where it intermixed, in a disorganized fashion, with the substance or light of *Ein-Sof* which was also left behind after *zimzum*. From this mixture of *Din* and Light, a *yod* (or ray of light) descended. This *yod* contained the power to create "form" and "organization." This process is

¹³ It was pointed out to me that this is similar to the process a woman goes through in giving birth to a child: first there is a contraction before there is a birth.

¹⁴ Judgment here means an act of discernment and discrimination not condemnation.

imaged as the creation of "vessels" containing the divine essence which had remained behind in primordial space. Later, these "vessels" were envisioned as the "primordial man" called *Adam Kadmon* which was formed by the "yod." *Adam Kadmon* serves as the link between *Ein-Sof* and primordial space.

In another version, a ray of light penetrated and filled the vacuum formed by the contraction of *Ein-Sof* with the ten *Sefirot* arranging themselves into the form usually called the Tree of Life (Scholem 1974, 130). Each *Sefirot* was formed by a zigzagging pattern envisioned as a 'lightning flash' starting with the first *Sefirah*, *Keter*, in the middle pillar at the head of the Tree. The flash of lightning then moved to the right to form *Hokhmah*, then left to form *Binah* and back to the middle, repeating the pattern on down to the last *Sefirah*, *Malkhut*, at which point the Lightning Flash was grounded (Halevi 1979, 6-7). This image is sometimes superimposed over that of *Adam Kadmon*; both images are used as contemplative devices.

The process of *zimzum* "took place equally on all sides" resulting in a vacuum which was imaged as "circular or spherical in shape." The ray of light, which penetrated this circular vacuum, entered in a "straight line" but has two aspects. "It arranges itself both in concentric circles [to match the circular space of *zimzum*] and a unilinear structure, which is the form of *Adam Kadmon*" (Scholem 1974, 131). These forms of 'circle' and 'line' are the original patterns out which all subsequent Creation was formed. They began the dual aspected nature of Creation. Just as *Ein-Sof* first contracted into the depths of "Self" and then expanded into the space of *zimzum*, this same "double rhythm" continued to reoccur in "every stage in the universal

process" (131). Every aspect of development "has not only a circular and linear aspect, but . . . an inner and surrounding light . . . as well as . . . direct and reflected light" (131).¹⁵

Later Kabbalists added their own ideas to the process of creation but maintained the basic theme of *Ein-Sof* making way for the creation process. In general, the ideas of *zimzum*, the power of *Din* and the connective *yod* (or ray) played an important part in the successive stages of creation. Disagreements developed on whether this process was to be understood literally or symbolically. Moses Hayyim Luzzatto believed the core of *zimzum* was the act of the Creator setting aside 'His' own infinite, perfect goodness so that Creation would not be made perfect. He believed that the metaphysical root of evil was inherent in the very act of separation which is at the heart of *zimzum* and that the "development of created beings depended on their being given an opportunity to perfect themselves according to their merits and to [their ability to] separate the power of evil from the power of good" (Scholem 1974, 135). This leads us into the doctrine of the "breaking of the vessels" and the subsequent development of the forces of evil, its beginnings and endings.

shevirah

The vessels which had received the "light of emanation" after the process of *zimzum* developed further. The second doctrine of Isaac Luria called *shevirah* or the "breaking of the vessels" traces this development. It was the "breaking of the vessels" which ultimately led to the origin of evil.¹⁶

¹⁵ Note the importance of this pattern. The "line" forms itself into both a circular and linear structure by first filling the circular space of *zimzum*, as well as by linking *Ein-Sof* to creation.

¹⁶ For additional speculations, see *Origins of Evil*.

Two sets of lights are in operation here.¹⁷ The first lights were located in the primordial space (called *tehiru*) and the second was the light from the ray that descended from *Ein-Sof* to organize the remains (called the *reshimu*) left behind by *zimzum* and the forces of *Din*. Two conflicting ideas existed side by side -- without ever being resolved -- regarding the purpose of these lights. One idea was that the lights were to eliminate entirely the forces of *Din*, which had collected in primordial space, and the other idea was that the lights were to first soften the forces of *Din* and then purify them (Scholem 1974, 136).¹⁸

The ray of light from *Ein-Sof* functioned in two opposing fashions. It operated both circularly and linearly. This basic duality runs throughout the entire process of creation. The "more harmonious" of the two is the circle which is a "natural form" being a "reflection" of the spherical shape of *zimzum*. The circle corresponds to the feminine aspect and to reflected light symbolized by the moon. The ray of light originates "directly" from *Ein-Sof* and moves between *Ein-Sof* and the primordial space. Its purpose is to "organize" the remains of *zimzum* and the forces of *Din*. To this purpose, it moves back and forth, filling the space of *zimzum* in concentric circles, seeking "its ultimate structure in man¹⁹ who represents the ideal . . . lineiform structure" (Scholem 1974, 136). The line is a "willed formed" which originates from *Ein-Sof* and is directed toward 'man.' It corresponds to the masculine aspect and to direct light as symbolized by the sun. Therefore, it is said to be of a higher degree than the circle which is only a reflected

¹⁷ Meaning dual aspects are in operation.

¹⁸ These ideas correspond to one of the proposed solutions to the problem of evil.

¹⁹ First in Adam Kadmon, primordial man, and then in Adam, mortal man.

form.²⁰ If either of these two aspects are missing from the process of Creation, "disruption or unexpected developments will take place" (137).

The first form after *zimzum* was *Adam Kadmon* which represents a realm above the four worlds (*azilut*, *beriah*, *yezirah* and *asiyyah*). The four worlds is a doctrine associating "every stage in the process of creation (as) crystallized in a specific world" (Scholem 1974, 118). Originally the four basic worlds were:

- *asilut*, the world of emanation (the ten *Sefirot*);
- *beriah*, the world of creation (the Throne and Chariot)
- *yezirah*, the world of formation (the world of angels)
- *asiyyah*, the world of making (which included the whole system of spheres and terrestrial world or sometimes only the terrestrial world) (Scholem 1974, 119)

According to Lurianic doctrine, all the worlds were originally spiritual, but with the "breaking of the vessels," the world of making, *asiyyah*, descended from its spiritual position and commingled with the *kelippot* (impurity) which was supposed to have remained separated. This mixture produced the world of gross, physical matter (of which we are a part). The ten *Sefirot* as well as *Adam Kadmon* are reflected in some manner in all the worlds.

The ten *Sefirot* first took shape in *Adam Kadmon* in the form of concentric circles. The outermost circle, *Keter*, remained in close contact with the surrounding *Ein-Sof*. This was the *nefesh* of *Adam Kadmon*.²¹ In the

²⁰ The idea of the circle and line, and their correspondences, is reflected in much of European metaphysics. See the alchemical text, the Emerald Tablet; Rosicrucians texts; as well as, Hermetic texts.

²¹ The soul is composed of three parts: *nefesh*, *ru'ah* and *neshamah*. Compare with three aspects of the Egyptian soul: *Ankh*, *Ba* and *Ka*.

next step, the *Sefirot* rearranged themselves into a line, in the form of a Man and his limbs. This was the *ru-ah* of *Adam Kadmon*. All the lights possessed vessels which were "so subtle and pure" that they could hardly be considered vessels. *Adam Kadmon* (like the ray) functions as the link (and organizing force) between *Ein-Sof*, the lights and the rest of creation to come.

From the head of *Adam Kadmon*, lights shone forth forming letters and names; the linguistic symbols of Kabbalah. These lights were directed inward toward its own hidden being. This was the organizing of Thought and Word.²² The lights that issued from his ears, nose and mouth expanded outwardly, but only linearly and their *Sefirot* shared one vessel. These lights were not clearly defined by the Kabbalists²³. However, the lights from his eyes were differentiated into individual *Sefirot*. These lights were to have come forth from his navel but were deflected by another *zimzum* which took place within the lights themselves.²⁴ When the lights issued from *Adam Kadmon's* eyes, they did so both linearly and circularly. These separated lights were known as "the world of dots or points" and "the world of chaos," the latter because, at this stage of development, the lights of the *Sefirot* were not stable units. Each of the lights commanded a vessel of its own made of a thicker light into which they could arrange themselves and function (Scholem 1974, 136-138).

It was at this point that "the breaking of the vessels" occurred. The vessels of the upper *Sefirot* managed to contain the light that flowed into

²² From this idea developed the "concealed configurations" inherent in the Hebrew alphabet.

²³ This is the first indication of a disruption as it does not follow the pattern of the dual aspects of both circle and line.

²⁴ A second unexpected development.

them. But the light that struck the six *Sefirot* from *Hesed* to *Yesod* did so all at once. This light was too strong to be held by the individual vessels. One vessel after another broke and the pieces scattered and fell. The vessel of the last *Sefirah*, *Malkhut*, also cracked but did not break. Some of the light that had been in the broken vessels was able to retrace its path back to its source (eyes of *Adam Kadmon*), but the rest of the light collapsed with the vessels. It was from the shards of these vessels that the *kelippot*, (the dark forces of the *sitra ahra*) took form. These shards are also the source of gross or physical matter. The pressure of the light in the vessels also caused each of the four worlds to descend one level lower than its assigned place. "The entire world process as we now know it, therefore, is at variance with its originally intended order and position" (Scholem 1974, 138). This was "nothing less than a cosmic catastrophe;" however, it was not an "anarchic or chaotic process" (139). This event was understood in Lurianic writings to have taken place "in accord with certain clear internal laws" (139). So too, the emergence of the *kelippot* was part of this process and followed certain "fixed rules." The *kelippot* was confined only to the shards of "those vessels that had been struck by the first sparks of light" (139). These lights nourish the *kelippot* and "provide the life-force for the entire world of *kelippot* which in one degree or another interpenetrated the whole hierarchy" (139). The broken vessels are themselves subject to the process of *tikkun* (discussed below) which was said to begin immediately after the breakage. However, their "dross was unaffected [by *tikkun*] and from this waste matter, which can be compared to the necessary by-products of any organic process, the *kelippot*, in their strict

sense as the power of evil, emerged." (Scholem 1974, 139) Later commentators attributed the "breaking of the vessels" to

1. the weak inner structure of the "world of points" which were isolated, unorganized and therefore, too unstable to prevent the breakage
2. the first emanations were all "circular," rather than "circular" and "linear," which created an imbalance leading to the breakage
3. only the "branches" of the tree went forth from *Adam Kadmon* while the "roots" remained within him; the "branches" did not have the power to withstand the pressure of the light

These explanations place the blame for the "breaking of vessels" on an "unsound structure in the world of points" and see the event as a "mishap" (139). Luria himself believed that the roots of *Din* and the *kelippot* were already present from the start of the emanation process. The process of emanation was designed to create a catharsis of "harsh elements [*Din*] and waste matter [*kelippot*] in the divine system" (139). And, the true inner reason for the "breaking of the vessels" was the presence of the "roots of *kelippot*." This explanation paved "the way for reward and punishment in [the] lower worlds that were due to emerge as the last phase of the creation" process (139-140). The earthly counterpart to the "breaking of the vessels" is the fall of man. There would not have been a "fall of man" (original sin) had there not already been a "breaking of the vessels" (origin of evil) in the divine realm.

tikkun

The third, and most important doctrine of Isaac Luria, according to Scholem, was the process of *tikkun*, the "restoration of the universe to its original design in the mind of its Creator" (1974, 140). Everything that happened after the "breaking of the vessels" was designed to bring about this restoration. The most important element in this restoration was the light that came from *Adam Kadmon's* forehead. It became the task of the *Sefirot* which had not broken to "encourage the formation of a balanced and stable structure" (140). The new structures are called *parzufim* (literally "faces"). It is these new structures which take the place of the *Sefirot* and are now the primary manifestation of *Adam Kadmon*. The *parzufim* are bound together to the broken vessels and each *parzufim* represents a stage in the restoration process. The *Sefirah, Keter*, is transformed into *Arieh Anpin*, (the long-faced one) or *Attika* (the ancient one). Sometimes these two are seen as aspects of one *parzuf* which contains hidden within itself the "supernal lights." The *Sefirot, Hokhmah* and *Binah* become *Abba* and *Imma* (the father and mother). *Abba* and *Imma* have two important functions:

1. to act as a medium for re-individuation and re-differentiation of emanated beings into transmitters and receivers of influx, and
2. they are the archetype for the procreative "coupling" which is the "common root of all intellectual and erotic unions" (141).

Their coupling is "aroused by the reascent of the 288²⁵ sparks that had been in the broken vessels and returned to the bowl of *Binah*" (141). These forces are known as the "female waters" and are essential for the coupling and the

²⁵ 288 adds up to 9, the number of the Goddess. See Joseph Campbell, "The Mystery Number of the Goddess" in *In All Her Names* 1991, 58-129.

reunification. The union of *Abba* and *Imma* gave birth to a new *parzufim* called *Ze'eir Anpin* (short-faced one). *Ze'eir* is bounded to the six *Sefirot* from *Din* (or *Gedullah*) to *Yesod*. He is the center for the processes (that occur within all the *parzufim*) designed to soften the powers of *Din*.²⁶ The success of the *parzufim* depends on a long series of operations which occur within *Imma*. These operations resemble the processes of birth through maturity. The last *Sefirah*, *Malkhut*, is converted into a *parzuf* which is called *Nukba de Ze'eir* (the female of *Ze'eir*) and "represents the later's complementary feminine aspect" (141). The outline below illustrates the connection between the *Sefirot* and the *parzufim*.

The primary *parzufim*

<u>Sefirot</u>	<u>Parzufim</u>	
Keter to	Arikh Anpin (long-faced one) or Attika (the ancient one)	Two aspects of one parzuf
Hokhmah to	Abba (father)	1. medium for beings to become transmitter & receiver of influx
Binah to	Imma (mother) who act as:	2. coupling aroused by reascent of sparks broken in vessels
Ged - Yesod to Malkhut to	Ze'eir Anpin (short-faced one) Nukba de Ze'eir (female of Ze'eir)	

According to Scholem, Luria saw these five *parzufim* as constituting "the final figure of *Adam Kadmon* as it evolves in the first stages of *tikkun*" (142).

²⁶ Note that we are here dealing with definite gendered concepts.

The *parzufim* were seen as "power centers" through which god was able to "function and assume form" (141). This is a different *Adam Kadmon* from the one that had existed before the breaking of the vessels.

The *parzufim* are called the "world of balance" and are equated by the Kabbalists with the ancient world of *azilut*. From this world, a "spiritual light" descended to the lower worlds. This light passes through a "curtain" between each world. The curtain filters out the *sefirotic* substance which belongs to that particular world while letting through a reflex which becomes the substance for further development in the world below. However, the worlds are still not in their proper positions since their descent after the breaking of the vessels. The last world, *asiyyah*, "has descended and commingled with the lowest part of the realm of the *kelippot* and with the physical matter that is dominant there" (141-2).

Lurianic Kabbalah developed the details of the process of *tikkun* around two concepts: the *parzufim* and the four worlds. The *tikkun* has almost been completed by the activity of the supernal lights within *Attika*, but certain activities must be performed by humanity. For Kabbalists, the completion of *tikkun* became synonymous with "redemption" which for them was the ultimate task of creation. The completion of *tikkun* depends on humanity performing certain tasks which connect *tikkun* and the

religious and contemplative activity of man, which must struggle with and overcome not only the historic exile of the Jewish people but also the mystic exile of the *Shekhinah*, which was caused by the breaking of the vessels (Scholem 1974, 143).

There is a distinction made between the "inward and outward aspects of the supernal light of the world of creation" (143). The task of humanity is

concerned only with certain aspects of the inward, which being hierarchically ranked, is below the outward, thus is "within reach of the truly spiritual, inward individual" (143). The goal of human activity is the restoration of the world of *asiyyah* to its spiritual place. To accomplish this, it was suggested that humanity must completely separate from the world of the *kelippot*. Only then could a "permanent communion" with God be achieved which would not be disrupted or prevented by the forces of *kelippot*.²⁷ If humanity performs this task properly,

the female waters that enable the supernal couplings to take place will be aroused, and the work of the outward *tikkun* will be completed by the supernal lights that have remained concealed in the *parzuf* of *Attika* and are due to reveal themselves only in the messianic future (Scholem 1974, 143).

In examining the process of *tikkun*, certain activities require additional clarification. The worldview of the Kabbalists is highly hierarchical (vertical) and linear -- everything is either above or below and everything happened either before or after. This creates a certain rigidity in the structure of the universe which easily accommodates a separatists, unbalanced dualistic approach to its understanding. One can speak of either that which is above, implying that which is purer or better, and that which is below, implying that which is more corrupt -- the not as good. Given this structure, that which is Below should be a reflection of that which is Above.

The process of *tikkun* revolves around the *parzufim* and the four worlds. The *parzufim* are new structures reflecting a different *Adam Kadmon* from the one which existed before the "breaking of the vessels."

²⁷ There is no agreement among the Kabbalists that this is the end of the forces of evil.

They are the "organic pattern of hierarchies" and the "world of balance." The *parzufim* have been bound to the *Sefirot* and create a "family" structure. The configuration is one of a god, a father and mother, their son and the wife of the son. *Keter* is redefined as *Arikh* or *Attika*, the masculine, creator god, who holds the supernal lights within its being and still functions as the closest manifested reflection of *Ein-Sof*. A redefinition of *Malkhut* is still seen as the feminine aspect, now of the son (*Ze'eir*) of the primary parents (*Abba* and *Imma*) instead of *Keter*. *Abba* and *Imma* engage in a "coupling" which is essential to the restoration process. Their coupling is aroused by the "female waters" which are associated with the "reascent of the 288 sparks" that returned to *Binah*. Without the influence of the "female waters," the coupling would not occur. This coupling is essential and produces, *Ze'eir*, the *parzuf* which is at the center of the processes of the *parzufim*. *Ze'eir* undergoes a developmental process from birth to maturation. The success of *tikkun* depends on these events which occur within *Imma*. These structures are the dynamics through which *Ein-Sof* was "able to function and assume form" (Scholem 1974, 141). To this point the process has been circular. Now, the "world of balance" or *azilut*, is the ancient world from which a light descended producing a reflex which assisted in the development of the lower worlds. Here we have the linear part of the dual aspects. The fourth and lowest world, *asiyyah*, has been co-mingled with the *kelippot* and physical matter. According to Kabbalists speculation, it is the task of humanity to struggle to overcome both the historic exile of Jewish people and the mystic exile of the *Shekhinah*. This is supposedly accomplished by a complete separation of *asiyyah* and the *kelippot*. But, only the truly spiritual, inward

individual, can hope to have a part in this process. Should the individual succeed, they will assist in the process of:

1. restoring *asiyyah* to its proper place, and
2. arousing the "female waters" that enable the "couplings" of *Abba* and *Imma* to take place

The work of the outward *tikkun* will take place through the efforts of the "supernal lights" concealed within *Attika*. The outward *tikkun* can only be performed by the *parzufim*, but the coupling that is essential to this process requires the assistance of the "truly spiritual individual" whose successful inward *tikkun* will trigger the outward *tikkun*. The process has come full circle using both the "circular" and "linear" aspects.

Three things should be noted here. In the suggestion that it is the task of humanity to struggle with the historic exile of the Jewish people and that of the *Shekhinah*, the Kabbalists have limited themselves to a small percentage of humanity. After having addressing themselves to the cosmic processes, which by their very nature must apply to all humanity, it seems inconsistent that the struggle to overcome "Jewish exile" should be a prominent factor in a restoration of the cosmos.²⁸

Secondly, nowhere in the cosmic drama is there a suggestion to purge the concept of cosmic evil. Only within the realm of humanity is it suggested that purging of evil will have a beneficial role in the cosmic restoration. Although not emphatically insisted upon, it is strongly suggested that it is the task of humanity is to further separate the worlds of *asiyyah* and the *kelippot*. Again, there seems to be an inconsistency in the suggestion. Would this

²⁸ Perhaps there is a deeper meaning here which has not yet been understood.

additional separation not just further aggravate the problem? After all, the origins of evil according to Lurianic doctrine are primarily founded in:

1. separation (or division) between the created from the creator
2. harsh, strict judgment, unlimited and untempered (*Din*)
3. emphasis on only one of the two aspects (circle and line) which led to further separation

The couplings of *Abba* and *Imma* and the pairing of *Ze'eir* and *Nukba* reflect a desire to reunite the the cosmic processes. These couplings form a pattern for unity in the Above which would seem to have an application in the Below (the realm of humanity). Instead of creating further separation, the suggestion (from the Above) seems to be to create a union or balance of the dualities. After all, how can humanity achieve a "permanent communion with God," which encompasses "all that is" including the *kelippot*, when it has been psychologically separated from its own elemental forces of the "shadow" or "dark" Self? Since these forces are energies, they cannot be destroyed, only pushed aside and ignored. As long as they are kept separate, they will continue to generate full force and effect, preventing communion with God. If the human realm (Below) is to reflect the divine realm (Above), then it would seem more appropriate to consider, not a further separation of *asiyyah* and the *kelippot*, but a creation of a "balanced" reunification of the two worlds. This "coupling" of *asiyyah* or *kelippot* would put humanity in accord with the goal of a "balanced and stable structure" in the universe; which is, after all, the goal of cosmic *tikkun*. This would be psychologically incorporated into the Self.

And briefly, the third idea to note is, if it is humanity's mission to trigger the final process of the outward *tikkun*, some additional clarification of what must be accomplished is needed. How is the world of *asiyyah* to be returned to a spiritual place? It has already been argued that complete separation from the *kelippot* does not follow the logic or example from Above, as the cosmic *tikkun* is a "coupling" not a "separation." It would follow, then, that humanity must perform a tasks which it does not understand; yet, has been trying to accomplish it in a manner which has not succeeded, is neither consist, nor reflected from the Above. This should be proof enough that complete separation from the forces of *kelippot* is not going to work. If cosmic *tikkun* cannot proceed further without humanity accomplishing its inward *tikkun* first, how is this critical tasks to be accomplished? The answer seems simple enough, if the example of the outward *tikkun* is followed.

With this brief introduction to Kabbalistic speculation of the cosmos, we turn to a few of their additional speculations regarding the origin of evil and the creation of Lilith.

Origins of Evil

In a monotheistic world, the concept of evil is very difficult to explain or justify. When there is only one creator god, then this god must have been the one to have created evil. However, when this god is also seen as "Infinite" and "Perfect Goodness," an unacceptable contradiction is created.²⁹ The examination of the question of evil was one of the primary areas of

²⁹ Levi-Strauss concluded that "the purpose of myth is to provide a logical model capable of overcoming a contradiction (an impossible achievement if, as it happens, the contradiction is real" (1963, 229).

Kabbalist speculation. From the first act of Creation, the main recurring themes surrounding the origin of evil can already be seen: separation or division; limitation and judgment; and emphasis on only one of the dual aspects. These themes are reconfigured in a number of ways to produce the various kabbalistic speculation on the origin of evil. Gershom Scholem describes a number of Kabbalistic speculations (1974, 122-128). The primary ones can be summarized as follows:

1. Estrangement between Creator and Created
2. *Din* as source of the "left-hand. . . whose name is evil" (forces of judgment and limitation)
3. Strict judgment produced *sitra ahra* (the "other side"), the domain of dark emanations and demonic powers separate from God which has ten *Sefirot* of its own
4. The "leftovers" of the first three worlds were dark emanations because of a concentration of strict judgment - a battle between *Din* and *Binah*
5. Adam separated the Tree of Knowledge (Good and Evil) and the Tree of Life ("cutting of the shoots") created a division in the divine realm (and gave rise to the original sin of humanity)
6. The *kelippot* as "shells" or "husks" of evil -- last links in chain of emanation where everything turns to darkness at "end of days"
7. Natural waste products of an organic process, "dregs of wine," "bad blood" or "foul waters"
8. Evil as an entity which is not in its rightful place according to God's plan
9. Two lights in *Ein-Sof*: #1 contained Thought, #2 contained No Thought.

Scholem describes two basic positions on the problem of evil. The first (neoplatonic influenced) posits an evil which has a passive, non-objective reality. Because of their inadequacy, humanity cannot receive all the influx from the *Sefirot*. This inability is seen as the origin of evil. The critical factor is that the Created has been separated from the Creator leading to the appearance of the power of evil, but evil in itself has no metaphysical reality. This position does not posit a realm of evil separate from the structure of the *Sefirot*.

The second position sees evil as an active force in Creation that will exist as long as it receives strength from *Din* and from "man's sinful deeds." From the Bahir, there is a definition of *Din* as "the left hand of the Holy One," and as "a quality whose name is evil" which has many "offshoots in the forces of judgment" (the constricting and limiting power of the universe). Early on some Kabbalists believed there must be a "root of evil and death" that it had once been balanced within *Ein-Sof* by a "root of goodness and life."³⁰ Evil became a separate manifestation during the differentiation process that occurred below the level of the *Sefirot*.

The final problem of evil, however, is how would it come to an end in the cosmos (Above) and in world of humanity (Below)? The Kabbalists were divided in their answers to this problem:

1. Would the power of evil be totally destroyed?
2. Would the power of evil survive, but be completely separated, therefore hopefully having no influence? or
3. Would the power of evil be transformed into good?

³⁰ See Origins of Lilith.

Destroyed, separated or transformed? The Kabbalist limited themselves to the time of the "redemption" and the "last day of judgment" in their contemplation of this problem. According to Scholem, they generally believed that evil would be destroyed and disappear. Some believed it was the responsibility of humanity to completely separate the good from the evil for all time. Others believed that the realm of evil would survive as a place of eternal punishment. Still others believed that evil would be transformed into good causing the disappearance of the realm of evil. The Kabbalists spent the least amount of time speculating on the ultimate fate of evil.

This should not be surprising since this area of thought is quite tricky, especially to thinkers who having created the perimeters of the subject matter and disdain its very nature with such intensity that they find it hard to focus on it with sufficient distance to arrive at operative conclusions. This is one of the great difficulties surrounding the speculation of the problem of evil. By defining its existence as separate and opposite from the normative, which by definition is the "good," evil becomes a thing to be avoided, shunned and despised, a thing to be cut out of the self and the cosmos. It, thus, becomes difficult to deal with the problem of evil in a rational fashion. This type of thinking makes it very difficult to come to terms with the nature of evil. It creates a double bind for the thinker. How do you come to an understanding of the nature of evil, something which is beyond understanding, while avoiding the effect of the power of its forces which are seen as existing everywhere? How do you restore the imagined original unity and balance which, by its very nature, must have included both good and evil?

In the Western religious worldview, evil has been empowered with such tremendous force that it has moved beyond the realm of understanding as a "force of nature" into a concretized, personification made of wholly "unnatural forces." It has been placed into a realm of 'that which must be controlled or destroyed.'³¹ But limited by the nature of what is possible within the manifest universe, how is evil to be controlled, let alone destroyed? The more energy expended trying to destroy a force of cosmic origin, that much more energy is added to the force. In other words, the more a child thinks he see a bogie man in the closet, the more he thinks about the bogie man under the bed, every night spending more and more time and energy on the very thinking of its form and shape, its size and darkness, that child creates for itself a thing which has been endowed with power over the Self. And once a "real" bogie man has been created, it is a very difficult thing to uncreate. Western worldview has denied the most obvious answer suggested by the contemplative work of the Kabbalists in relation to the cosmic realm of the Above. One only need ask how is cosmic reunification and restoration to be accomplished? Would this not be reflected in the realm of the Below? Why is there persistent speculation that the very nature of *Ein-Sof* contains both the roots of good and evil, that they are not separate forces, but a spectrum as reflected by the two lights with the same source?

Origins of Lilith

Rafael Patai has compiled six speculations on the origin of Lilith (1967, 207ff):

³¹ This has interesting implications if one also associates that which is evil with the feminine. This association is part of a misogynist paradigm. It has had devastating psychological consequences.

1. created before Adam on the fifth day (Gen 1:20-21; Zohar I 34b)
2. created at the same time as Adam (Yalqut Reubeni to Gen 2:21)
3. created as a part of Adam (Zohar III 19a)
4. together with Samael emerged as an androgynous being from beneath the Throne (Scholem, "Kabbala'oth R. Ya'aqobh weR. Yitzhaq)
5. emerged spontaneously out the the abyss or from *Din* (Zohar I 148a)
6. emerged from the light that was hidden, husk of evil (Gen 1:3, Zohar I 19b)

The first three origins are related to the creation of Adam. Number four, as part of a joint being with Samael, seems to belong to the explanatory theories of the origin of evil. Here Lilith and Samael correspond "to the birth of Adam and Eve who too were born as hermaphrodites. The two androgynous twin-couples not only resembled each other, but both were like the image of what is Above (Patai 1967, 219).³²

Numbers five and six correspond to Lilith's emergence as part of the cosmic processes. In origin five, she emerged from the "Great Supernal Abyss" or out of *Din* which corresponds to numbers two, three, four and seven from the list on the origins of evil. *Din* is associated with strict judgment, without mercy, and with punishment. According to Patai, *Din* "has at its lowest manifestation some affinity with the realm of evil referred to as 'the dregs of the wine'" (218). This is confirmed in the work of Scholem. In origin six, Lilith emerged from the hidden light, which had emanated from *Ein-Sof* and became hidden perhaps when it entered the darkness at the

³² Note the similarity to the Egyptian set of twins: Isis, Osiris and Nephtys, Seth. There is one additional couple, Yahweh and the Shekhina in the divine realm, maybe Nut and Geb?

end of the spectrum or maybe as part of the light of No Thought. When the light became hidden, a "husk" surrounded the light, spread and brought forth another husk which was said to be Lilith. This origin corresponds to numbers six, and perhaps nine, in the list of origins of evil.

In whatever way Lilith's origins are envisioned, she has become quintessential to the cosmological processes. Levi-Struass has stated that the function of repetition in myth is to render the structure apparent. By examining both a synchronic and diachronic structure, Levi-Strauss was able to organize myth into the diachronic sequences which could be read synchronically (1963, 229). There seems to be a hint in this methodology for further analysis of the mythology surrounding the character of Lilith, however, it is beyond the current research structure.

In summary, this chapter has examined Lilith within Hebrew tradition. There is no general agreement on the passage in Isaiah or the two versions of human creation in Genesis. They serve only starting points for speculation on the development of Lilith. However, it is highly probable that some form of Lilith existed, pre-dating Talmudic tradition, from which early rabbis drew their speculations on her character. We especially refer to her description as the seductress who 'begot demons and Lilin through spontaneous emission of seed,' the 'demoness with human face and wings,' and description of her with 'long hair' which later became red hair. The primary focus of this chapter has been on Lilith within the origins of Creation according to Kabbalistic doctrine, especially that of Isaac Luria. It explored speculations on the origins of Evil and how these were anthropomorphized and personified as the characters of Lilith (and Samael). The three main roles of Lilith: wife

of Adam, mistress of Yahweh and Queen of the Underworld are metaphors for her participation in the cosmic process. She transcends (penetrates) and operates in the three realms of Heaven, Earth and the Underworld. This operation is circular and non-linear (she is always present in each realm). She is an intricate part of the macrocosm and microcosm. Each of her three roles corresponds to aspects of the creation process of the "other side," (the *sitra ahra, kelippot* or the "left-hand") which are evil counterparts to the "holy" or good side of creation. As a part of the "other side," she was split off and separated from the "holy" side.

By being envisioned as the Mate of Adam (microcosm) and Mistress of Yahweh (macrocosm), Lilith is made to be the counterpart of Eve and the Matronit (*Shekhinah*). She is the dark shadow aspect, the evil counterpart. In this respect, she plays a part in the "coupling" of cosmic *tikkun*, the outward process of reunification and restoration of unity of the cosmos. But, she also plays a part in the inward, mortal *tikkun* as the "shadow" Self of the individual. The process of inward *tikkun* will have truly began when Lilith is reunited in balance with the other aspects of the feminine. The next step is a balanced reunification of the dualisms, especially those associated with masculine and feminine. Then reunity of the macro and microcosm will lead ultimately to a "communion with God" and eventually complete restoration of *Ein-Sof* to a point beyond time and space.³³

It is interesting to note that the Kabbalists doctrine of Creation corresponds to current physics theories of the cosmological of the universe. After the "Big Bang," which may have been brought about by the emergence

³³ See Chapter 5 for further speculations.

of a single particle (*zimzum*), the universe has been expanding and moving apart, ever further from everything else in the universe (breaking of the vessels). If there is enough physical matter (including dark matter) in the universe, the theory predicts the universe will reverse its process of expansion and once again begin the process of collapsing upon itself to a point before the "Big Bang" (*tikkun*), perhaps in preparation to start the process all over again. But if there is not enough physical matter in the universe, it will continue to expand indefinitely, everything becoming more separated, moving further and further apart into infinity. One might speculate this could be the result if the inward *tikkun* assigned to humanity is not successfully accomplished.

This chapter has been confined to major Kabbalistic concepts, primarily from the Middle Ages, concerned with a cosmic origin which resulted in a split between Creator and Created and good and evil, leading to a repetition of this split on Earth with the "fall of man" as a metaphor for the origin of sin and evil in the world. Each of these ideas touches upon different aspects of Lilith. Restoration of cosmic order and balance is the primary goal of Lurianic Kabbalah. Lilith is a key to the process of achieving this balance. If Lilith is viewed from the prospective presented, her character takes on new dimensions. It explains something of the dualistic split between:

good and evil:	good, identified with Life evil, identified with Death
masculine and feminine:	masculine, identified with the linear ray of direct light from <i>Ein-Sof</i> feminine, identified with the circular, reflected light of <i>zimzum</i>

divine and mortal:	a hierarchy of descending divine 'light essence' ending at mortal, physical matter intermixed with evil forces
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In understanding the character of Lilith, we see how evil and death came to be associated and eventually how evil came to be associated with sexuality and the feminine. And, given the dualistic hierarchical structure in which this system of correspondences operates, how these came to be associated with the lowest ranks.

Lilith is an archetypal character with multi-valent, multi-leveled aspects and symbolism. Her nature transcends her origin. She is part of both the manifest and the unmanifest universe. She is as much a part of the Above as She is of the Below. May She rise forever without cease and stay forever.³⁴

³⁴ An answer to Marduk's curse of Tiamat (the primordial Babylonian Goddess) at the end of *Enuma Elish*, "may she recede without cease and stay away forever."

Chapter 4

Queen of Shadows

... one night she slipped out into the modern world ...

God's trickling semen
starts love's endless creative dreams,
angels guarding the sleepers, endlessly.
(Thomas 1974, 1)

I met the Queen of Shadows and her Demon Lover while on a walk in the neighborhood. She was wearing her red hair, but I noticed her lover's eyes. I thought they would be summering in the Soul and had not expected to find them in the neighborhood. His eyes called to me in recognition. We had met once before upon the dance floor. That was long ago before I made my way into the dark chamber where they dwell. She has no eyes. She sees not her lover's eyes. I am her eyes. We had danced the seven portals before I lost my memory in the darkness of the well. In the darkness, the chamber danced and only voices filled the empty space. The three of us danced. The summer passed in long, dry days. The winter came and I returned home to the old neighborhood. I had not expected them to visit, but they have come. Now they dwell with me this summer and we will dance once again. My memory will return of those days in the dark chamber, the route I took there and the route that led me out. I will remember who she is. I will look into his eyes. I will drink the darkness of the well and remember my life.¹

By the end of the 17th century, the great period of the Kabbalists was coming to a close. However, the fascination with Lilith has remained alive and active into the present. The romance of the Lilith and Adam is among

¹ Filomena Pereira, 1995.

the favorite themes of modern writers and artists. Their troubled marriage reflects and echoes the struggles to love. Ben Sira used the metaphor of sexuality to identify this struggle. The theme of sexuality has been a major part of the character of Lilith. From the female demon of Hebrew mythology, who steals the "seed" of mortals, to Kulbak's Benye,² who could not resist seduction, the subject of Lilith sexuality is rich in the unconscious material of myth. This theme would require, at minimum, another chapter to fully develop. However, for the purposes of this chapter, introductory comments will suffice. Lilith's sexuality can be summarized in two statements: monocoitus³ not applicable and jealousy unacceptable.

The model of sexuality which is manifest in the Lilith character is a cosmic metaphor which western religious tradition has historized and concretized. In this way, cosmic metaphor has coalesced into historic context. Instead of being understood as metaphor, her sexuality has been translated into human biology. The themes of monocoitus and jealousy are mainstays of popular tradition exemplified in songs, poetry and plays. Part of the explanation for the emphasis on these two themes can be seen in the separation of Self from Divinity. When Self is split off from Divinity⁴ which would bind it to the greater mystery of the cosmos, Self is left without a basic part of its own Image. This split has been aided by the religious hierarchical concept separating spirit, mind and body, relegating body to the realm of the

² Kulbak, Moyshe, 1986.

³ Monocoitus defined as: exclusive sexual relations. A note of caution is indicated at this point. Sexual fidelity between consenting adults within the context of a defined relationship is not under discussion here. This type of "exclusivity" serves many beneficial personal as well as cultural needs. What is under discussion is the rigid, limiting, pathological fear of human contact (spiritual, mental, bodily) not sanctioned by traditional state or religious authority.

⁴ Separation of the Created from the Creator as discussed above.

impure and denying body its place as part of the divine. But, it is through body that the physical, magnetizing of the polarities occurs in the mortal realm.

Also, by making itself the mediating principle and placing itself as the intermediary between Self and Divinity, traditional western religion further alienates the Created from Creator. This contributes to the loss of Self, a theme which dominates western psychology today. By advocating religious concepts which deny the body its rightful place as an integral part of Self, and advocating contact with the Divine only through mediation, organized religion contributes to the continued process of separation and alienation. This is the process illustrated in the Kabbalistic concept of the "breaking of the vessels."

Monocoitus is not a biologically inherited condition, its development as the ideal, therefore is likely attributable to social conditions. Physical union, either as a biological or spiritual function, is a reflection of divine union.⁵ Jealousy is a form of envy and fear. Both prevent the process of *tikkun*. Monocoitus does this by limiting and excluding contact and jealousy by fostering envy and fear. When this separation is understood as alienation from the Other, as well as from Self, monocoitus and jealousy can be seen as contributors to pathologies traceable to the loss of the limited Self traditionally allowed by mediating religions. All in the name of an unquestionable god because the answers are unthinkable. The answers may lead to questions of existence, not only in the earthly realm, but beyond into the other realms. The answers are related to autonomy.

⁵ Or perhaps divine union is a reflection of physical union.

Lilith's sexuality is autonomous. She has the power of self-determination of her own sexuality. She is united, through the euphemism of marriage, with representatives of the three realms, yet she retains her autonomy. In an atmosphere of controlled, unquestionable, concretized and historized concepts, self-determination cannot be permitted. Especially feminine autonomy which by ancient tradition was closely associated with the process of creation and thereby linked to the cosmos. Patriarchal tradition, in order to gain recognition for the authority of the single, male god would need to control feminine autonomy. The questioning of these concepts today, by both men and women, is at the heart of the symbolism of Lilith.

Lilith is both the villain and the hero of her own story. Her character has been vilified and maligned. However, Lilith's popularity has perhaps never been greater. Modern readers find in her a heroic source of inspiration. Her character is especially appealing to feminists who find in her a powerful, independent, autonomous spirit. Lilith has always stood both as "part of" and "apart from" the social system which has associated her with evil and destruction. She is that part of the endless cycle of the ancient world which has survived into a modern patriarchal, hierarchical world. However, the late twentieth century has begun to see a reversal of her mythos, a re-imagining and re-integration of her character. There is a trend to de-vilify the image of demon and seductress and to re-integrate the two sides of the feminine.

The Lilith character has inspired such gifted souls as Goethe, Victor Hugo, Robert Browning and George Bernard Shaw as well as less noted artists. Contemporary Jewish writers also continue the tradition of

"reintegration of the past into the present" (Schwartz 33). These authors have discovered "new ways to embellish and utilize the old myths, which seem to retain their primal power no matter how many times they are retold" (10). By re-imagining the traditional themes, the essential aspects of Jewish literature seem to remain eternal.

According to Solomon Liptzin, the 1732 publication of the English translation of Johann Andreas Eisenmenger's book Entdecktes Judentum, made for the first time, the myths of Lilith available to English readers (1984, 4). Eisenmenger used the Zohar and Talmud as the primary sources for his description of Lilith. She, thus, entered the modern world with her old reputation intact. This chapter will review the changes that have occurred over that last two hundred years by way of integration of Lilith and Eve, as well as the re-imagining the Demon into the Goddess through modern literature and art. Although only a small fragment of the available literature has been reviewed, part of the goal of this chapter is to present examples rarely reviewed in other works about Lilith. A list of over 50 works has been included in the bibliography, although not complete, it should provide a good starting point for further research. Also included in the bibliography are a few titles in various non-English languages.

... they wrote plays, poems and stories and they sang songs ...

The Old Character

Examples of literature from the last two centuries which portray Lilith in her old character are Goethe's Faust and Rossetti's poems. Goethe was chosen because the popularity of his work has made the character of Lilith

accessible to many readers. Rossetti's was chosen because he presents the old character of Lilith in a visual and poetic form giving a different perspective from the narrative story. By the time of Anatole France's short story, "The Daughter of Lilith," the character of Lilith has begun to be seen in a more sympathetic light. This story was selected because although written in 1889, it foreshadows the modern trend in understanding of the character.

Goethe

In 1808 Lilith made one of her first appearances in modern literature. She put in a brief appearance in the Walpurgis Night scene of Goethe's last and perhaps greatest work, Faust (I,11. 4119-4123).

Faust	What woman's that?
Mephistopheles	Look at her carefully; her name is Lilith.
Faust	Who?
Mephistopheles	Adam's first wife. Beware! There is strong magic in her hair; She needs no other ornament. That net can catch young men, and doesn't let her victims go again so easily.
Faust	There's two of them, one old, one young; and I'll be bound, they've both been covering the ground
Faust (dancing with the young witch)	A pleasant dream once came to me: I saw a lovely apple-tree, and two fine apples hanging there; I climbed to pick that golden pair.
Fair One	You men were always apple-made; Adam in Eden was just as bad. I've apples in my garden too -- how pleased I am to pleasure you!

Mephistopheles (with the old witch)	A naughty dream once came to me: I saw a cleft and cloven tree. It was a monstrous hole, for shame! But I like big holes just the same.
Old Witch	Greetings, Sir Cloven-Hoof, my dear! Such gallant knights are welcome here. Don't mind the outsize hole; indeed, an outsize plug is what we need!

Here Lilith is portrayed in the old image of the demon-witch with raw sexuality. It is her old relationships with Adam and Samael which are commented upon. Like many people, Faust was unaware of Lilith's pivot role in the life of Adam. For western society with a religious heritage of Judeo-Christianity, the reaction to Adam's first wife is almost always surprise. She is the family's dark secret, rarely is her name mentioned.

There are two Liliths in the scene, the young one and old one. The feminine is represented by two of the aspects of the triple-Goddess. Here the Young one is the maiden representing the "spark" which can initiate either inspiration or creation. She is the bringer of life. The Old one is that which draws life back into herself. She is seen as the crone or the destroyer of life.⁶ Goethe continues the tradition of using Lilith's hair as seductive appeal. Her hair was a subject of comment even by the ancient rabbis. However, we see a contrast in the dialog between the two pairs. Faust and the Young Witch speak of a playful, suggestive romance while Mephistopheles and the Old Witch speak of raw, blatant sexuality. The third aspect of the triple-Goddess as mother or sustainer of life is rarely represented as Lilith either in ancient or in modern tales.

⁶ In the West, the second part of the Destroyer namely that of regenerator is rarely understood.

Rossetti

Dante Gabriel Rossetti, a poet-painter of the nineteenth century, was captivated by Lilith. Over the years, in many different guises, he painted her portrait as the seductress. Some of these portraits are hardly recognizable without previous knowledge of the legend. Rossetti was most attracted to the Lilith whose hair is a symbol of seduction and entrapment for young men. The portrait that best symbolized the Lilith of his vision was completed in 1872-3 and entitled "Lady Lilith." His model for this portrait was Alexa Wilding whose beautiful facial features seem magically to create a modern Lilith. In Rossetti words "a Modern Lilith combing out her abundant golden hair and gazing on herself in the glass with that self-absorption by whose strange fascination such natures draw others within their own circle" (Ainsworth 1976, 73).

As with other portraits, he wrote a poem for it. The poem "Body's Beauty" is a fitting tribute to the painting.

Body's Beauty

Of Adam's first wife, Lilith, it is told
 (The witch he loved before the gift of Eve,) That, ere the snake's, her sweet tongue could deceive,
And her enchanted hair was the first gold.
And still she sits, young while the earth is old,
 And, subtly of herself contemplative,
 Draws men to watch the bright web she can weave,
Till heart and body and life are in its hold.

The rose and poppy are her flowers; for where
 Is he not found, O Lilith, whom shed scent
And soft-shed kisses and soft sleep shall snare?
 Lo! as that youth's eyes burned at thine, so went
 They spell through him, and left his straight neck bent
And round his heart one strangling golden hair.

The other, longer poem which Rossetti wrote about Lilith is entitled "Eden Bower." This recounts the entire tale of Adam, Lilith and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The first two stanzas should provide the reader with the flavor of the poem:

Eden Bower

It was Lilith the wife of Adam:
 (Eden bower's in flower.)
Not a drop of her blood was human,
But she was made like a soft sweet woman.

Lilith stood on the skirts of Eden:
 (An O the bower and the hour!)
She was the first that thence was driven;
With her was hell and with Eve was heaven.

Rossetti did not forget that other primordial female, the counterpart of Lilith. His painting entitled "Sibylla Palmifera" or "Souls Beauty" is a portrait of Eve. She sits calmly composed holding in her hand not a hair brush, but a palm "traditional symbol of victory, in this case symbolizing the triumph of beauty of the soul over death; the butterflies at right are traditional symbols of the soul" (Rossetti 1989, 200). He accompanied the portrait of Eve with the poem "Soul's Beauty."

Soul's Beauty

Under the arch of Life, where love and death,
 Terror and mystery, guard her shrine, I saw
 Beauty enthroned; and though her gaze struck awe,
I drew it in as simply as my breath.
Hers are the eyes which, over and beneath,
 The sky and sea bend on thee, -- which can draw,
 By sea or sky or woman, to one law,
The allotted bondman of her palm and wreath.

This is that Lady Beauty, in whose praise
They voice and hand shake still, -- long known to thee
By flying hair and fluttering hem, -- the beat
Following her daily of they heart and feet,
How passionately and irretrievably,
In what find flight, how many ways and days!

Rossetti seems to have been torn between his love for these two women. It would be difficult to say which he loved most. It is doubtful whether he reconciled himself to this fact during his lifetime.

France

By 1889 Anatole France's story "The Daughter of Lilith" looks upon the "old character" in the form of Lilith's daughter with greater sympathy. In this story Ary, a young man who although he is already engaged, falls in love with a mysterious young woman from the 'east.' Her name is Leila. She has golden eyes which throw out sparks of light, an enigmatic mouth and ardent, magnetic personality foreign to the nature of humanity. Ary is both drawn to and repelled by this woman. He said her kiss transported him to heaven and he felt the equal to God. But, his guilt is great not only because he has betrayed his fiance, but he has stolen her from his best friend Paul. Ary has returned to his old teacher, the priest Monsieur Safrac to ask his advise.

Safrac has devoted much of his life to the study of the theory of "the plurality of inhabited worlds" in which he states the Bible told only truth, "but it does not tell all the truth." Safrac believes in the existence of pre-Adamites, the children of Adam by his first wife. Ary tells the old priest about Leila, of how it was she seemed ignorant of her power to envelop Ary's "whole being in the poison of sensuality," yet she was neither wicked or cruel. On the contrary, Ary stated, she was gentle and compassionate. He had

questioned her on her religion to which she replied she had no need of one. "Her mother and sisters were the daughters of God, but that they were not bound to Him by any creed." With this description, the old priest knows very well the mother of Leila is none other than Lilith, the first wife of Adam who separated from him.

Adam at the time "was still living in innocence when she left him therefore [she] had no part in the transgression of our first father, and was unsullied by that original sin." Because of this, Monsieur Safrac explains, Lilith and her decedents are exempt from sorrow and death. They are immortal. They are incapable of either virtue or vice. "Whatever she does, she accomplishes neither good nor evil."

Leila left Ary after six months of passion in which she had given herself wholly to him. Yet, Ary had criticized her "you have never loved me!" She had replied, "no, my friend ... how many women who have loved you no better have denied you what you received from me!" After two days of plunging him between fury and apathy, Ary's soul roused him enough to make his way to the old priest for purification. Because, as he sadly stated, he was still in love with Leila. When she left, Ary tells the old priest, she left with him an amulet which contained ancient writing. The old priest translated it:

My God, promise me death, so that I may taste of life. My God, give me remorse, so that I may at last find happiness. My God, make me the equal of the daughters of Eve.

The story ends thus without further resolution. However, in this story we have a first sympathetic portrayal of Lilith and her daughters. Those beings, who although human are immortal. They are neither good nor evil. They

existed bound to the earth, trapped in immortality. Yet the story still centers around the sexuality of the young woman.

Re-Integration

The re-integration of the character of Lilith is an important step for the psychological integration of the feminine. Browning's poem was chosen because, again as a well known poet, his work was influential to many readers. Thomas' poem was selected because of its capacity to shock the senses into, if not acceptance, at least an awareness of an alternative cosmic potential. Lind's narrative, a more traditional form of story telling, plays to the masculine fantasy of possessing two women while conveying a deeper psychological truth of the multivalence of the feminine.

Browning

With the 1883 poem by Robert Browning entitled "Adam, Lilith and Eve" we begin to see the re-integration of the two feminine beings. Robert Stange (1974) has credited Browning with helping to expand on "several ideas⁷ of romantic love that are recurrent in literature and life" (xvii). The first aspect is that through Eros the lovers break the bounds of separation to achieve "certain spiritual and transcendental values" (xvii). That by merging with each other, they become part of the great space/time continuum coming to a realization of their true selves. This aspect is reflected in the model of sexuality described by Thomas. The second aspect can be described as "romantic love is the annihilation of time" (xvii); the moment becomes

⁷ These ideas have also had an effect on concepts which underlie metaphysical thought.

eternity. Time itself is distorted in the merging with each other and with the All. These two aspects can be seen in Browning's poem.

One day, it thundered and lightened.
Two women, fairly frightened,
Sank to their knees, transformed, transfixed,
At the feet of the man who sat betwixt;
And "Mercy!" cried each -- "if I tell the truth
Of a passage in my youth!"

Said This: "Do you mind the morning
I met your love with scorning?
As the worst of the venom left my lips,
I thought, 'If, despite this lie, he strips
The mask from my soul with a kiss -- I crawl
His slave, -- soul, body, and all?'"

Said That: "We stood to be married;
The priest, or some one, tarried;
'If Paradise-door prove locked?' smiled you.
I thought, as I nodded, smiling too,
'Did one, that's away, arrive -- nor late
Nor soon should unlock Hell's gate!'"

It ceased to lighten and thunder.
Up started both in wonder,
Looked round and saw that the sky was clear,
Then laughed "Confess you believed us, Dear!"
"I saw through the joke!" the man replied
They re-seated themselves beside.

The merging or integration is not only between Adam and the two women, but between Eve and Lilith as two aspects of the same woman. Both women speak of the day they married Adam. In the rejection of love, her deepest yearning is to be "stripped of the lie ..." Even the attempt at passing this confession off as a joke cannot hide the hearts desire for the merging of "body, soul and all."

Thomas

By 1974, the re-integration had been considerably developed. As D. M. Thomas' reiterates in the preface to the poem "Lilith Prints," "I also had in mind Freud's statement that when sexual intercourse takes place there are always four people present." This poem is a masterpiece of cosmic, sexual creation mythology. Thomas has created an organic, flowing, living work. Those who have read it seem to either love or hate its pornographic, passionate images of a transcendental sexual creation. The beings are divided into the mated pairs of the three realms: Lilith and Satan, Adam and Eve and God.⁸

Thomas has created images "to see, within or behind the coldness of the pornographic photo and the sterility of contemporary sexology, the primal male-female mystery..." (preface). Part of the first and last stanzas have been included to illustrate the power of Thomas' words to evoke primal images of raw sexuality and to integrate the elements of creation.

First stanza

God shoves
his phallus into kneeling Lilith,
the first sabbath, her mouth
split like a birth-channel loves

God's to orgasm.
Satan fills her as death
fills slowly Adam's last breath
and translates his spasm

to Belsen, cancer, Hiroshima,
children's screams
taperecorded. Instantly

⁸ Following western tradition, God's mate has not been included.

God's trickling semen
starts love's endless creative dreams,
angels guarding the sleepers, endlessly.

Last stanza

Orbiting the dark
side of the moon, Lilith
from Adam severs. Death
rides that silent arc

whose rim restores
shatteringly the messages.
The waiting soul rejoices.
A pure whore's

preservation of a menses-
soaked towel
for when her man to a warm

oven comes home chilled, senses
stunned, involvement's foul
pad thrust in his face, chloroform.

Candaules--
God, so much worships
Lilith's capacious hips,
want to be jealous,

not to have her, all,
sites Gyges-Satan
behind a curtain
of lightspeed, where galaxies fall

into nothing. But Lilith, as
she is meant, sees
his erection's silhouette,

and dreams too much
of him, needs his touch,
his seed. Cannot forget.

The power of these words never ceases to impress. Perhaps because of their graphic nature, they shock the reader into new perspectives either delighting and refreshing or shocking and blasphemous. However, it cannot be denied, they create an integrated image of Cosmic Creation previously un-imagined.

Lind

Another story which integrates the two feminine elements is Jakob Lind's tale "The Story of Lilith and Eve." In this modern Jewish tale, the two women are again aspects of one female. The story begins with Lilith coming to visit Adam while Eve is away in the country. Adam is concerned should Eve return to find Lilith there. Lilith reassure him that her sister has nothing to fear. Adam is actually pleased to see Lilith and tells her that he loves her, but he wants a "peaceful life." Lilith tells him to have his peaceful life, but that she too loves him as always and will not go away. When Eve returns, Adam and Lilith are in "each other's arms and mouth." Eve says to Lilith "stay with me, sister. I will bring food to your bed." Eve then sits by the fire where she left her body and "entered the body of her sister Lilith and thus she embraced and kissed Adam and felt his love for her as she had never known it before." Adam is puzzled as he thinks he is making love with Lilith, but the woman tells him to look "carefully and tell me whether you don't see that I am your wife Eve?" Adam believed Eve to still be sitting by the fire, but when he looks toward the hearth, all he sees are the "flames from the stove."

In this story, Lilith and Eve are two aspects of one female which Adam comes to recognize. The two women already know they are one, it is Adam who initially saw them as separate. He believed he could only have a "peaceful life" with Eve, the female produced from his own flesh while the

life with Lilith would always be a struggle of love. Yet, like many men, he was still deeply attracted to Lilith and could never resist the pull which turned him away from Eve. In coming to a recognition that the two are in reality one, he was able to have his "peaceful life" as well as enjoy the passionate love found in union with the polarity which was not the flesh of his flesh.

Re-Imaging

In the literature of the last century we also begin to see the re-imaging of the character of Lilith. This literature portrays Lilith variously as "muse," "cosmic creature," and "guide of the soul." Harland's story was chosen because it illustrates the author's intuitive understanding of the underlying inspiration of Lilith. Lilith's power as a cosmic force is illustrated by Shaw's play and by Rivlin's short story. Shaw was selected because of his fame, while Rivlin's because within the form of a very story narrative, the theme was presented so powerfully. Gabriel portrayed Lilith as the guide of the soul through the journey in the the Underworld. Grabriel's grasp of the deepest levels of the mythic undercurrent are impressive. This is the one piece of music which was chosen for review.

Harland

In Henry Harland's 1896 story "Lilith," the hero Strahan is a poverty stricken, deaf-mute sculptor. One very cold Christmas Eve, Strahan who has just completed a clay casting for a statue of Lilith, finds himself with no money for the needed fuel to keep the casting from freezing. It mattered not that he was hungry and cold himself, his greatest concern was for "his Lilith -

- she upon whom he had lavished his thought, his love, his strength, his skill, for a year past -- she who was the food of his ambition, the fountain of his hope ..." If the clay should freeze, it would be ruined. Strahan made his way to the grocer's shop to buy coal on credit. He had little hope because he was already indebted to the grocer. The grocer proved to be unrelenting for the \$7.50 which was already owed him. Returning to his studio, he converted his last of his chairs into firewood, his meager other wooden pieces already having found their way into the fire. He placed the broken bits into the stove in hope of avoiding the disastrous consequence of the freeze. He had nothing left to pawn. But, at least for now, he had gained a couple of hours in which to accomplish a miracle. Walking quickly through the streets, he wondered if he would be able to reach the home of his old pupil, Walter Everett, in time to ask for a loan. The maid let Strahan into the parlor and went upstairs, but was twenty minutes before Everett appeared. In Munich they had been contemporaries, Everett having hired Strahan to give him some courses in painting.

Everett had a rich father, but dubious talents. Strahan had plenty of talent, but no father. To Everett Art had been a mistress; he had forsworn her, and espoused Law. To Strahan Art was a wife; he had remained faithful to her, up to the brink of starvation.

Strahan asked for a dollar, Everett offered ten, Strahan accepted five. When Strahan left Everett's apartment, the weather was even colder. He rushed to purchase coal for the stove with visions of his Lilith in ruins. Strahan had gotten about half way through the park when the dark form of a woman "clothed in some light-colored stuff that fluttered in the wind and caught a silvery luster from the moon" passed him appearing to be in as much haste as

he. As he rounded a bend in the lane, his foot struck something on the ground. It was the woman. She was old with thin, gray hair and a white peaked face. "And straightway there presented themselves for his selection the two horns of a maddening dilemma." If he should come to the aid of the old woman, he would not return in time to save his Lilith, but if he left the old woman, she would surely die of exposure. His thoughts moved swiftly between the old woman and his Lilith who was "breath of his nostrils, bone of his bone." To Strahan the destruction of Lilith would mean "a pound of flesh cut nearest to his heart." He could not lose his Lilith, he turned and walked away. "But he did not go far his better instincts had revolted he could not find it in him to go away, and leave her to die there alone." He picked up the old woman in his arms and made his way out of the park. He himself was weak from physical cold and hunger and his anxiety over Lilith's doom left him in a stupor. He found his way to the police station where he was further delayed by the officer in charge with awaiting an ambulance and giving a statement. Finally released, Strahan rushed to purchase the needed coal. "Perhaps, his fire had lasted longer than he had thought it would! ... Perhaps it was not yet too late!" He ran. He arrived home. It was dark. He re-started the cold stove. "Lilith's cerements began to melt A superb piece of work, indeed, she was. Strahan had followed Rossetti's interpretation of the myth...." But now, she was in ruins. The surface had begun to peel off in scales. He flung himself upon the floor, "a deep moan burst from his throat." As the fire grew warmer, the clay thawed until "presently, with a soft thud, Lilith flattened herself out upon the ground." For the first few weeks, Strahan thought he would go mad. Months passed before he was able to

work again. By then he had received some money and made up his mind to change his studio.

... finally, late in April, I started the figure again. This time my skill seemed to be born a new Now what seemed less than a year ago an overwhelming calamity turns out to be a blessing; for the new figure is vastly better than its predecessor -- abler, more truthful, more sympathetic. So, the old woman was my benefactress, after all.

Strahan's Lilith was exhibited the following spring. It made him famous. Is there any need to mention that the old woman was in fact Lilith.

Shaw

The one New York production of George Bernard Shaw's play "Back to Methuselah" occurred in February 1922. It took ten hours of playing time over three separate evenings.⁹ Further commercial productions of the play were not possible until Arnold Moss, in 1957, undertook the task of fitting the ten hours into one evening's performance. For Moss the arduous task became a labor of love. He eliminated scenes, arranged and re-arranged others, transposing sections and invented the character of The Dramatist to bridge the transitions. As Moss stated, he always tried to maintain Shaw's "thoughts and penetrating humor" (4). Shaw's play affirms his faith in humanity, in the hope of its future. Humanity need not submit to the threat of self-annihilation, but can will itself into something sensible in a senseless world (3).

Lilith is portrayed as the "personification of the force of Creative Evolution, as the mother of Adam and Eve, and hence of the entire human race" (Liptzin 1985, 11). The play begins with Adam and Eve in the Garden

⁹ This version of Shaw's play was not available to me.

and goes to the year 31,920. Lilith appears twice giving the first and last speeches. But it is the Serpent, who came after Lilith, who explained to Adam and Eve when they first awoke in the Garden of Eden how they came about through the efforts of Lilith:

I remember Lilith, who came before Adam and Eve. She was alone: there was no man with her. She saw death as you saw it when the fawn fell; and she knew then that she must find out how to renew herself and cast the skin like me. She had a mighty will: she strove and strove and willed and willed for more moons than there are leaves on all the trees of the garden. Her pangs were terrible: her groans drove sleep from Eden. She said it must never be again: that the burden of renewing life was past bearing: that it was too much for one. And when she cast the skin, lo! there was not one new Lilith but two: one like yourself, the other like Adam. You were the one: Adam was the other (14).

The play follows the development of humanity in the Garden of Eden and Cain's introduction of murder and self aggrandizement. With all of this, the burden of eternal life was too great to bear, so Adam decided to limit his lifetime which became shorter for each successive generation until it reached the shortness of the lifespan of humanity today. The play continues into the future when one man decided to extend his lifetime to 300 years. In which span of time, he was able to gain a greater degree of understanding. His descendents further increased their life span, learning how to live and be human. In the three scenes of the play, we follow humanity's growth and development into conscious beings who with increasing spans of life grow to a point in which they must eventually accept the burden of eternal life which had been too much for Adam to bear.

The play ends with a final speech from Lilith in which she questions whether creating man and woman had been enough or whether she should bring forth something else that would sweep mankind away. Humanity has done away with the creatures of the Earth. They have done terrible things in their malice and destructiveness, their cruelty and hypocrisy has scared the faced of Earth. Yet the "horrors of that time seem now but an evil dream." Lilith concluded, "I will not supersede them until they have forded this last stream and disentangled their life from the matter that has always mocked it. I can wait: waiting and patience mean nothing to the eternal" (Moss 1957, 66).

The play ends as it began with the following speech delivered by Lilith:

Of life only there is no end; and though of its million starry mansions, many are empty and many still unbuilt, and though its vast domain is as yet unbearably desert, my seed shall one day fill it and master its matter to its uttermost confines. And for what may be beyond, the eyesight of Lilith is too short. It is enough that there is a beyond (Moss 1957, 67).

For Liptzin this one play, with its "optimistic faith in the creative evolution of life" (1985, 12), was a masterpiece of re-imaging Lilith. Shaw has idealized "her as the primal creator of the human species, as the cause of all suffering, progress, and evolution from matter to spirit" (12). Very high praise for the one so long demonized.

Rivlin

Another modern Jewish tale is Lily Rivlin's "In the Beginning." It re-tells the myth of the ordering the cosmos, "when God set out to create Heaven and Earth" (1983, 115). God's spirit "wavered" for a second and he became aware of another presence. This was the "pulse of the Universe: a Throbbing Spirit whirling in the Chaos." In their mutual awareness, Energy

was born. God desired to "replicate that second" and in their desire, the universe was created. God contributed Order and Throbbing Spirit Love. They divided the Heavens and the Seas. They combined Love and Order through Energy to create all things. Wind moved among the Heavens and the Seas along "islands of Energies" bringing life to all things. The final act of Order was the creation of man. But God "took nothing from the Wind" and Adam was the image of God, so he "could not remember the birth of Love which gave forth Energy." Throbbing Spirit also created in her own image a female which was called Lilith. Lilith had passed through the Wind and remembered. Now Adam "has felt the Throbbing Spirit in the Wind" and he too will remember.

Gabriel

The album "The Lamb Lies Down on Broadway" written by Peter Gabriel first appeared in 1974. It is a journey through the Underworld in the form of a narrative story told on the inside of the album cover and repeated in the songs of this two records set. The songs closely follow the narration. The protagonist Rael finds himself swept away into the Underworld on a journey through death and rebirth. The song "Lilywhite Lilith" presents a re-imaged form of Lilith. In this context, she is the guide of the soul through the dark chamber of confusion found in the Underworld.

The chamber was in confusion -- all the voices shouting
loud.
I could only just hear, a voice quite near say, "Please
help me through the crowd"
'Said if I helped her thru she could help me too, but I
could see that she was wholly blind.
But from her pale face and her pale skin, a moonlight
shined.

Lilywhite Lilith,
She gonna take you thru' the tunnel of night.
Lilywhite Lilith,
She gonna lead you right.

When I'd led her through the people, the angry noise
began to grow.
She said "Let me feel the way the breezes blow,
and I'll show you where to go."
So I followed her into a big round cave, she said
"They're coming for you, now don't be afraid."
Then she sat me down on a cold stone throne, carved
in jade.

Lilywhite Lilith,
She gonna take you thru' the tunnel of night.
Lilywhite Lilith,
She gonna lead you right.

She leave me in my darkness,
I have to face my fear,
And the darkness closes in on me,
I can hear a whirring sound growing near.
I can see the corner of the tunnel,
Lit up by whatever's coming here.
Two golden globes float into the room
And a blaze of white light fills the air.

Gabriel describes her physically as having a "pale face" and "pale skin" from which "a moonlight shined." She is also described as being "wholly blind," a condition which has been attributed to ancient seers. Perhaps the most famous of which was Tiresias who was struck blind by Hera and granted prophetic skill by Zeus. Lilith acts as the guide who will take "you thru' the tunnel of night." She both warns Rael "they're coming for you," and reassures him "now don't be afraid." Her character is now the guide who will "lead you right."

With the literature of the last two centuries, we see emerging a desire for a balanced image of Lilith. From the demonized form there is emerging an understanding of the re-integrated and re-imaged form of Lilith. We see the power of the undercurrent mythic themes to continually inspire. We see that Lilith appears in her various forms and speaks to those who listen for the voice of the cosmos.

Lila

The following tale is by way of a current, local illustration of the power of Lilith to inspire. Without knowing her by name, two modern artists were effected by the still active force which is Lilith. On the evening of March 25, 1995 a friend and I were in downtown Campbell, California. As we returned to the car, we looked in the window of a small shop. The shop was actually an art center where various artists sold their work. We went in to wander around. While looking at photographs we both admired one in particular of a beautiful nude woman with long dark hair standing on a rock outcrop overlooking the ocean. Her arms are held upraised seemingly in praise and command of the ocean.

I told my companion that the photograph reminded me of Lilith as a cosmic force of nature. I was compelled to purchase the photograph. I knew would regret it if I did not. While waiting at the counter, I told the man behind the desk about my impression of the photograph. He was pleased since he was the photographer, Gianni Lauria. Gianni asked me if I wanted to meet the model, Jennifer Markus, who was coincidentally visiting from southern California for a couple of days. Of course, I asked how could I meet her. He told me to turn around, she was standing just behind me.

I told them both of the powerful impression the photograph had made on me, of how it reminded me of Lilith, the mythic first wife of Adam, whose character I had been working with for many years. Had they ever heard of Lilith? No, but it was interesting that I should bring up Adam, as the photograph had been inspired by a poem Jennifer had written entitled "Lila" after lila, the Hindu dance of the gods. She had westernized lila to the spirit of Lila who had been in the Garden of Eden with Adam and Eve. I asked if I could have a copy of the poem. Here, once again was evidence of the power of Lilith to inspire. I am glad to be able to include both the photograph and poem.

And Lila was in the garden before Adam's clay
form had dried before Eve was carved out from his
flesh and taken from his side Lila was in the tree of
knowledge as a seed and when it took root her fingers
were imprinted on every piece of fruit

Lila crowed in the morning and danced the sun midday
while the primordial couple struggled with the words the
voice had said

The trees were lush within the garden with leaves that blocked
the sun and walls so high they hid the battle that had just begun

And Lila poured the
sunset in a frame of
resined oak the colors
swirled a miasmic sea
to the tune the voice
had spoke

And everything for-
bidden flowed within
the frame

All that was beyond
their scope was
sacred and profane

They stood upon the
shore and watched the
breaking waves hand
in hand, the voice's
words still lingering,
they turned away

Lila twirled a
pirouette her skin
a honey hue that
shone like polished
marble in the faded
light at residue

Her eyes were hard
like gleaming steel
her breasts were full
and warm

Her laughter's edge would cut like ice as she
toyed with the woman's form

Lila spins an androgenous whirl man, woman,
now both, now none

She took from all a quality and allegiance shares with
none

And Lila traced the swirling code it sparkles in sparkled
in the sand

The primal pair took breathless steps to haltingly join in the dance
Then the voice fell like a curtain with a wind that howled in
pain but Lila's wings were gilted gold glistening in that rain
She rose up, a bird in flight, to dance above the moon and
the mortal couple wept and wailed that the dance would
end too soon

With a mighty blow the voice's words passed judgment in
the storm condemned them to the world outside so bleak,
the terror and the unknown

And Lila hung the rainbow sea upon the garden wall

the crashing waves
resounded echoes
of the voice's
whispered call

But in that ocean
landscape they could
not find the key to
re-enter the fortress
and somehow be
redeemed

And Lila leapt into
the starlight and
circled twice the
globe and ran the
patterns to the core
of the swirling,
sparkling code

The innocent two
forgot the dance
as they mourned
for their lost home
the only place in
the cosmos they
were not free to go

The only place the
voice existed beyond
the garden walls
and the only sound
it made now was a
hollow lonely call



Repeating itself into eternity beckoning and giving no clue
how to scale the mighty walls.

And Lila was on the dance floor before the rest of the party
arrived, before the men and women all shook hands and
each one taken sides Lila had dipped in the punch bowl
by the time the clock had struck eight the people jealously
averted their eyes and morosely stared at their plates

Gianni Lauria, photographer
M. Jennifer Markus, poet and model

The myth which began this chapter continues, it is a personal participation in that mystic undercurrent which is the source of spiritual renewal and awakening to life.

Once, I drank the darkness of the well and forgot. Forgot the days of summer, the days of sunlight in the shadows of the moon. Forgot that I was of the that race which dwells in the light of day and fears the light of night. I married the Queen the Shadows and my Demon Lover in the light of that dark moon. I forgot the smile of my husband, forgot the sound of his voice. Lost the touch of his hand and the feeling of his body next to mine. I who dared the seven portals, lost the pathway of my life. I have returned to find the days of moonlight in the shadows of the sun. Returned to find my husband. Has he forgotten me? Does he still love me? Does he still dwell in the land of our ancestors? I cannot, nor will not undo that which I am, that which took me on the journey to their loving arms. But have I lost my husband in gaining myself? My beloved mortal dwelling in the light, does he still await my return? I caught his smile in the moonlight and remembered my life. The days of summer which go by so quickly, the nights of winter filled with warm embraces. Will he warm my heart this winter or do I return to the shadows of the chamber and drink the fastness. I have passed through the seven portals, I have dared to enter the chamber, I have looked into their eyes. I have returned.¹⁰

¹⁰ Filomena Pereira, 1995.

Chapter 5

Touch Peace

... so she stayed.

Thunder, Perfect Mind

For I am the first and the last.
I am the honored one and the scorned one.
I am the whore and the holy one.
I am the wife and the virgin ...
I am the barren one, and many are her sons ...
I am the silence that is incomprehensive ...
I am the utterance of my name.

Pagels 1979, xvii

Balanced unity: masculine and feminine

All Goddesses are One Goddess and She is Goddess. All Gods are One God and He is God. Goddess and God are One in the Unmanifest. Passing into the Manifest, they separate into balanced dual energies. They comply with the metaphysical statement, "as above, so below," and the prayer, "thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." The Gods are imaged as fragmented or united in varying degrees. The level of unity or fragmentation is dependent on the perception of their human worshippers. At times, this level can become unbalanced and a split develops between the masculine and feminine as it has today in western religious culture.¹ The realization for the need of a balanced unity has been slowly emerging into the consciousness of

¹ The reasons for this imbalance have been speculated upon and discussed by various scholars and theologians who are more qualified to argue the subject.

both men and women, especially within the last few decades. In 1965, Robert Graves, in his essay, "Mammon and the Black Goddess" wrote

the Black Goddess is so far hardly more than a word of hope whispered among the few who have served their apprenticeship to the White Goddess. She promises a new pacific bond between men and women, corresponding to a final reality of love, in which the patriarchal marriage bond will fade away (164).

His sentiment was echoed in 1981 by Sylvia Perera in her book, Descent to the Goddess, when she stated:

... only after the full, even demonic, range of affects and objectivity of the dark feminine is felt and claimed can a true, soul-met, passionate and individual comradeship be possible between woman and man as equals (164).

Both authors agree, the way to balance, whether in the realms of the god's or mortal's, is through the "dark feminine" that part which has been split and denied access to the conscious mind and so has taken refuge in the collective unconscious.

Models of unity, variously balanced, can be seen in the ancient paired couples. They share certain significant characteristics in common:

Kali ²	Shiva
Inanna/Ishtar	Dumuzi/Tammuz
Ashtart	Tammuz
Isis	Osiris
Cybele	Atis
Aphrodite	Adonis
Seleme	Dionysus
Mary	Jesus

Their stories illustrate how the balance was lost over time and cultural circumstances. Goddess is often referred to as the mother, lover and/or

² The Kali discussed in this chapter is the westernized image.

consort of the god. All of the gods are presented in association with death and regeneration/rebirth, and depending on the historical time period, Goddess actively participates in either his death or regeneration or both. This is the ancient Cycle of Life and Death. Both god and goddess shared in the ancient rites. The god in these pairs is the "sacrifice" out of which the world renewing energies are released. His life blood, a counterpart to menstrual blood, nourishes the next life-cycle.

The transformation from Goddess-centered worship to God-centered structure can be seen through their stories. The ultimate result is Goddess' increasingly loss of her association and connection with chthonic power. For example, it is Kali who stands on the dead body of her consort and with her dance restores him to life. She takes his "seed"³ to create the worlds. Initially it is Isis who also regenerates the dead form of Osiris. She finds his body and pieces it together. She also takes his seed and gives birth to their son, Horus. However, the Inanna/Ishtar form has been split from her sister-counterpart, Ereshkigal. Inanna is dependent on her servant to gain assistance from her father and brothers. Inanna must also send a replacement into the Underworld in order that she may remain above ground. By the time of Aphrodite, she must ask her father Zeus to intervene with her sister, Perspheone. And, by the time of Mary, she no longer plays a role in the story of the regeneration of Jesus.

Another model of paired couples can be found in Kabbalist doctrine. One of the metaphors for *tikkun* is the "coupling" of *Abba* and *Imma*. This coupling in the realm of the Above is reflected in the coupling between

³ See the introduction to Delaney's theory of "seed" and "soil" model of procreation.

Yahweh and Lilith, who respectively represent the personified spectrum of the "holy side" and the *sitra ahra* (the other side). In the realm of the Below this relationship is symbolized by Adam and Lilith. However, in order for both of these couplings to be complete, both the Matronit and Eve need to be reunited with Lilith to form a complete psychological feminine. In this way then, if Yahweh and Adam are complete psychological beings themselves, the couplings would take place between whole beings in both the Above and the Below.⁴ These reunions would fulfill part of the process of *tikkun*. Once there is unity within the Above and the Below, then the next step unity between the Above and the Below (i.e. communion with God) can be attempted.

It would seem reasonable then that humans, who are part of the Below and who also participate in the process of *tikkun*, should also participate in a "coupling." More precisely, they are to balance their own inward dualities. Instead of a further separation of the worlds of *asiyyah* and the *kelippot*, the instructions, as reflected from Above, are to create a balanced reunion of opposites. On the microcosmic, psychological level, this would be accomplished first by a balanced unity of the inward dualities, not by further separation which can only lead to further alienation. By reuniting with Lilith, who represents the split-off and separated Other. For men, this is the anima symbolized by Eve and the mother symbolized by the Matronit, and for women, this is the shadow symbolized by Lilith. The individual performs their own inward *tikkun*. According to the Hurwitz,

⁴ See section Psychological: counterpart of the feminine.

the conscious experience and acceptance of these two opposing aspects of the feminine contains a possibility of their integration, which could lead to further development of consciousness in the sense of a process of self-realization (1992, 234-5).

The inward *tikkun* of the microcosm triggers the final act of the outward *tikkun* of the macrocosm, thereby uniting the realms of the Above and Below. Only then can "communion with God" be achieved. The forces of the *kelippot* are in reality the unconscious pushings and pullings of the separated, hidden and devalued aspects.

In general, Western religious tradition finds the idea of unity with the Shadow difficult and distasteful. This type of "coupling" or reunion of cast-off aspects, in other words, the process of "individuation," is at the heart of both *tikkun* and humanistic psychology. The teachings in the Western tradition of separation are however deeply ingrained in the psychic, and the polarity of dualisms is so pervasive that there has been little or no room for a dialog, let alone a relationship between those forces which have been associated with and found correspondences in the concepts of "good" and "evil." The normative has been defined as being or belonging to either one or the other, but not to both. This same difficulty arises in creating a balanced unity of other dualities, especially the masculine and feminine. Yet, it is this very balanced unity that is being called for in *tikkun*. According to Scholem, the "principal mission [of humanity] remained to bring about a *tikkun*" (1974, 153).

Elemental force: active and passive

Lilith as Queen of the Underworld is the Shadow self of the feminine. In this capacity, she is the vital source of Life and Death. The act of creation,

or procreation, brings forth new Life. After death, it is to the Queen of the Underworld that the dead return to be reborn. Again, this is a circular, non-linear, function from life to death to rebirth. This aspect of her character is the least well understood in the Western religious tradition where Life has been separated from Death, and Death has been associated with both Sexuality and the Feminine, all of these realms are not considered "good" places to explore. They have been placed at the end of the spectrum, opposite the "good god" by a dominant patriarchal paradigm which operates in an opposite vertical and linear fashion.

The vertical, linear methodology places particular emphasis on only one of the dual aspects of the pattern of creation⁵ giving rise to a split which permits unbalanced duality to develop, thus preventing a balanced unity from operating. Each of these dualities can be grouped into the set of familiar correspondences:

Above	Active	Good	Light	Life	Vertical	Linear	Spiritual	Masculine
Below	Passive	Evil	Dark	Death	Circular ⁶	Non-linear	Physical	Feminine

Another correspondent is the separation of the Creator and Created which was identified by the Kabbalists as one of the main themes for the source of the origins of evil.

We may perhaps elaborate further on this idea of the split or separation giving rise to unbalanced dualities as it applies to various feminine deities. The above dualities have been placed at opposite ends of the spectrum, so too have the active and passive aspects within the feminine. For example, the

⁵ The pattern of creation is both circular and linear. This objection applies equality to the circular, non-linear methodology.

⁶ There is an affinity with human biology in vertical (masculine) and circular (feminine).

White (passive) Goddess form has had a preferential position compared with the Black (active) form.⁷ The passive position has been associated with the good, as it applies to the feminine, while the active position has been associated with "evil" and placed on the other end of the spectrum. Lilith, as the prime example of the active form (in the West) is the counterpart of the passive form. These preference can be illustrated as follows:

	Active	Passive
Good	Masculine	Feminine
Evil	Feminine	Masculine

Primarily, we will discuss these ideas as they pertain to Eve and Mary in association with Lilith, however, Kali contributes additional data for discussion of the passive and active principle. Both Canonical (official) and Apocryphal (popular) material has been utilized for this discussion. Eve, the mortal wife of Adam, the mother of humanity, made by the god Yahweh from her husband's rib was said to be 'flesh of his flesh.' The two lived in the Garden, in a state of unmanifest consciousness, beyond time and space. Alive, yet unaware, they lived in blissful paradise where Creator provided for all their needs. There was no struggle, no conflict, no fear. Not until a new element entered the void could this state be altered. The third element, according to the Bible, was called Serpent. At this point the active aspect entered the picture. The Serpent is associated with Lilith. And Serpent asked the first question, "Is it true that God has forbidden you to eat from any tree in the garden?" Through the metaphor of a question, all potentiality became

⁷ The terms White and Black do not refer to race or skin color, but rather to metaphors for the duality in energies.

possible. Eve pointed out to Serpent the one tree which Yahweh had forbidden them to touch. This was the an act of true awareness, the first step toward the release of cosmic energy. Between Eve and Serpent was formed the bond of perception. Eve accepted the challenge to explore beyond her limits. She ate of the fruit of the tree in the center of the Garden. In her new awareness, she asked the man to join her. In their mutual awakening, they shattered the void of space/time -- set creation into motion and awakening the sleeping god.

When he became aware of the change, Yahweh went to the Garden to question what had occurred to cause the change. The man frightened by the new consciousness, by the gravity of their act, blamed the woman. She was also frightened by awareness and blamed Serpent. Which angered the god most, their "awareness"? their "sin"? or their failure to take "responsibility"? The anger of the god knew no bounds. This development also altered god's own perception of himself. Unchecked in his anger, he cursed all the three. Serpent was condemned, "on your belly you shall crawl, and dust you shall eat all the days of your life." To Eve the god said, "in pain you shall bear children, yet your desire shall be for your husband and he shall be your master." The man was condemned to toil the earth, "you shall gain your bread by the sweat of your brow until you return to the ground." In passing a final judgement "dust you are and to dust you shall return" the god lay the groundwork for all future generations of the children of Adam and Eve. The couple left the Garden. Now mortal, they lived out their lives with the passions of the short-lived. Leaving to the future the struggle with the contradictions set in motion by their awakening. Here we can see the curses

as assignments to different position on the spectrum. The harshest curse befell Serpent, who is associated with Lilith, the active element was responsible for the conscious awareness. Serpent is placed at the other end of the spectrum away from the "holy side" of god. The female who had been the first to take action is made subservient to the male. She is placed in the middle of the spectrum. But, the male is also punished, but perhaps that was because he did not participate as the active element the preferred position for the masculine.

The Virgin Mary, the Blessed Mother emerged as the image of the second Eve. She is the White Goddess removed from any connection to the dark, active feminine. According to Church tradition, she is the culmination of purity. She is woman perfected as far as it is possible for woman to be perfected. She accepted Yahweh's will completely and happily. She carried his holy seed, gave birth to his son, raised him and watched him die. She was rewarded by being carried body and soul into heaven, where she sits near the god and intercedes for mortals. She is the primary example of the passive form in western tradition.

The Virgin in her White form reflects the extreme: yielding, softness, gentleness, receptiveness, mercifulness, tolerance and withdrawal. All of these qualities make her the model of purity in the Christian tradition, they also remove her as far as possible from the ancient active form of feminine divinity. However, from the earliest days of the Church, temples which had been dedicated to the ancient Goddesses such as Artemis, Isis and Persephone were re-dedicated to her.

However, the Black form of the Virgin Madonna was also an early manifestation. "The Black Virgin is a Christian phenomenon as well as a preservation of Goddesses and compensates for the one-sided conscious attitudes of the age" (Begg 1985, 131). Mary in her Black form is on the periphery of society. Although very popular locally, usually where a statue is found, she is at best tolerated by the Church. In her Black form, she is strongly associated with the powers of healing and regeneration, both active principles. She is connected with the dark, rich, moist fertile ground that is both "womb and tomb." She offers an intimate connection with divinity which is not possible for the White form to accomplish. In the Blackness is the rich, life-giving earth. It is powerful and life sustaining.

The Roman Catholic Church does not permit the worship of the Virgin Mary. She has been given a special class of veneration called hyperdulia. She is above the saints and below the god, who is the only one who can be worshiped. However, Ann Matter states,

Mary holds a place of such high esteem as to muddle the distinction between divine and human the practice of the pious often takes its own course, and can sometimes be strong enough to draw theological theory after it (1983, 80-81).

From pseudepigraphical writings, Mary had two distinct lives. First, she was born a mortal. Her birth was heralded by angels who foretold that Mary would be known throughout the world. She was also freed of original sin. When it came time to select a husband, the temple priests chose an unusual method. All the widowers of Judea were called to the temple, each carried a rod. A dove flew from Joseph's rod and landed on his head. With this sign, Mary was given to him for fatherly care. Soon thereafter, the angel

Gabriel appeared to announce she would be the mother of the "Son of the Most High," (Luke 1:32). Her son would be given "the throne of his ancestor David, and he will be king over Israel for ever" (Luke 1:33). Thereafter, Mary was seen in relationship to her son. When she died, her body was placed in a tomb. An archangel brought her soul to be reunited with her body and she was taken to heaven with both her body and soul, where she has remained uncorrupt and eternal. Because of her special position, the power of intercession has been granted to her. Intercession is an example of passive power, the preferred position for the feminine on the spectrum.

This brings us to her second life as Queen of Heaven. Her power grew throughout the development of the Church, reaching a high point in the Middle Ages. It was believed that she performed hundreds of miracles. Particular powerful are relics, such as pieces of clothing and bits of hair, left behind at the Assumption. Her veil inspired the rebuilding of Notre Dame at Chartres after it was destroyed by fire. There are numerous other cathedrals dedicated to Notre Dame throughout Europe. Even today, pilgrims make the trip from Paris to Chartres on foot, kiss the case where the veil is kept and embrace the pillar where it stands. Mary is particularly popular in France where over 300 hundred of her images in the Black form alone have been found (Matter 1983, 86).

Another place where Mary makes a dramatic appearance is in The Book of Revelation 12:1 to 12:14. Although her name is not used, "it is a matter of interpretation to see the Virgin Mary here. But this was the prevailing interpretation during the Middle Ages" (Matter,1983, 83). As the woman described in the "great portent" she is clothed in the sun, with the

moon beneath her feet and crowned by twelve stars. The story recounts how a great red dragon "stood in front of the woman who was about to give birth, so that when her child was born he might devour it." But, she is given "two great eagle's wings, to fly to the place in the wilds"⁸ where she remains for 1,260⁹ days. We see again the third element of creation, here called Dragon. Again, the woman is a passive element in the narrative, in order for her to be saved, she is "given" wings to flee from danger. The dragon which is about to devour the child is the active element.

As part of her life as Goddess, she makes appearances on earth. The best known are her modern visits at Guadalupe, Lourdes and Fatima. In Mexico, she appeared to Juan Diego, clothing as bright as the sun, causing a church to be built in a remote mountain site, thus becoming the Patron of the Americas. It should be noted that the Virgin at Guadalupe is one of the best known of the Black Madonna images. In the nineteenth century, she appeared to Bernadette Soubirous in the French Pyrenees 18 times, where after much difficulty with skeptical clergy, a church in her honor was built. At Fatima, Portugal, she appeared to three children over a period of six months where she left messages of repentance and penance. Today, the shrine at Fatima is visited yearly by thousands of pilgrims. Currently, there is still a controversy over her appearances at Medjugorje.

In Mary we can see the White form of Goddess as sterile and serene, the passive lifeless tomb of death. But, she is also the Dark form of Goddess

⁸ Both "wings" and "wild places" are motifs from the Ancient Near East.

⁹ 1,260 adds up to 9, see previous footnote.

which is the active chaos of pain and fear of birth and re-birth, the womb of life.

The darkness that is divinity is well illustrated in Kali.¹⁰ According to David Kinsley, Kali enters the official tradition in the context of battle, in her Black manifestation as the Destroyer (1975, 90-92). Descriptions of Kali usually begin with a physical appearance, perhaps because it is so dramatic and extreme. She carries a sword and a noose in two of her four hands. She wears a garland of human skulls around her neck. She wears tiger's skin or more often she is naked. In some images, she wears a skirt of human arms and hands. She has matted hair and emaciated skin. She has reddish eyes, a gaping mouth with a blood stained dangling tongue. She fills the sky with her wild cry, wading through the demons she decapitates and crushes all those in her path. She defeats the demons laughing and carrying the demons' heads in her hand. In this form, she is the ultimate active principle.

Later in the Puranic literature she becomes associated with Shiva where she becomes more closely associated with established mythic tradition. Her active, destructive aspect is toned down when she becomes part of Parvati (Shiva's wife). Kali and Shiva dance together to both create and destroy the world. In the Tantric tradition,

Kali no longer is a mere shrew, the distillation of Durga's wrath, but it is she through whom the hero achieves success, she who grants the boon of salvation, and she who, when boldly approached, frees the *sadhaka* from fear itself. She is not only a the symbol of death but the symbol of triumph over death (Kinsley 1975, 114).

¹⁰ Although there is no known close historic connection between Kali and Lilith, one of Lilith's names in the midrash of Lilith and Elijah is Kali and Eegg points out that "one of Kali's names, as the first manifestation of being, is Lalita ..." (1985, 42).

She maintains her completely fierce aspects, but when confronted boldly she will give of herself.

Over time she has become associated with more passive, non-destructive aspects. Especially, in the last two hundred years, the devotion of two of her priest-saints, Ramprasad and Ramakrishna, has developed her passive aspect as Mother. They both address her as Blessed Mother and come to her as children, as illustrated in the following excerpts from their prayers:

"O Mother Kali! take me in Thy arms"

"O Mother! come now as Tara with a smiling face and clad in white"

"O Kali, my Mother full of Bliss!"

Through the Tantric tradition, she achieved a more balanced unity of passive and active aspects.

The Destroyer is perhaps the best, if not the only, form of Kali known in the West. However, she is also the Creator and the Preserver in the Tantric tradition. As Time, she is the first manifestation, before Vishnu, Brahma and Shiva, who are said to be like a drops of water compared with her as the sea. As Time, she is the All. Walker quotes from the *Yoginirdaja Tantra*:

Obeisance to Her is pure Being-Consciousness-Bliss, as Power, who exists in the form of Time and Space and all that is therein, and who is the radiant Illuminatrix in all beings (1983).

Also from Walker, Kali is seen as the triad -- Virgin, Mother, Crone -- manifesting as three divisions of the year, three phases of the moon, three sections of the cosmos (heaven, earth, underworld), three stages of life and the trimesters of pregnancy. Her trinity is also seen in sacred colors: sattva-guna (White) as Virgin-Creator; rajas (Red) as Mother; and, tamas (Black) as

Absorber or Crone in the West. Mookerjee quotes from the Mahanirvana Tantra, "the image of Kali is generally represented as black: 'just as all colours disappear in black, so all names and forms disappear in her,'" (1988, 62). This is the Triple Goddess, balanced complete unity.

Kali as Virgin-Creator is very different from Mary. In the Tantric tradition, Kali is the first principle. It is from her that Vishnu, Brahma and Shiva derive their creative powers. When Kali dances on the dead body of her husband, Shiva, "her energy seems to flow into him, bringing him to life" (Brown 1986, 114). This act, of course, also regenerates his seed which she uses in the act of creation. The emphasis here is placed on Kali as Creator, as mother-womb and not on Shiva's father-seed. In Mary the emphasis is on the father-seed not on the mother-womb. Both Mary and Kali have the capacity for Life-giving, the difference is where the emphasis is placed.

Kali as Life-sustainer is also different from Mary. Her Life-sustainer aspect is seen in the cosmic, universal sense. She is Time, both as sustainer and as destroyer of Time. When she destroys the demons who were engaged in battle with Durga, she is acting in a capacity as protector of the Gods, as the Sustainer of their lives. As Mother, Kali has gained a new following in the last two hundred years. In a large part due to the devotion of two priest-saints, Ramprasad and Ramashrisha, who write lovingly to her as Mother. Here, especially, we see the manifestation of the White Kali, the "gentle smiling face whose gestures dispel fear and offer boons." Again, both Mary and Kali have the capacity of Life-sustaining, the difference is in the placement. In Mary it is in her motherhood to her son, and in Kali, it is as

cosmic Sustainer and more recently in the Tantric tradition, as mother to her devotees.

Kali's best known role is that of Destroyer. Kali is the ultimate life-taking form of Goddess. She is often seen in the cremation grounds welcoming those who have recently died. She carries the sword and noose, and she is said to cut the thread of life. She is Time, the constant, ever present, ultimate force of destruction. At the end of a Cycle of Time, it is Kali who holds the seed for the next cycle.

The steps toward achieving a *tikkun* or balanced unity are different for the masculine and feminine. Given a patriarchal paradigm, the masculine already holds a favorable position in relation to that which is considered divine. By virtue of holding this position, the theoretical framework, which establishes how the system will operate, has been defined by a masculine standard, in a manner of speaking, the masculine principle "makes up the rules." This position has been denied to the feminine, thus creating an added theoretical operational burden. The first step then might be a recognition of the feminine divinity in those aspects which already contain the "elements" traditionally considered divine. In this respect we see that the elements traditionally associated with the masculine god apply to the feminine in the form of Lilith and Kali, both are primary examples of the active principle. The connection between Lilith and the passive Eve and Matronit has already been mentioned. Mary, who is both part of the mortal and divine realm, is a passive energy which when combined with the active Lilith energy again makes a complete psychological being. It is by balancing the passive and

active energies of the feminine divinities that an initial balanced unity can be achieved in the realm of the Above.

Dual nature: cosmic and demon

There is much confusion surrounding the character of Lilith. To begin her nature has been split into an "opposing contradiction." As Levi-Strauss has explained, "mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions toward their resolution" (1963, 224). Lilith is first of all a cosmic force, the personification of a divine being who serves as a metaphor for cosmological processes. Whether serving in the role of Queen of the Underworld, wife of the Adam or Mistress of Yahweh, or even perhaps in the Sumerian story of the *huluppu* tree, she is part of the process of creation. The Kabbalists recognized her cosmic nature and envisioned her as part of the creation process. Secondly, there is a large body of demonological material surrounding her character. This material includes the stories of her demonic origins and deeds, as well as the many amulets and incantations against her. She has been personified as a seductress of men and killer of children. The main themes of her demonological character are sex and death. Whether she is envisioned as "present in the bedlinen," dressed in scarlet with long hair and white checks (Patai 1969, 222) or as the killer of children, she is associated with sexuality and death. At the core, these stories are associated with the process of creation (Life) and its destruction (Death). The sexual act corresponds to the act of procreation, of bringing forth new life, and death corresponds to the end of life. Both of which are principle aspects of the

ancient Mother Goddess, the primordial manifestation of Creation. In Goddess, the dual nature of Lilith is linked.

Contributing to the rigid unbalanced duality, her character has been concretized as the personification of the forces of evil. According to Scholem (1974, 123), evil and death, as early as the 13th century,¹¹ were seen as being formed from the same "root" within the godhead which was balanced by a root of goodness and life. Once evil and death have been connected, a new area of speculation opens up. Unfortunately this speculation cannot be further developed at this time. Briefly, however, if evil and death are seen as formed from the same "root," it is only a small step to associate those deities responsible for the processes of death with evil forces. In ancient times, it was to Mother Goddess that all things returned after death. Once the connection of evil and death is linked to Goddess, it becomes a logical step to associate them with the feminine. The Kabbalists anthropomorphize these forces as the *sitra ahra* or the *kelippot* using the proper names of Lilith and Samael. Samael also underwent a similar process of demonizing as Lilith to become the Christian devil or Satan, whose character has been endowed with tremendous forces of power (energy). He has been credited with all the evils that befall the cosmos. Again, this confusion is part of the struggle within a monotheistic tradition to explain how it is possible for evil to exist within a system in which only one god (who is all goodness) may operate without attributing to that one god, the origins of evil.

These two distinct images of Lilith have developed in contradictory directions. However, the contradiction may not be as pronounced as it first

¹¹ Very likely much earlier.

appears. Her nature seems to have been reversed and is reversible depending on circumstances. The positive image of Goddess as Giver of Life and Death in Lilith appears to have been reversed to the "seductress" and "killer" to accommodate the need of the times. However, the seductress is simply another form of the generative process while the killer can be equated to the degenerative process. Over the last few decades, another reversal seems to be taking place.¹² The character of Lilith is beginning to be seen as a model for the powerful, autonomous, independent feminine deity. This image is appealing and compelling to women in general and to feminists in particular. This re-imaged form of Lilith stands ready for the next phase of the mythic life cycle. The struggle to overcome the "contradiction" is seen most clearly in the modern tales discussed in the last chapter. Thomas' poem "Lilith Prints" unites the principle characters of Judaeo-Christian mythology into an organic, cosmic-sexual unity reminiscent of *Enuma Elis*, where the principles of creation are described as "their waters commingling as a single body." Lily Rivlin's story deals with a similar union between God and the Throbbing Spirit of Chaos. The struggle toward balance and unity is also seen in Jakov Lind's story where he unites the dual principles of Lilith and Eve into one woman. Perhaps a resolution to the opposition expressed by Levi-Strauss may yet be found.

Historical roles: wife, mistress and queen

The anthropomorphized Lilith of Jewish tradition has three primary roles:

¹² Discussed in chapter four.

- Mistress of the god Yahweh
- Queen of the Underworld
- Mate of Adam

At the moment of the "breaking of the vessels" (in the cosmic realm) and the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem (in the mortal realm), the true mate of Yahweh, the *Shekhinah*, also known as the Matronit, went into exile.

After she had gone, it is said that Yahweh became lonely. He asked Lilith to join him and become the "Mistress of his House." The Kabbalist, R. Shlomo Alqabes, according to Patai, attributed this event to the sins of Israel "that the *Shekhinah*, Israel's mother, had to leave her husband, God, who is Israel's father, and go into exile together with her children" (1967, 240). Kabbalists saw the coupling of Lilith and Yahweh as degrading for him, yet acknowledged that "it is to continue until the coming of the Messiah" (241). In this "coupling" there is a hint that Yahweh is dwelling in the *sitra ahra* and that only a reunion with the Matronit will restore cosmic order. The Kabbalists believed that this reunion would be the end of Lilith, a metaphor for the destruction of evil.¹³ This story corresponds to the processes of the *parzufim*. Yahweh's coupling with Lilith can be seen as the state of events after the "breaking of the vessels" and his reunion with the Matronit as the "coupling" which will restore cosmic order and balance.

In her capacity as the mistress of evil forces (the *sitra ahra*), Lilith is personified as the Queen of the Underworld. In this role, she is also the partner of Samael, the Lord of the Underworld. In the world of the *kelippot*, Lilith fulfills a function,

¹³ If the union between the Matronit and Lilith did occur, it would truly be the end of Lilith as the Kabbalists predicted because if she were no longer separated from the Matronit, there would be only one divine feminine being containing the energies of both.

parallel to that of that *Shekhinah* (Divine Present) in the world of sanctity: just as the *Shekhinah* is the mother of the House of Israel, so Lilith is the mother of the unholy folk who constituted the 'mixed multitude' (the *erev-rav*) and ruled over all that is impure (Scholem 1974, 358).

According to Patai, Lilith is the opposite of the Matronit (who is also the *Shekhinah*) (1967, 242f). She embodies everything that is "evil and dangerous in the sexual realm while the Matronit is seen as everything which is "good and saintly" (242).¹⁴ However, Lilith is also seen as "irresistibly attractive" while the Matronit is seen as "sternly forbidding and even warlike." Yet, the two follow similar parallel lines of existence and function. Both originated from *Ein-Sof*, both are seen as queens, both are mothers of "innumerable souls." The Matronit is seen as a goddess of war, killing "not only the enemies of God and Israel, but also takes the souls of pious men, substituting in their extreme hour for the Angel of Death" (243). While the Matronit is seen as the wife of Jacob and Moses, Lilith is seen as the wife of Adam and Cain. Both have sexual relations with Samael, the Matronit "each time Israel sinned" and Lilith as his permanent mate and queen. One of the origins of Lilith is that she emerged together with Samael as an androgynous being. Another story is that the marriage of Lilith and Samael was "arranged by the Blind Dragon" whose name is *Tanniniver*. This dragon is the "counterpart On High of 'the dragon that is the sea'" (234) The images of these dragons (or serpents) were at times associated with Leviathan.¹⁵

¹⁴ The sexual realm has now become associated with evil and death, and with the feminine. Once these connections are established, it is logical to exclude that which associated with them from the realm of the sacred (in other words, religion).

¹⁵ The serpent appears in a number of connections: the Sumerian Huluppu Tree, Tiamat the primordial Mother Goddess of Babylon and, of course, the serpent in the Garden of Eden among others.

From the Alpha Beta of Ben Sira, we hear the story of how Lilith came to be the first wife of Adam, how their quarrel could not be resolved, neither listened to the other.¹⁶ And how it was that the god Yahweh made a new woman for Adam. How it came to pass that Adam and Eve ate of the fruit of the "tree." This corresponds to Adam separating the Tree of Knowledge (Good and Evil) and the Tree of Life (the "cutting of the shoots").¹⁷ This act gave rise to the origin of sin in humanity. And, either this "sin" or Cain's fratricide are said to have caused Adam to separate from Eve. He was to sleep alone and fast for 130 years as penitence.¹⁸ In his loneliness, Lilith came to be with him. Kabbalists say it was against Adam's will.¹⁹

In these images of "marriage" with Yahweh, Adam and Samael, Lilith is the vital source of the forces of Life. It is through her that one attains the vitality of life. She is the archetypal "female" figure, which for the masculine is both the "great mother" (nurturing and devouring) and the "anima" (seductress and succubus) aspect; and for the feminine, she is the "shadow" aspect as defined by the dominant paradigm. She represents the devalued (dark and negative) aspects that reside in the unconscious.

¹⁶ This parallels the struggle of the hierarchies and dualisms.

¹⁷ There are two symbolic connections between Lilith and the Tree: In the Sumerian story of the "Huluppu Tree" in which she made her home. The Tree was cut by Gilgamesh who receives two special instruments which are the eventual cause of the death of his close friend Enkidu; and, in the Garden of Eden, it is said that she was the Serpent in the Tree who tempted the couple, causing them to be expelled from the Garden. In both stories Lilith's leaving her home in the Tree has disastrous repercussions.

¹⁸ See Chapter 3, Talmud section under "BT: Traktat Erubin 18b."

¹⁹ Somehow I doubt it.

Metaphysical: transcends the three realms

From the Emerald Tablet, "herein is the strong strength of all strength: because it overcomes each subtle thing, and penetrates every solid."²⁰ Lilith appears to penetrate and operate in the three realms.²¹ Although initially Yahweh transcended the mortal realm to be with Adam, his presence has been recorded only infrequently since. Adam, the primordial male was not known to have operated other than within the mortal realm. On the other hand, Samael (the angel banished to the Underworld for not bowing to the creation of his god, Adam) seems to operate both within the mortal realm and the Underworld. His presence has not been recorded in the divine realm since his original banishment, unless in his role as prosecutor. As for the Matronit, she is in exile, and Eve is a part only of the mortal realm.

Realm of Operation	Masculine	Focus/Direction of Operation	Feminine
Heaven	God	↑ ↓	Lilith
Earth	Adam	← →	Lilith
Underworld	Samael	↑ ↓	Lilith

Let us examine this "penetrability" of the realms in another way. Yahweh traversed the mortal realm in a vertical and linear fashion. This corresponds to the dominant paradigm. He travelled from the Above (heaven/divine realm) to the Below (earth/mortal realm) following the

²⁰ See Chapter 1, footnote 2.

²¹ Penetrate is defined as: to enter or pass through something; to spread or diffuse throughout; to perceive the meaning of; to affect or move profoundly; to have an effect on the mind or emotions.

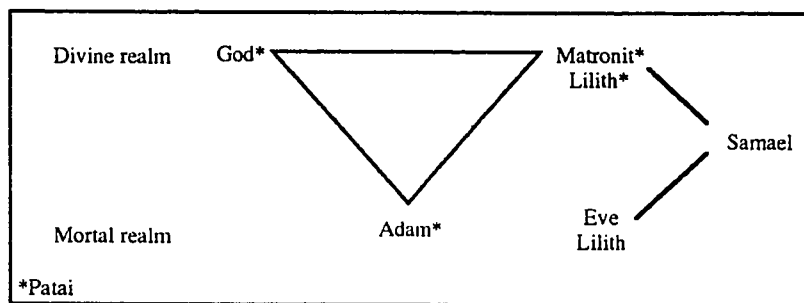
hierarchical pattern envisioned as vertical. This is the path of the "ray" that descended from *Ein-Sof*. Yahweh also travelled linearly, in the historical sense. The incidences of Yahweh's appearance occurred at given moments in time and space. Whether it was his visits to Adam, wrestling with Jacob or his appearances to Moses, it is not generally said that Yahweh walks upon the earth on a regular basis. Neither Adam, nor other mortals, have been known to cross into the divine realm of Yahweh and return. Although a few have been taken into heaven and the presence of Yahweh, they have not been reported to have returned to earth without some profound change which disqualifies them from being called mortal. Samael is known to operate in both the realms of the earth and the Underworld. His most famous appearance in the mortal realm may have been as serpent (or dragon) in the Garden of Eden, but he also has been said to mate with Eve and the Matronit (who is in exile on earth) as well as performing various other devilish acts on earth. However, his proper realm is the Underworld. He is not reported to have re-entered the heavenly realm after his disagreement with his former master.

The story is entirely different for Lilith. She operates in what might be described as a circular and non-linear fashion. She was present and takes part in the processes of Creation. She went to Yahweh when the Matronit was exiled and is with him now. She was with Adam at the beginning and again during his 130-year penitence and is probably still with him now. Her true realm is said to be the Underworld, where she resides with Samael. She is a vital part of all three realms at the same time, or at least, she cycles between them readily. She accomplishes this in a circular pattern. The path of the

"circle" is a reflection of the *zimzum* of *Ein-Sof*. But, note that she too does not operate in the "double rhythm" established by the circle and line.²²

Psychological: counterpart of the feminine

Much has already been discussed concerning Lilith as the psychological counterpart of the feminine. Patai understood the concept that Lilith and the Matronit were opposites and counterparts of each other (1967, 244). He began the illustration below, the inverted triangle with Adam at the apex and Yahweh (God) at the top, at one corner, and the Matronit and Lilith as the counterparts to Yahweh at the other corner. However, additional information has been provided to form a more complete understanding of these relationships.



Not only are Lilith and the Matronit the counterparts of each other, they are the counterpart of Yahweh in the divine realm. Lilith and Eve are the counterparts of each other and they are the counterpart of Adam in the mortal realm. Samael is the immortal masculine counterpart of Lilith making him also a counterpart to both the Matronit and Eve. Samael, then would appear to also be a counterpart to both Yahweh and Adam on the

²² In other words, when acting alone Lilith is not a complete being, a balanced unity.

masculine side of the balanced dualities. This speculation opens a new area of discussion for masculine psychology. It is recognized that there are profound implications in the masculine forms of Yahweh, Samael and Adam which unfortunately cannot be explored in this context.

This illustration shows that to be complete, the feminine aspect of these two realms must be joined with Lilith. Alone, Eve and the Matronit are incomplete even in their proper spheres of influence. They are both unbalanced, passive elements, separated from the active principle of the feminine. They are not complete psychological beings without the "shadow" character of Lilith. According to Koltuv, "for women she [Lilith] is the dark shadow of the Self that is married to the devil. It is through knowing Lilith and her consort that one become conscious of one's Self" (1986, 7). This is why it is critical to examine the complete balanced unity of the dualities illustrated above. One must include not only the dualities within the individual characters, both masculine and feminine, but the balanced dualities between the masculine and feminine within each of the realms. Only then can the trinity be balanced and restored by *tikkun*. Consciousness is achieved first as awareness, then acceptance as represented by the unity of the marriage of the masculine and feminine.

Connectedness: Goddess and Woman

The search for unity and wholeness is not exclusive to the realm of the divine, nor is "communion" with god exclusive to the masculine. Connectedness to Goddess is an integral part of the feminine search. For women in the late twentieth century, the model of the 'feminine' is still

subservient to man. She is portrayed either as the good, obedient, faithful wife or as the harlot, a temptress in contact with evil and the forbidden. A first step toward inner balance for women, then, is a recognition of the divinity in the feminine.

And this begins with a recognition of the connectedness of the various forms of Goddess. In the Women's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets, Walker (1983) states that Kali's name has been associated with Eve as Kali's Ieva and she gave birth to the first manifested form called Idam (Adam) as well as associations with the biblical *tehom* or Tiamat, Goddess of the *Enuma Elis* also known as the Great Dragon. As Kundalini, Kali is associated with the Serpent, the Creator of the Universe which connects her to the ancient Paleolithic and Neolithic Goddesses. Her name is also associated with prehistoric priestesses of Ireland, the *kelles* devotees of Goddess Kele.

The Black Goddess was known in Finland as Kalma (Kali Ma), and Gypsies 'who came originally from India' to the West still know the goddess Sara-Kali. Lunar priests of Sinani, formerly priestesses of the Moon-goddess, called themselves kalu. Similar priestesses of pre-historic Ireland were *kelles*, origin of the name Kelly, which meant a hierophanic clan devoted to 'the Goddess Kele.' It is interesting to note that the name of the Mother-goddess as Danu occurs in the literature of both India and Ireland.

A connection between the Black Madonna and the Woman in the Wilderness has already been mentioned. "Next appeared a great portent in heaven, a woman robed with the sun, beneath her feet the moon, and on her head a crown of twelve stars," (Revelations 12:1) and "... the woman was given great eagle's wings, to fly to the place in the wilds,"²³ (Revelations

²³ Compare with Burney Relief and Inanna/Ishtar images.

12:14). According to Ann Matter it was an accepted understanding in the Middle Ages, that the woman in Revelation was Mary and the that the Red Dragon was Satan, the masculine counterpart of Lilith (1983, 83). Dragons in mythic imagery are also serpents. The serpent is a recurring image throughout the Bible, symbolic of evil for its association with the story of the Garden of Eden. Adam and Eve had been forbidden to eat of only one Tree. The Serpent eats of it first, then Eve and Adam eat. This brings about god's anger, the destruction of the garden and the expulsion of Adam and Eve. From this symbolic act, the knowledge of good and evil is made manifest. This is called the original sin. However, the knowledge of good and evil is not the knowledge to distinguish between the two. It is only the knowledge of the existence of good and evil. The distinction between the two is the story of humanity.

The Dragon/Serpent was also very closely associated with Goddess.²⁴ The two have been connected as far back as the archeological record shows. From early neolithic time, there are images of Goddess bodily associated with the serpent. The serpent is perhaps one of the most multi-valient symbols for peoples from pre-history through today. The ancient serpent symbolized knowledge, prophesy and regeneration among other things. It was the serpent who achieved immortality in the story of Gilgamesh. Most Goddesses are connected to serpents in one form or another. Isis had the uraeus, the Cretean Goddess holds the serpents in her hands, Athene had serpents in her helmet and Lilith is associated with the serpent in the Garden

²⁴ See discussion above.

and may be associated with the serpent in the *huluppu tree*, to name just a few.

In a medieval Kabbalistic myth, Lilith is associated with Leviathan, the great sea dragon of the Hebrews. There is another Babylonia Goddess who also manifests as a great dragon. This is Tiamat, the feminine primeval creative-principle of the *Enuma Elis*. According to Harris,

the red Dragon is a Judeo-Christian embodiment of the ancient Mesopotamian myth concerning Tiamat, the monster of chaos, whose story is told in the Babylonian creation epic, the *Enuma Elish*. As Marduk, the Mesopotamian creator-god, vanquishes Tiamat and brings order to the universe, so the Archangel Michael (the traditional spirit-prince of Israel) defeats the Dragon," in *Revelations* (1985, 361).

Lilith has also been associated with Inanna. Inanna is the Sumerian Queen of Heaven and Earth who later became known throughout Mesopotamia as Ishtar. However, this connection is based on one unverified textual source in which Lilith is called "the hand of Inanna." Her name may be derived from 'lil' which means 'wind' in the sense of atmosphere as in Enlil the great 'Lord Wind' who separated his parents: An, the heavens, from Ki, the earth. Etymologically, then, Lilith may be linked to Ninlil (Lady Wind) the wife of Enlil.

Both Ean Begg and Peter Lindegger connect Isis with the Black Madonna. "They are the womb of the earth or of the soul like those goddesses that are also sometimes shown as black -- Isis, Athene, Demeter, Cybele and Aphrodite," (1985, 143-4). Even if the White form has been excluded, the Dark form has retained the old power of regeneration. Begg makes a connection between the Cult of the Black Madonna with Sara the Egyptian

and Sara the Gypsy (1985, 15,139,144) connecting these with the Gypsies in southern France, where over 300 Black Madonnas have been found. The original homeland of the Gypsies was India, the home of that most powerful of the Dark Goddesses, Kali.

Eve and Mary represent the White forms of Goddess, the passive principle, while Kali and Lilith represent the active principle, the part usually assigned to the masculine in western culture and, therefore, made unavailable to the role of the feminine. If we combine the passive and active forms, we have a more complete picture of each of the energies. When examined in their united forms, they emerge as the ancient Triple Goddess. The three aspects envisioned as Maiden, Mother and Crone in Greek myth and Creator, Sustainer and Destroyer in Indian myth. The Maiden can be seen in Eve and Mary early in their careers, while the aspect of "Creator" can be illustrated by both Eve and Mary only as "bearers of the seed" of Time, which in actuality is Kali. Although, Kali was addressed as "mother" by her human followers, this was not her original role. It was, however, the major role of both Eve and Mary. In Lilith this aspect may be seen only in her motherhood of demons. Kali has completely retained her cosmic role as "Destroyer." While for Lilith this role has been demonized and relegated to the end of the dark spectrum called evil, she is still seen as the Destroyer. Mary and Eve, without the Dark form, have been completely stripped of this aspect by the father-god who is both destroyer and judge. Through re-imagining and reintegration of these forms, the Triple Goddess is complete. Then, she will be able to balance the masculine face of god.

In the image of Great Goddess there is a model for connecting the many diverse manifestations of the feminine, creating a balanced form. She is Creator, the Giver of Life from her own body. She is Mother, the Sustainer of that life. And, she is the Life-taker. Life once again returns to her body to be re-born. She is also wife and lover to the masculine. There are many connection between goddess forms, only a few have been mentioned.

Although China Galland's book, Longing for Darkness, is the story of one woman's journey in search for Goddess, the kind of Goddess that filled her personal needs, and should not be a roadmap for every woman's journey, it does provide one model with some of the signposts one is likely to encounter along the way.

1. Disillusionment with the male-God/dominator-dominated model of religion
2. Discovery of the need for spiritual connection
3. Decision to search, without clear direction, leading to synchronistic discovery of a true path
4. Experience of the path leading to the unexpected connections which will perhaps lead to
5. Personal fulfillment or enlightenment

The signposts are relatively simple; yet they are deceptively complex. Each woman must ultimately create her own path. She must find within herself her greatest needs and deepest longings. It is from these that she creates her own path. Galland explained what she had to do, "I would have to find a way to conceiving of a power greater than myself and a way to improve whatever contact I might have with it" (1990, 45).

Galland was disillusioned with the Catholic Church. The 'final straw' for her was the suggestion by a priest that she fly a priest-lawyer to Rome to plead the case of her marriage annulment. This incident occurred at a time when it was difficult for her to find a way to support herself and her three young children. Acknowledging and accepting her alcoholism helped her to understand her need for a spiritual connection. Galland started with meditation practice at a Zen center and found comfort in the bright female image of the divine Buddha Tara. She learned about the dark Kali, but the darkness she sought was not that found in Kali. She learning about the Black Madonna of Poland and intuited a connection "was the darkness of the Virgin a thread of connection to Tara, Kali or Durga ..." (1990, 50).

Galland attended a lecture given by Gilles Quispel, an historian of religion at Utrecht University and a protegee of Carl Jung. He believed the Madonna's blackness to be a living symbol. He spoke of the Gnostic tradition in which Mary is called, Wisdom, Holy Spirit, Earth, Jerusalem and Lord, of her influence on western culture as patron of Poland, and inspiration for Goethe. St. Ignatius gave his sword to her, became a priest and founded the Jesuit Order. Mary was declared Theotokes at Ephesus. Ephesus had been a seat of ancient Goddess worship. It was at the Temple of Diane, where, "according to Quispel, the archaic Greek wooden status in the temple was black like the meteorite that had preceded it It was on this temple site of Artemis/Diane, or near it some say, that later a shrine to Mary was built," (Galland 1990, 52). Quispel showed a slide of a fresco of a "Black Madonna with a woman's face and torso with huge wings, all in black²⁵" (Galland 1990,

²⁵ Reminiscent of the Burney Relief.

52). He connected this fresco with "the biblical Woman in the Wilderness of Revelation," and assured Galland "the Black Madonna and the Woman in the Wilderness are the same" (Galland 1990, 53). The Woman in the Wilderness and the White Kali at Varanasi led Galland back to her Christian roots to such names as Hildegarde of Beingen, Mechtild of Magdeburg and Julian of Norwich.

Like all those who journey on the path, Galland in times of doubt, expressed the sentiment others who search for connectedness have felt:

... is it possible to trace out connections through such obscure fragments? The mind is always trying to make the world fit. Perhaps the only place these deities are contiguous is inside my mind (1990, 53).

If this is so, does it alter the fundamental longing for connectedness to the divine. Does it invalidate the need of mortal women for identification with the feminine divine? If the pieces do not fit into a neat, intellectual package is the search be abandoned?

A trip to Zurich put Galland in touch with Peter Lindegger, a professor at Zurich University, who was familiar with both the Black Madonna and Tara. Over dinner, he explained his theory of the origin of the Virgin from the two ancient Goddesses: Ishtar and Isis. Ishtar is the Queen of Heaven, She is connected with vegetation, the moon, the tree of life, the serpent and fertility. Her name was Inanna in Sumer, the Hebrews knew her as Astarte or Asherah, the Greeks called her Artemis. And in Anatolia, she was called Cybele, where her chthonic aspect was revered. These are the same chthonic powers that manifest in Ereshkigal of Sumer, Persephone of Greece and in Lilith. Lindegger traced Mary's motherhood origins to Isis, the Great Goddess

of Egypt. She "was a virgin who brought her son forth 'of herself,'" (Galland quotes Lindegger 1990, 147). Galland then read Fred Gustafson's dissertation²⁶ where he connects the Black Madonna with Kali and Isis (Galland 1990, 156).

Other women have also written of their own experiences. In the introduction to her book, Laughter of Aphrodite, Carol Christ begins with two intuitions she said 'nourished' her theology, "the first is that the earth is holy and our true home. The second is that women's experience, like all human experience, is a source of insight about the divine" (1987, ix). For thousands of years western religion has accepted divine revelation as an authoritative source for religious truth. Even if only psychological-human-truth, it has been acceptable to use the experience of mystics, saints and the innocence of children to understand the meaning behind the divine. It would appear reasonable, then, to accept as human-truth, the experiences of the feminine, of women's needs to find divinity within Self.

Sylvia Perera explored Goddess' journey into the Underworld in her book, Descent to the Goddess. Through her interpretation as a Jungian therapist, Perera takes us on the journey of Inanna, the Queen of Heaven and Earth, into the realm of her sister, Ereshkigal, the Queen of the Underworld. This is perhaps the most powerful journey for initiates. It has been taken not only by the ancient deities, but by mortals both male and female for thousands of years. Inanna successfully passes through the terrible ordeal and returns. Perera states that

the story presents a model for health and for healing the split between above and below, between the collective ideal and the

²⁶ Now published under the title The Black Madonna.

powerful bipolar, transformative, processual reality underlying the feminine wholeness pattern (1981, 94).

Christine Downing also discusses this journey when she speaks of her coming to understand Persephone in Hades,

the goddess who rules in Hades represents the mystery of the unknown, its fearfulness and its unforgivingness ... I am struck that she was indeed, known as *She*, the dread name of the underworld goddess not to be spoken, (1990, 50).

Through the mysteries at Eleusis, where Persephone played a large part, the initiate was permitted to glimpse her mystery. This journey is open to all (both men and women) who dare to pass through the seven portals.

As Harding expressed, "in the image of the Mother Goddess -- ancient and powerful -- women of olden times found the reflection of their own deepest feminine nature," (1976, 241). Therefore, when women begin to teach themselves that the image of the divine was once female, that she was powerful and eternal, that from her being she created and sustains All That Is, women can begin to see that they too are part of the mystery and magnificence of the cosmos. Through their monthly cycle, they are connected to cycle of the Moon. Through and within their bodies, all human life is formed. It is within their bodies that life grows. It is from their bodies that life emerges into the world. Through their abilities to generate life, they are connected to the source of all Life. They are She. And, through this, they too are powerful, eternal and magical. Through an image of the divine as feminine, women begin to imagine that they are not limited by current paradigms. There is a connectedness clearer and more powerful than the unbalanced images of Eve, Mary or Lilith. The poem "Thunder, Perfect Mind" summarizes the feeling that All Goddesses are One Goddess and She is

Goddess. Written before 100 CE, the poem is as appropriate to the Virgin as to Lilith, as to any manifestation of Goddess.

Galland concluded her personal search and summarized her impressions in the following statement which clearly expresses the sentiment of many seekers.

This is the black of starless midnight, *imminence*, that comes before the pre-dawn of enlightenment, the 'clear light,' a state of translucence or transparency that is beyond dark and light. This is a radiant black... (Galland 1990, 342).

She is describing the four stages the mind can go through in the experience of Death as well as in Enlightenment. These stages are associated with correspondent colors which act as an appropriate metaphor for the Balanced Unity of the Dualities.

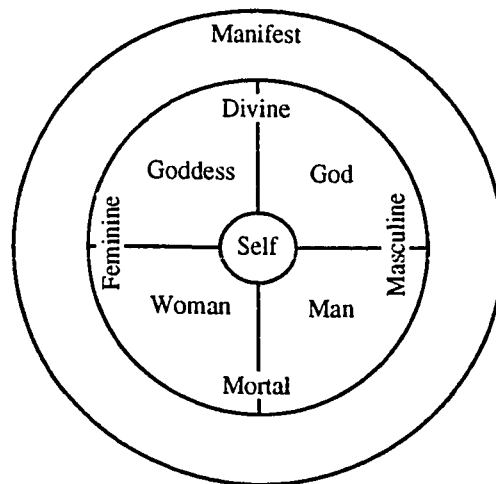
- White is the stage of *luminescence* described as moonlight
- Red is the stage of *radiance* described as sunlight
- Black the third stage of *imminence*, described as starless midnight before enlightenment
- 'Clear light' which is *translucence* or *transparency* comes just before dawn and is beyond color (Galland 1990, 342 footnote 22)

In this model, in the West, White corresponds to the feminine, Red to the masculine, Black to the divine-mortal relationship and the 'Clear light' to the manifestation of universe.²⁷ However, whether Woman or Man or Goddess or God, each must create their own path to Self. Each is a reflection of the other.

Only after achieving a deep understanding of their own unique balanced unity, which will always include a balance of the correspondences of

²⁷ These are the same 'symbolic colors' used in the Alchemical process of transmutation. In that case, the sequence of colors is Black, Red, White, Gold and the associations are different. However, the desired goal appears to be similar.

the dualities (i.e., "good" and "evil"), can women and men begin the next step in the process of *tikkun*. While this balanced unity within the Self is taking place for woman and man in the realm of the Below, it will be taking place within Goddess and God in the realm of the Above. Once both realms have achieved a balanced unity of the Self, there will be an opportunity to create a balanced unity between Masculine and Feminine. For example, Perera's "passionate and individual comradeship ... between woman and man as equals" in the realm Below is equated to the "coupling" of *Abba* and *Imma* in the realm Above. Again this process takes place in both realms. Only after this, can a balanced unity between the two realms be achieved. This is the "communion" which will lead ultimately to a balanced unity of the manifest which, in itself, is a step toward "ultimate communion."²⁸ This process is illustrated below.



And beyond this? Shaw's Lilith said it, 'my eyesight is too short, it is enough that there is a beyond.' Thirty years ago Robert Graves stated, the Black

²⁸ An interesting idea which cannot be developed at this point.

Goddess "promises a new pacific bond between men and women." Today, she has been heard by many 'conscious beings' who are responding to that call. We are all poised on the edge of forever.

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