An Empirical Model for the Transmission History of Old Testament Narratives

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Abstract

Hans Jürgen Tertel: An Empirical Model for the Transmission History of Old Testament Narratives

The author argues the necessity of empirical models for source criticism of Old Testament narratives to overcome the problems posed by the lack of earlier versions and the ambiguity of internal evidence derived only from the texts themselves. After a methodological discussion establishing the conditions for appropriate analogies for the transmission of Old Testament narratives previous suggestions of empirical models are examined. While the development of the Akkadian epic literature (Anzu, Etana, Atraḫasīs, Gilgameš) considered leads to texts which exhibit a narrative structure significantly different from Old Testament stories, the Chronicler's treatment of the Biblical Books of Samuel and Kings on its own cannot serve as analogy, because his extra-biblical sources are not extant. The author therefore suggests a new empirical model, the redactorial treatment of Assyrian royal annals, which meets the methodological requirements. Campaign accounts of the Assyrian kings Sennacherib and Aššurbanipal permit us to trace the literary development of narratives through different stages of redaction.

In an attempt to isolate general trends of redactorial treatment the author investigates alterations of discourse structure, participant orientation, grammatical texture, and time organization in secondary versions. It becomes apparent that the literary development generally took place in the process of abbreviation. While rhetorical level, complexity of discourse structure and participant orientation decrease progressively from the earliest extant to subsequent editions, the time organization generally becomes more complicated, changing from chronological to thematic order of narration. Narratives with common features were further assimilated. A comparison of the redactorial methods of Assyrian scribes with the Chronicler's treatment of the account of Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem (2 Kgs.$18_{13.17\text{-}19}$) shows parallels to the suggested analogy. The author then examines the practical applicability of the empirical model in a literary critical investigation of narrations of Ahab's wars against the Arameans (1 Kgs.$22_{1\text{-}38}$ and 1 Kgs.20), which exhibit features associated with early versions of Assyrian campaign accounts. A detailed analysis of these texts corroborates the working hypothesis.

The employment of the suggested analogy implies that the common assumption of the continuous expansion of Old Testament narratives with its implications should be re-examined. The progressive assimilation of already similar accounts also affects the understanding of supposed *doublets*.

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Preface

The immense religious importance of the Old Testament imposes a great responsibility on the exegete. Since his results are inseparably bound to his presuppositions, a thorough and continuous examination of the latter is essential. The need for a discussion of appropriate methodology is illustrated by the variety of results provided by source-critical studies of the same narratives. The present thesis aims to contribute to this discussion by suggesting a possible analogy to the transmission of Old Testament narratives.

Two basic assumptions are made: 1. analogies between the transmission of Ancient Near Eastern texts and Old Testament narratives are possible and 2. if the evidence is inconclusive, a hypothesis based on a valid empirical model is to be preferred.

Since *general* tendencies of development have to be isolated, many passages of Ancient Near Eastern texts had to be referred to, which because of space limitations could not all be quoted verbatim. The reader is thus referred to the publications of these texts noted in the relevant passages. In footnotes only short titles of books and articles are mentioned. The full title with further information is given in the bibliography.

I Methodological Considerations

A The Necessity of an Analogy

For the understanding of Old Testament narratives[1] as they were intended by their narrators, source-critical and redaction-critical analysis to reconstruct their transmission history[2] is of crucial importance. The authors' intentions can only be deduced from passages which may safely be attributed to them and not to later redactors and *vice versa*. However, it is impossible to *prove* whether a passage stems from the author himself, or from a later redactor. Since we know that someone wrote an *original*[3] version of the narrative preserved in the Old Testament, but we do not know *a priori* whether it was altered during its transmission, the unity of a text and single authorship have to be assumed until the opposite can be demonstrated. Redaction criticism applied to Old Testament narratives has to answer the question whether a given narrative is the result of various redactions or whether, apart from accidental alterations, it constitutes the *original* version.[4]

Various criteria have been developed by literary critics to identify diverse author/redactorship of Old Testament texts. Most prominent among

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[1]   Of course, the substantial differences in form and content between narratives in the Old Testament must not be ignored. However, unless it is apparent that such differences are due to or prompted different modes of transmission, methodological principles and working hypotheses may be regarded as generally valid, but have to be constantly re-examined.

[2]   The term *transmission history* has been preferred to *tradition history* because of the latter's ambiguity, being the equivalent of two German terms, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* and *Traditionsgeschichte*.

[3]   The notion of an *original* is, of course, problematic, since there is no clear-cut distinction between an author and a redactor. We use the term *original* for the earliest identifiable version of a given narrative.

[4]   Various examples from Ancient Near Eastern literature demonstrate that texts could be transmitted accurately over long periods of time (cf. e.g. Biggs, "An Archaic Version of the Kesh Temple Hymn from Tell Abū Ṣalābīkh": "although the Abū Ṣalābīkh copies are approximately eight centuries earlier than copies known before, there is a suprisingly small amount of deviation (except in orthography) between them ..." (p.196); cf. also Læssøe, "On the Fragments of the Hammurabi Code"; Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur. an-gim dím-ma*. Cf. also the Late Assyrian fragments of the Atraḫasīs epic, all coming from Aššurbanipal's library, which have well preserved passages of Ku-Aya's edition (see below p.22).

these are the identification of internal inconsistencies in form or content,[5] or the presence of *doublets*. Methodologically, however, there are some fundamental problems with the presuppositions involved. Is it justified to assume that the number of redactions, implying alterations, was limited? Only if we can presuppose that after a certain inconsistency crept into our text the latter was transmitted with some faithfulness, does detailed study make sense. If not, the consistent parts of our text could be the result of redactorial treatment of formerly inconsistent passages and thus cannot be used to identify any inconsistency. Even if we assume that the consistent portions of our narrative were consistent with each other in the original, we do not know how the (supposed) inconsistency came about, by addition, omission, or alteration, deliberate or accidental. Literary criticism with those underlying presuppositions has to assume such a fundamental change from alteration to preservation for every redaction. The assumption of such a mixture of the initially faithful transmission of the *Vorlage*, unfaithful transmission (that

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5   Cf. Barth, H. und Steck, *Exegese des Alten Testaments*, 32f. "Diese Fragestellung (sc. nach der literarischen Integrität eines Textes) beherrscht traditionell die lk.e (sc. literarkritische) Forschung." Even J.Stoebe, writing on the limitations of literary criticism in the Old Testament ("Über die Grenzen der Literarkritik") considers this methodology as "indisputably justified": "Die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft hat für die Beurteilung von Textzusammenhängen, ihrer Entstehung und ihrer Zusammensetzung eine feste *Methode* entwickelt. a) Eine besondere Bedeutung hat in dieser einmal die Beobachtung von *Doppelberichten* über denselben Gegenstand, von sogenannten *Dubletten* ... b) An zweiter Stelle steht die Feststellung von *Sprüngen* und *Spannungen* in der Darstellung, sofern diese zu Widersprüchen und Unvereinbarkeiten führen. ... Die Folgerung, die aus diesen Beobachtungen gezogen wird, ist die, daß sich von hier aus die Entstehung eines Textgefüges, sei es größerer oder kleinerer Art, als literarischer Wachstumsprozeß begreifen läßt. Die Richtigkeit der so entwickelten methodischen Grundsätze ist ebenso unbestreitbar wie die Berechtigung ihrer Anwendung." (p.385)). We have to disregard here the question whether our notion of inconsistency was shared by the authors of Old Testament texts since this could only be answered from the texts themselves. In principle there is not a single word that can or cannot be ascribed with absolute certainty to the author (if we assume that there was an *author* in the first place). Nevertheless we can only proceed with our investigation, if we accept J.Barton's axiom, that "All literary study must assume that even quite remote cultures have *some* affinities with our own" (*Reading the Old Testament*, pp.28f; italics by Barton). The problem lies with the word *some*. We agree that a narrative in its first version can be expected to be internally consistent. Consistency, however, has also to be assumed for the redactor's work. In the Assyrian annals it is nevertheless apparent that even the earliest extant versions did contain inconsistencies (cf. below n.307).

allowed the inconsistency to arise), and, again, faithful transmission that allows us to identify it and explain its origins, needs to be empirically substantiated and may not be *a priori* accepted as a working hypothesis. Detailed research into the literary prehistory of a given narrative of which earlier versions are not extant has to deal with this problem.

There still remains the possibility of identifying late stages of development by internal inconsistencies without making detailed statements about the literary development of the narrative. But then there remains an ambiguity as to whether this literary unevenness was present in the first version or whether it arose by addition, omission, alteration, or a combination of some or all of them. Thus the criterion of internal inconsistency, notional or formal, is necessarily subjective and ambiguous.[6].

A common method applied in literary critical analyses is the so-called *Lückenprobe*. This method attempts to isolate or at least to vindicate an

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[6]   Thus, for example, J.H.Tigay, (*Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, pp.232-234) has referred to formal discrepancies in the Gilgameš-epic between the non-flood portions of N(eo-) A(ssyrian version) XI and the flood account, which was taken over into the Gilgameš epic from the Atraḫasīs epic, as indications for different sources. In his account of the flood Utnapištim refers to his wife as "sinništu" (ll.191.194), whereas in the non-flood portions she is termed "marḫītu" (ll.202.105.209.258); within the flood portions in NA Xiv-vi and XI "A pāšu īpušamma iqabbi izakkara ana B" is used as speech introduction, whereas outside the flood account the formula "A ana šâšu / šâšima izakkar(a) ana B" is used. However, passages mentioning Atraḫasīs's wife have not been preserved in the Atraḫasīs epic, and thus we do not know whether sinništu and marḫītu indicate different sources or were used because of a slight difference in meaning. "sinništu" also occurs in IXii$_{13.15}$ outside the Flood account. As for the speech introduction formulae, both occur in the Gilgameš-hunter episode:

   NA Iiii$_1$: ṣayyād[u pāšu] īpušma iqabbi izakkara [ana abīšu

   NA Iiii$_{14}$: [abīšu pāšu īpušma iqabbi] izakkara ana ṣayyād[u]

   NA Iiii$_{40}$: ^{d}Gilgameš ana šâšuma izakkara [ana] ṣayyādi (K4465; cf. Thompson, *Gilgamish*, pll.III and IV).

   In this scene we cannot automatically relate the different formulae to different sources.

   An interesting example of literary unevenness in spite of single authorship is found in Xenophon's *Hellenica*. As has been shown by M.MacLaren ("On the Composition of Xenophon's Hellenica" - reference courtesy Dr. C.Tuplin), the work can be divided into at least two parts on linguistic grounds with the major break in II,3,10. From this MacLaren deduced that Xenophon wrote the second part considerably later than the first part, by which the differences in style and vocabulary could be adequately explained. It is important that MacLaren was able to substantiate his claim with a great amount of statistical data and that he reckoned with coherent blocks of literature and the use of different styles by one author.

identification of a story nucleus, which is imagined as having been expanded later. This procedure is methodologically dubious since it requires the assumption that a) substantially more was added than omitted[7] and b) that original versions only give a minimum of information. Both presuppositions need to be substantiated. It thus becomes apparent that *some* presuppositions *have* to be made which *cannot* be derived from the investigated text itself. And it is the aim of the present thesis to investigate such basic assumptions, which have far-reaching consequences for the study of the literary pre-history of Old Testament narratives. Since the text itself cannot lead us any further, an empirical model becomes indispensable.[8] To be sure, it can only serve as a

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[7] "... daß an vielen alttestamentlichen Texten über Jahrhunderte hin gearbeitet worden ist - durch Umformulierung, Erweiterung und Ergänzung, aber auch durch die Einfügung in größere Zusammenhänge (Barth-Steck, *Exegese des Alten Testaments*, p.31), "üg. (sc. überlieferungsgeschichtliches) Wachstum" (p.33). Here, possible omissions or abbreviations are completely ignored. Key words are "expansion" or "growth" (cf. also the citation from Stoebe's essay in n.4). This assumption would lead to the conclusion that earlier stages of literary development are obtainable. In a brief outline of his methodology applied in a literary critical study of 1 Kgs.22 ("Bewahrheitungen des Prophetenworts") O.H.Steck argues that any literary critical analysis based on the assumption of lost material or unmotivated addition loses plausibility (p.96: "Analysen, die auf der Annahme von Überlieferungstorsi, verlorenen älteren Überlieferungsbestandteilen und unmotivierten Zusätzen beruhen, büßen eo ipso an Plausibilität ein"). However, this by no means affects the veracity of such an analysis. That *detailed* research can only deal with expansions, does not necessarily imply the assumption, conscious or subconscious, that there were no abbreviations. The possibility has to be examined, whether such detailed research is possible in the first place.

[8] The weaknesses of developmental hypotheses and the need for empirical evidence have been amply described by Ungnad, "Gilgamesch-Epos und Odyssee", p.106f:

"Die Literarkritik ist nicht zu entbehren, wollen wir nicht auf den Versuch verzichten, zu erkennen, wie der Künstler den Kranz gebunden hat. Nur soll man von solcher doch recht untergeordneten Arbeit nicht soviel Aufhebens machen, wie dies namentlich von der alttestamentlichen Textkritik geschieht ... Wir müssen uns auch über den hypothetischen Charakter solcher Textkritik vollkommen klar sein, und hier könnten klassische Philologen und Alttestamentler manches von der Assyriologie lernen. Altes Testament und Homer liegen uns in einem fertigen Guß vor, und es ist wenig wahrscheinlich, daß uns ein gütiges Geschick einmal Texte beschert, die im Alter wesentlich über die bekannten Rezensionen hinausgehen, also etwa den Jahwisten in seiner reinen Gestalt oder eine noch nicht in dem Sagenkranz verarbeitete Erzählung von Odysseus' Seefahrten und Abenteuern. Deswegen ist gerade hier zügelloser Kritiklosigkeit Tür und Tor geöffnet, und mancher würde mit seinen wilden Hypothesen zurückhalten, wenn er nicht ganz genau wüßte, daß eine Kontrolle seiner Ansichten niemals möglich ist. Ganz anders liegen die Verhältnisse für den Assyriologen. Er muß jederzeit gewärtig sein, daß neue Funde seine Ergänzungen, Vermutungen und Hypothesen einer scharfen Kritik aussetzen können ... Gerade das Gilgamesch-Epos zeigt uns durch seine Geschichte, wie wenig sich voraussagen und vermuten läßt, wenn man sich über den Boden der Überlieferung erhebt ..."

It is interesting to note that in 1899 M.Jastrow published an article ("Adam and Eve"), in which he attempted to demonstrate that the Enkidu-prostitute episode constitutes a

starting point, a working hypothesis, that has to be constantly examined during the process of investigation, but nevertheless it is necessary. There is yet

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Babylonian counterpart of the Biblical story of Adam and Eve. In order to show the composite nature of the Gilgameš epic Jastrow applied literary-critical methods similar to those mentioned above. Even though J.H.Tigay (*Literary-Critical Studies*, pp.147-150) claimed that Jastrow's analysis was vindicated by later text finds, a closer look at the evidence reveals in fact that Jastrow was proved wrong in his main conclusions.

Jastrow's line of argument can be summarized as follows:

- 1. The name "Ea-bani" (Enkidu) indicates that the person was created by Ea, which would contrast with the epic, where Eabani/Enkidu is described as having been created by Aruru (p.199).

- 2. There is a great cultural difference between Gilgameš and Ea-bani/Enkidu (p.200).

- 3. The course of the narrative is not affected by Ea-bani's (Enkidu's) career (p.200).

- 4. The presence of mediatory characters (e.g. the hunter) shows the independence of Ea-bani's/Enkidu's story (the hero would have proceeded directly against Ea-bani/Enkidu) (p.200).

- 5. Ea-bani/Enkidu is described as the friend of Gilgameš, but the title originally belongs to the prostitute (p.202).

- 6. The narrator gives no reason for the prostitute's disappearance (p.202)

- 7. Enkidu and Gilgameš fight against Ḫumbaba, but only Gilgameš is celebrated after the victory (p.203).

- 8. Ea-bani/Enkidu is punished for the killing of the Bull of Heaven, although it was Gilgameš, who had killed it (p.203).

From that Jastrow concluded that the Ukhat-Ea-bani episode was secondarily attached to the career of Gilgameš. There are, however, objections to be raised:

1. Since Jastrow's study the reading of the name of Gilgameš' friend has been recognized as being ^{d}EN.KI.DU rather than Ea-bani. Although the etymology of ^{d}EN.KI.DU is still obscure (cf. Oberhuber, "Gilgameš", pp.2-3), the better reading proves Jastrow's conclusions to be wrong.

2. The very presence of this feature in the Gilgameš epic shows that at least for a redactor it was possible to have protagonists from different cultural backgrounds in one story. If it was possible for a redactor, why not for an author? Surely, Gilgameš and Ḫuwawa can be said to come from different cultural backgrounds, but nevertheless they appear in the same Sumerian tale ("Gilgameš and the Land of the Living"). In four of the five known Sumerian Gilgameš tales Enkidu, too, is mentioned. The fifth, "The Death of Gilgameš" is not well preserved, and thus mentions of Enkidu may have been present in the lost portions. Furthermore, no independent Enkidu tales are known. Thus in this case Jastrow's conclusions were proved to be wrong by later finds.

3. This statement is simply wrong. There are many and extensive references to this event in the latter part of the epic (VIII-IX$_5$; Xi$_a$-ii$_{14}$ par). Enkidu's death shortly after the moment of the friend's greatest triumph, the victory over the Bull of Heaven, constitutes the turning-point in the course of events. Gilgameš realizes that eternal life cannot be gained by heroic exploits and decides to visit Utnapištim (cf.IX$_{1-7}$; Xii$_{14-17}$ par.).

4. This statement, too, is shown by one of the Sumerian Gilgameš tales to be erroneous. "Gilgameš and Agga of Kiš" narrates the siege of Uruk by king Agga. Gilgameš did not proceed directly against Agga, but sends a certain Birḫurturri, and, after the latter is beaten up twice, Enkidu.

5. As has been mentioned under 2., the Sumerian Gilgameš tales show that Jastrow's claim is without foundation.

6. The end of NA IIv and the beginning of IIvi are lost. The prostitute's disappearance might have been explained there. Furthermore, it is of no interest for the further course of events.

7. It is difficult to see where Jastrow could find the celebration of Gilgameš for the killing of Ḫumbaba. The concluding part of Tablet V is not extant. Furthermore already in the

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another reason for the need for an analogy. The redaction of a narrative is, or at least may be, a very complex action. General tendencies may be mixed with the redactor's personal preferences. Only by comparison with the transmission history of other narratives is there the possibility of distinguishing one from the other.[9] By viewing the redaction of a particular narrative against the background of an empirical model the redactor's intentions become clearer.

Now it still might be objected that the Old Testament and thus the modes of its transmission, too, are unique and that consequently any analogy must fail. However, only if it can be demonstrated that those unique aspects of Old Testament narratives determined the modes of redactorial treatment, so that these differed from those of the suggested analogy, is the objection valid. Yet this is only possible with the help of further analogies.

B The Nature of a Valid Analogy

From the early days of Pentateuchal criticism scholars have searched for empirical models to support their theories. Recent times have seen strong efforts by J.H.Tigay and others to revive the quest.[10] Behind these efforts lies the basic thought that once an empirical model is found, which shows that texts could indeed have been transmitted in ways similar or identical to those commonly assumed for the development of the Old Testament, these theories

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Sumerian story of "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" Enkidu is mentioned as a member of the expedition against Ḫumbaba, there, however, as Gilgameš' servant, rather than the latter's friend.

8. It was Enkidu who insulted Ištar by throwing a thigh of the bull into Ištar's face ($VI_{158-165}$).

9   The difficulty of separating deliberate alterations from semi- or sub-conscious ones has lead to such contrasting studies as, for the development of the Anzu-epic, by Cooper, "Symmetry and Repetition", and Vogelzang, "Kill Anzu!", and, for the Chronicler's treatment of his Vorlage, by Brunet, "Le Chroniste et ses Sources" (I and II) or Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, on the one side and Lemke, "Synoptic Problem" on the other.

10   Cf. e.g. the collection of essays in Tigay, ed. *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*.

are proven to be right or at least made probable.[11] The question of proof by analogy cannot, however, be answered that easily. The number of possible analogies is infinite. These can range from the development of Ancient Near Eastern texts[12] over the Chronicler's work[13], Tatian's Diatessaron[14] right through to modern times to Reader's Digest editions of novels. The choice of an *appropriate* analogy is decisive. But even then all that has been obtained is an *analogy* and no more. We shall nevertheless attempt to define criteria for "proper" analogies, and their applicability for Old Testament research to obtain a working hypothesis.

In principle, however, no proposed analogy can be ruled out *a priori* unless it can be shown that it was indeed confined to a particular culture or time. Since there is a strong possibility of cultural influence on redactorial techniques, analogies from a cultural environment and/or time comparable to that of the creation of Old Testament narratives are preferable.

In the Old Testament we generally have narratives in only one stage of literary development.[15] Possible analogies can provide us with texts in different stages of literary development. By investigating the differences between various versions, which we may call *Early* or *Late*, it might also be possible to deduce editorial methods.

In an ideal case the analogy should cover as many aspects of transmission as possible. We therefore suggest that the *Late Stage* of the empirical model needs to be *comparable* to the Old Testament narrative. This means that the Old Testament narrative can be imagined as being the result of a developmental process observable in the empirical model.

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[11] A good example of such a methodology is a recent article by W. Johnstone, "Reactivating the Chronicles Analogy in Pentateuchal Studies".
[12] Tigay, *Empirical Models For Biblical Criticism*.
[13] Cf. e.g. Johnstone, "Reactivating the Chronicles Analogy".
[14] Cf. G.F.Moore, "Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the Analysis of the Pentateuch".
[15] The most notable exceptions are, of course, found in the Chronicler's work, and will be discussed below.

Furthermore, it should be evident that the transmitters of Old Testament narratives could have carried out alterations *comparable* to those by which the *Late Stage* of the analogy was achieved.

And, finally, the *Early stage* of the proposed analogy and that of the Old Testament narrative for which the analogy is proposed have to be *comparable*.

For the possibility of applying the analogy to Old Testament narratives a fixed relationship between the editorial process and the *late stage* needs to be established. This means that there must be certain features in the *late stage* of the analogy that mirror the process by which it was achieved. If these features are also found in certain Old Testament texts then these texts are *comparable* to the analogy.

Similarly the hypothetical *early stages* of Old Testament narratives and those of the proposed analogy need to be *comparable*. If it can be shown that the literary development of the proposed analogy was prompted by certain features of its early versions, these should have been shared by the supposed early versions of Old Testament narratives.

The *comparability* of the processes involved implies that the basic principles of textual development are identical in the transmission of both texts. Thus one has to distinguish between alterations carried out because of general tendencies and those made because of certain individual features of texts or the personal taste of editors or mere scribal errors. It should, however, always be kept in mind that the *tendency* as an abstract idea does not exist, and therefore is no force in itself, but rather embodies itself in alterations carried out by individual redactors or editors. There is nevertheless a difference in quality between these kinds of alterations which in many cases may be related to the conciousness with which changes are carried out. For the investigation of possible analogies this means that first of all analogies must be explorable. Since we are not able to follow up every intention of the editor we have to be

content with the investigation of basic tendencies or principles of editorial work. This implies that a sufficient amount of evidence should be available. We need, therefore, as many ideally successive versions of a given text as possible. With, for instance, only two versions it is not possible to demonstrate that the differences between the two texts conform with *general tendencies* or that there were general tendencies at all. Or else the different versions of as many texts as possible must be referred to as analogy. The differences between two versions of a given narrative could be non-typical for the general course of its literary development.[16] There should be enough evidence to allow distinction between alterations because of the structure and alterations because of the contents of a *Vorlage* in order to isolate alterations due to general tendencies rather than the personal taste of the individual redactor. To be sure, changes because of contents, too, could be due to general tendencies but, unless this can be shown, the opposite has to be assumed.

But not all kinds of evidence are equally suited for investigation. The evidence should be *explorable*. This means that the differences between the various versions should not be too great. The greater the differences are the less exact are statements that can be made about editorial principles and hypothetical earlier versions. If great differences between the text of the versions coincide with great differences in the time and place of the production of the manuscripts this obstacle becomes even greater. Then it is reasonable to assume that we do not have successive versions and that the text of the actual *Vorlage* of the later version could have been quite different from that of the earlier version. We further conclude that only the generally valid features of textual development may be used as analogy, which takes account of the fact that the exact form of an earlier stage is not obtainable.

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[16] Cf., for example, the redactorial treatment of the accounts of Aššurbanipal's first Egyptian campaign. See below pp.88ff.

For several reasons the present thesis concentrates solely on the investigation of the transmission of written texts and ignores oral tradition. Firstly, we know that Old Testament narratives were transmitted in writing, but we do not *know* whether this was preceded by a period of oral tradition or not. So far no valid criteria have been developed that would allow us to judge from Old Testament narratives themselves.[17] Secondly, even if they were transmitted

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[17]   An attempt to trace such criteria was made by E.Nielsen (*Oral Tradition*) following the ideas of H.S.Nyberg. Nielsen lists the following marks of orally transmitted accounts: "The formal characteristics here are: a monotonous style, recurrent expressions, a fluent, paratactic style, a certain rhythm and euphony which are especially noticeable when one hears the account, and finally anacolutha which a literary writer would hardly have let pass, but which may have been accompanied by a gesture in oral delivery or even have come into existence by the incorporation of a 'stage direction' in the text" (p.36). Nielsen's suggestion was repeated by R.C.Culley ("An Approach to the Problem of Oral Tradition"), who referred to the results of Milman Parry's and A.B.Lord's research into the characteristics of *oral literature* (cf. Lord, *Singer of Tales*). Parry and Lord established certain characteristics, expecially the re-occurrence of various formulae, for orally composed and improvised songs and applied their results to the study of Homeric epics. Old Testament texts exhibiting such characteristics could be regarded as having been orally composed (for an application of these criteria to the transmission of a Sumerian myth cf. B.Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream*). Formulaic language, however, is not necessarily an indicator for oral composition as is evident from the Assyrian royal annals. Nielsen further mentioned *laws of epic literature*, of which he expressly mentions the "law of repetition", the "law of the number three", and the "scenic law of the number two", proposed by A.Olrik and others as marks of orally transmitted accounts (cf. below, pp.221f). In addition Nielsen draws attention to textual variants. In his opinion variants indicate hearing mistakes point to oral transmission, while variants created by reading mistakes point to transmission by writing. (p.13f). Nielsen also stressed the importance of oral tradition throughout the Ancient Near East. (pp.18-38). Nielsen also takes up H.Ringgren's approach ("Oral and Written Transmission in the Old Testament") to argue from the differences between parallel texts in the Old Testament that these were orally transmitted.

There are, however, serious objections against the validity of these criteria. The characteristics of so-called *oral literature* are marks of orally *composed*, not necessarily of orally *transmitted* accounts. Lord's definition of *oral literature* is: "... oral epic song is narrative poetry composed in a manner evolved over many generations by singers of tales who did not know how to write; it consists of the building of metrical lines and half lines by means of formulas and formulaic expressions and of the building of songs by the use of themes" (*Singer of Tales*, p.4). It is very doubtful whether Old Testament narratives would meet such a description. Furthermore, it has not yet been demonstrated that they are *only* marks of orally composed literature and are not found in written accounts. As will become apparent below, at least some of those features of accounts can be explained as the results of redactorial treatment of written *Vorlage*, others may be valid for any narrative. As for hearing mistakes, these more probably happened during the process of dictation than that of oral transmission. The differences between parallel texts in the Old Testament are paralleled by differences between different versions of Assyrian Royal Annals. Since in the latter case the redactors presumably had written *Vorlagen*, the same origin may be assumed for those parallel texts studied by Ringgren. Nielsen has not succeeded in demonstrating the primacy of oral tradition in the Ancient Near East. For the importance of transmission by writing cf. J.Læssøe, "Literacy and Oral Tradition in Ancient Mesopotamia".

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orally, our results would still be valid for the period of written transmission. Anyway, it would have to be demonstrated that orally transmitted narratives developed differently from those transmitted in writing. An equivalent study of oral tradition would be very difficult, if not impossible, since exact textual dependencies are required.

C The Investigation of Analogies

Looking for general tendencies in the development of possible analogies we are faced with a fundamental problem; the relationship between form and content. Different narratives have different plots. Thus we have to find a method of describing the development of a given narrative that is independent of the individual plot. The plot will still be needed to obtain the description.[18] One way of describing a narrative is by its *plot profile*.[19] The increase and decrease of tension throughout the narrative is marked in a diagram. For the study of oral tradition Jan Vansina had suggested this method of illustrating the development of tension during the relating of a story though his criteria for measuring tension concentrate on the notional structure.[20] While Longacre used *plot profiles* for *interpreting* narratives, we only employ them for *description*.

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[18] For obtaining descriptions of narratives we have made use of some linguistic methods developed in the field of so-called *Discourse Analysis*. The application of such methods has to be carried out with great care, since many of these techniques have been developed by students of obscure tribal languages in South America or the Far East. Therefore, it is very difficult to check whether the techniques work in the language for the study of which they were originally developed. Only a few examples are given, and then it still remains to be shown whether they work for Ancient Near Eastern and Old Testament texts. Nevertheless since we only use the methods for *describing* texts and not *interpreting* them, we take it as justified to make use of some techniques which seem to be valid for any language.

[19] Cf. Longacre, "A Spectrum and Profile Approach to Discourse Analysis" and "Interpreting Biblical Stories".

[20] "The ability to hold the listener's attention can be gauged for each episode, as it mainly depends on the extent to which the listener can foresee what will happen next (p.74)... The tension increases as the number of possible outcomes is reduced to two ... In theory, then, tension is measurable. In practice only a very rough estimate can be made ..." (p.75).

For obtaining the *discourse profile* both formal and notional criteria are necessary. Thus, for example, a climax, or to use Longacre's terminology a *discourse peak*[21], may be created by relating events in an unusual way. It is marked in the grammatical and syntactical structure of the narrative. However, it may also be created by relating *unusual* events in a form that does not necessarily differ from that of the context. This will be explained in more detail below. We can study the development of the *plot profile* of a given narrative throughout its transmission and compare it with the development of different stories with similar *plot profiles*. Thus the development of stories with different plots can be compared. For our investigation we further distinguish between the *main line* of a given narrative and *supportive material*. The *main line* constitutes the succession of verbs of main clauses throughout the narrative and marks the progress of the plot, whereas subordinate clauses belong to the *supportive material*. We can then investigate how transmission affected the *main line* as opposed to the *supportive material*.

For the investigation of the complexity of a given narrative we shall analyze the development of the participant orientation pattern[22] and of the relationship between the sequence of narrated events and the sequence of narration. In the narratives investigated below there are up to three distinct participants in a given main-clause (A, B, and C). Their rôles may be described as *agent, patient,* and *benefactive*.[23] In our description of the participant

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21 "Zone of turbulence" (Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse*, p.xvii).

22 The method and terminology is described in Grimes, *The Thread of Discourse*, pp.261-271. In the present thesis, sequences of permutations have been studied, rather than permutation states. For the investigation of permutation states, each participant orientation is compared with the initial one (cf. e.g. Wise and Lowe, "Permutation Groups in Discourse"), whereas for studying the complexity of a narrative it is more appropriate to describe each participant orientation in its relationship to that of the preceding sentence.

23 In certain instances the evidence is ambiguous. The notional *agent* and the grammatical subject may not be identical (e.g. in passive forms). In those cases the notional *agents* have been noted. Some verbs do not describe an action. The fear of an enemy of an Assyrian king may be described as "imqussu ḫattu" (BM 113203, 1.26) with an impersonal grammatical subject, as "pulḫē melammē bēlūtīya isḫupūšu" (Rass. [// Chic.-Tayl. ii39]) with the pronominal suffix referring to Sennacherib, as "puluḫti ᵈaššur u ᵈištar ālikūt idīya isḫupūšuma" (Av71) with Assyrian gods as grammatical subject, or "iplaḫ libbāšun" (Rass [// Chic.-Tayl.

orientation the *agent* is given the first position, the *patient* the second, and the *benefactive* the third. Some narratives only have two participants, and in those which have three, not all of them are constantly mentioned. If a participant was not mentioned in a given sentence, we have assumed that he kept the rôle of the preceding sentence. The following symbols describe the different changes of the participant orientation:

"I"   for "identity" (ABC > ABC) denotes a continuation of the participant orientation.

"r"   for "reversal" (ABC > BAC) describes a reversal of the main relation, that between "agent" and "patient". The participants in the main relation are the same as in the previous sentence. This is different in the other operations.

"s"   for "switch" (ABC > ACB) marks an greater alteration of the participant orientation. C, previously denoting the "benefactive" enters the main relation, even though it then marks only the "patient". Still greater is the change through

"rs"   (ABC > BCA). All three participants take a different position. The "agent" leaves the main relation to become the "benefactive", the "patient" becomes "agent" and the "benefactive" becomes "patient". Thus A moves two places to the right. A similar operation is that of

"sr"   (ABC > CAB), in which C moves two places to become the "agent". Both combinations of operations mark the beginnings of units within the narrative. The operation that describes the greatest change of participant orientation is

"srs"   (ABC > CBA). The relations are reversed. Both, A and C, move two positions. "srs" denotes a major break within the course of the narrative.

Throughout a given narrative we shall further distinguish between *primary* and *secondary* participants. *Secondary* participants have no narrative function on their own, but rather act on behalf of *primary* participants. Often this is expressly mentioned in the narrative, e.g. where messengers are sent.

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ii$_{78}$) with the enemy as grammatical subject (For the abbreviations see below pp.58f.81f). All of these expressions are roughly synonymous, but with different grammatical subjects. It may be possible to argue that the first three cases describe the cause and the last case the effect. However, there remains the dilemma that in an expression that has "the fear of A (overwhelmed B)" as grammatical subject, within the latter, A as the one feared is object. In our investigation of participant relations we have treated expressions containing references to participants like mentions of participants. Other expressions have been evaluated according to their context.

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Both, the *primary* and their *secondary* participants, appear together (almost) exclusively in transitional passages, where one takes the function of the other. Further indication that a participant is *secondary* may be found in participant designations.[24]

There is an infinite number of aspects under which the development of a narrative could be studied and compared with the development of other narratives. Thus in a certain way the choice of investigated aspects determines the result of the investigation. The aspects chosen for the present work were partly determined by the prevailing methods used in literary critical research into the development of Old Testament narratives, partly by the availability of linguistic methods.

The variety of aspects under which the literary development of narratives was investigated implies that there may be various possibilities of categorizing a given alteration. In such a case priority will be given to the effect the alteration had on the literary structure of the narrative rather than on the grammatical structure.

D The Aims of the Present Study

The aims of the present study are to examine various internal criteria used for the identification of redactions of Old Testament narratives[25] and to investigate the applicability of some empirical models. The results of text-immanent research can be counterchecked against an empirical model where earlier stages of literary development have been preserved. Both internal and

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[24]   Thus, for example, in a passage of BM 113203's account of Sennacherib's first campaign the Assyrian army and its generals are described as "ṣindīya ... ummānātē^mešya ... gibšīya ... bēlē pīḫātē^mešya (BM 113203, ll.19-21, cf. also l.22) with the pronominal suffix referring to Sennacherib, indicates that the Assyrian king is the protagonist and his soldiers function as secondary participants.

[25]   This includes the criteria for the identification of forms of tradition, as e.g. *Sage* or *Legende*, which are commonly held to have been determined by their modes of transmission (cf. Gunkel, *Genesis*, p.8, Westermann, *Genesis* 2, pp.40ff).

external criteria may supplement each other. Even though through the present investigation only a working hypothesis can be established, the picture drawn from the study of the literary development of narratives from the Ancient Near East, hazy as it may be, can give valuable illustrations for the transmission of Old Testament stories. It is self-evident that any suggested analogy can only constitute a starting point for the study of a given narrative, not more. The development of any given narrative may have been atypical. The present study does not claim to present the best possible analogy but presents itself as an invitation to further discussion.

II Proposed Analogies
A Akkadian Epics[26]

As an analogy to the transmission of Old Testament narratives J.H.Tigay has adduced the transmission of the Gilgameš epic.[27] There is no *a priori* reason to prefer the transmission of the Gilgameš epic to that of other literary works from Ancient Mesopotamia as analogies for the transmission of Old Testament narratives. To the contrary, as we intend to show below, the four epics investigated in the present thesis bear common marks of literary development. In the search for *valid* analogies we need to examine whether these developmental tendencies meet the requirements established in the methodological considerations above.

The conditions for the study of the literary development of Akkadian epics are far from being ideal. Of the stories about Anzu and Atraḫasīs only two

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[26]   We do not wish to enter the discussion about whether the texts concerned are epics or myths. For convenience we subsume under this genre designation the stories about the theft of the tablets of destiny by the bird Anzu and their return by Ninurta ("Anzu-epic"), about the Flood ("Atraḫasis-epic"), about Etana's quest for the birth plant ("Etana-epic"), and about Gilgameš's quest for eternal life ("Gilgameš-epic"). For a discussion of the relationship between epic and myth see Hecker, *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik*.

[27]   Tigay, *Literary-Critical Studies in the Gilgamesh Epic*; *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*; *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*; cf. also Rast, *Tradition History*, pp. 5-7.

main versions are extant.[28] Of the Gilgameš-epic, too, only two main versions are available for investigation.[29]

Only of the Etana epic three main versions have been preserved[30], but in only one, possibly two, passages all of them are extant. Furthermore, as is indicated by the fact that there are agreements between the Old (OV) and the Late Version (LV) against the Middle Assyrian Version (MAV), the textual

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[28] Glg. XI is not a new edition of the Atraḫasīs-epic and thus has to be ignored here.

[29] The facts that there is little parallelism in wording between the Old Babylonian and the Neo-Assyrian versions and that they have different orders of events have led J.R.Kupper to the conclusion that the two versions were accomplished independently ("Les différents versions", p.100). In spite of the problem of textual dependency we shall compare the two versions, regarding the Old Babylonian version as a representative of an earlier stage of literary development compared to that of the Neo-Assyrian version.

For practical purposes we may ignore the question of different versions among the Old Babylonian fragments (cf. Lambert, Review, p.117; von Soden, "Das Gilgamesch-Epos", pp.6-7).

We shall further exclude the "foreign" manuscripts found at Boghazköy and Megiddo, since their textual history is even more obscure than that of the text provided by Mesopotamian manuscripts. S.N.Kramer, "Epic of Gilgameš", p.14, n.53, has drawn attention to the fact that in the Hittite version the sun-god is mentioned as ^{d}UTU ŠAME.E which has a parallel in "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living", where he is continually called ^{d}utu-an-na, but not in any of the extant Semitic versions.

The study of the relationship between the Sumerian Gilgameš-tales and the Babylonian epic exceeds the limits of the present thesis. Attempts to demonstrate that some of the known Sumerian Gilgameš tales constituted an epic with a fixed order of episodes have failed. While Langdon ("Sumerian Epic") did not adduce evidence for the coherence of the different tales, Matouš was forced to retract his conclusions in the light of the publication of a new fragment containing the concluding part of "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" (cf. van Dijk, "Dénouement"; Matouš, "Les rapports", p.89, n.3). The epic as such was compiled in Old Babylonian (cf. Kramer, "Epic of Gilgameš"; Oberhuber, "Gilgamesch", p.1; Landsberger, "Einleitung", p.32). Two, perhaps three, of the five known Gilgameš tales appear to have been used by the author ("Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" [cf. Kramer, "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living"] and "Gilgameš and The Bull of Heaven" [cf. Witzel, "Himmelsstier-Episode"], perhaps "The Death of Gilgameš" [cf. Kramer, "The Death of Gilgamesh"]), but only the broad outlines of the Sumerian tales were taken over. A further Sumerian Gilgameš story ("Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld") was appended to the epic in literal translation to form the 12th tablet of the Neo-Assyrian Gilgameš series (cf. Kramer, "Epic of Gilgameš", pp.19-23.83). Since the differences between the Sumerian tales and the Akkadian epic are so great it cannot be argued with any certainty that the extant tales constituted the *Vorlage* of the epic. The problems of textual dependency are even greater than between the Babylonian versions. Even if we assume that we have two successive versions, the differences are too great to permit detailed analysis. Furthermore, the compilation of an epic from disconnected tales is, or at least may have been, carried out under different redactorial principles and techniques. Since the preservation of the Sumerian tales and the Akkadian epic is unique general developmental tendencies cannot be isolated.

[30] Cf. Kinnier Wilson, *Etana*, pp.21-23.

dependencies are obscure.[31] The time gaps between the extant versions of all four epics would allow for several intermediate versions.[32] Thus detailed research is rendered impossible. However, a comparison of the different versions of all four epics shows that there was a tendency towards increased agreement in wording between parallel passages. The descriptions of parallel events were adapted to each other, as were the relations of speeches and corresponding events. These adaptations were usually accomplished by alteration, addition, or expansion, and only very rarely by omission.

1 Anzu

As has already been noted, the Anzu-epic with only two extant versions[33] does not fulfill the conditions of an *explorable* analogy. It is therefore not possible to determine whether there was any consistency of redactorial treatment in the literary development of the epic.

The following passages have been preserved in both versions:

$$\text{OB } II_{1\text{-}80}{}^{II} \qquad // \qquad \text{SB } Iiii_{23}\text{-}iv_{12}\, II_{1\text{-}37}$$
$$III_{3\text{-}19} \qquad\qquad // \qquad\qquad II_{38\text{-}63}$$
$$III_{62\text{-}77} \qquad\qquad // \qquad\qquad II_{108}\text{-}III_9$$

In the Anzu story, after the tablet of decrees was stolen by Anzu, Adad is summoned and asked to retrieve the tablet. After his refusal appeals are made to Girra, Šara, who also refuse, and, finally, Ninurta. Already in the Old Babylonian version there is some parallelism between the first three speeches. The address to Adad and his reply are given in full extent in direct speech: OB $II_{11\text{-}24}$. Of the appeals to Girra and Šara only the introductions are given (OB

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[31]   OV I/A$_4$ // LV II$_{23}$; OV I/A$_{8\text{-}9}$ // LV II$_{28\text{-}29}$; OV I/D$_3$ // LV II$_{113}$. MAV readings not found in OV and LV: I/A$_{10\text{-}14.18\text{-}20}$; I/B$_{26\text{-}30}$ (break).

[32]   For the Atraḫasīs-epic Lambert and Millard have argued from internal evidence that the Assyrian recension is dependent on a Middle Assyrian original (Atra-ḫasīs, pp.37-38).

[33]   For the texts cf. Hruška, *Mythenadler*, Hallo and Moran, "The First Tablet of the SB Recension of the Anzu Myth", Saggs, "Additions to Anzu", Nougayrol, "Ningirsu vainqueur de Zû".

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II_{25-26}, OB II_{27-28}). These lines parallel ll.11-12 which introduce the gods' appeal to Adad. The replies of Girra and Šara are not mentioned, but rather have to be inferred from the context. In the SB version the parallelism between the various speeches has been increased by the addition of the appeals and the replies (SB Iiii$_{[56]-[65].[66]-76.77-86.87-97}$// SB Iiii$_{37-44.45-[55]}$).[34]

The SB version has further increased the correspondence between the speeches and the preceding report of the theft. SB has added "anzu ipprišma šadussu [igguš]"[35]. This line is part of the narrator's report of Anzu stealing the Tablet of Decrees. It is paralleled by a line in Adad's reply in 1.51[36] (// Girra's speech in 1.72 // Šara's speech in 1.93).[37] The SB version has further added "nadû parṣi" (SB Iiii$_{50}$ // OB II_{19}). This addition increases the correspondence between Adad's and the narrator's (SB Iiii$_{23}$ = OB II_1) relation of the theft.

To the OB's version of the appeal to Adad the SB version has added Iiii$_{41-42}$.[38] The lines are paralleled by [iii$_{62-63}$] (promise to Girra), iii$_{83-84}$ (promise to Šara) II_{24-25} (speeches to Ninurta), $II_{121-122}$ (message to Ninurta spoken to Šarur), $II_{144-145}$ (message told by Šarur to Ninurta). Either SB $II_{121-122}$ or SB $II_{144-145}$ correspond to OB III_{70-71}. Thus the parallelism between the first three appeals and that directed to Ninurta has been increased.

SB II_{20-27} give further orders of Mami to Ninurta. Parallels to ll.20-25[39] are found in SB $II_{117-122}$ (Ea's advice to Ninurta given to Šarur) // 140-145

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[34] Equally plausible is Nougayrol's explanation for the missing speeches in OB: "Pour la restitution des paroles d'Anu, du refus qui suit et de l'atmosphère qu'il crée, le scribe de Suse s'en rapportait à la mémoire de ses lecteurs, alors qui celui de Ninive répétait par deux fois tout ce passage. A Suse, le «raccord» est fourni par la «faiblesse» passagère des dieux." ("Ningirsu vainqueur de Zû", p.91, n.2). There still remains, however, the adaptation of the appeal made to Ninurta to the preceding appeal(s).

[35] SB Iiii$_{24}$, cf. Hallo-Moran, "The First Tablet", p.82.

[36] // OB ii$_{20}$: "[ipparišma šad]îssu ittaši rēšīšu".

[37] Cf. also SB II_{29} "igrur ir[t]a'ub šadûssu ikkuš "// OB II_{74}: "qitrud tāḫāzim igdabuš šadîš" (cf Nougayrol, "vainqueur du Zû", p.93, n.3), describing Ninurta's advance.

[38] For the addition of SB Iiii$_{43}$ no reason is apparent. A parallel of this line, II_{26} has also been added by SB and OB equivalents to further parallels, SB $II_{[64.]85.123.146}$, are not extant. Cf. also Cooper, "Symmetry and Repetition", pp.508f.

[39] For the addition of l.26 cf. preceding note.

(Šarur's repetition of the advice to Ninurta). It is probably the last of these passages that is paralleled by OB III_{67-71}.[40] Thus the addition increases the agreement between Mami's and Ea's advice.[41]

Table 1 Correspondences in the SB version of the Anzu Epic

Iiii
  appeal to
  Adad

		appeal to	appeal to	
	33	Girra	Šara	Iiv
	34			
	35	[56]	77	appeal to
	36	[57]	78	Ninurta
	37	[58]*42	79*	
	38	[59]*	80*	.
	39	[60]*	81*	.
	40	[61]*	82*	.
	41	[62]*	83*	24*
	42	[63]*	84*	25*
	43	[64]*	85*	26*
	44	[65]*	86*	27*

	Adad's reply	Girra's reply	Šara's reply
	45	[66]*	87*
narration	46	[67]*	88*
of theft	47	[68]*	89*
	48	[69]*	90*
22	49	70*	91*
23	50	71*	92*
24*	51	72*	93*
.	52	73*	94*
.	53	74*	95*
.	54	75*	96*
	[55]	76*	97*

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40   ll.146-147 have no parallel in the extant portion of the passage in the OB version. The addition of ll.24.25 parallels that of Iiii$_{41-42}$, cf. above.

41   Cf. also Cooper, "Symmetry and Repetition", p.509. Further cases may be seen in the addition of SB $II_{62.111-116}$. SB II_{62} adds the introduction of Anzu's speech missing in OB. The line is paralleled in SB $II_{78.93}$. OB equivalents of this passage and of the parallel to SB $II_{111-116}$ (SB $II_{134-139}$) have not been preserved. Thus it cannot be ruled out that all these passages were inserted by SB.

SB has also added Iiii$_{111-116}$. These lines relate Ninigiku/Ea's appeal to summon the "Bēlet ilī". The narration of the fulfillment, but not Ea's appeal, had been present in OB (I_{36}). The wording of the appeal proper (SB Iiii$_{112-116}$) corresponds closely to that of SB's narration of its fulfillment (ll.117-121). It should, however, be noted that of the narration of the fulfillment of the appeal ll.118.120.121 have been added. Although this alteration does not constitute an adaptation of parallel passages towards each other, it nevertheless indicates the redactor's

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II   III

order to Ninurta	events	Ninšiku's orders to Šarur	Šarur's orders to Ninurta	events
		105^{43}	128	
		106	129	9
		107	130	10
		108	131	11
		109	132	12
		110	133	13
		111	134	
		112	135	
		113	136	
17		114	137	
18		115	138	
19		116	139	
20		117	140	20
21		118	141	
22		119	142	
23		120	143	
24		121	144	
25		122	145	
26		123	146	
27		124	147	

events	events
29	149
30	150
31	151
32	152
33	153f
34	155

battle	Ninurta's orders to Šarur	Šarur's report
.	72^{44}	89
.	73	90
.	74	
59	75	
60	76	91
61	77	92
62	78	93
63	79	94
64	80	95
65	81	96
66	82	97
67	83	98
68	84	99
69	85	100

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2 Atraḫasīs

Of the Atraḫasīs-epic the best preserved version is the edition of Ku-Aya[45], accomplished during the reign of king Ammi-ṣaduqa. Middle Babylonian fragments as far as they are preserved overlap with neither the Old Babylonian version nor the late Assyrian fragments.[46] Thus between the texts that can be compared with each other, Ku-Aya's edition and three late Assyrian fragments (S, T, and U[47]), there may be a time gap of about a thousand years! The *Vorlage* of the late Assyrian version may have differed greatly in wording from that of Ku-Aya.[48] The following passages are extant in both versions[49]:

$$\text{OB } I_{18-38} \qquad // \qquad S\ i_{1-13}$$
$$\text{OB } I_{71} \qquad // \qquad S\ i_{14}$$
$$\text{OB } I_{118-145} \qquad // \qquad S\ ii_{8-29}{}^{50}$$

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interest in symmetrical narratiion.

[42]   * = added

[43]   The parallelism between $II_{105-124}$ and $II_{128-147}$ includes that references to Ninurta are made in the 2nd p.sgl., although in $II_{105-124}$, properly speaking, Šarur is addressed. See also below next note.

[44]   The parallelism between II_{59-69}, II_{72-85}, and II_{89-100} even includes the use of the 3rd person for Ninurta in the latter's own speech. Cf. also Hecker, *Untersuchungen*, p.160 with n.1, who refers to a similar case in Nergal and Ereškigal where both parallel passages use 1st p.sgl. ($v_{2'-12'}$ // $v_{18'-27'}$).

[45]   Cf. Lambert-Millard, Atra-ḫasīs, p.31.

[46]   The fragment from Ras Shamra (RS 22.421) gives an account in the 1st pers. sgl., relating the Flood only, and is thus ignored here.

[47]   For the manuscripts and their designations cf. Lambert-Millard, Atra-ḫasīs, pp.40f and Lambert, "New Fragments, pp.71-76.

[48]   Cf. above n.32.

[49]   Line count according to Lambert-Millard, Atra-ḫasīs.

[50]   S ii_{1-7} and ii_{8-29} are, strictly speaking not parallels of OB $I_{169-173}$ and $I_{118-145}$. Lambert-Millard, Atra-ḫasīs, p.xii, give the following parallels:

S ii		
23	...^{d}e]n-líl	(OB I_{125})
24	...] an-nu-gal	($_{127}$)
25	...E]N tāḫāzi(KA X ERÍN)	($_{129}$)
26	...ig-ra]-a giš-la	($_{130}$)
27	...b]āb ^{d}en-líl	($_{133}$?)

28	...a]-bu-šu	($_{136}$)
29	...] ^{d}en-líl	($_{137}$)

According to the fragments of the Assyrian version published by Lambert, "New Fragments", pp.71-74, 1.27, corresponding to 1.17 of the same col., has to be restored as [qá-ab-lu i-ru-ṭa ana b]āb ^{d}en-líl. Thus the line probably parallels OB I_{131} // $_{143}$. Of these lines only qá-a[b is preserved. The content makes clear that the line probably contained a further accusation of the Igigi. In OB $I_{81.83}$ Nusku tells Enlil: "qablum irūṣa ana bābīka" (cf. also 1.110

OB I$_{169-173}$	// S ii$_{1-7}$		
OB I$_{252-260}$	// S iii$_{0-7}$		
OB I$_{277-300}$	// S iii$_{8-20}$		
OB I$_{352}$-II i$_{23}$	// S iv$_{1-51}$		
OB IIiv$_{1-17}$	// S v$_{3-33}$		
OB IIiv$_{19-23}$	// S vi$_{16-19}$		
OB IIIii$_{15-21}$	// U obv.$_{13-16}$	// Glg. XI$_{20-22}$	
OB IIIii$_{22}$-ii$_{50}$	//	// Glg. XI$_{23-92}$	
OB IIIii$_{51-55}$	// U rev.$_{2-3}$	// Glg. XI$_{93-95}$	
	// U rev.$_{4-15}$	// Glg. XI$_{96-102}$	
OB III iii$_{5}$-iv$_{14}$	// U rev.$_{16-23}$	// Glg. XI$_{103-123}$	
OB III iv$_{15}$-vi$_{50}$	//	// Glg. XI$_{124-186}$	

There are parallel passages from almost all major parts of the epic. They cover the report of the Igigi's work and their uprising, Enlil's order to Nusku, Enlil's address to Anu, the creation of mankind by Mami, the multiplication of mankind, the imposing of the plague, Enki's advice to Atraḫasīs, the renewed multiplication of the people, the starvation, Enki's advice, and the Flood. In this respect the development of the Atraḫasīs epic would be preferable to that of the Gilgameš epic as an empirical model. Since, however, parallels from only two

and 114).

Sii$_{28}$ might parallel OB I$_{132}$//$_{144}$ and Sii$_{29}$ // OB I$_{133}$//$_{145}$. OB I$_{133.145}$ like S ii$_{29}$ end with ^{d}en-líl. However, ll.28-29 have no parallel in the preceding spech of Anu. Thus it is not probable that they constituted part of Nuska's speech. In any case, the passage preserved in Sii does not constitute an exact parallel to that of the OB version.

According to the latter Enlil sends Nusku to inquire the reasons for the Igigi's uprising (ll.118-133). Enlil's order is carried out by Nusku who repeats Enlil's message verbatim (ll.134-145). The Igigi reply to Nusku (ll.146-152), who returns and repeats the reply to Enlil (ll.153-165). Enlil asks Anu to summon one of the Igigi and have him killed (ll.168-174). Then Anu replies to this suggestion (ll.174ff). The Old Babylonian version is only preserved up to l.170, but its text can be deduced from late Assyrian fragments that overlap from l.163 onwards. ll.182-189 are completely lost. According to the Assyrian version Enlil's suggestion to kill one of the Igigi (S ii$_{3-7}$) is followed by another trip of Nusku (S ii$_{8ff}$), which is not reported in the preserved part of the OB version. From the additional fragments of the Assyrian version published by Lambert it becomes clear that Nusku is sent to the rebels, although he is not sent to speak "ina puḫri kala ilīma" (OB I$_{122.134}$), but "ina puḫri ša ilāni^{meš} rabûti^{meš}" (S ii$_{10}$) and that in S Nusku is dispatched by Anu, not Ea (as in the OB version, cf. ll.111-112).

Obscure is the reference of the pronominal suffix of aḫbūšu in S ii$_{28}$. It might refer to Ea, of whom a speech is preserved in ms.G. This speech repeats part of Anu's reply to Enlil's suggestion to have one of the Igigi killed and has Ea suggest the Bēlet-ilī create mankind. With this suggestion the main version sets in again. The suffix may also refer to Wê-ila, the one of the Igigi who was killed (OB I$_{223}$) or even to Nusku himself.

versions of the epic have been preserved[51] the consistency of redactorial treatment cannot be analyzed and thus general tendencies of literary development cannot be isolated.

Already in the OB version the epic is well structured.

Table 2 Correspondences in the OB version of the Atraḫasīs-Epic

Tablet I

plan execution

. .
. .
. .

43	57^{52}
44	58
45	59
46	60

order execution

| 87 | 89 |
| 88 | 90 |

advice execution

| 97 | 99 |
| 98 | 100 |

---

[51] The 11th tablet of the Neo-Assyrian version of the Gilgameš epic has to be disregarded here, since it is not a new version of the Atraḫasīs epic and it is not clear on which edition(s) it is dependent. Glg. XI_{99-102} parallel OB $IIvii_{49-53}$ and U rev.$_{14-15}$. Glg. XI_{99-100}//OB $IIvii_{49-50}$ have no correspondence in U. OB $IIvii_{49-53}$ relate Enki's order to create a flood. A corresponding passage relating the events may be seen in OB $IIIiii_{4-10}$, but both passages are mutilated and the preserved portions do not exhibit parallel phraseology. The passage in Glg. XI relates events, Enki's order is not mentioned. This may be due to the fact that Glg.XI has only taken over the Flood narrative and does not mention the preceding events. OB $IIIiii_{51-53}$ is paralleled in both, U rev.$_{14-15}$ and Glg. $XI_{101-102}$. U, however, mentions the lines in a different order from that of OB and Glg. XI. A further case of agreement of OB and Glg. XI against the Assyrian version is found in OB $IIIiii_{13-14}$ // Glg. $XI_{111-112}$, which has no equivalent in U.

On the other hand U obv.$_{14-15}$ agrees with Glg. XI_{20-21} against OB:

OB III_{16}: [is]saqar ana ardīšu

U obv.$_{14-15}$: [izzaka]r   ana kikkiši [   ] kikiš kik[iš]

Glg.XI_{20-21}: amāssunu ušanna ana kikki(šu) kikkiš kikkiš igār igār

U rev.$_2$ and Glg. XI_{93} relate that Atraḫasīs/Utnapištim entered the ship, which is not mentioned in OB. The latter agreement, however, is not close enough to indicate textual dependency. That Atraḫasīs/Utnapištim must have entered the ship is apparent from the context.

[52] The preceding passage is not preserved.

message	delivery
124	136
125	137
126	138
127	139
128	140
129	141
130	142
131	143
132	(144)
133	145

reply	delivery
146	159f
147f	161
149	162
150	163
151	164
152	165

II

Enlil disturbed	Enlil disturbed
352	i 1
353	2
354	3
355	4
356	5
357	6
358	7
359	8

Enlil's advice to Atraḫasīs	Atraḫasīs' advice to elders	execution	Atraḫasīs' advice to elders	execution
374	389			
375	390			
		401f	.	20
376	391	403	.	21
377	392	404	ii 8	22
378	393	405	9	23
379	394	406	10	24
380	395	407	11*	25
381	396	408	12	26
382	397	409	13	27
383	398f	410f	14f	28f
			16	30
			17	31f
			19	33

412	34*	
413	35*	

Enlil's speeches

v14	28	vi 23
15	29	24
16	30	25
17	31	26
18	32	27
19	.	28
20	.	29
21	.	30

Having laboured for 40 years the oppressed Igigi gods approach Enlil. Ii$_{43-46}$ (// Iii$_{57-60}$). Unfortunately the text immediately preceding and following I$_{33-49}$ is not preserved. Presumably the council of the Igigi is narrated where the plan was set up to approach Enlil. ll.57-60 parallel ll.43-46. Plan and execution are related in (almost) identical wording. The Igigi surround Enlil's house and the latter is roused by Kalkal. A conversation between Enlil and his vizier Nusku is narrated. Enlil's order to Nusku is related in ll.87-88 which parallel ll.89-90 where their execution is mentioned. Nusku then advises Enlil to send for Anu. The advice is related in ll.97-98 which parallel its execution in ll.99-100. Again order/advice and fulfillment are narrated in almost identical wording.

The Anunnaki decide to send Nusku to the rebels to inquire concerning the reasons for their uprising. The order to Nusku is narrated in ll.120-133. Of these ll.124-133 contain the Anunnaki's message to be delivered by Nusku to the Igigi. These lines are paralleled by ll.136-145. Again order and execution are related in (almost) identical wording.

The Igigi reply to Nusku's message (ll.146-152) and Nusku delivers their reply to the Anunnaki (ll.159-165). Plague is imposed (ll.352-363[53]). Atraḫasīs prays to Enki who gives the advice to worship no god but Namtara (ll.374-383). Atraḫasīs repeats Enlil's suggestion to the elders (ll.389-398f) who execute it (ll.401f-410f).

Then the plague ceases, and because Enlil's rest is again disturbed by the peoples' noise the cycle starts all over again. This time a famine is imposed to diminish mankind. The multiplication of the peoples and Enlil's disturbed rest is described in both cases with identical wording ($I_{352-359}$ // IIi_{1-8}). Enki's advice to Atrahasis ($I_{374-383}$[54]) is repeated verbatim by the latter to the elders ($I_{389-398f}$ // $IIii_8{}^{55}{}_{-19}$). The description of its execution ($IIii_{20-38}$), however, is slightly different.[56] The ceasing of plague and famine, too, are described, as far as the passages are extant, in very similar wording ($I_{412-413}$ // $IIii_{34-35a}$).

Then three times a speech of Enlil is reported. Apart from the fact, that once 3rd p. is used (IIv_{14-21}) and twice 2nd p., ($IIv_{28ff}{}^{57}$ // $IIvi_{23-30}$)), the passages are parallel to each other.

Table 3 Correspondences in the Assyrian version of the Atraḫasīs-Epic

Anu's message	delivery
ii 9	19
10	20
11	21
12	22
13	23
14	24
15	25

53   Ll.360-363 are not preserved.
54   OB parallel not extant.
55   The preceding lines are not preserved.
56   Ll.374-375 (//$Q_{13'-14'}$)// 389-390, unfortunately mutilated, are not paralleled and ll.401f // $IIii_{20}$ have no correspondence in the earlier passages.
57   The passage after IIv_{32} is not extant.

16	26		
17	27		

Enlil disturbed,
orders plague

Rev. iv	1		report to
	2		gods
	3		
	4		37
	5		
	6		
	7	execution	40
	8		41
	9	13	
	10	14	
	11	15	
	12	16	

Atraḫasīs prays to Ea

17	27
18	28
19	29
20	30

famine ordered	execution	execution
42	52	(2)
43	53	v 3
44	54	4
45	55	5
46	56	6
47	57	7
48	58	8
49	59	[9]
50	60	[9]
51	61	

plague plague

[11]	
12	vi 1
13	2
14	3
15	4
16	5
17	6
18	7
19	8
20	9
21	10
22	11
23	12
24	13
25	14
26	15

Although as we have pointed out[58] OB I$_{118-145}$ and Sii$_{8-27}$, are not parallel, they report comparable events, and we may suspect that Sii$_{8-27}$ closely paralleled the passage in the Assyrian version, which properly corresponds to OB I$_{118-145}$. OB I$_{118-145}$ and Sii$_{8-27}$ report a dispatch of Nusku to the rebels. In the OB version there is a close correspondence between Ea's message and its delivery by Nusku. OB I:

118 ^{d}enlil piāšu ī[pušamma]
119 issaqar ana [šukalli ^{d}nusku]
120 ^{d}nusku pite [bābka]
121 kakkīka l[iqe ...
122 ina puḫri [kalâ ilīma]
123 kimis izi[z ....]-ni
124 išpuranni [abūkunu] anu
125 malikkunu [qurādu ^{d}enl]il
126 guzzalûkun[u ^{d}nin]urta
127 u gallûkun[u ^{d}en]-nu-gi
128 mannummi [.... q]ablim
129 mannum[mi ..... tāḫ]āzi
130 mannu[mmi igram t]uqumtam
131 [qablam ....] X X X
132 [ina ....] X X
133 [ibba-...............] X X X X ^{d}enlil

134 [illik ^{d}nusku ana puḫri k]alâ ilīma
135 ...] X X X ipšur
136 [išpuranni a]būkunu anu
137 [malikkunu qurā]du ^{d}en[li]l
138 [guzzalûkunu ^{d}n]inurta
139 [u] [gallûkunu ^{d}e]nnugi
140 ma[nnummi ..... q]ablim
141 ma[nnummi ....tāḫā]zi
142 ma[nnummi igram tuqu]mtam
143 qa[blam ....] X X
144 ina [..................] X
145 ibba-[............. ^{d}enl]lil

---

58   Cf. above n.50.

29

The correspondence between Anu's and Nusku's speech is still closer in the Assyrian version Sii[59]:

8 ᵈanu pâšu īpuša iqabbi
　　izzakar [ana ᵈnusku]
9 ᵈnusku pete bābka:
　　ᵍⁱˢkakkīᵐᵉˢka [leqe (. . .)]
10 ina puḫri ša ilāniᵐᵉˢ rabûtiᵐᵉˢ:
　　kimi[s ...]
11 qibašunūti [...]
12 išpuranni ᵈa[num abūkunu]
13 malikkunu q[urādu ᵈenlil]
14 guza[lû]kunu ᵈni[nurta
　　u? gallûkunu? annugal]
15 mann[umm]a bēl qabli
　　[ma-nu-ma bēl tāḫazi]
16 ayy[u] ilu ša ibnâ [tuqunta]
17 qa[bl]u irūṭa⁶⁰ ana [bābīya]

18 ᵈ[nusk]u annīt[a ina šemēšu
19 ᵍⁱˢkakkīᵐᵉˢšu ilt[aqe (. . .)]
20 ina puḫri ša ilāniᵐᵉˢ rabûtiᵐᵉˢ [:
　　ikmis ...]
21 [iqbā]ⁱšuⁱ[nūti . . .]
22 [išpuranni abūkunu ᵈan]um
23 [malikkunu qurādu ᵈe]nlil
24 [guzalûkunu ᵈninurta
　　u? gallûkunu?] annugal
25 [mannumma bēl qabli
　　mannumma b]ēl tāḫazi
26 [ayyu ilu ša ibn]â tuqunta
27 [qablu irūṭa ana b]āb ᵈenlil

In the OB version only the message as such had been repeated with almost no changes. In the Assyrian version, however, the correspondence is increased to include the orders given to Nusku, with the exception of l.9a[61] ll. 132-133, and probably their equivalent in ll.144-145, too, are not represented in the Assyrian version. Unfortunately these lines are badly mutilated. Thus no reason for their omission is apparent.

The addition of S rev. iv$_3$ adapts the description of events to Enlil's speech to the gods (cf. OB I$_{359}$ // S rev. iv$_8$) and that of S rev. iv$_7$ adapts Enlil's speech to the description of events (cf. OB I$_{355}$ // S rev. iv$_2$)

According to the OB version Enlil complained to the gods:

358[iktabta] ⌜rigim⌝ awīlūti
359[ina ḫubūrīši]na uza⌜am⌝ma šitta.

This has a correspondence in the preceding description of events:

355ina [ḫubūrīšina ilu ⌜it⌝ta⌜ʾd⌝ar
356[ᵈenlil išteme] ri⌜gim⌝šin

59　For the text of ll.14-29 cf. Lambert, New Fragments".
60　For "irūṭa" instead of "irūṣa" cf. Lambert, "New Fragments", p.74.
61　The missing repetition of Sii$_{9a}$ may be due to scribal error. Haplography because of Homoioarkton (l.18) cannot be ruled out.

30

In the Assyrian version the complaints are:

^{6}[ik]tabtam[a r]igim amēlūte
^{7}[ina r]igmē[šin]a attādar
^{8}[ina ḫ]u[bū]rīšina lā iṣabbatanni šittu

and events are described as:

^{2}[ina] rigmēšina itta$^{[ɔ]}$[dar]
^{3}[ina] ḫubūrīšina lā iṣabbassu [šittu]

Thus the correspondence between description of events and complaints has been increased.[62]

The addition of S rev. v_{27-30} after the description of the plague adapts this passage to the description of the previous plague, where these lines were also present in the OB version (cf.S iv_{17-20} // OB $I_{364-367}$).

Due to *lacunae* in the OB version, further cases cannot be adduced with certainty.[63]

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[62]   However, in the parallel passage describing the gods' next attempt to diminish mankind, the OB version has an exact correspondence to $IIi_{4.5.7.8}$ (Enlil disturbed by the noise), while the Assyrian version only mentions Enlil's renewed complaints (Siv_{40-41}), which corresponds to Siv_{7-8}. The Assyrian version only mentioned Ea's advice to Atraḫasīs, but omitted a description of their fulfillment and the subsequent multiplication of mankind.

[63]   Another case may be found in S rev iv_{47b-51} an equivalent of which was probably not present in the OB version. These lines are part of Enlil's orders for the second attempt to diminish mankind, which had also been described in OB IIi. OB IIi_{18} parallels S rev. iv_{46} and OB IIi_{19} corresponds to S rev. iv_{47a}. OB IIi_{20-22} have not been taken over by the Assyrian version. Unfortunately OB IIi breaks off after 1.22. That the lost portion contained an equivalent of S rev iv_{47b-51} does not seem probable, since the focus of Enlil's speech had already turned from effects of the famine on nature to those on mankind in 1.20. The descriptions of the taking effect of Enlil's orders in the Assyrian version contained equivalents of the added passage (iv_{57b-61} and v_{6b-9}). Parallel lines to the latter of them have been preserved in the OB version:

S rev. v_{6b} // OB $IIiv_7$
S rev. v_7// OB $IIiv_{4.8}$
S rev. v_8// OB $IIiv_5$

Ass has further added S rev. v_{9-10}. 1.9 can be restored after S rev. iv_{60-61}, 1.10 can not be reconstructed. The addition of 1.9 can be regarded as adaptation to the parallel passage in S rev. iv (ll.50-51.60-61), but there, too, the line(s) might have been added (no equivalent is preserved -but OB II i breaks off after 1.22; OB IIi_{19} // S rev. iv_{47a}). Unfortunately Enlil's orders for his first attempt to diminish mankind (OB $I_{360-363}$) are almost completely lost.

In the OB version these lines had been present in the description of events but not of Enlil's orders. The Assyrian version adapted the orders to the description of events. OB IIi_{20-22} had had no equivalent in the description of subsequent events and might have been omitted for this reason.

In the report of the fulfillment of Enlil's orders Ass. has added S rev. v_{5-6a} (// iv_{56-57}). These lines had already had their equivalent in Enlil's orders (OB IIi_{18-19}// iv_{46-47}).

Thus the alteration constitutes an adaptation of the narration of the plan to that of its fulfillment.

Although the Atraḫasīs epic had already been well structured with repetitions and parallels in the OB version, we can notice a tendency to increase the prominence of this feature even further.

3 Etana

Of the Etana epic three major versions have been preserved.[64] the following parallels can be noted:

OV I/A$_{1-14}$			//	LV I$_{9-16}$
OV I/C$_{1-13}$	//	MAV I/A$_{1-22}$	//	LV II$_{17-36}$
OV I/C$_{14-51}$			//	LV II$_{37-71}$
		MAV I/B$_{1-25}$	//	LV II$_{92-112}$
OV I/D$_{1-3}$	//	(MAV I/B$_{26-30}$)[65]	//	LV II$_{113}$
OV I/D$_{4-15}$			//	LV II$_{114-128}$
		MAV I/C$_{1-10}$	//	LV II$_{138-145}$.

As has already been pointed out above[66], the textual dependency of the extant versions is not linear. For our purpose we shall disregard this and treat the versions as if OV constituted the Vorlage of MAV and LV. Since there is only slight indication that the LV used MAV at all[67], we shall treat those passages found in MAV and not in the other two versions as additions by MAV rather than as omissions by the LV.[68] Those cases where LV differs from MAV, and where OV is not preserved, are therefore not conclusive.[69]

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[64]   For the texts cf. Kinnier Wilson, *Etana*.

[65]   No correspondence in phraseology.

[66]   Cf. p.17.

[67]   The only agreements between the two versions over against OV consist of MV I/A$_2$ [restored after LV] // LV II$_{22}$, MAV I/A$_6$ // LV II$_{18}$ (equivalents of which may have been present in OV in the lost portion preceding OV I/C$_1$) and the omission of OV I/D$_{1-3}$.

[68]   For the consequences of the uncertain textual dependency for the investigation of macrostructural development cf. the development of the accounts on Aššurbanipal's Egyptian campaigns; see below pp.87ff.

[69]   In the LV there is a close agreement in wording between the eagle and the serpent's oath of friendship and the warning spoken by the eagle's young not to breach the oath. The MAV of the warning is not extant. Thus it remains uncertain whether the omission of MAV I/A$_{5-7}$, which has no counterpart in the LV of the warning (MAV I/A$_6$ // LV II$_{18}$ // LV II$_{49}$), adapted the narration of the oath to that of the warning.
  A further verbal parallelism in LV is that between Šamaš' orders to the serpents and their execution. Šamaš' orders have not been preserved in MAV. LV has no correspondence to MAV I/B$_{24}$ and reads "išteneʾi" (LV II$_{105}$ // LV II$_{81}$) for "ippa[lis]" (MAV I/B$_{15}$), "ana kul[tum] libbi" (LV II$_{108}$ // LV II$_{82}$) for "ana karaš r[īmi]" (MAV I/B$_{21}$), and "ana li[bb]i" (LV II$_{109}$ // LV II$_{83}$) for "ana qerbuš" (MAV I/B$_{22}$). LV II$_{92-93}$ (// LV II$_{78-80}$) have no equivalent in MAV.

Unfortunately there is not a single case in the Etana epic where two or more parallel passages, command-fulfillment etc, are preserved in two different versions. Thus it cannot be argued with certainty that in this epic, too, the correspondence between parallel passages was increased by redactorial treatment.

Only a few examples for possible adaptation may be adduced from the Etana epic. MAV (I/A,8-9) has reworded OV I/C,6-7.[70] The two passages read:

> OV: ina ṣilli ṣerbettim u[l]lid ṣerrum erû ittalad ina ṣerīšu
> MAV: ina appi iṣi erû ālidma ina ešdi ṣarbate ṣēru italda.

In a later passage describing the eagle's safety from the serpent, LV (II$_{44}$) has "appi iṣi". Unfortunately the whole passage is missing in MAV and the corresponding line is mutilated in OV (I/C,20). Thus it cannot be argued with certainty that the alteration of "ṣerīšu" to "appi iṣi" constitutes an adaptation to the later passage.

With the replacement of "uttaz[ik]"[71] (OV I/D$_6$) by "unakkis" (LV II$_{117}$ // LV II$_{84}$[72]) and the alteration of OV I/D$_9$,[73] LV (II$_{119}$ // LV II$_{86}$) may have adapted the narration of events to that of Šamaš' orders. The replacement of "utamammû" (OV I/C$_4$) with "itmû erṣet[im rabītim" ?] (LV II$_{23}$ // LV II$_{15}$)[74] may have assimilated the narration of the proposal to swear an oath with that of the event and the addition of MAV I/A$_1$[75] (OV I/C$_2$ // MAV (I/A$_3$) may have adapted oath and warning. It is, however, equally possible that a corresponding line had been present in the section before OV I/C$_1$.[76]

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70   LV caret.
71   Restoration uncertain; cf. Kinnier Wilson's remarks, *Etana*, p.46.
72   nukkis.
73   The MAV of this passage is not extant and the lines are damaged in both OV and LV (OV I/D$_8$: ašar mu[. . .; LV II$_{119}$: [mût] bubūt[i u ṣumm]i imâ[ti]).
74   MAV caret.
75   LV caret.
76   It is interesting to note that the LV does not have this line, but a correspondence in the warning to the eagle by his young (LV II$_{46}$; cf. also LV II$_{68-70}$) to which the MAV version is not preserved. The parallel to the latter passage in OV (I/C,24) is badly mutilated and the second part of the line is completely lost. The fragmentary remains ([l]â t[akal abi] ...) are consistent with the text of the LV and we might even suggest that MAV, too, had the same text. If so, LV may have removed a parallelism.

4 Gilgameš

The Development of the Gilgamesh-Epic has already been studied in detail by J.H.Tigay.[77] Since his methodology and emphases differ from those of our study a new investigation is necessary. Of the different versions only few parallel passages have been preserved. Because of the limited amount of evidence available all conclusions derived from the development of the Gilgamesh Epic must be treated with care. Thus we are confined in our investigation to a comparison of the Old Babylonian (OB) and the Neo-Assyrian (NA) versions.

For our comparison we shall, in agreement with our methodological considerations, use only the OB and the "Late (Neoassyrian) Version".[78] A first case of increasing parallelism and repetition is found in the literary development of Gilgameš' dreams of Enkidu.[79]

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[77]   *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*; cf. also Tigay, *Literary-Critical Studies*, and his essays in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*.

[78]   The correspondence found between a fragment from Nippur and the Neoassyrian version I$_{30ff}$ is ignored here, since the former may be post-OB (cf. Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, p.40, n.1.) and the textual relationship of this fragment and the other OB texts is uncertain.

[79]   Cf. Cooper, "Gilgamesh Dreams of Enkidu", where the texts are given on pp.41-44. For further bibliographic information cf. the bibliography in Gilgameš *et sa légende*.

Table 4 Correspondences between the Narrations of Gilgameš' First and Second Dreams in the OB and the NA versions[80]

Old Babylonian version[81]				Neo-Assyrian version[82]			
First Dream		Second Dream		First Dream		Second Dream	
Dream	Interpr.	Dream	Interpr.	Dream	Interpr.	Dream	Interpr.
		24					
i 1f	15f	25	37[83]	v 25	39-40	7	16f
3		26		26		8	
4f							
6				27	41		
7		27-		28	42	9a	18
8		-30				9b	
9				29	43		
10				30			
				31		10	
				32		11	
				33		12	
				34			
11	21	31		35			
12f	20.22	32f		36	47	14	19
14	23	34f		37	45	13	20
				38	46	15	
		17	ii 1				
		18					
		19					
				vi 1			21
				2			22
				3			23
				4[84]			
				5			
				6			

OB Penn. II$i_{35\text{-}36}$ has been omitted in NA. These lines have no correspondence in the first dream. Thus the omission constitutes an adaptation of the description of Gilgameš's second dream to that of his first dream.

The Neo-Assyrian Version has replaced "[um]mi ina šāt mušītīya" (OB Penn. IIi_3) with "ummi šunat attalu mušītīya" (NA Iv$_{26}$) and has omitted OB Penn. II$i_{4\text{-}5}$. This alteration together with the omission can be regarded as an adaptation to Gilgameš' second dream, which neither in the OB nor in the Neo-

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80   Parallel passages are noted in the same lines of the table.
81   OB Penn. col.i.ii.
82   NA Iv.vi.
83   Ll.38f not preserved.
84   // v$_{47}$.

Assyrian version exhibits lines corresponding to the ones omitted by NA from OB Penn.'s version of Gilgameš' first dream. Such lines would have been positioned between NA Ivi$_8$ and vi$_9$, resp. OB Penn. IIi$_{25}$ and i$_{26}$. The lines in the descriptions of the second dream corresponding to OB Penn. IIi$_3$ and NA Iv$_{26}$ read:

OB Penn. i$_{26}$:   [um]^{l}mi ā^{l}t[a]mar šanītam
NA I vi$_8$:   [ummi āt]amar šanīta šutta.

It is thus apparent that NA Iv$_{26}$ is much closer to the corresponding line in the descriptions of the second dream as given by both versions. naṭālu was employed instead of amāru, which is found in the corresponding passage in the second dream, presumably because of the foretelling of Gilgameš' dream in NA Iv$_{24}$: "^{d}Gilgameš ina lib uruk^{ki} inaṭṭala šunatēka". The passage has thus also been adapted to its immediate context.

NA IIii$_{43}$ (as well as OB Penn. IIii$_{43}$) might refer to Gilgameš and may have been adapted to the narration of a comparable situation in NA VI$_{184}$[85] ("^{d}Gilgamiš banî ina eṭlē^{meš}"). Unfortunately the end of NA IIii$_{43}$ is lost, but as "ullanumma" shows the line constitutes a subordinate clause.[86]

The description of Enkidu in the explanation of Gilgameš' dream by the latter's mother differs in the two versions (OB Penn. IIi$_{17-23}$ > NA Ivi$_{1-6}$). NA Ivi$_{2-3}$ resume the description of Enkidu given in Iiii$_{3-4}$. NA Ivi$_4$ refers back to v$_{36(.47)}$. NA Ivi$_6$ reminds of Vii$_{38-39}$.[87] Thus the alteration has adapted the narration of one dream to that of another. Unfortunately no OB parallel of the latter is preserved, which renders interpretation difficult since the passage could have been added to the later dream as well. If so, then the positive evaluation of the dream by Enkidu in the later passage anticipates the outcome of the

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85   Reference to l.182 in Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, p.279.
86   For the technique of subordination see below, p.157.
87   "[ib]ri damqat šuna[tka] [š]uttum šuqurat". Line count according to Thompson, *Epic of Gilgamish*. Landsberger, "Zur vierten und siebten Tafel", pp.98.117, regards Thompson's col. ii as col.i.

encounter with Huwawa and the addition would thus have been that of a prolepsis.[88] The same purpose may be adduced for NA $Ivi_{1.5}$ which remind of NA $IIIi_{4.5.9}$.[89]

NA has replaced "iṣṣabtūma kīma lēm[90]" (OB Penn. $IIvi_{15}$) with "iṣṣabtūma ina bāb bīt emūti" (NA $IIii_{48}$). This alteration led to an adaptation of the narration of the event to that of the dream (cf.OB Penn. i_{27} ($//[$NA I $vi_9])$). Since, however, the same adverbial phrase is already found in NA II_{46}) the difference between the versions may also be of accidental origin.

NA has added Iv_{36}, which narrates Gilgameš' caressing the kiṣru. A corresponding line is also found in the descriptions of Gilgameš' second dream[91] (OB Penn. IIi_{33-34} // NA I vi_{14}). Thus the addition constitutes an adaptation of the narration of the first dream to that of the second.

NA has further added $Iv_{38.46}$; vi_{15}. A corresponding line is already found in the explanation of the second dream in OB Penn. $IIii_1$[92], whence it was taken over by NA into the descriptions and explanations of both dreams. NA has also added Iv_{41-47}. These lines give Gilgameš' mother's repetition of Gilgameš' narration of his dream. They thus constitute an adaptation of the explanation of the dream to the narration of its contents.

NA has added Ivi_{10-13} to the description of Gilgameš' second dream. These lines closely parallel NA $Iv_{31-33.37}$ and the addition therefore constitutes an adaptation to NA's description of Gilgameš' first dream.[93]

OB Penn. IIi_{10-11} have been expanded to NA Ii_{31-35}. The latter passage is paralleled in the Neo-Assyrian description of Gilgameš' second dream about

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88   Cf. OB Penn. $IIIiv_{27.28}$, NA $IIIi_9$ vi_8 $IVvi_{38}$.
89   // NA $IIIvi_8$ (cf. $IVvi_{38}$); OB Penn $IIIvi_{27}$.
90   For an interpretation with a different reference of "kīma lēm" cf. Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, pp.280f.
91   Cf. Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, p.88.
92   Cf. Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, p.88.
93   See above.

Enkidu (Ivi_{10-12}), which, too, has been added. Thus the addition cannot be explained by a tendency towards increased agreement between the two dreams. The added lines (+ 1.34), however, correspond to the description of Enkidu's arrival in Uruk as found in NA II_{38-42}. Thus the expansion constitutes an adaptation of the dream to the narration of events foretold in it. Even though the wording of the narration of Enkidu's arrival differs in NA from OB Penn and it is not possible to reconstruct the exact course of literary development, it is important to note that the internal correspondence between dream and event is greater in the Neo-Assyrian version than in the OB-text.

OB Penn. $IIi_{15-16.37-38}$ have been expanded to NA $Iv_{39-40}.vi_{16-17}$. In $IIIi_{17}$ Gilgameš' mother is described as "$^dNIN.SUN$ emqet mūdati kalâma idi". This passage may have prompted the additional appositions in NA Iv_{39-40}. The second parts of NA $Iv_{39}.vi_{16}$ constitute an adaptation to the introduction of Gilgameš' speech to his mother (OB Penn IIi_2 // NA Iv_{25}).

OB Penn. IIi // NA Iv_{25}:	^{2} izzakkar ana ummīšu
	^{15} ummi ^{d}Gilgameš mūdeat kalâma
	^{16} izzakaram ana ^{d}Gilgameš
NA IIIi:	^{17} ^{d}NIN.SUN emqet mūdati îdi
NA Iv_{39-40} // Ivi_{16-17}:	^{39} [ummi ^{d}Gilgameš emqet mū]dat kalâma îdi izzakar ana bēlīša^{94}
	^{40} [^{d}NIN.SUN^{95} emqet] mūdat kalâma îdi izzakkar ana ^{d}Gilgameš.

Unfortunately no OB parallel to NA $IIIi_{17}$ has survived. Thus it remains uncertain whether the additional appositions in NA Iv_{39} were just taken from a later passage or were indeed added by NA. For the identification of Gilgameš' mother with $^dNIN.SUN$ cf. OB Penn. $IIvi_{29-34}$. It is thus quite conceivable that the added material stems from other parts of the epic and that it served to adapt the passage to its context and to the phraseology used in other passages.

NA has replaced "[leq]ema ^{d}Gilgameš ḫaṣṣinnam ina qātīka" (OB Mi. iv_{11}) with "išši ^{d}Gilgameš ḫaṣṣinna ana i[dīka" (NA $Xiii_{40}$). The text of NA

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94   NA Ivi_{17}: "mārīša".
95   Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, p.272: "[Rimat-^{d}Nin-sun ...]".

agrees with IX ii$_{33}$, for which the OB parallel is not extant[96]. Thus the alteration may have been an adaptation to the earlier passage, but no final conclusion can be reached.

A further case where NA has harmonized the narration of parallel events is that of Gilgameš' meeting with Siduri (the ale-wife), Sursunabi/Uršanabi (Utnapištim's boatman), and, finally, Utnapištim himself.[97] Unfortunately the OB version of the former two passages is mutilated and of the latter it is completely lost. However, enough has been preserved to show NA's tendency to unification. In the OB version there is only slight verbal agreement between the corresponding passages.

Thus, for example,

> Xiv$_5$·: mannum šumka qibiam yâšim
> Xiv$_6$·: anāku sursunabu ša utanapištim rūqim

is answered by

> Xiv$_8$·: ^{d}giš šumi anāku
> Xiv$_9$·:   ša allikam ištu uruk eanni
> Xiv$_{10}$·:   ša ašḫuram šadî
> Xiv$_{11}$·:   urḫam rēqetam waṣi ^{d}šamši

The agreement between corresponding passages is far greater in the Neo-Assyrian version. Extant, though mutilated, are Siduri's questions and Gilgameš' answers, Uršanabi's questions and Gilgameš' answers, and Gilgameš' answers to Utnapištim[98]:

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96 Cf. also NA Xii$_{44}$.

97 For the OB version cf. Meissner, "Altbabylonisches Fragment", Millard, "Gilgamesh X"; for the Assyrian version Thompson, *Epic of Gilgamish*.

98 According to Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish*, p.58, the beginning of col.v should be restored according Xi$_{33}$-ii$_{14}$. BM 35546 1.2', however, disagrees with NA Xii$_{14}$ parr. D.J.Wiseman therefore regards Thompson's suggestion as unlikely ("Additional Neo-Babylonian Gilgamesh Fragments", p.131, n.1). Since BM 355546 is a Neo-Babylonian fragment and ll.3'ff agree with NA Xv$_{22ff}$, we have assumed that the beginning of col.v corresponds to parallel passages in cols.i-iii, unless the remains of col.v indicate deviation.

Table 5 Correspondences in the NA version between the narrations of Gilgameš' encounters with Siduri, Uršanabi, and Utnapištim

lament[99]/ narrative	Gilg.	Siduri	Gilg.	Uršan.	Gilg.	Utnapišt.	Gilg.
		i_{39}		iii_1		iii_8 broken	
	$i_a{}^{100}$	i_{40}					
	i_{37}	i_{41}					
	i_{38}	i_{42}					
		i_{43}					
		i_{44}		iii_2		iii_9	broken
		i_{45}		iii_3		iii_{10}	$[v_1]$
IXi$_4$ Xi$_8$ i_9		$i_{46}{}^{101}$		iii_4		iii_{11}	$[v_2]$
		i_{47}		iii_5		iii_{12}	$[v_3]$
		i_{48}		iii_6		iii_{13}	$[v_4]$
VIII		i_{49}		iii_7		$[iii_{14}]$	$[v_5]$
ii_8		broken				$[iii_{15}]$	$[v_6]$
ii_9						$[iii_{16}]$	$[v_7]$
ii_{10}						$[iii_{17}]$	$[v_8]$
ii_{11}						$[iii_{18}]$	$[v_9]$
ii_{12}						iii_{19}	$[v_{10}]$
							$[v_{11}]^{102}$
						iii_{20}	$[v_{12}]$
						iii_{21}	$[v_{13}]$
						iii_{22}	
						iii_{23}	$[v_{14}]$
							$[v_{15}]$
		broken				iii_{24}	$[v_{16}]$
		ii_7				iii_{25}	$[v_{17a}]^?$
IXi$_5$		ii_{8a}					$[v_{17b}]^?$
		ii_{8b}				iii_{26}	$[v_{18a}]^?$
		ii_9				iii_{27}	$[v_{18b}]$
		ii_{10}				iii_{28}	$[v_{19}]$
		ii_{11}				iii_{29}	$[v_{20a}]$
		ii_{12}				iii_{30} ?	$[v_{20b}]$
		ii_{13}				iii_{31a}?	$[v_{21a}]$
		ii_{14}				iii_{31b}?	$[v_{21b}]$
		ii_{15}				iii_{32}	
		ii_{16}				iii_{33}	
		ii_{17}				iii_{34}	
		ii_{18}				iii_{35a}	
		ii_{19}				iii_{35b}	

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99   The corresponding passage in the OB version is not extant.

100   i_{a-49} are taken from BM 34193, a neo-Babylonian fragment representing a different version (Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish*, pl.42). Identification of its position within the epic and line count according to Schott, "Übersetzung", pp.132-133. Cf. also D.J.Wiseman, "Additional Neo-Babylonian Gilgamesh Fragments", p.128-130.

BM 34193	Xiii	Xv
Gilgameš's exploits (i_{a-38}) repeated by Siduri (i_{39-43}) Siduri's questions (i_{44-49}) [repeated by Gilgameš]	Uršanabi's questions (1-7) repeated by Gilgameš (8-14) Gilgameš and Enkidu's	[Utnapištim's questions] repeated by Gilgameš (...1-5) Gilgameš and Enkidu's

Since the beginning of Gilgameš' speech to Siduri in OB Xii is lost, it is not possible to determine how much and which lines were added by the Neo-Assyrian version. Unfortunately Gilgameš' lament for Enkidu is not extant and the description of his appearance is mutilated in the OB version. Thus we do not know whether the Neo-Assyrian version has increased the agreement between the lament and Gilgameš' speeches. It is, however, apparent that the parallelism between question and answer and between the various speeches was increased for the Neo-Assyrian version. A Neo-Assyrian equivalent to Šamaš' speech to Gilgameš has not been preserved. Of Šamaš' speech according to the Old Babylonian version nothing has been taken over into Siduri's, Uršanabi's or Utnapištim's speeches. It is interesting to note that those lines, which had been repeated in the OB version, have not been taken over into the Neo-Assyrian version. The Neo-Assyrian version of Gilgameš' answer to Siduri may be reconstructed with the help of parallel passages (NA $Xiii_{20-23}$[103] [Gilgameš's answer to Uršanabi] and NA Xv_{12-15}[104] [Gilgameš's answer to Utnapištim]). and agrees closely with OB $Xii_{1'-13'}$. The beginning of the OB passage is not extant.

OB	NA
$ii_{1'}$: ittīya ittallaku kalû marṣ[ātim]	ibri [　　] kalû marṣāti
$ii_{2'}$: ^{d}enkidu ša arâmūšu danniš	EN.KI [　　]lakū KI.MIN

	exploits (15-19)	exploits (6-11)
[Enkidu's fate and its effects on Gilgameš]	Enkidu's fate and	Enkidu's fate and
	(20-31)	(12-21...)

Since in the repetition of his exploits by Siduri in BM 34193 2nd p.sgl. is used (Xi_{40-43}), 1st p.sgl. may have been used in Gilgameš's narration of his exploits (Xi_{a-38}, which differs from the parallel passage in Xv, where, as is indicated by l.9 (. . .]a ninârū), 1st p.pl. was employed.

[101] The 3rd p.sgl. suffix in karšīšu probably is a scribal error influenced by Xi_8 // IXi_4 // $Xiii_4$ // $Xiii_{11}$ // Xv_2 (corresponding passages in Gilgameš's and Utnapištim's speeches are lost).

[102] Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine which line of Xv_{5-11} was added.

[103] Cf. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish*, pl.40.

[104] Cf. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish*, pl.42.

ii$_3$.: ittīya ittallakū kalû marṣātim
ii$_4$.: illikma ana šīmātu awēlūtim
ii$_5$.: urri u mūši elīšu abki
ii$_6$.: ul addiššu ana qebērim
ii$_7$.: ibrima lā(?) itabbiam ana rigmīya
ii$_8$.: sebet ūmim u sebe mušiātim
ii$_9$.: adi tūltum imqut ina appīšu
ii$_{10}$.: ištu warkīšu ul ūta balaṭam

ii$_{11}$.: attanaggiš kīma ḫābilim qabaltu ṣēri

ikšu[[105]]
VI urr[i   ] elīšu abki
u[q]ebēri[[106]]

adi [   ]šu

adurma [ ] ib? [   ]
mūta ap[laḫma arappud ṣ]ēri:
amāt ibrīy[a (nad)a?-]at elīya
urḫa rūqata arappud ṣēri:
amāt EN.KI.DU ibrīya[[107]] KI.MIN
ḫarrānu rū[qatu] arappud [ṣēri]

ii$_{12}$.: inanna sābītum attamar pānīki
ii$_{13}$.: mūtam ša atannaddaru ayya āmur

    Apart from the trend towards increasing harmonization, it is difficult to see any strict method behind these alterations. The redactors have added passages, retained, omitted or reworded others.

    The Neo-Assyrian version has contracted OBii$_{5.8}$, to one line, but on the other hand expanded ii$_{11}$. Sentences of similar contents (i$_8$,. ii$_{.10.12}$,. iii$_2$,) have been omitted and the retained material has been reworded.

    Xi$_{43}$ in the Neo-Assyrian version of Siduri's speech mentions one of Gilgameš' exploits, but is without equivalent in the extant portion of the preceding speech of Gilgameš. If the order of mentioning was not changed in Siduri's answer, the ale-wife mentioned one of Gilgameš' and Enkidu's exploits that Gilgameš had not told her before. The line has a parallel in VIIIii$_{11}$ (Gilgameš' lament for Enkidu) // Xiii$_{18}$ (Gilgameš' speech to Uršanabi) // Xv$_9$ (Gilgameš' speech to Utnapištim). No reason for the addition of Xi$_{43}$ is apparent. Possibly the equivalent was accidentally omitted from the preceding speech of Gilgameš.

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[105]   Xiii$_{22}$ (Gilgameš' answer to Uršanabi) - not in Gilgameš' answer to Utnapištim; cf. table 5 and n.105.

[106]   Xv$_{15}$ (Gilgameš' answer to Utnapištim) - not in Gilgameš' answer to Uršanabi; cf. table 5. Thompson's reconstruction of NA Xii contains parallels of both NA Xiii$_{22}$ and Xv$_{15}$, *The Epic of Gilgamish*, p.56.

[107]   Restored after NA Xv$_{19}$ (Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish*, pl.42). Thompson's restoration of Xii$_9$ has only "ibri" (*The Epic of Gilgamish*, p.56).

Xi_{48-49}, belonging to Siduri's description of Gilgameš' appearance have no equivalent in the extant narrative portions of the epic. No reason for their addition is apparent.

OB $Penn_{10-11}$ have been expanded to NA Ii_{31-35}. The latter passage is paralleled in the Neo-Assyrian description of Gilgameš' second dream about Enkidu (Ivi_{10-12}), which, too, has been added. Thus the addition is not explained by a tendency towards increased agreement between the two dreams. The added lines (+ 1.34), however, correspond to the description of Enkidu's arrival in Uruk as found in NA II_{38-42}.

The only apparent developmental tendency affecting the form of the text is that of increasing parallelism and repetition.[108] It dominates the literary development of all epics investigated above. Thus in accordance with our methodological considerations above, we have to rule out Akkadian epics as empirical models for the transmission of Old Testament narratives. The epic's *final stage* differs from that of Old Testament narratives. Since the tendency of redactorial treatment is towards harmonization, earlier stages of literary development could not be reconstructed anyway.

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[108]   K.Hecker has treated parallelisms and repetitions in Akkadian epics as techniques of composition (*Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik*, pp.154-160; cf. also M.E.Vogelzang, "Kill Anzu!"). Similarly B.Alster argued that the repetitions are a mark of oral transmission and were employed as a poetic device by oral poets (*Dumuzi's Dream*). Although, of course, it cannot be ruled out that they could be employed as literary devices, the fact that repetitions and parallelisms increase in number and extent through the process of transmission cannot be overlooked. Thus parallelisms and repetitions should be regarded as *developmental* tendencies unless it can be demonstrated that they were deliberately used as literary devices. The dominance of verbatim repetition over adaptation in grammar and contents (cf. Cooper, "Gilgameš Dreams of Enkidu", p.40) of the added parallel passages to their new context may indicate that expansions were carried out rather mechanically.

With Alster's interpretation of parallel passages as signs of oral poetry there are major problems. How are we to imagine that the recitations of oral poets were committed to writing? Devices used in recitation may not have been necessary in dictation, which would have been much slower than the actual recitation. Why did parallelisms increase? Are we to regard the different versions as written copies of different recitations? Unless these questions can be satisfyingly answered, Alster's suggestion remains mere hypothesis.

B The Biblical Books of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles

Examples of the literary development of Old Testament narratives can, of course, be found in the Old Testament itself. H.Ringgren[109] has, though not successfully[110], attempted to show that the differences between parallel accounts in the Old Testament indicate their being transmitted orally. While the relative order between parallel texts is debatable, the case is different for the books of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. The use of the Chronicler's work as an analogy for the transmission of Old Testament narratives in general was recently revived by W. Johnstone[111]. The question is set whether the Chronicler's treatment of his *Vorlage can* serve, or better, *should* serve, as an illustration of how narratives in general were transmitted. In principle, if the Chronicler's work can be shown to provide a permissible analogy, the fact that it is within the Old Testament would give it priority to others.

However, there are only two developmental stages that can be investigated, Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. Thus general developmental tendencies cannot be isolated.[112] Furthermore, it is an open question, whether the Chronicler aimed to *replace* Samuel-Kings, or whether he rather intended to *supplement* it. If the latter is true, we cannot even properly speak of two versions of the same text.[113]

Furthermore, a basic difficulty in investigating the Chronicler's editorial techniques lies in the establishment of his *Vorlage*. The similarity of narratives in Chronicles with those in the biblical books of Samuel and Kings indicates that there is some kind of literary relationship between them, but the exact nature of this relationship is obscure.

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109   "Oral and Written Transmission".
110   The deviations between parallel texts resemble those between the different versions of Assyrian campaign accounts, where they cannot be related to oral transmission. See below.
111   "Reactivating the Chronicles Analogy".
112   See above p.9.
113   Indications for this may been seen in the Chronicler's different modes of referring to his sources. See below p.53.

The agreements of the MT of Chronicles with the LXX of Sam.-Kings[114] indicate that the Chronicler's *Vorlage* was not identical with the MT of Samuel-Kings. On the other hand, there are also agreements of the MT of Chronicles with the MT of Samuel-Kings against the LXX of Samuel-Kings. Further indication that the Chronicler's *Vorlage* differed from MT(Sam.-Kgs) is provided by the fragments of 4QSam[a]. Unfortunately, the fragments have not yet been properly published and thus we have to rely on the judgements and identifications of F.M.Cross and his pupils. Furthermore, only for a small part of the Books of Samuel fragments have been identified.[115]

Apart from the expected agreements of the MT of Samuel and 4QSam[a] against Chronicles[116], there is a substantial number of agreements of Chronicles and 4QSam[a] against the Massoretic text of Samuel.[117] In some of these cases the text of 4QSam[a] is supported by the LXX(Sam.).[118] The close relationship between the text of 4QSam[a] and the *Vorlage* of the LXX is indicated by no.34 where 4QSam[a] and LXX(Sam.) have the same erroneous reading.[119] There are further instances, where all three versions disagree with each other.[120] Passages, where the LXX[121] or 4QSam[a][122] appear to have combined the readings in MT(Sam.) and MT(Chr.) may be taken as indication for their secondary character compared to the MT(Sam.), but a case like no.10, where the MT(Sam.) appears to have combined readings represented by LXX(Sam.) and 4QSam[a]/MT(Chr.) hints that a fixed stemma of manuscripts cannot be

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114   Cf. Rehm, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, pp.28-30.
115   A table listing differing readings of MT(Sam.), 4QSam[a], and MT(Chr.) will be given in appendix I.
116   Cf. appendix, table 1, nos.4.6.10.12.13.31.32.33.34.35.50.52.
117   Cf. e.g. appendix, table 1, nos.1.2.7.8.9.14.18.25.26.28.27.37.38.39.40.41.43.44. 45.46.47.48.49.
118   Cf. appendix, table 1, nos. 8.9.(25.)26.37.40.41.(53).
119   Cf. also appendix, table 1, no.16.
120   Cf. e.g. appendix, table 1, nos.12.15.19.29.36. Certainly in no.19, perhaps in no.11, too, the reading of 4QSam[a] is supported by the LXX.
121   Cf. appendix, table 1, nos.22.25.
122   Cf. appendix, table 1, nos.51.53.

established. Of the three possible *Vorlagen* for the Chronicler, MT(Sam.), 4QSam[a], and the *Vorlage* of the LXX(Sam.), none agrees constantly with either MT(Chr.) or LXX(Chr.) against the others. Thus it is not probable that any one of them constituted the actual *Vorlage* of the Chronicler.[123] The matter is further complicated by the fact that for 2 Sam.11$_2$-1 Kgs.2$_{11}$ and 1 Kgs.22-2 Kgs.25 *codex Vaticanus* does not exhibit the Old Greek translation.[124] Whether the Old Greek translation of these passages may have survived in a stratum of "Lucianic" mss. is debated.[125] Thus it is apparent, that differences between MT(Sam.-Kgs.) and MT(Chr.) may not simply be attributed to the Chronicler[126] , indeed, not even to his *Vorlage*.

Further difficulties arise from the fact that both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles were further transmitted after the Chronicler had used material paralleled in Samuel and Kings. There is indication of deliberate alteration of the text of Samuel, where the Chronicler has preserved the original readings.

MT Samuel	LXX Samuel	MT Chronicles	LXX Chronicles
איש בשת[127]	Ιεβοσθε[128]	אישׁבעל[129]	Αοαβαλ[130] / Ιοβααλ[131]
מפ(י)בשׁת[132]	Μεμφιβοσθε[133]	מריב בעל[134] / מרי־בעל	Μεριβααλ[135] / Μαριβααλ[136]
אלידע[137]	Ελιδαε[138]	בעלידע[139]	Βαλεγδαε[140]
אשׁ בשׁח[141]	Ιεβοσθε[142]	שׁבעם[143]	Ιεσεβααλ[144]
עצביהים[145]	τους θεους αυτων[146]	אלהי הם[147]	τους θεους αυτων
בית עשׁחרות[148]	τὸ ᾿Ασταρτεῖον	בית אלהי הם[149]	ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ αὐτῶν

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[123] Cf. also Lemke, "Synoptic Problem".

[124] Cf. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*; Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, pp.91-143.

[125] Cf. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, pp.126f; Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text"; Tov, "Lucian and Proto-Lucian".

[126] *contra* Brunet, "Le Chroniste et ses Sources I" and "... II".

[127] 2 Sam.2$_{8.10.12.15}$ 3$_7$(*pc mss*, 4Q Sam[a]: שׁאול[. . .)$_{8.14.15}$ 4$_{5.8.12}$. For the Greek versions of איש בשׁת in 2 Sam.4 cf. below n.133.

[128] 2 Sam.2$_{8.10.12.15}$: L^{-93} μεμφιβοσθε; L^{93}: εισβααλ. 2 Sam.3$_{7.8.11(>MT).14.15}$: μεμφιβοσθε BO-^{A}L (cf. 4$_4$), ιεβοσθε A^r (v.7), A^s (v.8).

[129] 1 Chr.8$_{33}$ 9$_{39}$.

[130] 1 Chr.8$_{33}$. *VL*: ιοβααλ; A$^+$: ιεβααλ.

[131] 1 Chr.9$_{39}$. S: Ιοβααλ; B: Ιεβααλ; AV$^+$: βααλ.

[132] 2 Sam.4$_1$(4Q Sam[a] pr . . .] מפיבׁ)$_4$ 9$_{6.10.11.12.13}$ 16$_4$ 19$_{25.26.31}$ 21$_{7.8}$.

[133] 2 Sam.4$_{1.2(>MT).5.7(>MT).8.12}$: BOL μεμφιβοσθε; M: ιεβοσθε. 4$_4$ 9$_{6.10.11.12.13}$ 16$_{1.4}$ 19$_{25.26.27(>MT).31}$ 21$_{7.8}$: L μεμφιβααλ. In 2 Sam.4$_{5.8.12}$ the MT reads איש בׁשׁת.

[134] 1 Chr.8$_{34}$ 9$_{40}$.

[135] L μεμφιβααλ. AV$^+$: μεφριβααλ.

It is hardly conceivable that בשת in the names of Saul's (and Jonathan's) sons would have been replaced by בעל, whereas it is much more likely that בעל was replaced by the polemic בשת. The same is true for the alteration of the name of one of David's sons from בעלידע to אלידע. The Greek equivalents of ישב בשבת and ישבעם indicate that the original form of the name probably was ישבעל. While ישבעם can be regarded as being due to scribal error, ישב בשבת is best explained by a scribal corruption following a deliberate alteration of ישבעל to יש בשת. Similarly אלהיהם, referring to the Philistine gods, was replaced by the polemic עצביהם.[150] In 1 Chr.14$_{8-16}$ אלהים, God, occurs six times[151]. Thus it seems unlikely that the Chronicler would have replaced אלהיהם by עצביהם.[152]

While the Chronicler, if he does not retain the Divine name from Sam.-Kgs., usually replaces יהוה with אלהים[153], there are a few instances where the

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136   *L* μεμφιβααλ; V$^+$ μεφριβααλ; A$^+$ μεχριβααλ; *complures* μεριβααλ.
137   2 Sam.5$_{16}$.
138   B$^{(+)}$: επιδαε.
139   1 Chr.14$_7$.
140   BS$^+$ βαλεγδαε; V βααλιαδα; A*L*P βαλλιαδα.
141   2 Sam.23$_8$.
142   *L* ιεσβααλ.
143   1 Chr.11$_{11}$.
144   *complures* ιεσεβααλ; B$^+$ ιεσεβαδα; S$^+$ ιεσσαιβαδα; *pauci* isbaal; AV ισβααμ.
145   2 Sam.5$_{21}$.
146   Usually עצב is represented by the LXX with γλυπτος (Ps. 106$_{36.38}$ Is.46$_1$) or ειδωλον (1 Sam.31$_9$ 1 Chr.10$_9$ 2 Chr.24$_{18}$ Ps.115$_4$ 135$_{15}$ Hos.4$_{17}$ 8$_4$ 13$_2$ 14$_9$ Mi.1$_7$ Za.13$_2$ Is.10$_{11}$ and only in 2 Sam.5$_{21}$ with θεος.
147   1 Chr.14$_{12}$.
148   1 Sam.31$_{10}$.
149   1 Chr.31$_{10}$.
150   2 Sam.5$_{21}$ (LXX: τους θεὺς αὐτῶν) // 1 Chr.14$_{12}$.
151   vv.10.11.13(2x).15.16. The Tetragrammaton is used once (v.16). The parallel passage in 2 Sam.5$_{17-25}$ consistently has יהוה (vv.19[2x].20.23.24.25).
152   Cf. 1 Sam.31$_9$ // 1 Chr.10$_9$, where both versions have עצביהם.
153   2 Sam.23$_{17}$//1 Chr.11$_{19}$, 2 Sam.6$_5$//1 Chr.13$_8$, 2 Sam.6$_{9(2x)}$//1 Chr.13$_{12(2x)}$, 2 Sam.6$_{11}$//1 Chr.13$_{13}$, 2 Sam.5$_{18}$//1 Chr.14$_{10}$, 2 Sam.5$_{20}$//1 Chr.14$_{11}$, 2 Sam.5$_{23}$//1 Chr.14$_{14}$, 2 Sam.5$_{24}$//1 Chr.14$_{15}$, 2 Sam.5$_{25}$//1 Chr.14$_{16}$, 2 Sam.6$_{17(2x)}$//1 Chr.16$_{1(2x)}$, 2 Sam.7$_3$//1 Chr.17$_2$, 2 Sam.7$_4$//1 Chr.17$_3$, 2 Sam.7$_{18}$//1 Chr.17$_{16}$, 2 Sam.7$_{19}$//1 Chr.17$_{17}$, 2 Sam.24$_{10}$//1 Chr.21$_8$, 2 Sam.24$_{17}$//1 Chr.21$_{17}$, 1 Kgs.3$_5$//2 Chr.1$_7$, 1 Kgs.6$_1$//2 Chr.3$_3$, 1 Kgs.7$_{48}$//2 Chr.4$_{19}$, 1 Kgs.7$_{51}$//2 Chr.5$_1$, 1 Kgs.8$_{11}$//2 Chr.5$_{14}$, 1 Kgs.8$_{63}$//2 Chr.7$_5$, 1 Kgs.10$_9$//2 Chr.9$_8$ (אלהיך), 1 Kgs.12$_{15}$//2 Chr.10$_{15}$, 1 Kgs.15$_{15}$//2 Chr.15$_{18}$, 1 Kgs.22$_6$//2 Chr.18$_5$ (האלהים > אדני), 2 Kgs.11$_3$//2 Chr.22$_{12}$, 2 Kgs.11$_{10}$//2 Chr.23$_9$, 2 Kgs.22$_{19}$//2 Chr.34$_{27}$.

Chronicler has יהוה, whereas Sam.-Kgs. have אלהים.[154] In some of the

passages יהוה or אלהים is used consistently by Sam.-Kgs., but, because of the

alteration, not in Chronicles.[155] We either have to assume that in these cases

the Chronicler's *Vorlage* differed from Sam.-Kgs.[156], or that he was not

consistent in his redactorial treatment, or that he was in a certain way

consistent, but we are unable to follow his intentions. Each of these conclusions

indicates difficulties for using the Chronicler's work as an analogy.

The difficulty in establishing the Chronicler's *Vorlage* is further increased

by his references to non-extant literary works.[157]

While for David's reign the description of the Chronicler's sources (1

Chr.29$_{29-30}$) might indeed match the account in Samuel-Kings, the case is

different for the succeeding kings. Even a superficial comparison of the

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[154]   2 Sam.6$_{12}$//1 Chr.15$_{25}$, 2 Sam.6$_{17}$//1 Chr.16$_1$, 2 Sam.7$_2$//1 Chr.17$_1$, 1 Kgs.12$_{22}$//2 Chr.11$_2$.

[155]   2 Sam.5$_{19}$(יהוה in vv.19[2x].20)//1 Chr.14$_{10}$ (יהוה in v.10, אלהים in vv.10. 11), 2
Sam.24$_{10.17}$ (יהוה in vv.1.3[יהוה אלהיך].10[2x].11.12.14.15.16.17.18.21.23 [יהוה
in vv.2. 9.10.11.12[2x].24[אלהי אלהיך].25[2x]// 1 Chr.21$_{8.17}$(יהוה
13.14.15[2x].16.17[יהוה אלהי].18.19.26.27.28.29.30; 22$_1$[יהוה; אלהים האלהים] אלהים in
vv.8.15.17), 1 Kgs.6$_1$ (יהוה in vv.1.3)//2 Chr.3$_3$ (יהוה in v.i, האלהים in v.3), 1 Kgs.7$_{48.51}$(
יהוה בית in vv.45.48.51[2x])//2 Chr.4$_{19}$ 5$_1$(יהוה בית in 6$_{16}$ 5$_1$, האלהים בית in 4$_{19}$ 5$_1$), 1
Kgs.8$_{11}$(יהוה in vv.10.11[2x].12)//2 Chr.5$_{14}$ (יהוה in v.13[3x].14, האלהים in v.14), 1
Kgs.8$_{63}$(יהוה in vv.62.63[2x])//2 Chr.5$_{14}$(יהוה in vv.4.6[2x], האלהים in v.5), 1 Kgs.10$_9$(יהוה
in vv.1.5,9[יהוה אלהיך].9.12)// 2 Chr.9$_8$(יהוה in vv.4.8[2x יהוה אלהיך].11, אלהים in
v.8[אלהיך]), 1 Kgs.12$_{15}$(2x יהוה)//2 Chr.10$_{15}$ (יהוה, האלהים), 1 Kgs.15$_{15}$ (יהוה in
vv.14.15)// 2 Chr.15$_{18}$(יהוה in vv.8.9[יהוה אלהי].11.12[יהוה אלהי
אבותיהם].13[ישראל אלהי וליהוה].14.15, אלהים in v.18), 1 Kgs.22$_6$[אדני].14(יהוה in
vv.5.[6.]7.8.11.12.14[2x].15.16.17.19[2x].20.21[2x].23[2x].24.28)//2 Chr.18$_{5.13}$(יהוה in
vv.4.6.7.10.11.13.15.16.18[2x].19.20[2x]22.23.27, אלהים in v.5.13[אלהי], 2 Kgs.11$_{3.4.10}$(יהוה
in vv.3.4[2x].6.10.13.15)// 2 Chr.2$_{12}$ 3$_{2.3.9}$(יהוה in vv.5.6[2x]12.14, אלהים in 2$_{12}$ 3$_{3.9}$), 2
Kgs.22$_{3-5}$(יהוה בית in vv.3.4.5[2x]) // 2 Chr.34$_{8-10}$(יהוה בית in vv.8.10[2x], בית
אלהים in v.9), 2 Kgs.22$_{19}$(יהוה in vv.15.16.18.18[ישראל אלהי יהוה].19)//2 Chr.34$_{27}$(יהוה
in vv.23[ישראל אלהי יהוה].24.26[ישראל אלהי יהוה], אלהים in v.27).

[156]   As for at least the books of Samuel there is strong indication that the Chronicler's *Vorlage*
did indeed differ from the MT. See below.

[157]   It is noteworthy that he does not state expressly that he used these texts as *sources*. The fact
that he does not always refer to their contents, and in those cases where he mentions specific
contents, he often refers to matters which are dealt with in Chronicles only briefly or not at all,
rather suggests that the Chronicler wanted to recommend these texts for further reading. This
is also shown by the presence of יתר / שאר which indicates that these texts for certain matters
provided more information than the work of the Chronicler.

    Nevertheless, it seems plausible that the Chronicler has made use of these texts and since
they are commonly referred to as the Chronicler's "sources" we, too, shall use this term.

    A table of the Chronicler's major *source* references is given in appendix I.

Chronicler's remarks on the contents of the quoted *sources* with the those of the Biblical Books of Kings shows that the former and the latter cannot be identical.[158] The "Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" is quoted for the reigns of Asa (2 Chr.16_{11}), Amaziah (2 Chr.25_{26}), and Ahaz (2 Chr.28_{26}). In each case the Chronicler's account is more extensive than that in Kings. It is, therefore, hardly conceivable that the Chronicler would refer to the Biblical Books of Kings for additional information. Thus, although for Hezekiah's reign Kings provides a more detailed account than the Chronicler, the fact that "the vision of Isaiah, the prophet, the son of Amoz" was found in "The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Chr.32_{32}) rules out the possibility that a canonical source is referred to.

The same is true for the "Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah", which is mentioned by the Chronicler as having contained accounts of Jotham's wars (2 Chr.27_7), which are not found in the Biblical Books of Kings. The same *source* is cited for more information on Jehoiakim's reign (2 Chr.36_8), for which the accounts in Chronicles and Kings are of about the same length. Only for Josiah's reign the description of the Chronicler's *source* (2 Chr.35_{26-27}) might match the account in Kings, but the identification of one with the other is already ruled out by the previous references.

The "Acts of the Kings of Israel" are mentioned by the Chronicler as having contained Manasseh's prayer and the speeches of seers (2 Chr.33_{18}). A prayer by Manasseh is missing from the Biblical Books of Kings. There is a prophetic speech in 2 Kgs.21_{10-15}, which was not taken over into Chronicles, but the *source* reference in Chronicles has the plural דברי החזים. Manasseh's

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158   The only possible exception is quoted in 2 Chr.9_{29} for Solomon's reign: "the Words of Nathan, the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite and the vision of Iddo the Seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat".As the repetition of the prepositions על and ב shows, three distinct works are meant. While a speech of Nathan is found in 1 Kgs.1_{22-27} and a prophecy of Ahijah in 1 Kgs.11_{26-39} Iddo is not mentioned in the canonical Book of Kings.
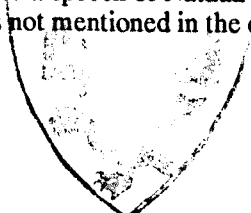
prayer, building operations and other deeds are mentioned as the contents of the דברי חוזי (2 Chr.33$_{19}$).

Since the "Midrash of the Book of Kings" is mentioned as having contained information on Jehoash's son, taxes introduced by him, and his building operations in the Temple (2 Chr.24$_{27}$), which is not given in the Biblical Book of Kings, it, too, is not to be taken as part or whole of the latter.

The Chronicler describes the "Words of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the Seer" which he mentions as *source* for his account on Rehoboam's reign as providing information on wars between Rehoboam and Jeroboam (2 Chr.12$_{15}$). This description hardly matches 1 Kgs.14$_{30}$, where no additional information to the remarks in the Chronicler's source reference is provided.

The Chronicler's accounts of Abijah's reign for which he cites "Midrash of the Prophet Iddo" (2 Chr.13$_{22}$), of Jehoshaphat's reign for which he cites "the words of Jehu, son of Hanani which were inserted in the Book of the Kings of Israel" (2 Chr.20$_{34}$)[159], and of Uzziah, for which he cites "the Acts of Uzziah" (2 Chr.26$_{22}$) are more extensive than their counterparts in Kings.

Various solutions to this *Synoptic Problem* have been suggested. The common features and the differences have been thought to be best explained by the assumption that Kings and Chronicles go back to a common source, the "Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" / "Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah" (Chronicles) being equated with[160] or thought as being dependent on[161] "the Book of the Chronicles of Judah" plus "the Book of the Chronicles of Israel" (Kings)[162], which both have independently used. This would imply that

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[159] The Book of the Kings of Israel is also mentioned in 1 Chr.9$_1$ as having contained genealogies of all of Israel.

[160] Thus Keil, *Chronicles*, p.30f, König, *Einleitung*, pp.270-272, who further assumes that the Chronicler used the Biblical Books of Kings, too.

[161] Thus Bertheau, *Chronik*, p.XLf.

[162] The fact that Chronicles concentrates on Judean affairs would render the "Book of the Chronicles of Israel" unnecessary as a source for the Chronicler, but as has been pointed out by de Wette (*Kritischer Versuch*, p.37) against Eichhorn, it is unlikely that the Chronicler would have replaced "Judah" in the source's title with "Judah and Israel".

the Chronicler's *Vorlage* can be reconstructed only where Chronicles agrees with Samuel-Kings. Material in Chronicles, not found in Samuel-Kings might have been abbreviated by the Chronicler and omitted by Samuel-Kings rather than added by the Chronicler. In such cases where Samuel-Kings and Chronicles differed from each other, it would be impossible to determine which is closer to the common *Vorlage*. Thus any attempt to analyze the Chronicler's editorial method would have to disregard the greatest part of the Chronicler's work. No firm conclusions would be possible. However, this suggestion does not take account of the fact that there is a marked stylistic and syntactic difference in Chronicles between the passages paralleled in Samuel-Kings and the Chronicler's *Sondergut*[163] and that the Chronicler's source references, with the exceptions of 1 Chr.29_{29-30} and 2 Chr.35_{26-27}, appear in the same place within the account of a given king's reign where they are found in Kings, even in those cases, where the source reference is not given at the end of the account (2 Chr.16_{11}//1 Kgs.15_{23}, 2 Chr.20_{34}//1 Kgs.22_{46}, 2 Chr.25_{26}//2 Kgs.14_{15}), and that the Chronicler gives no references for Jehoiachin and Zedekiah. It is, therefore, not probable that the Chronicler's *Sondergut* stems from a common *Vorlage*.

Thus Klostermann suggested that Chronicles is dependent on an enlarged and supplemented version of Kings.[164] The lost intermediate stage between Kings and Chronicles would provide a serious obstacle for analyzing the Chronicler's editorial method. What were the sources for the enlarging of the Book of Kings? Again, material found in Chronicles, but not in Kings may have been abbreviated from the *Vorlage* rather than added.

This difficulty is avoided if a direct dependency of Chronicles on Kings is presupposed. The similarity in style between the Chronicler's *Sondergut* and

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163   Cf. Driver, S.R., *Introduction*, pp.535-540, and "Speeches"; Kropat, *Syntax*, Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*.
164   "Chronik", pp.96f, followed by Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, p.Xf, Eißfeldt, *Einleitung*, p.725.

alterations carried out by him as well as the fact that the Chronicler, with only a few exceptions, gives his references parallel to the source references in Kings[165], has prompted the conclusion, that material peculiar to Chronicles was invented by the Chronicler and that the *source* references are imaginary.[166] It is, however, difficult to find a motive for the Chronicler's inclusion of imaginary *source* references. That the reference to sources was an element of Deuteronomistic style adopted by the Chronicler[167] or a claim of having used the sources referred to in Kings[168] or their interpretation[169] cannot be demonstrated. If the Chronicler followed Deuteronomistic style, why did he not take over the reference formula prominent in Kings,

[170]? יתר דברי ... (ו{וכל} גבורתו [וכל} אשר עשה)

On the other hand, the Chronicler's הראשונים והאחרנים[171] is not found in the parallel passages in Kings. Furthermore, there is not a single case where the names of the sources mentioned in Kings and Chronicles agree. The same is true for the mentioning of details of their contents. Where the latter are given, the Chronicler's *Sondergut* generally does not match them.[172] We do not

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165   see above.
166   Thus Torrey, "Chronicler", p.223, Becker, *1 Chronik*, p.7, Galling, *Chronik*, p.8, Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, p.233ff, Smend, *Die Entstehung des Altes Testaments*, p.228f.
167   Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien I*, p.175, Galling, *Chronik*, p.8, Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, pp.17-19.
168   Smend, *Die Entstehung des Altes Testaments*, p.228f. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*.
169   Becker, *1 Chronik*, p.7. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, p.233.
170   Of the references paralleled in Chronicles the complete formula is present in: 1 Kgs.15$_{23}$ 2 Kgs.20$_{20}$,
       (...) missing in: 2 Kgs.14$_{18}$,
       [...] missing in: 1 Kgs.11$_{41}$ 1 Kgs.14$_{29}$ 1 Kgs.15$_7$ 2 Kgs.12$_{20}$ 2 Kgs.15$_6$ 2 Kgs.15$_{36}$ 2 Kgs.16$_{19}$ 2 Kgs.21$_{17}$ 2 Kgs.23$_{28}$ 2 Kgs.24$_5$,
       { ... } missing in 1 Kgs.22$_{46}$ 2 Kgs.15$_{36}$ (mlt Vrs. + וכל) 2 Kgs.16$_{19}$ (mlt Mss. LXX^L, Syr., Targ.^{fMs} וכל).
171   1 Chr.29$_{29-30}$ 2 Chr.9$_{29}$ 2 Chr.12$_{15}$ 2 Chr.16$_{11}$ 2 Chr.20$_{34}$ 2 Chr.25$_{26}$ 2 Chr.26$_{21}$ 2 Chr.28$_{26}$ 2 Chr.35$_{26-27}$.
172   "The Book of the Chronicles of Judah" is mentioned in Kings as having contained names of cities built by Asa (1 Kgs.15$_{23}$). In 1 Kgs.15$_{22}$ // 2 Chr.16$_6$ the building of Geba is mentioned. Since 2 Chr.14$_{6-7}$ do not give names of the cities built, there is no reason to assume that the Chronicler claimed to have used Kings' sources. For Manasseh's reign the source reference in Kings mentions expressly Manasseh's sin (2 Kgs.21$_{17}$). Contrarily Chronicles places much emphasis on Manasseh's conversion.
       There just remains the case of Kings' source reference for Hezekiah's reign, where the building of the pool, the conduit, and the bringing of water into the city is noted (2 Kgs.21$_{17}$).

argue that the Chronicler could not have used Kings' sources, but the suggestion
. that he <u>claimed</u> to have used them is not tenable. It is difficult to see how the
Chronicler's readers should have been able to recognize that he claimed to have
used the sources mentioned in Kings or how he interpreted the source
references in Kings. The fact that the Chronicler did follow the order of
narration in Kings shows his dependency on his *Vorlage* but does not devaluate
the authenticity of his sources. From the fact that the Chronicler's extra-
canonical sources are not extant it does not follow that they never existed.[173]

Two main features of the Chronicler's source references need to be
explained: (1) that the Chronicler's main source, 'Samuel-Kings'[174], is not
mentioned and (2) that there is a linguistic unevenness between the passages
paralleled in Samuel-Kings and the Chronicler's *Sondergut*, which, on the other
hand, reflects the Chronicler's style. A possible solution to both problems is the
assumption that the Chronicler used two different modes of reference. He
referred to 'Samuel-Kings' by quoting them (almost) verbatim with hardly any
modernization of syntax or vocabulary. He may have been able to assume that
his readers knew from where he was quoting, whereas he treated his other
sources in a different manner, using his own style and vocabulary[175], and
referred to them by mentioning their title so that his readers could consult them
for further information.[176]

The difficulties outlined above indicate that a comparison between
Samuel-Kings and Chronicles *on its own* cannot yield a valid empirical model

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This is indeed reported in 2 Chr.32$_{3-4}$.

173   *Contra* Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, p.232.

174   Quotation marks are used to indicate that the Chronicler's *Vorlage* was related to but not
identical with the the Masoretic Text of Samuel-Kings.

175   Thus Driver's assumption, that, if the Chronicler used the quoted sources, these "must have
been composed at a date scarcely earlier that that of Chronicles itself, and by an author writing
in a similar style and with a similar aim" (*Introduction*, pp.530f), is not necessary.

176   This is supported by the presence of יחו and שאר in the references to extra-canonical
material.

for the transmission of narratives in general. We shall nevertheless examine their differences below in comparison with those between different versions of Assyrian campaign accounts.

III A New Analogy: Assyrian Royal "Annals"

There is a third body of literature which, according to our methodological considerations outlined above, is better suited to provide an analogy to the kind of literary development that may have occurred in the transmission of Old Testament narratives - Assyrian Royal "annals".[177] The relative order of the extant manuscripts, and in many cases even their dates, can be established. Their close temporal succession renders it probable that (almost) successive versions are available. The decisive advantage, however, lies in the fact that the *late versions* of Assyrian Annals and Old Testament narratives exhibit no significant structural differences[178] - as we shall see below. Thus we shall first consider the literary developments of Sennacherib's and Aššurbanipal's campaign accounts and then evaluate the differences between Sam.-Kgs. and Chronicles in the light of our results.

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[177] This term will be used for convenience although campaign accounts were also presented in geographic or thematic order.

We disagree with Liverani's suggestion that the royal titulary provides a good opportunity to follow up the redactors' intentions and that "every variation in it is always the result of a decision deeply considered and not at all casual" ("Critique of Variants", p.231). To the contrary, it seems more likely that in titularies we would find a higher ratio of stock-expressions compared to campaign accounts.

[178] The decision which differences between narratives are taken as *significant*, is, of course, necessarily subjective. For our purpose a difference between two narratives may be regarded as *significant* if it can be related to modes of redactorial treatment which cannot be imagined as having produced Old Testament narratives in their present form, e.g. the difference between Old Testament narratives and the *Late Stages* of the epics investigated above.

A The Macrostructural Development of Assyrian Annalistic Texts

The purpose of this part of the present investigation is to analyze the changes that occurred in the process of rewriting or re-editing Assyrian "annals". This will serve as an example for those kinds of alterations that are likely to have taken place, when texts were transmitted exclusively (?) in written form and were copied extensively.

There are various difficulties with the application of the method outlined above. The narratives in the "annals" of the Assyrian kings are generally brief, which means that rise and decline of tension - if it is traceable at all - takes place within a small amount of space and that only a few rhetorical devices are employed to mark a discourse *peak*. Various accounts, especially among those of Aššurbanipal's campaigns are of *episodic* nature. Already in the earliest extant version they are reduced to a minimum of content. Nevertheless, some narratives exhibit marked *stages* and *peaks*.

A further obstacle is provided by the fact that the campaign accounts are not freely composed narratives, but are pre-shaped by the historical events which they describe and the ideology of their authors. Their primary purpose is not to entertain but rather to convey information. Thus within the narratives there are lists of enemies, booty, captives *etc*, which seem to disturb the course of the plot. Since these texts were written in a different culture, personal taste of authors and listeners is likely to have been different from ours. Some remarks may have increased attention among listeners/readers merely by their contents.[179]

It has already been mentioned that only a few rhetorical devices to mark the discourse *profile* are employed in the texts under question. Although

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[179] An example may be seen in the mention of the scattering of salt (Fv_{56} // Avi_{79} // Tv_7; DT 257 [Bauer, *IWA*, p.61], K 13755 [Bauer, *IWA*, p.60], K 4455 [Bauer, *IWA*, p.61]. A further example is the retention of the reference to horses as tribute by IT (see below n.477).

conclusions thus might be based on little information, one may expect that these devices were employed in those parts of the text which the author wanted to emphasize. Criteria used here for the identification of a surface structure *peak* are, for example:

Form: - accumulation of verbs[180]
- accumulation of adverbs, adverbial phrases[181]
- accumulation of nouns, adjectives[182]
- direct speech[183]
- parallelisms[184]
- EEN constructions[185]
- unusual reports of common events[186]

Content: - resolution of conflict[187]

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[180] Accumulation of verbs corresponds to Longacre's "change of pace", which denotes a surface structure *PEAK*. Either these verbs are almost synonymous, which means, that the narrator *rests* at a point of a narrative or they describe successive action. The plot *accelerates*.

[181] In narratives verbs are of special importance. Thus adverbs and adverbial phrases, intensifying the described actions, are likely to be employed at points of special emphasis.

[182] A pendant to the accumulation of verbs. A high ratio of nouns or adjectives retards the narrative.

[183] Direct speech does not have to be used in narratives. It makes a story more vivid, and is likely to be quoted in such part the narrator wishes to stress.

[184] Parallelisms denote a higher level of *speech* and thus are likely to be used at points of importance.

[185] EEN stands for ellu, ebbu, namru, one of the examples used by Ehelolf to demonstrate the principle of ordering words or phrases according to increasing length, which he discovered in Assyrian texts. Fales, "A Literary Code", uses the term with a different reference. He employs it for any construction consisting of three or more parts, regardless of length or meaning of the components. Here it is used only for those constructions the parts of which a) belong to the same *category* and b) are of increasing length. These two features are essential. Ehelolf discovered that the principle worked for single words as well as for phrases. Since a series of single words may be triggered by the mention of the first of these, (e.g. booty items) and such series are not uncommon, they will not receive special attention here. The case is different with EEN constructions that involve phrases or sentences. Here belonging to the same category means that either they are *descriptive* with roughly the same meaning or function, or they are *narrative* carrying the plot forward. The increasing length means increasing emphasis, with the last member stressed most. Such constructions can consist of short components, eg. "abbul aqqur ina išāti aqmu", or longer ones, eg.:
"rēmu aršīšuma
maru ṣīt libbīšu utīrma arīmšu
alḫalṣēmeš ša [e]li lba'li šar mātṣurri urakkisū apṭur
ina tâmtim u nābali girretīšu mala uṣabbitū apti (Bii$_{59-64}$).

[186] In the accounts of the various campaigns of Sennacherib and Aššurbanipal certain events are repeatedly narrated, e.g. the arrival of a messenger at the Assyrian court reporting the rebellion of a vassal, or the mustering of the Assyrian army. When these events are described unusually extensively, compared to the length of the account, or unusually vividly or with unusual wording, then we might suspect that the narrator wanted to place emphasis on them. The same is true for the reports of unusual events, which, however, may be difficult to identify.

[187] The movement of the two major opponents towards each other causes an increase in tension, which is resolved in the mention of a battle and/or an Assyrian victory.

- unusual events reported[188]

Furthermore, it is presumed here, that the distinction between *main line* which is generally characterized by verbs in Pret. Ind, and *supportive material* conforms with different levels of importance and emphasis. It is the *main line* that carries the narrative forward.[189]

Because of space limitations and to avoid unnecessary repetition, the developments of five campaign accounts (Sennacherib's first campaign, Aššurbanipal's two Egyptian campaigns, and the accounts of the submissions of Gyges and of Baʾalu, Mugallu, Iakinlu, and Sandišarme)[190] serve as examples. Corresponding and contrasting phenomena in the development of the remaining accounts will be noted briefly. *Participant orientation* patterns and *discourse profiles* will be presented with short comments in appendices. The five accounts have been selected because of their variety in structure and contents and because they constitute clear examples for developmental trends.

For accounts of Sennacherib's campaigns I-III[191] sufficient manuscripts of the same kind, namely Cylinder(s) and Prisms, which were used as foundation deposits[192] are preserved to allow us to see if alterations were made in a consistent manner or not. Reports on these campaigns are also given as Bull inscriptions, and the version of Bull 4, too, will be considered.

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188 See n.179.
189 Evidence for the validity of this assumption can be found e.g. in Bull 4's treatment of its sources. There the *main line* has received far less alteration than the *supportive material*. See below.
190 We shall also refer to the developments of accounts of Sennacherib's second and third campaigns, and Aššurbanipal's campaigns against Kirbit, Aḫšeri, Urtaku, Teummān, Ummanaldasi, Dunanu, and against Arabs.
191 Capital Roman numbers following "BM 113203", "Bell.", "Rass.", "Chic.-Tayl.", or "Bull 4" will be used to denote campaign accounts.
192 Cf. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, pp.108-113.

1 Sennacherib's First Campaign

Events of Sennacherib's first campaign are narrated on the cylinder BM 113203[193], presumably written soon after this campaign and before the next one, for it only relates this campaign. Campaigns I and II are related on the so-called "Bellino Cylinder"[194] (K 1680), which is dated to 702 B.C. Reports of the first three campaigns are furnished by the so-called "Rassam Cylinder"[195] (87-7-19,1), which is dated to 700 B.C. Other mss. reporting three campaigns only will not be taken into consideration. Of importance are, however, the accounts of the "Chicago-" and the Taylor-prisms, dated in 691 B.C., resp. 689 B.C. The latter differ from each other only in orthography and will therefore be treated here as a single text.[196] The Bull inscription mentioned above is that of Bull 4.[197]

Before the literary development of reports on Sennacherib's campaigns I-III can be investigated the literary dependencies of the manuscripts have to be established. For the account of Sennacherib's second campaign L.D.Levine[198] suggested the following stemma:

Figure 1 L.D.Levine's stemma for the accounts of Sennacherib's second campaign
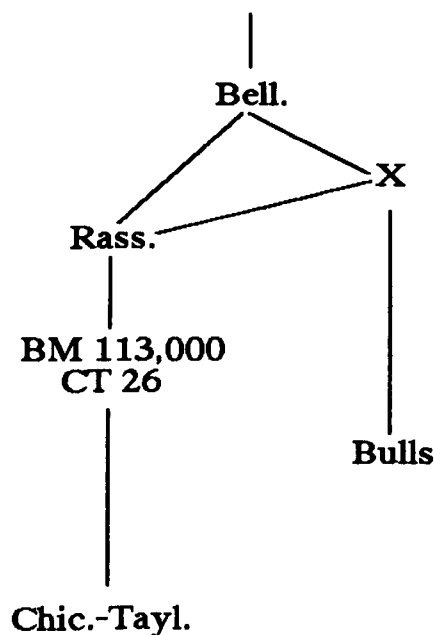
Levine's reconstruction with a non-extant forerunner of the Bull inscriptions and Rass. being dependent on at least two sources for one account rests on the mentions of three cities in varying contexts. Bell., the oldest extant account for Sennacherib's second campaign, mentions Bit Kilamzah as being captured during an expedition to the Zagros mountains (1.22). Later (1.24) Bell. mentions that deportees were settled there. Bell. 1.25 narrates that Sennacherib settled captured escapees, who had been brought down from the mountains, in Hardishpi and Bit-Kubatti. These two cities were evidently situated in the plain. Rass. 1.5a and Chic.-Tayl. i_{72} mention all three cities together in the context of the mountain expedition as being conquered. The reports of deportations to the three cities are given, as in Bell., separately. Bull 4, too, mentions all three cities as being conquered (1.10), but relates deportations only to Bit-Kilamzah (1.12). Levine argued that while Bull 4's text can be explained by the latter's tendency towards abbreviation, Rass. presents "a muddled picture", having taken the narration of conquests from a forerunner of Bull 4 and the mentions of deportations from Bell.

Levine's construction, however, contains some major weaknesses. He had reached his conclusions by considering only these two passages in the differing versions. The overall picture looks different.

Already, at first glance Bull 4 is closer to Chic.-Tayl. than it is to Rass. The opposite would have been expected, if Levine's theory was right. Bull 4 and

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193 For manuscripts duplicating the text of Sennacherib's inscriptions quoted here cf. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, pp.64-67.

194 Henceforth "Bell.".

195 Henceforth "Rass.". The line-count is given according to parallel passages in the Chicago-Taylor prisms.

196 Henceforth "Chic.-Tayl.".

197 The texts are taken from Luckenbill, The Annals of the Sennacherib and from Borger, Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke.

198 "Second Campaign".

Chic.-Tayl. do not only have the same omissions compared with Rass., but in their accounts of Sennacherib's campaign there are at least two common additions to Rass.[199] Thus Levine's reconstruction would demand that Chic.-Tayl., too, used X. If Levine's reconstruction was right, Chic.-Tayl. would have omitted from Rass. only those passages that were also missing in Bull 4, for there is no information in Bull 4 that is missing in Chic.-Tayl. That omissions by Chic.-Tayl. would only have been carried out in those passages and not in others does not seem likely. Therefore Bull 4 as well as any imagined forerunner should be assumed to be secondary compared at least to Rass., probably also to Chic.-Tayl. But there are even more reasons to dismiss Levine's suggestion. In all those cases where Rass. (and Chic.-Tayl) and Bull 4 provide additional information compared to Bell., these additions would have been made by the forerunner of Bull 4, not by Rass.[200] In one case (ii_{30b-32}) the forerunner of Bull 4 would have added 2 1/2 lines. According to Levine the tendency of that forerunner was to abbreviate, hence the reading now present in Bull 4 which was used by Rass. Now it seems unlikely that the same "author" should have added so much. Indeed, Bull 4 is much shorter than the other versions, as will become apparent below. Thus the assumption of a non-existent forerunner "X" of Bull 4, which was written earlier than Rass., creates more problems than it can solve. It is quite conceivable that Rass. could mention the three cities together without any dependence on a written source. The stemma with the greatest probability is that of a simple dependency of Bell. on BM 113203, Rass. on Bell., Chic.-Tayl. on Rass. and Bull 4 on (a forerunner of) Chic.-Tayl.[201]

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[199] "šadâšu ēmid (Chic.-Tayl. ii_{40}, Bull 4, 1.19), "(ša) la iknušū ana nīrīya (Chic.-Tayl.iii_{19}, Bull4 ll.27f). Chic.-Tayl. iii,39, Bull 4, 1.31 (u) and Chic.-Tayl. iii,41, Bull 4, 1.31 are of too little significance to be considered.

[200] Chic.-Tayl. i_{22}, i_{50}, ii_{20}, ii_{22}, ii_{30}.

[201] Bull 4, containing the reports of six campaigns is, indeed, earlier than Chic.-Tayl. narrating eight campaigns. Nevertheless, the fact that the text Bull 4 is closer to Chic.-Tayl. than to Bell. or Rass. and that Chic.-Tayl. is closer to Bell. and Rass. than Bull 4 is indicates that the order of text-forms is different from the chronological order of the manuscripts.

Although it cannot be assumed with any certainty that any of these mss. actually constituted the *Vorlage* for the next one, the existence of identical copies or intermediate stages in the textual development would only distribute the alterations among more mss., but not affect the results of this investigation substantially.

Figure 2 A provisonal stemma for Sennacherib's campaigns I-III

BM 113203
|
Bell.
|
Rass.
|
Chic.-Tayl.
|
Bull 4

It should, however, be mentioned that some difficulties remain, which cannot be explained by the provisional stemma suggested here.[202]

Having established the order of dependency of the manuscripts under consideration we can now proceed to investigate the differences between them. The conditions for our analysis of the literary developments are excellent. The

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202   Thus Rass. and Chic.-Tayl read "sīsê ^{giš}ṣumbi" (i_{25}) whereas BM 113203, l.29, Bell. l.7, and Bull 4, l.5 have the reverse order.

BM 113203, l.57 and Bull 4, l.8 ("mandattāšu") agree against Bell., l.17, Rass., and Chic.-Tayl. i_{57} ("tāmartāšu"). Adaptation of the reports to changed political circumstances does not seem probable, but cannot be ruled out (for the meanings of tamartu and mandattu cf. Martin, *Tribut und Tributleistungen bei den Assyrern*, p.45 [with p.24], Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, p.154).

A further difficulty might be found in Chic. i_{32-33} parr. BM 113203, l.32 and Chic.-Tayl. mention "singers". These are not noted in the booty-lists in Bell. and Rass. The difficulties are, however, not important enough to require a reconsideration of the proposed stemma.

earliest extant account was written shortly after the events narrated and the succeeding versions not significantly later, as is evident from the fact that Bell narrates only campaigns I and II, and Rass. only campaigns I-III and from the dates of the copies. The availability of five versions in combination with a simple stemma enables us to examine the consistency of redactorial treatment. Especially this last point is of crucial importance for our search for *general* tendencies of development.

a) The Structure of the Earliest Extant Version

The first four lines of BM 113203's account introduce Sennacherib and give a royal titulary, the actual account begins with line 5, which gives the first time reference to the text. Since BM 113203 only reports the first campaign there is no difficulty in identifying the end of the account.

An analysis of participant relations is of threefold importance. Firstly, the development *within* a given account can help us to identify *peak* sections and enables us to establish a description of the narrative which is independent of its specific contents. Secondly, participant relations belong to the most important criteria for the identification of "Sage" or "Legende" as opposed to historical accounts. An analysis of the participant orientation pattern may thus test the appropriateness of such criteria. Thirdly, alterations of the *participant orientation pattern* may hint at redactorial trends. Since our investigation deals with narratives, we shall concentrate on the *main line* as opposed to the *supportive material*.

The *main line* reads as follows:

Table 6 Participant Orientation Pattern - Sennacherib's First Campaign

	Main Line	agent	patient	benefactive	operation[203]	Bell.	Rass.	Chic.-Tayl	Bull 4
						-	+[204]	+	+
l. 7	isḫurma	B[205]	C	(A)		-	-	-	-
	ušatlimšuma	B	C	(A)	I	-	-	-	-
	ēterrissu	B	C	(A)	I	-	-	-	-
l. 9	išpura	C	B	(A)	r	-	-	-	-
l.15	upaḫḫirma	B	C	(A)	r	-	-	-	-
	ušanṣir	B	C	(A)	I	-	-	-	-
l.16	ušannūnimma	A'	A	(B/C)	r	-	-	-	-
	annadirma	A	(B/C)		I	-	-	-	-
	aqṭibi	A	B(/C)		I	-	-	-	-
l.17	išmēma	B(/C)	A		r	-	-	-	-
l.18	udannin	B	C	(A)	I	-	-	-	-
	ušēribma	B	C	(A)	I	-	-	-	-
	ušanṣir	B(/C)	A		I	-	-	-	-
l.19	ušteššera	A	(B/C)		r	-	-	-	-
	aṣbatma	A	(B/C)		I	-	-	-	-
	ul ušadgil	A	(B/C)		I	-	-	-	-
	ul ūqi	A	(B/C)		I	-	-	-	-
l.20	uma'ir[206]	A	A'	(B/C)	I	-	-	-	-
l.21	ēmurma	B(/C)	A'		r	-	-	-	-
	uṣṣamma	B(/C)	(A')		I	-	-	-	-
	ēpuš	B(/C)	A'		I	-	-	-	-
l.22	idninma[207]	B(/C)	A'		I	-	-	-	-
	ul ili'ū	A'	B(/C)		r	-	-	-	-
	išpurūni	A'	A	(B/C)	I	-	-	-	-
l.23	aškunma	A	C(/B)		s	-	-	-	-
	utibbiḫma	A	(C/B)		I	-	-	-	-
	aṣṣabat	A	C(/B)		I	-	-	-	-
l.24	ušēṣamma	A	C(/B)		I	-	-	-	-
	amnu	A	C(/B)		I	-	-	-	-

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203 In our analysis of participant orientation operations we have concentrated on major participant relations and assumed as few changes as possible. Therefore, *primary* and *secondary participants* (e.g. A and A') have neither been distinguished nor counted separately. The transition from "uma'irma" (l.34; *agent*: A, *patient*: A', *benefactive*: B) to "uba''ušūma" (l.34; *agent*: A', *patient*: B) is instructive. This transition has been evaluated as "I", although in fact *agent*, *patient*, and *benefactive* have all changed. With regard to the main conflict, that between Sennacherib and Merodach-baladan, however, the participant relation has remained the same. The fact that mentions of secondary participants were altered to those of primary participants corroborates this mode of description.

204 "aštakan" (*agent: A, patient*: B/C).

205 "A" stands for Sennacherib, "A'" for his generals, "B" for Merodach-baladan, and "C" for the latter's allies.

206 + direct speech

207 Impersonal subject ("qitrub tāḫazi ᴵnakri") referring to Merodach-baladan.

Line									
1.25	annadirma[208]	A	(C/B)		I	-	-	-	-
	allabib	A	(C/B)		I	-	-	-	-
	aštakan	A	B(/C)		s	-	-	-	-
1.26	ēmurma	B(/C)	A		r	-	-	-	-
	imqussu[209]	A	B(/C)		r	-	-	-	-
	ēzibma	B	B'(/C)	(A)	r	r	r	r	_210
						I[211]	I	I	r
	innabit	B(/C)	A		I	I	-	-	-
						I[212]	-	-	-
						I[213]	I	I	-
1.27	aškunma	A	C(/B)		rs	-	-	-	-
	uparrir	A	C(/B)		I	-	-	-	-
1.28	aṣbat	A	C(/B)		I	-	-	-	-
1.29	ikšuda[214]	A	C(/B)		I	r[215]	r	r	r
1.30	aḫīšma	A	B(/C)		s	-	-	-	-
	ērub	A	B(/C)		I	I[216]	I	I	I
1.31	aptēma	A	B(/C)		I	I	I	I	I
1.33	ušēṣamma	A	B(/C)		I	I	I	I	-
	amnu	A	B(/C)		I	I	I	I	I[217]
1.34	urriḫma	A	B(/C)		I	I[218]	-	-	-
	umaᵓirma	A	A'	B(/C)	I	I	-	-	-
	ubaᵓûšûma	A'	B(/C)		I	I[219]	-	-	-
	ul innamir[220]	A'	B(/C)		I	I	-	-	-
1.35	upaḫḫir	A	B(/C)		r	-	-	-	-

ina mētiq girrīya

Line								
1.50	alme	A	C	(s)	(rs)	(s)	(s)	-
	akšud	A	C	I	I	I	I	(s)
	ašlula	A	C	I	I	I	I	I
1.51	ušākil	A	C	I	-	-	-	-
	abbul	A	C	I	-	-	-	-
	aqqur	A	C	I	-	-	-	-
	aqmu	A	C	I	-	-	-	-
	utīr	A	C	I	-	-	-	-

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208 Cf. 1.16.
209 Impersonal subject ("ḫattu"). Since immediately before it is reported that Merodach-baladan saw "akāmu girrīya" (the pronominal suffix referring to Sennacherib), the implied *agent* has been evaluated as "A".
210 See below p.80.
211 "ipparšidma".
212 "ērumma".
213 "ēṭir".
214 The grammatical subject is "qātā[II]ya".
215 Because of the omission of BM 113203, ll.27-28, the grammatical subject of "umašširū" (Bell. l.7) is Merodach-baladan, whereas in BM 113203 l.29 (muššuru) the reference appears to be to his allies. This implies a change of *patient*. Consequently the operation is "r", not "rs" (cf. BM 113203, l.27).
216 Cf. preceding note.
217 "ašlula".
218 "aṣbatma".
219 "iparūnimma".
220 Although the grammatical subject is impersonal ("ašaršu") with the pronominal suffix referring to Merodach-baladan, Sennacherib's generals constitute the notional subject of the passive verbal form.

l.52	ušēṣamma	A	C		I	I	I	I	I
	amnu	A	C		I	I	I	I	I
l.53	ušākil	A	C		I	-	-	-	-
l.54	aštakan	A	A'	C	I	I	I^{221}	-	-
					-	-	I^{222}	-	-
					-	-	I^{223}	-	-
					-	-	I^{224}	-	-

ina tayyartīya

| l.56 | akšudma | A | C | | (I) | (I) | (I) | (I) | (I) |
| | ašlula | A | C | | I | I | I | I | I |

ina mētiq girrīya

l.57	amḫur	A	C		(I)	(I)	(I)	(I)	(I)
l.58	ušamqitma	A	C		I	I	I	I	I
	ul ēzib	C	(A)		r	r	r	r	r
					-	-	r^{225}	r	-
					-	-	I^{226}	I	-

l.59	aṣbat	A	C		r	r	I	I	r
	ukīn	A	C		I	I	I	I	I
l.60	atūra	A	C		I	-	-	-	-
l.62	ušamqitma	A	C		I	-	-	-	-
	ālul	A	C		I	-	-	-	-

34 x I (69.39 %), 11 x r (22.45 %), 3 x s (6.12 %), 1 x rs (2.04%) / 11 x I / 1 x I/ 5 x I, 2 x r

The formulae "ina tayyartīya" and "ina mētiq girrīya" divide BM 113203's campaign account into four parts. The *stage* of the first part is provided by ll.5-15. First a time reference is given (1.5), then the enemy's *sin* is described; first in general terms (1.6) then specifically (1.7). A list of the enemy's allies is given in ll.8-15. The *stage* is clearly dominated by the enemy. Merodach-Baladan is the grammatical subject of all *main line* verbs belonging to the *STAGE*. After the necessary background is provided, the *inciting event* is described: Sennacherib is told about the rebellion (1.16). The significance of this structural component is shown by the description of Sennacherib's emotional response, which is intensified by the use of an adverb ("labbiš"; 1.16). The *inciting event* leads to an increase of tension. The rhetorical level is higher than that of the *stage* and both opponents have entered the narrative. The scope then switches back to

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221 "ušēšib".
222 "ušadgil".
223 "aškunma".
224 "ēmissunūti".
225 "ālulma".
226 "ušalme".

Merodach-Baladan,whose preparations for battle are described (ll.17-18). Again Merodach-baladan dominates all *main line* verbs of this section. Thereafter the Assyrian advance is reported (ll.19-20). Here Sennacherib dominates all *main line* verbs. The absolute time reference loosens the link of the following sentences from the previous ones and renders them less dependent on the context. Thereby the information previously given is somewhat reduced in its importance and has almost the function of a background. It is interesting to note that the descriptions of the opponents' preparations for battle differ from each other. While that of Sennacherib's enemies describes the enemies "(šū imti galli lemni" / "ša lā īdû mī[tū?]tu" / "emūqi lā nībi ittīšunūtima"), that of Sennacherib himself contains no subordinate clauses or appositions, but concentrates more on action. In l.19 a comparison (kīma rīmi gapši) and a parallelism (pān gibšīya ul ušadgil / arkâ ul ūqi) are employed. l.20 contains direct speech. Thus the Assyrian advance is depicted on a higher rhetorical level than that of Merodach-Baladan. Next in BM 113203's account is the mention of the battle between the Assyrian and the allied armies (l.21-22a). Of the battle it is only mentioned that it took place and that the Assyrian army had to withdraw. No adverbial phrases are used to intensify verbs. The rhetorical level thus is comparatively low. This conforms with the fact that after the outcome of the battle is known, tension declines, only to rise again with the mention of a messenger sent to Sennacherib (l.22b). Now Sennacherib enters the stage, whereby the function of the account of the previous events is almost reduced to that of a *stage*. This is accompanied by a rise of the rhetorical level ("ina uggat libbīya" / "ṭabāḫu"[227] / "asliš").

After the successful assault upon Kutha, the booty and captives taken are listed (l.24). Then the report on the course of the campaign is resumed and the rhetorical level increases even more ("labbiš annadirma alabib abūbiš" <l.25>).

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[227]   usually "dâku".

"labbiš annadirma" was already used in l.16 to describe Sennacherib's reaction to his learning of Merodach-Baladan's rebellion. But in l.25 it is intensified by the parallel expression "alabib abūbiš". Now Merodach-baladan's reaction is described (l.27; cf. l.17). Thereby both major opponents take part in the story plot and tension increases. The battle itself is not mentioned. The remark on the Assyrian victory is intensified by the parallel expression "uparrir el<las>su".[228] The next two lines again mention the booty and captives taken by the Assyrians. Again the narrative *rests* for a short while. But thereafter (l.30) action is resumed on a high rhetorical level ("ina ḫūd libbi u numur pāni" / "aḫīšma"). L.30 contrasts sharply with l.16 ("labbiš annadirma") and l.25 ("labbiš annadirma alabib abūbiš") and marks the *DENOUEMENT* of the notional structure. The following lines describe the booty taken from Merodach-Baladan's treasure house (ll.31-33). Tension declines, but increases again with the narration of the hunt for Merodach-Baladan (l.34), though not to the level it had reached before; "arāḫu" which is more intensive than "alāku" is used, but no adverb or adverbial phrase is employed. The mention of the failure of the search (l.34b) and the report on the gathering of the scattered forces of Merodach-Baladan concludes this section of BM 113203's account.

The other episodes within the account of the first campaign (ll.36-51; 52-54; 55-56; 57-59) do not exhibit great increase or decrease of tension. With the exception of the negated "ul ēzib", Sennacherib dominates all *main line* verbs!

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228   Usually only "taḫtāšun aškun" or "abiktāšun aškun".

Emphasis is on taking booty and ravaging the enemy's country.[229] For the main

section a *discourse profile* can be established.

Figure 3 discourse profile for BM 113203's account of Sennacherib's first

campaign
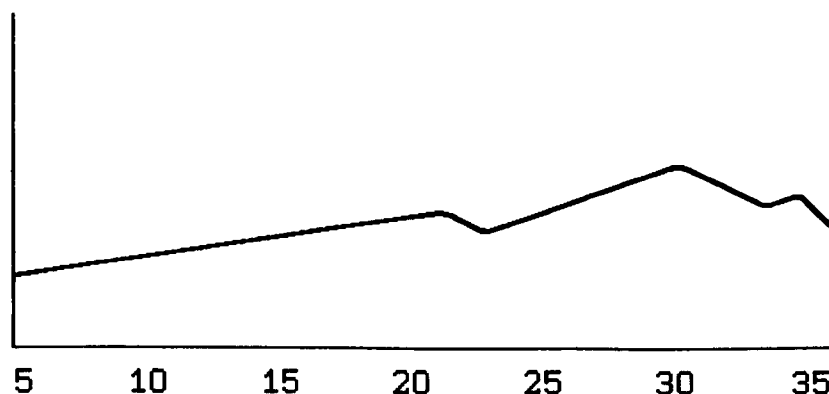
The participant orientation pattern parallels the differences of rhetorical

level between the various sections of the account. In the first section we have

noted:

I	34x	69.39%
r	11x	22.45%
s	3x	6.12%
rs	1x	2.04%
	49x.	

The other sections exhibit a stronger prevalence of the I-function (11 x I /

1 x I / 5 x I, 2 x r[230]). The substantial number of *reversals* in the first section

mirrors the vividness of the narration. We further note, that towards the

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beginning of the account B and C are mentioned with separate functions within a sentence. Thus not only the main participant relation, that between Sennacherib and his enemies, receives attention, but also that between the enemies themselves. Four times Sennacherib's messengers or generals appear as *main-line agents* and seven (+1) times as *patients*. The alternation between primary and secondary participants, too, contributes to the story's liveliness. Even at relative *peak*, the report on the first battle, secondary participants for Sennacherib are mentioned.

The narrative structure and the participant orientation pattern of BM 113203's account may thus be described as complex[231], whereas the time organization is simple.

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231   For a narrative which in its earliest extant version exhibits a comparatively high rhetorical level cf. section 4 of Rass. III ("ina šukbus arammē u qitrub šupê mitḫuṣ zūg šēpē pilši niksi u kalbānāte" [// Chic.-Tayl.iii$_{23}$ - EEN-construction], "kīma iṣṣūr quppi" [// Chic.-Tayl. iii$_{27}$ - comparison]), but a simple participant orientation pattern.

The first section of Rass.III, on the other hand, has a low rhetorical level, but a complex participant orientation pattern (cf. appendix III, table 2).

Finally, there are narratives with a unified *main line* and a low rhetorical level already in their earliest extant version. With the exception of two verbs Sennacherib dominates the complete *main line* of Bell. II. There are only two *reversals* and secondary participants do not occur on the *main line* (cf. appendix III, table 1). Bell.II's rhetorical level is low compared with BM 113203 I, only two *main line* verbs are intensified by an adverb or an adverbial phrase. EEN-constructions are of the more common kind. Cf. also sections 2 and 3 of Rass. II.

b) The Structural Development

Figure 4 discourse profile of BM 113203's account of Sennacherib's first campaign indicating text retained by Bell.
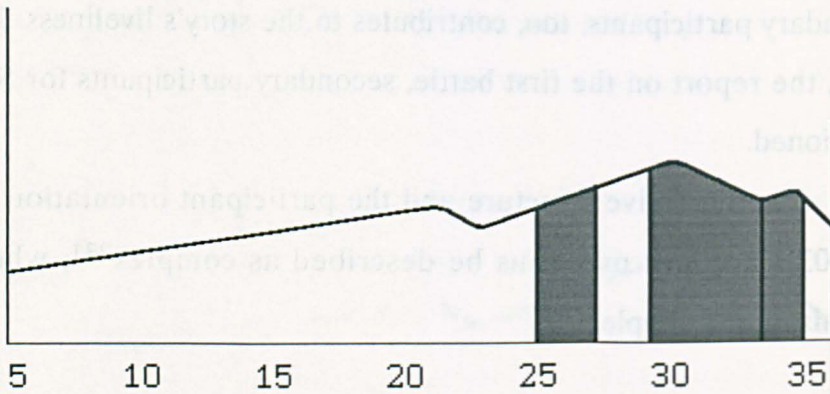
Bell. has omitted the complete *stage, inciting event* and the remarks on the first battle, as well as those on the assault upon Kutha with the list of booty taken. Only the decisive victory is mentioned. By Bell.'s alterations the *profile* of the narrative is made simpler; one *relative peak* is omitted.

The alterations' effects on the *main line* of the narrative are significant. The number of *reversals* was reduced from eleven (+ one *rs*) to two[232], one at the beginning of a section relating Merodach-baladan's escape and one at the beginning of the section relating Sennacherib's victory and conquest. Both *reversals* had already been present in BM 113203. Thus the *participant orientation pattern* of the first section was simplified by Bell.'s redactorial activity. The

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[232] This is more important than the percentage reduction of *reversals* (22.45% > 15.4%). Comparable cases are Bull 4's omission of "išâṭ" (Chic.-Tayl.ii68), the only verb in the third part of Chic.-Tayl.III not governed by Sennacherib as *agent*, and of Chic.-Tayl ii$_{80-81}$, removing a *reversal*. Bull 4 has further omitted "āṣê abul āl išu utirra" and thus unified the line of *patients*. Cf. also the Rass.' omission of Bell. l.12, which contains three different *main line agents*.

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further sections' patterns had already been unified in BM 113203. As in BM 113203, in these paragraphs only one main clause, "napištu ul ēzib", interrupts the domination of the *main line* by Sennacherib as *agent*. The omissions in the first section primarily affected the passages dealing with the actions of Sennacherib's enemies. Thus it is only told of Merodach-baladan that he fled and saved his life (l.6). References to Merodach-baladan's allies are reduced to a minimum. While the single mention of "B' " as *patient* was retained[233], all references to "C" have been omitted.[234] Sennacherib's generals are only once expressly mentioned as *agents*[235] and once as *patients* on the *main-line*.[236] In the second section a further secondary participant for Sennacherib mentioned as *patient*: Bel-ibni.[237] All cases had already been present in Bell.'s *Vorlage*. Thus in the first section Bell. rather concentrates on the major conflict, that between Sennacherib and Merodach-baladan.[238] As has been mentioned above, the other sections exhibited a clear participant orientation pattern already in BM 113203.

These alterations also affected the *time organization* within the narrative. A chronological order of narration gives way to a more thematic one. Proleptic remarks suppress an increase of tension.

While the narrative structure has been simplified, the opposite is true for the time organization. The report in BM 113203 seems to adhere closely to the chronological order.[239] It does not anticipate events which happened later in the

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233   "elattīšu ēzibma" (BM 113023, l.26) > "ēzib karāssu" (Bell. l.6).
234   However, in a sentence added by Bell. at the beginning of the campaign account, the outcome of the conflict is stated and both, "B" and "C" are mentioned as *patients*.
       For the effect of the omissions cf. also above n.215.
235   "iparūnimma". For an additional case, where Sennacherib's generals constitute the notional, but not the grammatical, subject see above n.220.
236   "uma⁾ir" (BM 113203, l.20).
237   "aštakan" (BM 113203, l.54).
238   The trend towards focussing on primary participants may also be responsible for the alteration of the reference to the warriors of Ḫirimmu ("ša ultu ulla ana šarrāni abbē^meš ya lā iknušū ..." <BM 113203, l.58>, to "ša ultu ulla ana nīrīya lā iknušū" <Bell., l.18>). This alteration does not affect the overall structure of the narrative.
       For similar cases cf. below n.248.
239   This is also true for the earliest extant account of Sennacherib's second campaign (Bell. II), and the first two sections of Rass.III. See, however, below n.268.

course of the campaign. This is different in Bell., where the writer knew which of the events reported in BM 113203 were important for the main course of narration.

Thus the account of Bell. starts with "ina rēš šarrūtia ša ^{ld}marduk-apal-iddina šar ^lkarduniaš adi ummānātḫa elamti^{ki} ina tamirti kiš^{ki} aštakan taḫtāšu" mentioning right at the beginning the outcome of the conflict. In Bell. Merodach-baladan's escape is mentioned thereafter, whereas according to BM 113203 Merodach-baladan fled before the battle took place (ll.25-27). In Bell. this is reflected by "ina qabal tamḫāri šuātu", which makes clear that the final victory and not the successful conquest of Kutha (BM 113203, l.23) is referred to. The remark on the Assyrian victory in Bell. is thus to be regarded as anticipatory and more emphasis is placed on the outcome of the campaign.

A comparison of the passages relating the escape of Merodach-Baladan is instructive.

BM 113203 reads:

"u šū ēpiš lemnēti akāmu girrīya ana rūqēti ēmurma imqussu ḫattu gimir ellatīšu ēzibma ana ^{māt}guzummani innabit" (l.26).

Bell. reads:

"ina qabal tamḫāri šuātu ēzib karāssu ēdiš ipparšidma ana ^{māt}guzummani innabit qereb agamme u appārāte ērumma napištuš ēṭir" (l.6).[240]

Bell. anticipates later events. In BM 113203 the escape of Merodach-Baladan is reported before the Assyrian victory is mentioned, in Bell. the order is reversed. "swamps and marshes" was originally mentioned later in the account (BM 113203, l.34). Likewise the success of his escape is stated by Bell. (napištuš ēṭir), before the pursuit of Merodach-baladan is reported. It might be argued that, since in Bell. the report of the hunt is retained, "napistuš ēṭir" may only refer to a first escape. However, the fact that "qereb agamme u appārāte ērumma" was

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[240] For further comments on this passage cf. below p.157.

taken from BM 113203's report of the hunt (l.34)[241], into Bell. l.6 indicates that in Bell. the failure of the search is implied.[242]

Further redactorial activity took place in Bell., l.12. In this passage Bell. adds "Kutha" to the list of cities given in BM 113203, l.52. In BM 113203 the conquest of Kutha is reported separately, after Sennacherib's generals had lost the first battle. By this addition Bell. compensated for the omission of this passage from the original context.[243] The remarks on Bel-ibni (BM 113203, l.54) and the list of peoples captured "on the return" of Sennacherib are retained by Bell. without any alteration.

Bell. then gives the total amount of booty taken to Assyria. The wording and some of the numbers have been altered by Bell. For these changes no reason seems obvious. The mention of the tribute imposed upon Nabu-bel-šumate is taken over from BM 113203 in almost identical form. The only alteration carried out by Bell. is the replacement of "mandattu" by "tāmartu".[244]

Bell. has transferred the mention of the total amount of booty (with ašlula ana ^{mat}aššur[245]) to a position before the mention of the tribute from Nabu-bel-šumāte, which is introduced in both versions by ina "mētiq girrīya". Thus Bell. has changed the chronological order towards a thematic one.[246]

The anticipatory and summarizing remarks prevent a great increase and decrease of tension. This accords with the generally lower rhetorical level, a result of the omission of adverbs and adverbial phrases.

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241   BM 113203 mentions "ana ^{l}guzumanni" in both passages (ll.26.34).
242   Comparable is Rass.'s addition of "uṣaḫḫir māssu" (// Chic.-Tayl.ii$_{22}$, cf. Bell. l.31) which anticipates ll.23ff.
243   Cf. also Rass. additional mention of Ḫardišpi and Bīt Kubatti (// Chic.-Tayl.i$_{72}$, see above p.60).

244   Cf. above, n.202.
245   BM 113203, l.60: "itti ... atūra ana qereb aššur^{ki}".
246   For the different order between the two mss. cf. the participant orientation pattern above, p.66. One reason for the alteration of the order might be, that Bell. wanted to conclude the account of the first campaign with the mention of tribute paid regularly.

In Bell. twenty-two lines of BM 113203 (16-27) are summarized in one single sentence: "ina rēš šarrūtīya ša ^ldmarduk-apal-iddina šar ^lkar-dun-ia-aš adi ummānatḫá elamti^ki ina tamirti kiš^ki aštakan taḫtâšu" (l.5). Here information of very diverse origin is packed closely together. Sentences of that kind are not found in BM 113203's account. The remark on the accession of the king (BM113203, l.5) was omitted from the time reference by Bell., presumably because it was no longer regarded as being important enough to be taken over in a second edition. Further omissions by Bell. have already been mentioned. To these should be added that considerable alteration took place in the account of Sennacherib's entering of Merodach-Baladan's palace. BM 113203 l.30 reads: "ina ḫūd libbi u numur pāni ana babili^ki aḫīšma ana ekal ^ldmarduk-apla-iddina^na aššu paqād būši u makkūri qerebša ērub". Bell. l.8 reads: "ana ekallīšu ša qereb babili^ki ḫadîš ērumma ..." . The text of Bell. is much shorter. Two adverbial phrases of BM 113203 are represented in Bell. only by a single adverb. Furthermore, Bell. does not mention that Sennacherib "hastened" to Merodach-Baladan's palace, but only that he entered the palace, which was the more important of the two actions. Bell. also omits the adverbial phrase "aššu paqād būši u makkūri qerebša", for the information given there was also contained in the following sentences, that Sennacherib entered the treasure house. These alterations reduced the rhetorical level of the passage.

We can note that the most "vulnerable" parts of BM 113203 I were the *stage* and pre-*peak*-episodes. The whole account in Bell. was put on a lower rhetorical level than it had been in BM 113203; it is less vivid and the rise and decline of tension is much smaller. This is partly due to the use of anticipatory remarks and partly to the reduced number of participants. The effect of the major alterations on the *discourse profile* was that the number of *relative peaks* was reduced. Thus the course of the narrative was much simpler in its second edition than it had been in the first.

Since Rass.'s *Vorlage* was a secondary version, alterations to the same extent as those between BM 113203 and Bell. are not to be expected. As a major abbreviation we can note a further reduction of *discourse profile peak*s. Rass. omits the destination of Merodach-Baladan's escape, part of which had been added by Bell., and that he fled into the "swamps and marshes", which had been added by Bell. Consequently the report of Sennacherib's pursuit of Merodach-Baladan, too, is omitted by Rass. Probably the latter was the reason for omitting the former as well. By the omission of the report of the hunt for Merodach-baladan a relative *peak* was omitted. This continued the tendency in the structural development already visible in the omissions carried out by Bell. The remark that Merodach-Baladan saved his life is, however, retained by Rass. By this omission the second *relative peak* beside the *absolute peak* was omitted and the *discourse profile* further simplified, as can be seen in the following diagram.

Figure 5 discourse profile of BM 113203's account of Sennacherib's first campaign indicating text retained by Bell. and Rass.

		BM 113203
		retained by Bell.
		retained by Rass.
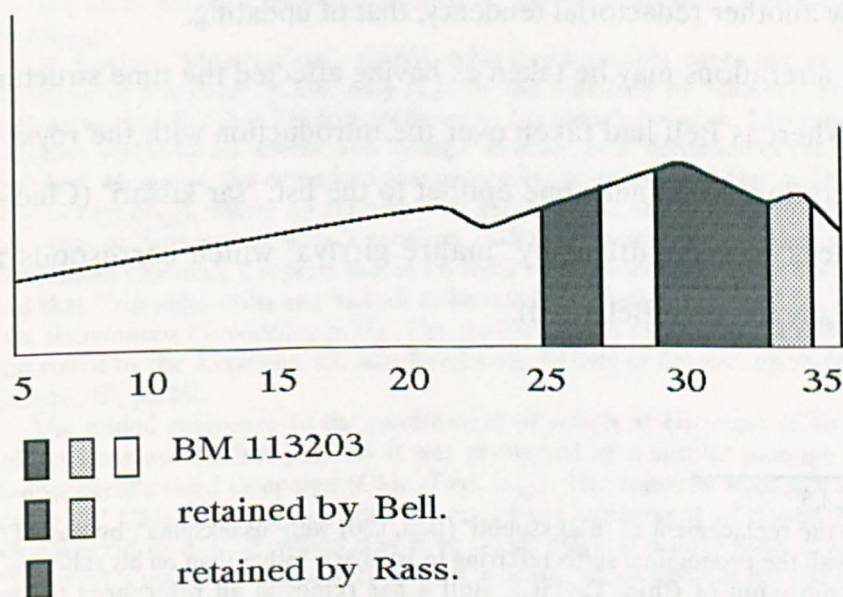
Alterations have also affected the participant orientation. In Chic.-Tayl. i_{22}[247] Rass. adds "rēṣīšu" to identify the Elamites as allies of Merodach-Baladan. This may find its explanation in the assumption of a textual history more complicated than that presupposed here. Rass. (or an non-extant forerunner) would have summarized BM 113203, ll.6-15, which, among others, had been omitted by Bell. In any case it links Sennacherib's opponents and thus clarifies the participant orientation, which in Bell. had already been indicated by "marduk-apal-iddina šar ^{l}karduniaš adi ummānāt elamti^{ki}". With the omission of the report of the hunt for Merodach-baladan mentions of Sennacherib's generals (secondary participants) as *agents* were removed. Thus we can note a further concentration on primary participants.[248] Similarly in a reference to captured Chaldean cities[249] Rass. has replaced ālani dannūti with ālānišu. By the addition of a personal suffix the internal coherence of the narrative has, though only slightly, increased.[250] In the altered reference to Bel-ibni mentions of secondary participants have been added, which disagrees with the development of the participant orientation pattern from BM 113203 to Bell. The difference, however, probably can be explained by another redactorial tendency, that of updating.

Two alterations may be taken as having affected the time structure of the narrative. Whereas Bell had taken over the introduction with the royal epithets without alteration, Rass. adds one epithet to the list: "šar kiššati" (Chic.-Tayl.i_2). Rass. replaces "rēš šarrūtīya" by "maḫrê girrīya" which correspods to "šanê girrīya", already found in Bell (1.20).

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[247]   Cf. Bell. 1.5.

[248]   Cf. also the replacement of "ušālikšunūti" (Bell. 1.30) with "ušālikšuma", by Rass. (// Chic.-Tayl.ii$_{22}$), with the pronominal suffix referring to Ispabāra, rather than on his subjects.
         By the omission of Chic.-Tayl.ii$_{46}$, Bull 4 has removed all references to secondary participants from the first section of Chic.-Tayl.III. From the third unit Bull 4 has omitted the references to the Egyptian army as *main line agents* (Chic.-Tayl ii$_{80-81}$).

[249]   // Chic.-Tayl. i$_{36}$.

[250]   The omission of "dannūti" as an equivalent to "ṣiḫrūti" might have been accidental, because usually "ālāni ṣiḫrūti" is preceded by a reference to "ālāni dannūti". Chic.-Tayl., has "dannūti".

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A further change took place in the mention of Bēl-ibni. The text of BM 113203, l.54 and of Bell.,l.13 reads:

^Ibēl-ibni mar ^Irab-bānî per^ʾi babili^{ki} ša kīma mīrāni ṣaḫri qereb ekallīya irbu ana šarrūt mât ^Išumeri u akkadî^{ki} aštakan elīšun.

Rass. reads:

^Ibēl-ibni mār ^Irab-bānî ina ^{giš}kussi šarrūti ušēšib niše^{meš} mât akkadî^{ki} ušadgil pānussu eli gimir nagê mât kaldi ^Išūt-rēšīya ana ^Ipāḫati aškunma nīr bēlūtīya ēmissunuti.²⁵¹

The alteration probably reflects the situation in Babylonia prior to or even during Sennacherib's fourth campaign. Sennacherib reports that during his fourth campaign he defeated Šuzubu, "the Chaldean" (Chic.-Tayl.iii$_{52f}$; Rass.: "eli gimir nagê mât kaldi ^Išūt-rēšīya ana ^Ipāḫati aškunma") and after his victory over Merodach-baladan and the king of Elam installed his son Aššur-nadin-šum as king of "Sumer and Akkad"²⁵² (Bell. l.13: "nir bēlūtīya ēmissunūti"). Rass. alteration may thus constitute an update of the remark given in Bell.²⁵³ implying a resolution of the chronological order of narration.²⁵⁴

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251 The passage is between the equivalents of Chic.-Tayl. i$_{42}$ and i$_{43}$.

252 "ina kussi bēlūtīšu ušēšibma rapaštum ^Išumeri u akkadî^{ki} ušadgil pānussu" (Chic.-Tayl.iii$_{72f}$).

253 Cf. Levine, "Manuscripts", pp.63f, where comparable cases are suggested. Liverani, "Critique of Variants", p.256, only regards the omission of "^Išumeri" as a factual variant indicating that Bēl-ibni has lost territory to Merodach-baladan. Liverani, referring to the causative verbal forms "ušēšib" and "ušadgil" in Rass., as a "definition of the subordinate rôle of Bel-ibni". However, the causatives also appear in the report of Aššur-nadin-šum's installation (Chic.-Tayl.iii$_{73f}$), where no reference to the Assyrian administrative system is made. The omission of "^Išumeri" in Rass.'s mention of Bel-ibni's installation may be significant. The Babylonian Chronicle I reports that in his third year Bel-ibni was taken bound to Assyria (ii$_{27}$) and that "^dsin-aḫḫe-ēriba ana ^Iakkadî ūrdamma ḫubut ^Iakkadî iḫtabat" (cf. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, p.77). The omission thus may reflect a reduction of territory controlled by the Assyrians. Cf. also Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire*, pp.58-60, and "Merodach-Baladan II", pp.26f.

254 The added reference to the punishment of rebels at Ḫirimme (Chic.-Tayl.i$_{58-60}$) may reflect later events, but possibly it was prompted by a similar passage in the account of Sennacherib's third campaign (Chic.-Tayl. iii$_{10}$). The remarks were not retained by Bull 4. Rass. (// Chic.-Tayl.ii$_{30-32}$) adds a note of the settlement of deported peoples in Kar Sennacherib to Bell. II, which may have taken place at a later time. Comparable are also Chic.-Tayl.'s insertion of a remark on Lule's death, which updates the narration of his escape (ii$_{40}$) and the additional mentions of Sippar in Chic.-Tayl. i$_{41}$ and Išqaluna in Chic.-Tayl. iii$_{32}$. Rass. (// Chic.-Tayl. ii$_{30}$) also adds a mention of the settlement of deportees in Elenzash, the handing over of the city to the governor of Harhar, and the resulting extension of Assyrian territory. These remarks, too, might reflect later events. Cf. also the addition of "gammale" by Rass. (Chic.-Tayl. ii$_{20}$) to a list of booty items taken from Ispabara's country.

With the omission of the report of the pursuit of Merodach-baladan, however, one of the indications for Bell.'s secondary character was not taken over, since from the text of Rass. it is not clear that "napištuš eṭir" is anticipatory. It is noteworthy that the number of indications of a secondary character of a text does not necessarily increase with further editions.

The developmental tendencies apparent in the previous redactions can also be seen in the differences between Rass. and Chic.-Tayl. We have noted above that already in Bell. mentions of Sennacherib's enemies' actions were reduced to a minimum. In Chic.-Tayl. a passage describing these actions has been added to the royal titulary before the account of the first campaign:

ultu tâmti elēnīti ša šalām ^{d}šamši gimri ṣalmāt qaqqadi ušakniš šēpū'a u malkī šipṣūti ēdurū tāḫāzi dadmēšun izzibūma kīma sudinni iṣṣūr nigiṣṣi ēdiš ipparšū ašar lā âri (ll.13-19).

In the following campaign accounts the reported actions of Sennacherib's enemies are almost restricted to those actions already mentioned in the introduction. The actions mentioned in the introduction are:

ušakniš	i_{15}[255]
ēdurū	i_{16}
izzibū	i_{17}
ipparšū	i_{19}

Actions mentioned in the accounts of the first three campaigns are:

ezēbu	i_{23}[256], i_{59}[257]
naparšudu	i_{24}[258], ii_3[259]
maṣāru	i_{26}[260], ii_{14}[261]
kanāšu	$i_{49.67}$, $ii_{61.72}$, iii_{19}[262]
nabūtu	ii_{14}[263], ii_{40}[264]

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[255] Aššur grammatical subject.
[256] Merodach-baladan.
[257] "nobody".
[258] Merodach-baladan.
[259] People of the land of the Kassites and the Yasubi-gallai.
[260] Merodach-baladan.
[261] Ispabara.
[262] All negated.
[263] Ispabara.
[264] Lule.

Exceptions to this rule are found in Chic.-Tayl's account of the third campaign and in those passages which report that peoples submitted to the Assyrians and paid tribute. That exceptions are found in the account of the third campaign[265] (and in later ones) is due to the fact that these show fewer signs of redactorial activity.

The reference to Bēl-ibni, who in the meantime had been taken to Assyria (Bab.Chr. ii$_{27}$) is completely omitted by Chic.-Tayl. so adapting the account to political circumstances at the time the redaction took place. The omission also removes a mention of a secondary participant as *patient* and conforms with the tendency to concentrate on primary participants.

Bull 4 followed this trend and with the alteration of "ina qabal tamḫāri šuāti ēzib karāssu" to "šū ana šūzub napištīšu" the last reference to secondary participants ("karāssu" - B') has disappeared from the main-line of the account.

We can thus note that at least for the development of Sennacherib's campaign accounts common trends are apparent. The narrative structure and participant orientation pattern have become progressively more simple.[266] The

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265 Actions of enemies in the third campaign are:

Lule	innabit (ii$_{40}$)
	ēmid (ii$_{40}$)
vassals	iššūnimma (ii60)
	unaššiqū (ii60)
Šarruludari	išâṭ (ii68)
Sidqa	iknušū (negated; ii72)
people of Ekron	iddûma (ii75)
	iddinūšu (ii77)
	ikterūnimma (ii81)
Egyptians	illikū (ii81)
	uša''alū (iii1)
people of Ekron	ušabšū (iii9)
	ēpiš (iii12)
Hezekiah	iknušū (negated; iii19)
	ušēribūma (iii39)
	ušēbilamma (iii48).

266 In the case of Sennacherib's second campaign where already the earliest extant version (Bell.II) exhibited a simple narrative structure and participant pattern these were not significantly altered. This is also true for sections 2,3, and 4 of Rass.III. The first section of Rass. III provides an example showing that narratives with a complex participant orientation pattern were not necessarily simplified (see tables 1.3-5 in appendix III).

narrative was edited with its outcome in view. The redactors resolved the chronological order of the first version.

If we take the development of Sennacherib's campaign accounts as empirical model, serious obstacles for literary-critical research into the pre-history of Old Testament narratives arise. Wide-spread hypotheses such as those outlined above[267] have not found support. To the contrary, the omitted portions cannot be reconstructed without the presence of earlier manuscripts. Without the latter it is also difficult to establish the order of events as compared to the order of narration. Even if this could be done, we cannot *a priori* assume that both necessarily agreed in a first version.[268] We have noted that editors revised their sources with the narrative's outcome in view. We thus have to reckon with harmonizing changes, removing difficulties from the narrative. Again, from a harmonized exemplar it is not possible to deduce the original differences. Since several of the narrative features which can be demonstrated to have been created by redactorial intervention are also present in *early versions* of other stories, their absence may be taken as indication for an *early stage* of literary development but their presence does not permit us unequivocal deductions. The effects of alterations carried out in the transmission of Sennacherib's campaign accounts may permit to identify that a given narrative is in an *early stage* of literary development, but the opposite conclusion cannot claim any certainty.[269]

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[267]   Cf. nn.5.7.

[268]   In Rass. III the Padi's release and the siege of Jerusalem are related in separate sections, which lead to a resolution of the chronological order. The release of Padi (iii$_{15}$:"ultu qereb ^{al}urusalimmu uš$\underline{e}$samma") is not likely to have taken place before the beginning of the siege of Judean cities (iii$_{18ff}$) or even of Jerusalem (iii$_{28}$). But even within the sections the order of narration is not chronological (cf.ii$_{74-77}$, iii$_{27.39-40}$).

[269]   Although in our investigation we have to concentrate on the differences between the versions, it must not be ignored that in a number of cases accounts were retained without significant alteration (cf. appendix III).

The second set of "annalistic" literature to be investigated is that of Aššurbanipal. Again a stemma has to be established first. The dates of the main editions taken as basis here are those established by Grayson.[270] These are:

E   665 B.C.(?)[271]
B   649 B.C.[272]
C   646 B.C.[273]
F   c.646 B.C.[274]
A   c.643/2 B.C.[275]

Further important editions are H_1 (c.639 B.C.)[276], H_2[277], K and T (646 B.C.)[278] An early and important version of Aššurbanipal's early campaigns is found on K 228(+)[279]

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270   "Chronology". Cf. also Tadmor, "The Three Last Decades" (E: 665 B.C.(?), B: 649 B.C., C: 647 B.C., F: 645 B.C., A: 643 B.C.).

271   For the text cf. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*. Spalinger, "Assurbanipal and Egypt", p.317, dates the sack of Thebes to 664 and thus ed. E to a later date. Grayson, "Chronology", p.245, argues for 663 B.C. However, taking up Cogan's and Tadmor's suggestion ("Gyges and Asshurbanipal") he assumes the existence of two earlier editions of E, E_1 (666/5 B.C.) and E_2 (665/4 B.C.). In this respect the latters' conclusions are not supported by the evidence available. The relative order of mss., however, is not affected by a slightly later date of E.

272   For the text cf. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*. Spalinger, "Assurbanipal and Egypt", dates B to 648 B.C.
       The text of prism D does not differ significantly from that of ed. B (cf. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*, pp.94-95) and thus has been disregarded in our comparison.

273   For the text cf. Freedman, *Assurbanipal's "Annals"*.

274   For the Text cf. Aynard, *Le Prisme du Louvre AO 19.939*.

275   For the text cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige* II.

276   Grayson, "Chronology", p.245. For the text cf. Nassouhi, "Prisme d'Assurbanipal".

277   Cf. Weidner, "Die älteste Nachricht".

278   R.C.Thompson, *Prisms*, pp.29-36. pll.14-18.

279   Cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige* II, pp.158-174; henceforth HT (Harran Tablets, after the place for which they were composed). Although the HT are votive tablets and thus do not constitute an annal edition, because of their closeness to ed. E and the similar case of K 2802(+) and VAT 5600(+) for Assurbanipal's campaigns against Arabs, they will nevertheless be treated like an annal edition. Since HT contains reports of the Arvad and Tabal affairs, not present in E, HT was probably written later than E (cf. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography*, pp.54f and Spalinger, "Assurbanipal and Egypt", pp.317f.). Further indications will be given below in our discussion of developmental tendencies.

In a study of Aššurbanipal's campaigns in Egypt[280] A. Spalinger has established the following stemma:

Figure 6 Spalinger's stemma for the accounts of Aššurbanipal's Egyptian campaigns
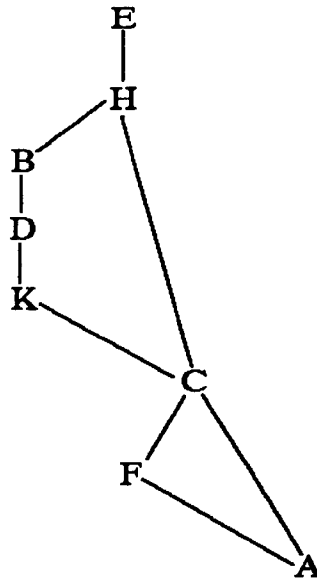
As was already evident in the case of Sennacherib's "annals", considerations based only on a part of the available evidence do not permit final conclusions. A comparison of the whole texts of the various editions was carried out by Freedman[281] and led to different results:

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[280]   "Assurbanipal and Egypt".
[281]   *Assurbanipal's "Annals"*, p.138.

Figure 7 Freedman's stemma for the accounts of Aššurbanipal's Egyptian campaigns
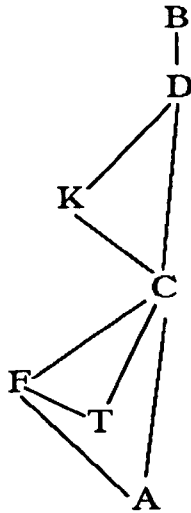
From the great similarity of E and HT it is evident that HT depends on E or at least on a text very similar to E. The very first part of Spalinger's stemma is without doubt justified by all the evidence. This part was not covered by Freedman's reconstruction of the textual dependency. The nature of similarities between HT and B indicates a dependency of the latter on the former. Thus Spalinger's reconstruction is correct in this part, too. B also has readings in common with E against HT. $Biii_{11}$ has "alu šuātu" which is also found in $Eiii_{28}$[282], whereas HT has "^{al}kirbit". This instance by itself however, would not be sufficient evidence for a literary dependency. The difference between the two readings could well be due to the different contexts in the three manuscripts. Two more cases are found. $Biii_{12}$ provides the information that the leader of the city of

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[282]   BM 134445, BM 121018 (Thompson, "A Selection of Cuneiform Historical Texts", pp.100-102, ## 20.21).

83

Kirbit was taken to Nineveh. A reference to this is also made in $Eiii_5$[283], but not in HT. It must, however, be said that not only the wording is different but also the name of the deported leader. The second case is found in HT rev.12, where HT has "kišitti qatēya" which is found in neither E nor B. The latter have similar readings in this passage. A dependency of C on HT is also traceable.[284] With regard to this the stemma produced by Freedman is somewhat misleading. Furthermore, a dependency of C on E might be indicated by the presence of "arkānu" in Cii_{105}, which is present in Eii_{27}, but missing in HT. Unfortunately the bad state of preservation of ed. C does not allow to adduce more evidence. Aii_9 and Eiv_{19}[285] read "aškun" whereas HT has "ašpur".[286] The corresponding passage in C is lost but might have had the same reading as A, coinciding with E against HT. Numerous coincidences between eds. F and C indicate that F is dependent on C. But F has also a reading in common with B against C. Fi_{40} has the same text as Bii_{22} "ana qereb ${}^{al}ni^{\circ}$ innabit". Cii_{83} reads in this passage "innabit ana qereb ${}^{al}n[i^{\circ}]$". But this may be regarded as insufficient evidence to postulate literary dependence.

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283   BM 134481 (Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Niniveh", pl.20), K 1821 (Piepkorn, Historical Prism Inscriptions, p.14 [as iv5]).

284   Cii_{105}-iii_3 parallels HT obv.33-41.43-47, which has no equivalent in ed.B.

285   BM 128305 (Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh", pl.19).

286   Cf. Bauer's correction of Streck's reading in Bauer, *IWA*, p.33, n.3.

With regard to A's *Vorlagen* it is important to note that A is not only dependent on C and F as the stemmata by Spalinger and Freedman might suggest. $Aii_{98.104}$ parr. indicate that A is also dependent on HT and, if Cogan and Tadmor are right, and their reconstruction of the extent of edition E[287] appears to be reasonable, then A might also have used a text of edition E as a source. A and B share a reading against F in $Bvii_{48}$ (// A iv_5). The readings of A and B are, however, not entirely identical. B has a main clause, whereas A has a subordinate clause. Since the common reading is a stock-phrase[288], the textual situation could be explained without the assumption of literary dependence. The case is different with B vii_{58-61}, which is retained in Aiv_{12-15}. Although the word order is different, the information common to B and A does not consist of stock-phrases. Thus either A is dependent on B or they have used very similar sources. It is interesting to note that the reading of A also occurs in B_5[289].

A resulting stemma[290] would be:

Figure 8 A provisonal stemma for Aššurbanipal's campaign accounts

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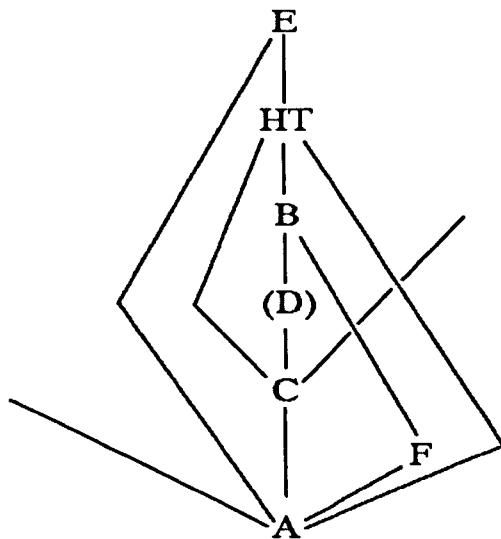
287   "Gyges and Asshurbanipal", p.70, n.18.
288   "ul išal šulum šarrūtīya" (B), "lā išālū šulum šarrūtīya" (A).
289   Cf. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*, p.79, n.28. B_5 has an additional "ša". Cf. also B_5 (//$Bviii_{53}$) // Aiv_{10} (Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*, p.79, n.24).
290   Only the main versions are mentioned. There were, of course, other sources, e.g. the list of Esarhaddon's vassal kings which was used by ed. C. See below p.106f.

As in the case of Sennacherib's annals, this stemma can only present a distorted picture. It cannot claim to represent actual and direct dependences. The stemma indicates, with a dependence on several sources, what in fact may have been a more complex literary history with several non-extant manuscripts depending on only one *Vorlage*. It is only because of the preservation of ed. E and HT that we know that B and later versions did not expand their *Vorlage* but omitted from a more extensive source. Without the actual *Vorlagen* any comparison between different editions is thus necessarily preliminary. However, the substantial similarities between the extant editions indicate that our results will probably not be significantly affected. We further have to allow for the author's / redactor's personal preferences,[291] which may account for some changes not corresponding to or even contradicting the general course of literary development. It is important to recognize, that even where earlier sources are extant the motivations for some of the alterations remain obscure.[292]

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[291] We may note A's extensive description of Šamaš-šum-ukīn's rebellion here (cf. Aiii$_{70-135}$ iv$_{41-10}$). To B's account of the campaign against Ummanigaš, C has added two references to Aššurbanipal's brother (Cviii$_{15.45}$).

[292] Thus before narrating Indabigaš' uprising A has inserted a description of a famine in Bablonia (Aiv$_{41-109}$), which parallels C's account in contents but differs in wording. (resemblences are found in Aiv$_{43-45}$ // Cviii$_{115-117}$, A$_{51-52}$ // Cix$_{29-34}$, Aiv$_{59}$ // Cix$_{16-18}$, Aiv$_{62-63}$ // Cix$_{36-37}$, Aiv$_{64-65}$ // Cix$_{38-44}$). In A there is close agreement between the narration of the seer's dream and of the later events (iii$_{122f}$ // iv$_{43}$; iii$_{125}$ // iv$_{59}$, iv$_{50f.58.60}$, iii$_{135}$.iv$_{43.59.80}$; iii$_{126}$ // iii$_{134}$.iv$_{79}$). Both sections added by A are introduced with "ina ūmēšu" (Aiii$_{70}$, Biv$_{41}$). The first section anticipates the second with iii$_{130-134}$ and the second section refers back to the first with iv$_{42f}$ // iii$_{79.106}$.

In those parts of B's account of Tammaritu's dethronement (Bvii$_{45-57}$) which have been taken over by F and/or A (Fiii$_{12-20}$ // Aiv$_{3-22}$), virtually every phrase has been slightly altered. No reason for this is apparent. It is interesting to note that the differences between B and F/A correspond to those found between Biblical parallel accounts, from which Ringgren "Oral and Written Transmission") deduced a period of oral tradition. The variations between Aššurbanipal's campaign accounts show that such differences are perfectly compatible with transmission by writing.

a) Aššurbanipal's First Campaign in Egypt

(1) The Structure of the Earliest Extant Version

An investigation into the structure of the earliest extant account of Aššurbanipal's first campaign into Egypt is rendered impossible by E's bad state of preservation. As far as E's account is preserved it does not seem to differ substantially from that of HT which will be taken here as point of departure.

Unfortunately the first three lines of HT are badly mutilated.[293] The next line[294] tells that kings brought tribute to Nineveh and kissed Aššurbanipal's feet. 1.2 introduces a new character, Tarqu. Here, contrary to 1.15, he is not called "šar mātkusi". This suggests that he was mentioned in the first three lines of HT. Nevertheless, 1.2 constitutes the beginning of a new paragraph. There appears to be no link in form or content between this line and the previous one.

The rhetorical level of HT's account is high. Already ll.2-4, the *stage* of the narrative, contain an EEN construction:

danān ᵈaššur bēlīya emēšma
ittakil ana emūq ramānīšu
[epš]ēt maruštu ša abu banû²a ēpušuš ul ibbalkit ina libbīšu.

The same is true for the narration of the *inciting event* (ll.5-7):

illikamma
qereb ᵃˡmimpi ērumma
ālu šuātu ana ramānūšu utīr.

        ana
                dâki
                ḫabāte
                šalāli
                        uma²²era ummānšu.

Aššurbanipal's emotions are described in a chiastic parallelism:

libbi īgugma
issariḫ kabitti (l.10).

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[293] Cf. Bauer, *IWA*, p.33, n.3.
[294] Streck's line 1 (cf. above, n.279). Streck's line counting will be used hence.

The narrative "rests" for a moment, only to go on in intensified form. The rise of tension is paralleled by an accumulation of adverbs[295] in ll.13-14. The tension reaches its climax in ll.16-18, where the opposition of Aššurbanipal's and Tarqu's forces is expressed in another parallel construction:

ana epēš   qabli iškakki
              tāḫāzi ummānātēšu   idka
                              isdira miḫrit ummānātēya (l.16).

Overlay[296] is employed to slow down the narrative and prepare for the resolution of the conflict. The outcome of the battle is introduced by a comparatively extensive reference to divine support (l.17). The narrative rests for a moment to describe the Assyrian victory (l.18). The result is stated and tension declines. The narration of Tarqu's fate parallels ll.10ff. A description of feelings precedes the report of actions. While the rise of tension was expressed by EEN-constructions with increasing length, it is interesting to note that Tarqu's escape is related in sentences of decreasing length:

"ultu almimpi[297] āl šarrūtīšu ašar tukultīšu uṣṣima
ana šūzub napištīšu qereb išeleppi irkabma
karāssu umašširma
ēdiš ipparšidma
qereb alniʾ ērub".

The mention of the capture of Tarqu's ships (l.23)[298] and of another mār-šipri sent to Aššurbanipal (l.24) conclude the first section of the campaign account. L.24 constitutes a transition passage concluding the first section by transferring the scope back from secondary participants to Aššurbanipal himself, and simultaneously initiating another episode by prompting the Assyrian king to intervene again. The structure of this episode corresponds to that of the first one,

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295   "urruḫiš", "šamriš", "ḫanṭiš". A similar function of adverbs my be adduced for B's description of the destruction of Kirbit and some other cities ("abūbiš [iii23], "imbariš" [iii32], "ḫubariš" [iii33]).

296   Each member of the construction repeats part of the preceding member. Cf. Grimes, *Thread of Discourse*, pp.292ff.

297   Cf. l.5.

298   Cf. below n.332.

conforming to a similar course of events. The overall rhetorical level, however, is lower. Aššurbanipal's emotions are referred to by "busurat ḫade" only. Aššurbanipal sends his army, Tarqu learns about it and flees. Rhetorical devices are employed far less extensively. No adverbs are used, the march of the army is referred to by one *main line* verb only, and only one verb describes Tarqu's escape ("umašširma", followed by "ēbirma"). The lower rhetorical level conforms to the fact that the decisive event, the defeat of Tarqu's army, had already taken place.

The introduction of a different grammatical subject in 1.33 indicates the beginning of a second unit[299], the rhetorical level of which is comparatively high.

The first part of this section tells about a plot against the Assyrians, in which Egyptian vassal rulers were involved, giving in direct speech their plan and their message to Tarqu (- 1.40). Already the introduction is formed in a chiastic parallelism:

> adē ^{d}aššur u ilāni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} bēlē^{meš}ya ētiqūma
> iprusū māmīssun

The quotation of direct speech slows down the narration and since direct speech is not very commonly employed in Aššurbanipal's annals it denotes a rise in tension. In their message to Tarqu rhetorical underlining is used and ll.39b-40 constitute an EEN-construction:

> nindaggara aḫāmeš
> māt aḫennâ nizuzma
> ai ibbaši ina bīrini šanûmma bēlum.

The parallelism in ll.41-42 summarizes the allies' plans and clarifies the major conflict by expressly mentioning the Assyrians as the target of the aggression:

> ana ummānāt ^{māt}aššur gabšātīya   ištenī'û amāt lemuttim
> ana šūzub napištīšun   ikrimū ḫulluqû adi lā bašê.

---

299   Ed. E (ii$_{27}$ // Cii$_{105}$ // Ai$_{118}$) further separates the units by "arkānu".

There is still no progress of events. The intensifications "gapšatīya" and

"adi lā bašê" led to a further increase of tension. For the *denouement* of the story

the narration is resumed, though again very slowly in parallel construction and

with the use of *overlay*[300]:

"^lšūt-rēšēya amāti annāti   <u>išmûma</u>   <u>ikkilû</u> niklassun (l.43)
^lrakbēšun   <u>isbatūnimma</u>   ēmurū epšet surrātīšun (l.44)
^lšarruludari niku   <u>isbatūnimma</u>
ina biriti parzilli išqāti parzilli   <u>utammehū</u> qātā^{II} u šēpā^{II} (l.45)
māmīt ^daššur šar ilāni^{meš}   <u>ikšussunūtima</u> ša ihtū ina adē <ilāni^{meš}>³⁰¹ rabûti^{meš}" (l.46)

While the second parts of ll.43.44 correspond to each other ("ikkilû" -

"ēmurū"), the first parts denote progress of events ("išmûma" - "isbatūnimma").

isbatūnimma in l.45a refers back to the same word in l.44, and l.45b only

intensifies the first part of the line.[302] It is the grammatical object that changes

from l.44 to l.45 and the grammatical subject from l.45 to l.46. Ll.46-50 form a

Coda of the narrative. Ll.46-48, intensified by l.49, describe the punishment of

the rebels and resemble the report of the *inciting event*:

ll.34-35   ll.46-48

adē ^daššur u ilāni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} bēlē^{meš}ya   māmīt ^daššur šar ilāni^{meš}
iprusū māmīssun   ša ihtū ina adē <ilāni^{meš}>³⁰³ rabûti^{meš}
tābti ša abu bāniya   tābti qātūšun ša ēpušūšunūti dunqu
libbāšunūti ikpud limuttam   u nišē^{meš} alāni^{meš} malā ittīšun [šaknū]
                                     ikpudū amāt limutti

In l.50 the setting switches back to Nineveh[304] and concludes the section.

In this passage l.47 is of special significance. This sentence constitutes the result

of a gradual development. L.44 had narrated the capture of the enemies'

messenger by Aššurbanipal's generals (A' - C'), l.45 the capture of the rebels

themselves (A' - C), l.46 refers to divine intervention (A* - C) and, finally, l.47

mentions the resolution of the conflict with the express mention of the primary

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300   Cf. above n.296.
301   Cf. Ai₁₃₃.
302   "parzilli" contrasts with "hurāsi" in ll.56.57.58.
303   See above n.301.
304   Cf. ll.1.9.

participants (A - C). The participant orientation thus gradually approaches and culminates in the main participant relation.[305] This has led to the sudden appearance of a verb in 1st p.sgl. ("uba°°ima"; 1.47) with Aššurbanipal as *agent*, although, as is evident from 1.50, the Assyrian king is still in Nineveh.[306] Consequently in obv.49f again 3rd p.pl. is employed.[307]

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[305] Similarly in B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Dunanu (cf. appendix III, table 11) the participant relation in a first resolution of the conflict is A'- B'/C' (vii$_{30-35}$). In the final resolution of the conflict which was achieved by divine intervention the participant relation is A* - B (vii$_{40-42}$).

In E's version of the Kirbit affair (cf. appendix III, table 6), and B's accounts of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Teummān (cf. appendix III, table 8, and below n.370) the main participant relation with the Assyrian king as *agent* does not occur on the *main line* at all.

Late stages with their trend to concentrate on primary participant relations, especially in *peak* sections often removed this features (cf. below n.386).

[306] Cf. 2 Sam.12$_{26-30}$ // 1 Chr.20$_{1-2}$, 2 Kgs.12$_{18-19}$ // 2 Chr.24$_{24}$.

[307] HT obv.47 is paralleled in E (BM 121018 iv$_3$).

Cf. also the transition from E (K 1821 [Piepkorn, *Historical prism inscriptions*, p.14]) iv$_6$ ("ublūni") to iv$_7$ ("assuḫ"). Of particular interest is further the participant orientation pattern of B's account of the campaign against Aḫšeri. In the first part of the narrative (iii$_{16-30}$; see below appendix II, p.235f), secondary participants for both Aššurbanipal and Aḫšeri appear as *agents* of *main line* verbs. Neither 1st p.sgl. nor 3rd p.pl. are consistently used. In Biii$_{29}$ the Assyrian army suddenly becomes *agent* (cf. 1.22). In the second part (iii$_{31ff}$), this has suddenly changed back without transition. C has altered "umallū" (Biii$_{30}$) to "umalli" (Civ$_{58}$) and thus mentions Aššurbanipal as *agent* in the description of the Assyrian victory. F has omitted the first part of the account and thus removed the inconsistency. In F's account of Aššurbanipal's second campaign against Ummanaldasi 1st p.sgl is used until Fv$_{43}$ (// Avi$_{64}$), then the Assyrian army is introduced as *main line agent* (Fv$_{48}$ // Av$_{69}$), and from Fv$_{49}$ (//Av$_{70}$) onwards the account resumes 1st p.sgl. narration.

Further examples can be adduced from accounts of Aššurbanipal's campaigns against Arabs. B's participant orientation pattern exhibits several abrupt changes from primary to secondary participants in Bviii$_{5-6-7.(15-16.)26-28}$. According to Bviii$_7$ Assyrian troops are dispatched "šeruššu", but Bviii$_8$ notes "abiktāšunu iškunu". Bviii$_{27}$ mentions the punishment according to "adēšun", which was inflicted on "(išīmū)-šu". VAT 5600+ ll.44-60 (Avii$_{105-124}$) have the Assyrian army as *main line agents*, whereas in col. IV suddenly the Assyrian king is grammatical subject. Additional cases of sudden changes are found in Avii$_{93.100}$ and Aviii$_{102.104}$. Since it is not probable that VAT 5600+ would have altered 1st pers. sgl. into 3rd pers. pl., we may assume that A has preserved an earlier version of the account.

The preserved portions of K 2652 (Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten Assyrischen Könige*, II, pp.188-194) appear to have a sudden change of grammatical subject from rev.8-10 to rev.11 (cf. appendix II, p.237, n.922).

A further inconsistency created by the difference between primary and secondary participants is found between vi$_1$, where Aššurbanipal claims to have decapitated Teummān, and Bvii$_{60-61}$ where he(!) ascribes this to a soldier of his army.

We can also note inconsistencies of participant designations. In B Uaite° is introduced as "šar ^{māt}qadaru" (vii$_{94}$). His subjects, however, are designated as "Arabs" (cf. Bviii$_{4.8.23}$). A has altered the introduction to "šar ^{māt}aribi" (vii$_{83}$) and has thus removed the inconsistency. In a different section, however (Aix$_{1-2}$, not paralleled in B) the participant designations were not harmonized ("u ^{l}qidraya ^{l}uaite° ... šar ^{māt}aribi". Cf. also below, p.132.

Noteworthy is also the difference between "ṭābti ša abu bāniya" (l.35) and "ṭābti qātūšun ša epušūšunūti dunqu" (1.47), conforming with the tendency to mention primary participants in *peak* sections.[308]

"u anāku ᵈaššur-bān-apli" (1.51) introduces the concluding section of HT's account of Aššurbanipal's first Egyptian campaign. The Assyrian king clearly dominates the *main line* for the remainder of the account. Almost no progress of events is apparent. Ll.55-59 describe Aššurbanipal's gifts to Niku, who had been pardoned by the Assyrian king (ll.52-54). The mention of the lavish presents (ḫurāṣu in ll.56.57.58)[309] constitutes another climax of the narrative. The campaign account concludes with the mentions of Niku's and his son's re-installations (ll.61-65) and a reference to the fate of Tarqu (l.66), thereby closing the circle to l.2.

The following diagram shows the *discourse profile* of HT's version:

Figure 9 discourse profile for HT's account of Aššurbanipal's first Egyptian campaign

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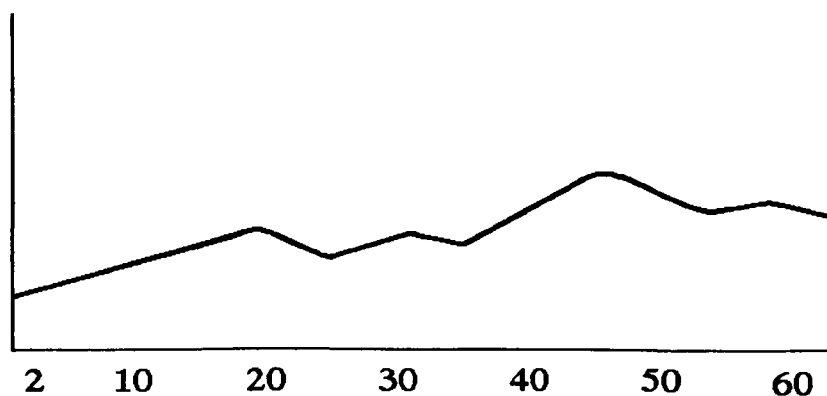
308   A has "ṭābat ... ēpussunūti ..." in both passages (Ai₁₁₉.₁₃₃).
309   Cf. also l.63.

The order of narration appears to be roughly chronological, with the exception of several subordinate clauses[310], most of which refer to Esarhaddon. In Ei the installation of Egyptian vassal kings by Esarhaddon had been reported on the *main line* before the actual campaign account.

Table 7 Participant Orientation Pattern for accounts of Aššurbanipal's first Egyptian campaign

					HT	B $_{+311}$	C/A $_{+}$
1.2	uštamṣâ[312]	B	(A)			-	-
1.3	emēšma	B	A*[313]		I	r	r
	ittakil	B	(A)		I	I	I
1.4	ul ibbalkit	A*[314]	B		r	-	
1.5	illikamma	B	A'		r	I[315]	I
	ērumma	B	A'		I	I	I
	utīr	B	A'		I	I[316]	I
1.8	uma°era	B	B'	A'	I	-	-
1.9	illikamma	A'	A	(B)	r	r	r
	ušannâ	A'	A	(B)	I	I	I
1.10	ēgugma	A	(B)		I	I	I
	issariḫ	A	(B)		I	I	I
							I[317]
							I[318]
							I[319]
1.11	alsîma	A	A'	(B)	I	-	-
1.13	aškunšunūti	A	A'	(B)	I	I[320]	I
							I[321]
							I[322]
							I[323]
	ušaškina	A	A'	(B)	I	-	
1.14	irdū	A'	(B)		I	I[324]	I

310   Cf. ll.4.33.47.48.52.61. Cf. also in B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Aḫšeri the subordinate clauses in iii$_{18-19.53-54.74-75}$ iv$_{5.10-15}$ which do not follow the chronological order.
311   "lu allik" - A [B].
312   For the text cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige* II, pp.158-174.
313   "danān ^{d}aššur bēlīya".
314   Grammatical subject: "epšēt marušti ša abu bānû°a ēpušuš".
315   "illaka" - corresponds to "uma°era" (HT obv.8).
316   "ūšib" - B [A].
317   "aššû" - A A* [B].
318   "uṣalli" - A A* [B].
319   "ušteššera (ḫarrānu)" - A [B].
320   "adkî".
321   "iššûnimma" - A' A [B].
322   "unaššiqū" - A' A [B].
323   "ušaṣbissunūti" - A A' [B]
324   "ardîma" - A [B].

	illikū	A'	(B)		I	I[325]	I
1.15	išme	B	A'		r	r	r
1.16	idkâ	B	B'	A'	I	I	I
	isdira	B	B'	A'	I	-	-
1.18	iškunū	A'	B		r	r[326]	r
	urassibū	A'	B'		I	-	-
						r[327]	r
1.19	imqussūma	A[328]	B		I	r[329]	r
	illikū	B	(A)		r	r	r
1.20	uṣṣīma	B	(A)		I	-	-
1.21	irkabma	B	(A)		I	-	-
						r[330]	r
1.22	umašširma	B	(A)		I	r	r
	ipparšidma B		(A)		I	I[331]	I
	ērub	B	(A)		I	-	-
1.23	uṣabbitu[332]	A'	B'		r	-	-
						r[333]	r
						I[334]	I
						I[335]	I
						I[336]	I
						I[337]	I[338]
						I[339]	I
						I[340]	I
						I[341]	I
							I[342]
1.24	iqbâ	A'	A	(B)	I	-	-
1.29	uraddima	A	A'	B	I	-	-
	ašpur	A	A'	(B)	I	-	-
	illikū	A'	B		I	-	-

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325 "allik" - A [B].

326 "aškunma" - A B'.

327 + "išmâ" - B A.

328 Grammatical subject: "ḫattu puluḫtu". Cf. "ḫattu puluḫtu bēlūtīya isḫupšuma" in 1.66, with the pronominal suffix referring to Aššurbanipal.

329 "isḫupūšuma" - A* ("namrīrī aššur ᵈbēl ᵈnabū ilāni rabûti bēlēya ālikūt idīya") B.

330 "iktunūšuma" - A B.

331 "innabit" - B [A].

332 According to Eii₄₋₅, HT obv.23 should be emended to "iˢeleppāti" qarābi mala ittūšu <u> ṣābē tāḫāzi<šu> uṣabbitū ina qātā". The *agents* of "uṣabbitū" are the Assyrian troops (cf. 1.16). For HT obv.24 Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige*, p.160, n.a) suggests the emendation of "DA-A-UD(PAR)-RA" to "iš(?)-ta(?)-a-par-ra". The corresponding passage in Eii₈, however, has "ša a-tam-ra". Since Streck's emendation does not render the text meaningful, a scribal error (DA for ŠA) seems more probable.

333 "aṣbat" - A B⁽⁾.

334 "ušērib" - A A' [B].

335 "ušēšib" - A A' [B].

336 "utīrma" - A A' [B].

337 "ulzissunūti" - A A' [B].

338 "apqissunūti" - A A' B.

339 "aṣbat" - A A' [B].

340 "udannin" - A A' B.

341 "urakkisa" - A A' B.

342 "atūra" - A.

1.31	išme	B	A'		r	-	-
	umašširma	B	A'		I	-	-
1.32	ēbirma	B	(A')		I	-	-
	iškuna	B	(A')		I	-	-
1.34	ētiquma	C	A*[343]		srs[344]	-	rs[345]
	iprusū	C	A*[346]		I	-	-
1.35	imšūma	C	A*[347]		I	-	I
	ikpud	C	(A)		I	-	I
1.36	idbubūma	C	(A)		I	-	I
	imlikū	C	(A)		I	-	I
1.38	uma°°erū	C	B	(A)	s	-	I
1.41	išteniʾû	C/B	A		I	-	I
1.42	ikrimū	C/B	(A)		I	-	-
1.43	išmûma	A'[348]	C/B		r	-	r
	ikkulū	A'	C/B		I	-	-
1.44	iṣbatūnimma	A'	C'/B'		I	-	-
	emurū	A'	C'/B'		I	-	I
1.45	iṣbatūnimma	A'	C		I	-	I
	utammeḫū	A'	C		I	-	I
1.46	ikšussunūtima	A*[349]	C		I	-	I
1.47	uba°°îma	A	C		I	- I[350]	I -
1.49	ušam[qitū	A'	C'		I	I[351]	I[352]
	lā ēzibū	A'	C'		I	- I[353] I[355] I[357]	I I[354] I[356] I[358]
1.50	ublūni	A'	C		I	s[359]	I[360]
	[?]					-	-
1.53	aršīšuma	A	C		I	-	I
	addīšuma	A	C		I	-	I[361]
1.54	[ušaṭirma]	A	C		I	-	I
	aškun	A	C		I	-	I
1.55	ušarḫissuma	A	C		I	-	-

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343 Grammatical object: "adê ^{d}aššur u ilāni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} bēlē^{meš}ya".
344 C has been treated as virtual *benefactive*.
345 "iḫtū" - C (the vassal kings have become primary participants) A$^{(*)}$.
346 Grammatical object: "māmīssun".
347 Grammatical object: "ṭābti abi bānîya".
348 Cf. below n.366.
349 Grammatical subject: "māmīt ^{d}aššur šar ilāni^{meš}".
350 "akšud" - A B'.
351 "anîr" - A B'.
352 As in B: "ušamqitūma".
353 "ālul" - A B'.
354 "īlulū" - A' C'.
355 "asḫut" - A B'.
356 "isḫ]utū" - A' C'.
357 "uḫallip" - A B'.
358 "uḫallipū" - A [C'].
359 "aṣbat" - A C(B'?). See below n.378.
360 As in B: "ubilūni".
361 "uballiṭ" - A C.

	ulab]bissuma	A	C		I	-	I
1.56	aškunšu	A	C		I	-	I
1.57	u[rakkisa]	A	C		I	-	I
1.58	[ašṭurma]	A	(C)		I	-	I
	addinšu	A	C		I	-	I
1.59	aqissu	A	C		I	-	I
1.60	ašpur	A	A'	C	I	-	I
1.62	utīršu	A	C		I	-	I I^{362}
1.63	ušātirma	A	C		I	-	I
	ēpussu	A	C		I	-	I
1.65	aškun^{363}	A	C'		I	-	
1.66	isḫupšuma	A^{364}	B		s	s	s
	illik^{365}	B			r	r	r

62 x I (82.76 %), 10 x r (13.33 %), 2 x s (2.67 %), 1 x srs (1.33 %)

The participant orientation pattern of HT's account of Aššurbanipal's first Egyptian campaign is comparatively complex. The most vivid section is the first one (ll.2-32; 28 x I [77.78 %], 8 x r [22.22 %]). Three major *agents* (Aššurbanipal [A]), Tarqu [B], and Niku, Šarruludari, and Pakruru [C]) with their secondary participants are mentioned.[366] However, only for the Assyrian king do secondary participants appear as *agents*.[367] Even in ll.17-18, constituting

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[362] "apqid" - A C' (corresponds to "aškun" [HT obv.65]).

[363] Cf. previous note.

[364] Grammatical subject: "ḫattu puluḫtu bēlūtīya (cf. 1.19).

[365] "illik namūšīšu".

[366] It must, however, not be ignored that HT does not constitute the earliest extant version. There is a small difference between E and HT, which is not without significance for the development of the participant orientation pattern. In HT the uncovering of the plot against the Assyrians is ascribed to "an officer" (obv.43; cf. Eiii$_{49}$). A more detailed report on the events is provided by BM 82-5-22,10. Unfortunately the text is fragmentary. Spalinger, "Assurbanipal and Egypt", pp.320f, argued that Pišanḫuru, dominating the account in BM 82-5-22,10, is identical with the officer mentioned in ed.E. If his suggestion is correct, then the development would be from a primary to a secondary participant and, by the alteration of sgl. to pl. into further anonymity (cf. however below, n.378). Since the conspirator's message has the same wording in both BM 82-5-22,10 and E/HT, Spalinger's claim that the tradition of the former was not used by the latter cannot be upheld.

[367] For further accounts with complex participant orientation pattern and comparatively many references to secondary participants cf. also B's account on Aššurbanipal's campaign against Urtaku (Biv$_{18-86}$, esp.iv$_{29-30}$ [Assyrian officers]$_{35-37,43-44}$[messenger]). B's version also exhibits a high rhetorical level with direct speech (Biv$_{46-48}$), parallelisms (Biv$_{19-20,20-21,69-70}$, cf. also the parallel structure between ll.66-68 and ll.69-73), a comparison (Biv$_{46}$), and an EEN-construction (Biv$_{56-58}$). The account has no equivalent in F and A, and the accounts of C, K, and H are not well preserved. Thus a detailed comparison with B is not possible.
   Comparatively many references to secondary participants, but with a simple participant orientation pattern, are present in *early versions* of Aššurbanipal's campaigns against Kirbit (ed. E [cf. appendix III, table 6]), against Aḫšeri (Biii$_{16-33,43-51,66,69,82-85}$, iv$_{9-17}$ [cf. appendix III, table 7, and comments in appendix II]), against Dunanu (Bvi$_{50-69,70-75,87-89}$, vii$_{3-42,43-76}$ [cf. appendix III, table 11, and comments in appendix II]), against Teummān (Bv$_{87}$-vi$_{15}$ [cf.

a first relative *peak*, the participant relation is A' - B, A' - B'. This resembles BM 113203's account of Sennacherib's first campaign.[368]

Further parallels between the two narratives may be seen in the comparatively extensive references to enemies actions[369] and internal participant relations between primary and their secondary participants.[370]

(2) The Structural Development

With regard to the *discourse profile* the most important change from HT to B is the drastic abbreviation of the report of the conspiracy and the omission

appendix III, table 8, and comments in appendix II - apart from the protagonists, Aššurbanipal and Teummān, and secondary participants for both of them, various gods, a seer, unnamed messengers, and impersonal subjects are mentioned as *agents*), against Yauta' (Bvii$_{93}$-viii$_{22}$ [cf. appendix, table 13, and comments in appendix II). In E's account of the Kirbit campaign secondary participants for both A and B appear as *agents*, in the *peak* section the participant relations are A' - B' and A' - B. The account contains no passage with a *main line participant orientation* A - B.

There are also *early versions* of accounts with a unified line and no or only a few references to secondary participants. F's versions of Aššurbanipal's campaigns against Ummanaldasi (iii$_{33}$-iv$_{16}$, iv$_{17}$-vi$_{21}$[cf appendix III, tables 9 and 10]), the accounts of the submissions of Mugallu and Iakinlu (HT), Ba'alu (B) and Sandišarme (A [see discussion below]), and various episodes from Aššurbanipal's campaigns against Arabs (with the exception of Bvii$_{93}$-viii$_{22}$; cf appendix III, table 12)

368   Cf. above p.66.

369   Extensive descriptions of enemies' actions as a sign of early stage of development are also found in B's accounts of Aššurbanipal's campaigns against Urtaku (iv$_{27-34.45-48}$) and Ummanigaš (vii$_{3-29}$), omitted in F and A. Cf. also the narration of Aḫšeri's advance in Biii$_{23-27}$. In ed. F Aḫšeri's rôle has become an entirely passive one. He learns of Aššurbanipal's advance, flees, and is killed by his subjects (see below, appendix II, p.235f, appendix III, table 7).

370   Cf. also Bvii$_{20-22.54-57}$ (Aššurbanipal's campaign against Dunanu) and B's account on Aššurbanipal's campaign against Teummān. Substantial parts of the latter narrative are not concerned with the main participant relation A - B / B - A, but rather deal with internal participant relations A - A' / A' - A, A - A* / A* - A, A*' - A, B - B'. The complex participant orientation pattern is also reflected in the succession of speeches in B's account. Aššurbanipal receives intelligence by unnamed messengers (Bv$_{21-24}$; A' - A). Within the report Teummān is quoted (B - A). Thereupon the Assyrian king prays to Ištar (Bv$_{29-46}$, A - A*), again mentioning the Elamite king's plot (B - A). Ištar comforts Aššurbanipal (Bv$_{47-49}$) and in the relation of the seer's dream (Bv$_{52-75}$; A*' - A [A* - A*']) she is quoted as having set her face against Teummān (A* - B). While the actual speeches are between primary and secondary participants, they reflect the main participant relation. It is also noteworthy that although Ištar speaks directly to Aššurbanipal (Bv$_{47-49}$) the major part of her message to the Assyrian king is given in the relation of a seer's dream (Bv$_{52-75}$) and thus by a secondary participant.

of Niku's re-installation.[371] In ed. B only one sentence is devoted to the former (Bii$_{3-6}$). Thus the number of *peak*s was reduced and the narrative structure simplified. Not the overall *peak*, but rather the passage relating the final resolution of the conflict was retained. B has altered the EEN-construction from HT obv.2-4, but added ^{d}ištar u ^{d}ilani^{meš} to the first member and omitted the third, the only one negated and not having Tarqu as grammatical subject. Thus the *main line* of this passage was unified.[372] The EEN-construction of HT's report of the *inciting event*, however, was retained as

> ana   dâki
>   ḫabā[ti
>   u ekēm ^{mat}mu]ṣur[373] (ii$_{59}$).

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[371]   The reference to Niku's participation in the plot against the Assyrians and his pardoning by Aššurbanipal may have been omitted because Niku remained Assyrian vassal king at least of Saïs after his reinstallation, possibly of Memphis, too (cf. Ai$_{90}$).

A's insertion of subordinate clauses referring to a previous capture of Bīt-Imbi by Sennacherib (iv$_{126-131}$) may also reflect circumstances at the time of the redaction. It is interesting to note that ed.A commemorates the restoration of the "bīt-ridūti", which had been built by Sennacherib (Ax$_{53-54}$; cf. also Aiv$_{71}$ referring to Sennacherib's death). A further reason for the additions may have been that Sennacherib's wars against Merodach-baladan were regarded as prototypes of Aššurbanipal's wars against the Elamites (cf. Avii$_{16.28}$, where Nabū-bēl-šumāte is introduced as Merodach-baladan's grandson).

[372]   Unification of the *main line* can also be observed in F's version of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Dunanu. In F's Tammaritu section (iii$_{12-31}$) up to the mention of Indabigaš' rebellion, Tammaritu (iii$_{19}$) is the only *main line agent* ("išmû" (Fiii$_{18}$) probably is subjunctive). Later in the account F has omitted Bvii$_{73-74}$ with various gods as *agents* and altered "... ulzissunūti" (Bvii$_{76}$) with Aššurbanipal as *agent* to "... izzizma" (Fiii$_{30}$), with Tammaritu, who also dominates the preceding *main line* verbs, as grammatical subject. F has further replaced "ana dalāl ilūtīšun rabīti" (Bvii$_{66}$), referring to all Elamite escapees, with "idallala qurdi ilāni^{meš}ya dannūti" (Fiii$_{31}$), with Tammaritu as *agent*. In F's version of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Teummān, there are no *reversals* at all. The Assyrian king dominates all *main line* verbs. H has omitted Biii$_{95f}$ from the account of Ualli's submission and thus reduced the number of *reversals* to one. Aššurbanipal is only mentioned at the end of the passage. Cf. also below n.389.

[373]   Restored after ed. D.

The rhetorical level of the narration of Aššurbanipal's intervention was significantly reduced by B.[374] Of the three adverbs, which were used in the corresponding passage in HT and marked an increase of tension there, only "urruḫiš" has been retained. Likewise Tarqu's preparations for battle have

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[374] Several further examples with effects on the narrative structure can be adduced. The overall *peak* of B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Aḫšeri is found in the description of the ravaging of Mannean territory which constitutes an EEN-construction (Biii$_{50-51}$, see below appendix II, figure 1 and comments, pp.235ff). Of this construction F has only retained the final member. From B's report of the campaign against Teummān F omitted Teummān's speech (v$_{21-24}$) Aššurbanipal's prayer (v$_{25-46}$), Ištar's reply (v$_{47-49}$), the seer's dream (v$_{50-74}$), and the description of the seizure and distribution of booty (vi$_{10-16}$). F's redaction thus resulted in an *episodic* account with hardly any rise or fall of tension. Noteworthy is also F's replacement of B's description of Aššurbanipal's return from the campaign against Dunanu (Bvi$_{47-49}$) by "ana ^{māt}aššur" (Fii$_{83}$ // Aiii$_{67}$). From the EEN-construction describing the destruction of Sapibel (Bvi$_{43-44}$) F has omitted the last member. F and A have also drastically compressed the Ummanigaš section. They have omitted the comparatively extensive description of Ummanigaš' advance and only retained some of the subordinate clauses, relating Ummanigaš' "sin" (F has parallels to Bvii$_{3-4.6}$ [// Fiii$_{6-8}$] and added Fiii$_9$; A has parallels to Bvii$_{4.8-9}$ [//Aiii$_{136-138}$]) and the narration of Tammaritu's uprising and thus reduced the rhetorical level to a minimum.

In opposition to this general tendency A has raised the rhetorical level in several passages by the insertion of speeches (Aiii$_{5-7}$ iv$_{16-20}$ v$_{37-38}$ v$_{95-103}$). The first passage, a promise by the goddess Ištar, clarifies the participant relation since it becomes apparent that Aḫšeri's servants act on her behalf. The second and third passages, emphasizing the persistently hostile attitude of Elamite kings, reflect a second campaign of Aššurbanipal against Ummanaldasi (Fiv$_{17}$-vi$_{21}$ // Av$_{63}$-vii$_8$) and another expedition shortly before A was written (cf. Ax$_{6-39}$; for the date cf. Grayson, "Chronology", p.231). This may also explain the addition of Av$_{36-38}$ to F's version (cf. also Ax$_{17-39}$.). The fourth of the noted passages relates a dream "ina šāt mūši" (Av$_{97}$) in which Ištar encouraged Aššurbanipal's troops to a dangerous crossing of the river Idide. Both F and A had reported that Ummanaldasi fled to the city Dur-Undasi and used that river as defence line (Fiv$_{25-27}$ // Av$_{72-75}$). A's alteration is particularly interesting, since F had stated explicitly that Aššurbanipal did not hesitate to cross the river (Fiv$_{46f}$: "ištēn ūmē šinā ūmē ul ūqi pān arkê ul adgul ina ūmēšuma ēbir nāri"). A thus appears not only to have contradicted a preceding version but also to have added a comparatively extensive reference to secondary participants ("ēbir" [Fiv$_{47}$] > "ēbirū" [Av$_{103}$]).

Another purpose of the additions may have been to emphasize the futility of the enemies' plans. This is apparent in the expansion in the account of the campaign against Dunanu. There Tammaritu complains: "^{l}ummānigaš kī unaššiq qaqqaru ina pān ^{l}mārē šipri^{meš} ša ^{ld}aššur-bān-apli šar ^{māt} ^{d}aššur^{ki}" (Aiv$_{18-20}$). But Tammaritu has to face a rebellion and flees to Assyria. Then A's account remarks: "^{l}tammaritu šēpā^{ll} šarrūtīya unaššiqma qaqqaru ušēšir ina ziqnīšu" (Aiv$_{28-29}$). (Cf. also Aiv$_{114-115.123}$·v$_{21.35}$·vii$_{56-57.78}$. In A's account of Aššurbanipal's first campaign against Ummanaldasi A has added a speech in which Tammaritu mentions the looting of Elam by the Assyrians (v$_{25-28}$). This, too, has correspondences in later reports (cf. Av$_{59-62}$·v$_{132}$-vi$_{57}$·vi$_{81-97}$).

Whatever the purpose of these insertions may have been, it is significant that all of them have been carried out by the same addition and that all of them comprise direct speech.

A further case may be seen in VAT 5600+ II,13-22 (//Aix$_{65-74}$), which is not paralleled in B and which quotes Arabs admitting that the famine from which they were suffering was inflicted upon them, because they had broken treaties with the Assyrians. However, the textual relationship between B, VAT 5600+ and A is uncertain (see below, appendix III, n.1023)

received less attention in B. By the omission of "isdira" (l.16), which constituted a parallelism to "idkâ" (l.16), the effect of overlay was reduced. The description of Tarqu's fear, however, was expanded in B. After the reference to Tarqu's defeat (i₇₇) B adds "ᴵtarqu ina qereb ᵃˡmimpi išmâ taḫtê ummānātešu" (i₇₈₋₇₉). This addition creates a contrast to i₇₂₋₇₄. Tarqu learns of events:

"ᴵtarqu šar ᵐᵃᵗmuṣur u ᵐᵃᵗkūsi   qereb ᵃˡmimpi alāk girrīya išmēma ... (ll.71-72)
ᴵtarqu   ina qereb ᵃˡmimpi išmâ taḫtê ummānātēᵇᵃ́šu ..." (ll.78-79)

and reacts. B has shifted the emphasis from Tarqu's first reaction to the second, the decisive one.[375] This was accomplished by an expansion of the description of Tarqu's fear from two to three members:

namrīrī aššur u ᵈištar isḫupūšuma
illika maḫḫūtaš
melamme šarrūtīya iktumūšuma ...

This is supplemented by a change in the participant orientation pattern. In HT the participant relation in the narration of the battle had been A' - B', A' - B. Ed.B in the corresponding section (i₇₅₋₇₇) has A - B', which prepares for A -

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[375] Various alterations show that redactors edited narratives with their outcome in view. Apart from the insertion of anticipatory remarks (see below p.102 with n.385) cf. e.g. the replacement of "ana katārišu" (Bvii₇₂) with "aššu epēš dīnišu alāk rēṣūtišu" (Fiii₂₉ // Aiv₃₂; cf. Fiii₃₇f // Aiv₃₀, Fiii₇₀f // Aiv₂₁f). By the addition of "anāku ᴵᵈaššur-bān-apli libbu rapšu lā kāṣir ikki mupassisu ḫiṭāte ana ᴵtammaritu rēmu aršīšuma" to F's description of the pardoning of Tammaritu (Aiv₃₇₋₃₉) ed. A may also prepare for the description of Aššurbanipal's showing mercy to the inhabitants of Babylon (Aiv₉₄). The alteration of the campaign formula from "eli ᴵteummān šar ᵐᵃᵗelamtiᵏⁱ lu allik" to "ana ᵐᵃᵗelamtiᵏⁱ ušteššera ḫarrānu" may reflect that after the expedition against Teumman further campaigns were necessary. It also corresponds to the fact that the *peak* section described the conquest of Elam (cf. appendix II, figure 3 with comments). Noteworthy is further the alteration of "ᴵdunanu aḫḫēᵐᵉˢ̌šu" (Bvi₂₅) to "dunanu samgunu" (Fii₇₉). Of Dunanu's brothers only Samgunu is mentioned later (cf B₃'s "addition" to Bvi₅₁: "qaqqad ᴵištarnandi ina kišād ᴵ[samgunu] aḫi ᴵdunanu tardennu [ālul]" (Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*, p.94 [// Kiii₇₀₋₇₁], Bvi₇₆).

According to VAT 5600+ III,12 Aššurbanipal conducted a second campaign against Uwaite³, because of the latter's conspiracy with Natnu. According to Aviii₆₅ff, however, it was Abiate³, who had conspired with Natnu. A further inserted a reference to Abiate³ in viii₉₄₋₉₅ (// VAT 5600+ III,33). While the first part of the campaign was only of limited success (Uwaite³ escaped), the second part achieved its aim. Abiate³ and Aimu were captured and carried to Assyria (Aix₁₅₋₂₄ // VAT 5600+ IV,22-28), escapees were punished (Aix₂₅₋₄₁ // VAT 5600+, IV,29ff [text mutilated]).

B in the sentence added to the description of Tarqu's fear.[376] Thus the *peak* has moved from the narration of a conflict to the relation of its effects.[377]

B further noted the occupation of Memphis, which was presupposed but not expressly mentioned in HT. The *main line* verbs ("aṣbat", "ušērib", "ušēšib"; Bi_{85-86}) parallel the narration of Tarqu's conquest of the same city (ērumma, ūšib; Bi_{60}). Mentions of the punishment of rebellious cities[378], the capture of Šarruludari, and Tarqu's death conclude the account.

The following diagram shows the *discourse profile* of B's version of the account of Aššurbanipal's first campaign in Egypt

Figure 10 discourse profile of B's account of Aššurbanipal's first Egyptian campaign

i 50   60   70   80   90   ii 1   9

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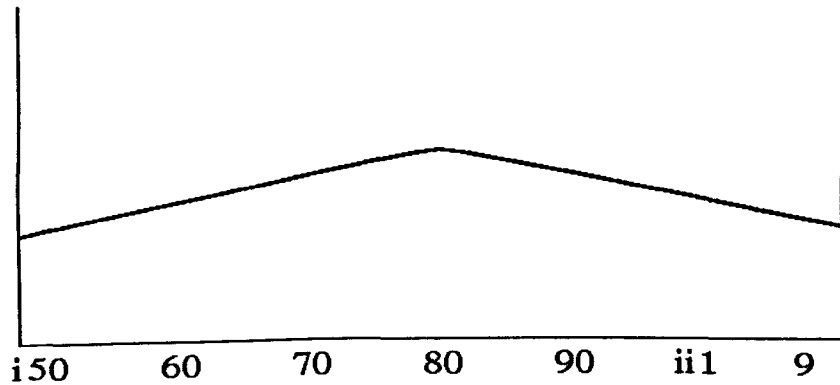
376   In the mention of Tarqu's death B has replaced "ḫattu puluḫtu bēlūtīya" (HT obv.66) with "rašubbat ᵍˢkakki aššur bēlīya" (ii_8).

377   B's additional text to the narration of the punishment of rebellious cities (Bii_{1-2}) is paralleled in C (not extant) / Aii_{3-4}. On the other hand C/A (i_{134}-ii_2) agree with HT obv.48-49 // E (BM 134481 ii_{1-2} Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh", pl.20) against Bi_{98-99}. The fact that in ed. A 3ʳᵈ p.pl. is used and in B 1ˢᵗ p.sgl. may either be explained by the assumption that C/A being dependent on a non-extant source, possibly older than E/HT, have preserved the older text, or that C/A have adapted their *Vorlage* to the new context in C/A (1ˢᵗ p.sgl. > 3ʳᵈ p.pl.). Therefore, we cannot decide whether B has expanded the passage or HT has abbreviated it.

378   The names of these cities are given as ᵃˡsa-a-a ᵃˡbi-in-ṭi-ṭi ᵃˡṣa-ʾ-nu. According to Ai_{91} Šarruludari ruled over a city called ᵃˡṣi-ʾ-nu, while ᵃˡṣa-ʾ-nu was governed by a Puṭubišti. In Ai_{134} (// Bi_{95}) ᵃˡṣa-ʾ-nu and ᵃˡṣi-ʾ-nu are variant readings. Possibly the two names refer to the same city and the list in Ai_{90-109} may mention Šarruludari and Puṭubišti as successive rulers (thus von Zeissl, quoted in Spalinger, "Assurbanipal and Egypt", p.319, n.25 *contra* Spalinger), as may have been the case with the rulers of ᵃˡna-at-ḫu-ú (cf. $Ai_{92,97}$). The king of that city named first is Pišanḫuru, who figured prominently in BM 82-5-22,10. Possibly, he, too, was

With regard to the time structure of the campaign account, there are only two minor alterations apparent, the insertion of a campaign formula: "ina maḫrê girrīya ana [^{mat}ma]kan u [^{mat}meluḫḫa] lu allik" (Bi$_{50-51}$)[379] and the designation of Tarqu as "[šar ^{mat}muṣur u]^{380} ^{mat}kūsi" (i$_{52}$). In HT Tarqu had been introduced as king of "Kūsu"[381], who intends to conquer "Muṣur"[382] The designation in ed. B is thus proleptic.[383] It further leads to the literary difficulty that Tarqu as "[šar ^{mat}muṣur u] ^{mat}kūsi" (i$_{52}$) sets off "ana ... [ekēm ^{mat}mu]ṣur" (i$_{59}$). Such creation of literary inconsistencies is of particular interest since their presence belongs to the most important criteria for the recognition of redactorial intervention. Even if their presence can be established there still remains ambiguity as to how they originated.[384]

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deposed by Aššurbanipal after the unsuccessful revolt. If the two names do not refer to the same city Ši'nu may be identified with Pelusium (Sin; thus Kitchen *Third Intermediate Period*, p.393, n.877).

[379] Cf. also A's addition of a campaign formula (Avii$_{82-84}$) to the account(s) of Aššurbanipal's campaigns against Arabs (cf. Bvii$_{93ff}$).

[380] Restored after prism D.

[381] Ll.15.30.38.66. See above p.87.

[382] Obv.2. Cf. also obv.28!

[383] Cf. also A's expansion of description of Uwaite''s insubmissiveness in which several sentences are anticipatory (cf. Avii$_{94-95}$ // ix$_{53-57.75-89}$ // viii$_{31ff}$ and above n.375). While B had stated that the Assyrian army dispatched against Uwaite' killed "niše^{meš} ^{mat}aribi mala itbûni" Bviii$_{8f}$ and only from a later passate (Bviii$_{23}$) it is apparent, that Uwaite' escaped, VAT 5600+ I,50 added "ittīšu" (// Avii$_{117}$) and thus indicated that Uwaite''s fate was different. Because the transfer of the descriptions of the wealth of the booty taken and the famine among the Arabs to a different passage A mentions Uwaite''s escape "ana ruqēti" immediately after the defeat. The second reference to Uwaite''s flight (Bviii$_{31}$) had already been updated in VAT 5600+ II,23f by the addition of "ana ^{mat}nabayate" (// Avii$_{124}$).

   As in the case of Sennacherib's annals (see above n.268) there are also narratives which already in their earliest extant version contain proleptic remarks. Thus "attallaka šalṭiš" (Biii$_{33}$) may anticipate the success of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Aḫšeri.

   In B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Urtaku the mention of the Elamite king's breach of peace (Biii$_{19-20}$) is followed by a description of Aššurbanipal's support for Elam in times of famine (iii$_{20-26}$). The relation of Urtaku's rebellion in Biii$_{27ff}$ indicates that the remarks in Biii$_{19-20}$ are anticipatory. The reference to Sin plotting evil for Teummān (Bv$_{4-5}$) may be regarded as prolepsis of the signs given by Sin and Šamaš (Bv$_{5-8.9}$).

[384] The creation of literary inconsistencies by omission can be exemplified in HT's abbreviation of E's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Kirbit. Although HT mentions only the capture of one city, Kirbit, a pl. reference was retained in rev.12 ("ālāni šātunu" // Eiv$_7$: ālāni šunūti). In the preceding line HT had used a sgl. reference (niše^{meš}šu). Cf. also "bēl ālānīšunu" (HT rev.8 - Bauer, *IWA*, p.33, n.3), which in Biii$_7$ // Civ$_{33}$ was altered to "bēl ālīšunu and thus adapted to the further course of narration. HT further retained "ikšudū" (rev.11 // Eiii$_{23}$), but added "kišitti qātēya" to the reference to the cities captured.

Developmental tendencies can also be observed in the alteration of the participant orientation pattern. The increase of the percentage of *reversals* from 13.52 % (HT) to 29.73 % (B) is somewhat misleading. B's participant orientation pattern contains 11 *reversals*. Of these one had been created by the addition of the campaign formula and 8 more are found in a single paragraph $Bi_{70\text{-}86}$. B has omitted the second section of HT's account, in the third section relating the revolt and subsequent punishment of the rebels B has no *reversals* at all, and in the final section both HT and B have one *reversal*. It is only in the first section that the number of *reversals* increases from HT to B. Two of the additional *reversals* are created by B's adaptation of i_{78ff} to i_{71ff}, the remaining two by the expansion of the description of Tarqu's fear (i_{82}).[385] Both alterations can be ascribed to general tendencies of development. Thus this case does not contradict the trends towards a reduction of *reversals*. It rather demonstrates that other tendencies may have prevailed against it.

We have noted above that in HT many secondary participants appear on the *main line*. In B, however, the only secondary participant functioning as *agent* is the messenger sent to Aššurbanipal. It is the Assyrian king himself, who, according to B, leads his army to Egypt (Bi_{66ff}), defeats Tarqu's army (i_{77ff}), and

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The difference between eds. E and B with regard to Tandā's fate may be due to *aberratio occuli* (^{1}ta-an-da-a-a / ^{1}a-ku-da-a-a). $Biii_{12}$ mentions "^{1}tandā bēl ālišunu" as being taken to Assyria, whereas according to ed.E "^{1}tandā bēl āli" was killed by the Assyrian troops (iii_{34}), who captured "^{1}akudā nāgiršunu" alive and and brought him before Aššurbanipal (iv_5).

A further cause for inconsistencies was the tendency to emphasize primary participants. Thus while according to B's account the Moabite king defeated Ammuladdi ($Bviii_{48\text{-}50}$), in A Aššurbanipal claims the victory for himself ("abiktāšu aškun", $Aviii_{23}$). In the narration of Ammuladdi's capture, however, 3rd p.pl. is used ("iṣbatūnimma ubilūni adi maḫriya", $Aviii_{26}$ / "uṣabbit ... adi maḫri[ya ušēbila]" with the Moabite king as grammatical subject, $Bviii_{48\text{-}50}$, restored after prism D).

For examples of literary inconsistencies in *early versions* cf. above n.307.

385   Cf. above n.23.

even captures Šarruludari (ii$_6$).[386] Since for the references to Aššurbanipal's enemies the same trend is apparent[387] these alterations should not be (solely) attributed to the egocentricity of the Assyrian kings.[388] B has also reduced the number of primary participants. None of the rebels (C) appears as *agent* of a *main line* verb.[389]

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[386] Cf. also the alteration of "miḫrit ummānāteya" (HT obv.16) to "ana maḫrīya" (Bi$_{74}$). For further alterations cf. participant orientation table above.

 Similar changes have also been carried out in other campaign accounts. In their version of the Kirbit campaign B/C have have altered all verbs with the Assyrian army as *agents* to 1st p.sgl. and thus reduced the number of participants in the *main line*. For the mention of the capture of Kirbit (and other cities) we can note a development of participant designations from "ikšudū" (Eiii$_{23}$, HT rev.11), referring to the Assyrian army, to "kišitti qāteya" (HT rev.12), to "akšud" (Biii$_{11}$ // Civ$_{32}$) with the Assyrian king as *agent*. As a consequence of B's abbreviations the participant relation in Biii$_{12}$ is A - B. F omitted the first part of B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Aḫšeri (Biii$_{16-30}$), where secondary participants for the Assyrian king appeared as *main line agents*. F has also omitted all references to secondary participants and consequently also to all internal participant relations from the *main line* of its account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Teummān (see below, appendix III, table 8). The Assyrian king is the only *main line agent*. In its account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Dunanu, B narrates that Tammaritu's servants rebelled (Bvii$_{54}$) and mentions that Indabigaš, who had instigated the revolt took the throne (Bvii$_{56-57}$). F and A, however, relate that it was Indabigaš, who defeated Tammaritu (Fiii$_{20}$ // Aiv$_{12}$). In the narration of Tammaritu's escape A has further replaced "iṣbatū šēpē^{II} šarrūtīya" (Bvii$_{70}$) with all refugees as grammatical subject with "šēpē šarrūtīya unaššiqma" (Aiv$_{28}$), even though in iv$_{115}$ and v$_{21}$ A refers to this incident with "ša ... iṣbata šēpē^{II}ya". "... unaššiq" and Aiv$_{29}$ correspond to the contents of Tammaritu's speech (cf. above n.374). For additional alterations of references to participants in this account see above n.372. In the report of the first campaign against Uwaite', A has replaced all mentions of the Assyrian army as *main line agents* by references to Aššurbanipal (cf. appendix III, table 12). In the report of Ammuladdin's defeat VAT 5600+ has omitted the reference to the Moabite king (viii$_{43-45}$), but replaced "[iddima]" (Bviii$_{49}$, restored after D) with "addišuma" (VAT 5600+, II,34). The addition of the suffix is noteworthy, since in B the context implied that Ammuladdin and his subjects were taken to Assyria (cf. viii$_{46}$). Consequently "... ana ^{al}ninua^{ki} adi maḫr[īya ušēbila]" (Bviii$_{59}$) was replaced by "ūrâ ana ^{māt}aššur" (VAT 5600+ II,46). IT has further abbreviated this passage by omitting the mention of Ammuladdi's fight against the Amurrite kings, which in Aiii$_{16}$ parr are introduced as secondary participants for Aššurbanipal ("ša ^{d}aššur ^{d}ištar u ilāni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} ušadgila panū'a"). Cf. also above n.384.

[387] Cf. the alteration of "uma''era ummānšu" (HT obv.8) to "illaka" (Bi$_{60}$).

[388] *Contra* Mowinckel, "Die vorderasiatischen Königs- und Fürsteninschriften", p.285.

[389] Šarruludari, a third primary participant apart from Aššurbanipal and Tarqu, appears once as the *patient* of "aṣbat" (Bii$_6$). Secondary participants for C are not mentioned. The cities punished by Aššurbanipal are referred to with "ša ibbalkitū itti ^{l}tarqu iškunū pīšun" (Bi$_{96-97}$; HT: "mala ittīšunu [šaknu]" - restored after ed. A, with the pronominal suffix referring to the rebels).

 In its report of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Dunanu, F has reduced the number of participants by changing the remark that that Tammaritu had fled before the "weapon of Aššur and Ištar" (Bvii$_{64f}$) to "before Indabigaš (Fiii$_{23}$).

 By the omission of the reference to the decapitation of one of Teummān's generals (Bvi$_{39-42}$, participant relation: A C') F and A have reduced the number of participants and unified the *main line*. F and A have further omitted the description of the ravaging of Gambulu (vi$_{45-46}$) and only retained a description of the conquest and destruction of Sapibel, where Dunanu

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Related to the tendency to concentrate on primary participants is the trend to clarify their relationship. Thus B has altered the order of narration of *stage* and *inciting event*. According to HT Tarqu first moves to Memphis (obv.5) and then sets off to fight against the Assyrians (obv.6ff). In B his intentions are stated first (i_{57-60}) and his move to Memphis is supplemented by "[ṣīruššun]"[390] (Bi_{60}), where the reference of the suffix may include Niku. It is expressly mentioned at the beginning of the account that Tarqu's actions are directed against the Assyrians.

The next extant edition, that of C and A[391], exhibits an intermediate stage between E and HT on the one side and B on the other. C and A follow ed. B in the first part of the account, narrating that the Assyrian king himself led his army, but agree with HT in ascribing the capture of the rebels to Aššurbanipal's officers.[392] Between the two events C and A have inserted a reference to Aššurbanipal's return to Nineveh. The literary relationships of the various versions are thus complex. Either we have to assume that C and A were dependent on a non-extant *Vorlage* or that they combined different sources. In any case, for an analysis of the structural development C and A have to be compared with HT rather than B. On the other hand, since C, A and B agree in the first parts of their accounts, the statements made above on the development

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and his brother(s) were captured (cf. appendix III, table 11). To be noted further is HT's omission of the reference to the settlement of foreign peoples in Kirbit, which did not concern the main conflict and denoted a *switch* in the participant orientation pattern. For further cases cf. also above n.386.

In its account of the campaign against Aḫšeri A has added a note of the killing of Aḫšeri's relatives Thus it might constitute a witness for an intermediary stage between F and A. ($Aiii_{10}$). The latter are, however, mentioned with pronominal suffixes referring to Aḫšeri ("aḫḫē^{meš}šu qinnūšu zēr bīt abīšu"). The presence of this line in BM 82-3-23,5218 (cf. Bauer, *IWA*, p.58) may indicate that A took it over from its source and that B may have omitted it from its *Vorlage*.

390   Restored after D and A.
391   Prism F omits Aššurbanipal's first Egyptian campaign.
392   Cf. also C/A's narration of the punishment of rebellious cities, where C/A partly agree with B against HT, and partly with HT against B. See above n.377.

of time structure and participant orientation are valid for C and A, too, and need not be repeated here.

C and A do not narrate the second, unsuccessful, expedition against Tarqu (HT obv.24-32) and thus have reduced the number of *peak*s. We thus can note a simplification of the narrative structure from originally four *peak*s (HT) to two (C and A) and to one *peak*. This parallels the development of the account of Sennacherib's first campaign.[393]

Figure 11 Discourse profile of HT's account of Aššurbanipal's first Egyptian campaign indicating text retained by B, C, and A

retained by ed. B

retained by eds. C/A
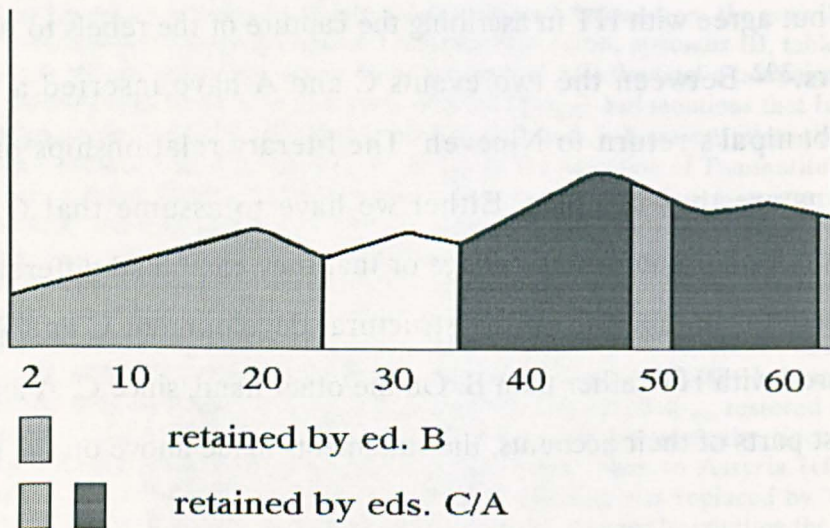
Both C and A have lists not present in the preceding editions. C adds a list of vassal kings from "aḫi tâmtim qabal tâmtim u nābali", who were sent by

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393 Similarly F has omitted narrative sections containing *peak*s from B's versions of Aššurbanipal's campaigns against Aḫšeri (cf. appendix II, figure 2, with comments) and against Teummān (Bv$_{89}$-vi$_{13}$).

Aššurbanipal to support the Assyrian troops, whereas A has a list of Egyptian vassal kings reinstalled after Tarqu had been defeated by the Assyrians. From the narrative point of view the only purpose apparent for the addition of these lists is preservation of information. The effect of their inclusion on the narrative structure is thus difficult to evaluate. They turn attention away from the course of events.[394] For the establishment of *plot profiles* we have disregarded these insertions, of which we, nevertheless, have to take notice.

The kings from "aḫi tâmtim qabal tâmtim u nābali" who were sent to Egypt by Aššurbanipal[395] are probably identical with those from "eber nāri" who are mentioned in HT obv.25, but not in B. C/A and HT, however, differ considerably in wording. Furthermore, the position of this episode within the course of the narrative is different. In HT the kings were sent to Egypt after Tarqu's army had been defeated and the Ethiopian king had fled to Thebes. In C/A, however, they are sent to Egypt at the beginning of the campaign. Since C/A have Aššurbanipal himself leading his army to Egypt and have omitted the narration of Tarqu's second escape the original position of the passage could not be retained. The resolution of the chronological order is indicated by the fact that in C/A the passage is introduced by "ina mētiq girrīya".[396] The addition of ana "^{māt}muṣur u ^{māt}kūsi ušteššera ḫarrānu" (C/Ai$_{67f}$) identifies the meaning of "^{māt}makan u ^{māt}meluḫḫa" in the campaign formula ([C]/Ai$_{52}$ // Bi$_{50}$) and creates a parallelism to the introduction of Aššurbanipal's second campaign.

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[394]   Of the kings listed in ed. C none, and of the list in ed. A only Niku (and the cities of Saïs, Pindidi, and Ṣiʾnu) is mentioned in the further course of the narrative.

[395]   While C mentions the names of the kings, A only states their number. The names given in ed. C are very similar to those mentioned in an inscription of Esarhaddon (cf. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p.60). Apart from orthographic variants all but two names are identical. C has "^{lú}ia-ki-in-lu" for ^{lú}ma-ta-an-ba-ʾa-al" and "^{lú}m-mi-na-ad-bi" for "^{lú}bu-du-ilu". The alterations may constitute updates. The different purpose of the list in the two inscriptions may indicate, that C Esarhaddon's prism did not constitute C's immediate *Vorlage*.

[396]   "ina mētiq girrīya" is also used by F to mark an insertion of an account of the Bit-Imbi affair into its report of the first campaign against Ummanaldasi (cf. below n.474).

Since Tarqu had been mentioned as "[šar ^{mat}muṣur u] ^{mat}kūsi" (i$_{52}$) the participant orientation has been further clarified.

A has expanded the description of Aššurbanipal's reaction to Tarqu's attack to an EEN construction:

libbi ēgugma
iṣṣaruḫ kabitti
ašši qātēya uṣalli ^{d}aššur u ^{d}ištar aššurītu (i$_{64-65}$[397])

and thus adapts the passage to Ai$_{56.66f.84}$. This further simplifies the participant orientation, since it becomes apparent that Aššur and Ištar act on Aššurbanipal's behalf.[398]

a) Aššurbanipal's Second Campaign in Egypt

(1) The Structure of the Earliest Extant Version

The oldest of the major editions for Aššurbanipal's campaign against Tandamane[399] is that of HT, which will be taken as point of departure.

HT has separated this section from the previous one only by the introduction of a new grammatical subject (Tandamane; HT obv.67). The new paragraph is linked with the previous one by referring back to Tarqu with a pronominal suffix.[400]

Only very few literary devices are employed. This conforms with the fact that the Assyrian king does not dominate a single *main line* verb in this account. There is, therefore, no substantial rise or fall of the rhetorical level. Tension

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[397] Without equivalent in C.
[398] Clarification of the participant relations can also be observed in A's version of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Aḫšeri. A has added a promise of Ištar to the narration of Aḫšeri's death. Through Ištar's statement "mītūtu ^{l}aḫšeri šar ^{mat}manā kīma ša aqbu ippuš" (Aiii$_{6-7}$) it becomes apparent that Aḫšeri's servants act as secondary participants for the Assyrian goddess. In ed. B this could only be deduced from "aššur u ^{d}ištar imnûšu ina qātā^{ll} ardāni^{meš}šu" (Biii$_{83}$).
[399] Ed.B: Tašdamanē.
[400] "mār aššatīšu" (obv.67).

increases with the report on Tandamane's preparations for war, but decreases quickly after the outcome of the decisive battle is mentioned (obv.71).[401] Tension rises again with the report on the Assyrian army pursuing Tandamane. The overall surface structure *peak* of this narrative is found in the description of the capture of Thebes with the intensifying supplements "ana siḫirtīšu" and "abubiš" in obv.74. The enumeration of booty taken from Thebes and the parallelism "ušēṣima" / "ana šallatiš imnu" slows down the narration and the decrease of the rhetorical level. The mention of the safe return of the Assyrian troops (rev.ll.5-6) concludes this section.

Figure 12 *Discourse Profile* of HT's account of Aššurbanipal's second Egyptian campaign
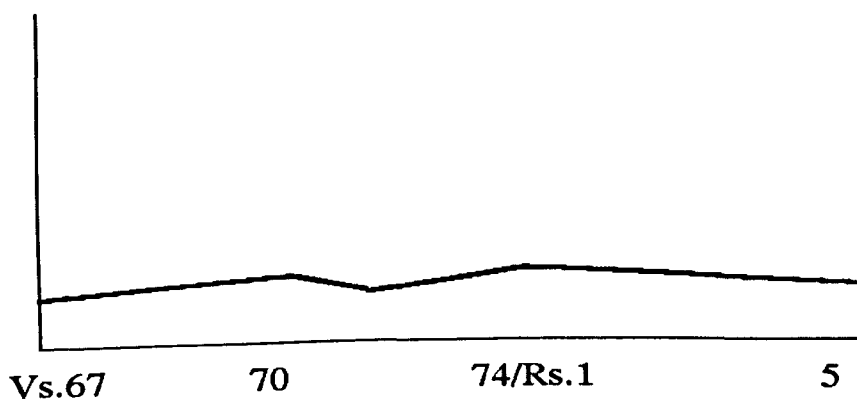
The significance of the narrated events has found only weak expression in the surface structure. The importance of the sack of Thebes for the Assyrians is evident from the fact that it is the only event from Aššurbanipal's first two

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401   "ina tukulti ...", "ina ṣēri rapši".

campaigns to be mentioned in the Ištar Temple Tablet (1.80).[402] The same is true for prism H, which has introductory remarks in ll.1-6, then mentions the capture and looting of Thebes in l.7, and continues with the mention of Ba²alu of Tyre.[403]

The account in HT appears to follow a chronological order.

Since HT's version is very brief, statistical data have to be treated with care.

The *main line* reads:

					HT	B	F
obv.l.67	ūšibma	B				+	-
	uma²²ir	B	B'		I	-	-
l.68	iškun	B	B'		I	I	-
	upaḫḫir	B	B'		I	I	-
						I[404]	-
						I[405]	-
						I[406]	-
						r[407]	-
						I[408]	-
						r[409]	-
						I[410]	+
						r[411]	r
l.69	ušatbâ	B	(B')	A'	I	-	-
	iṣbata	B	A'		I	-	-
l.71	iškunū	A'	B		r	-	-
	uparrirū	A'	B'		I	-	-
l.72	ipparšidma	B	(A')		r	I[412]	I
	ērub	B	(A')		I	I[413]	I
						r[414]	r
						I[415]	I
						I[416]	I

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402 Henceforth IT. Cf. Thompson, "Excavation at Nineveh", pp.80-90.
403 Cf. also K 3127+4435 (Bauer, *IWA*, pp.66f.).
404 "idkâ" - B B'.
405 "ēsirma" - B A'.
406 "iṣbata" - B A'.
407 "illikamma" - A' A [B].
408 "iqbâ" - A A' [B].
409 "ašnīma" - A [B].
410 "ušteššera" - A [B].
411 "išmēma" - B A.
412 "[umašširma]" (restored after prism D) - B [A].
413 "innabit" - B [A].
414 "illikūnimma" - A' A [B].
415 "unaššaqū" - A' A [B].
416 "aṣbat" - A B.

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l.73	illikū	A'	B	r	I^{417}	I
					r^{418}	r
					I^{419}	I
l.74	ikšudū	A'	B'	I	r^{420}	r
	ispunū	A'	B'	I	-	-
rev.l.4	ušēṣūnimma	A'	B'	I	I^{421}	I
					I^{422}	I
	imnû	A'	B'	I	I^{423}	-
					I^{424}	-
					I^{425}	-
l. 5	iššûnimma	A'	A	s	I^{426}	-
	unaššiqū	A'	A	I	-	-

(12 x I [75 %], 3 x r [18.75 %], 1 x s [6.25 %])

The participant orientation pattern in HT exhibits only few *reversals*. Secondary participants for both protagonists appear on the *main line*. There are, however, only two *agents*, the Assyrian army and Tandamane. Aššurbanipal is not mentioned as *agent* even in transitional passages. In the passage containing the overall *peak*, the participant relation is between secondary participants (A' - B').

(2) The Structural Development

There is evidence that B's *Vorlage* differed from HT. Tandamanē's siege of Memphis, which had not been mentioned by HT is also referred to in the Kushite king's Dream Stele[427]. Possibly B was dependent on a source earlier

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417 "allik".
418 "umašširma" - B [A].
419 "innabit" - B [A].
420 "ikšuda" - A B'.
421 "assuḫma" - A B'
422 "alqâ" - A B'.
423 "ašlula" - A B'.
424 "ušamrirma" - A B'.
425 "aštakan" - A B.
426 "atūra" - A.
427 Cf. Spalinger, "Assurbanipal and Egypt", pp.324f.
From the parallel between HT obv.30 and obv.73:
"ana ^{al}niʾ āl dannūti ^{l}tarqu šar ^{mat}kūsi illikū mālak arḫi X ūmē" (obv.30)
"mālak arḫi X ūmē urḫi pašqūti arkāšu illikū adi qereb ^{al}niʾ" (obv.37).
it could be deduced that the battle between Tandamanē's and Aššurbanipal's forces took place near Memphis.

than HT.[428] Any analysis of the differences between the editions is thus only provisional. Until further finds clarify the textual dependence between the various manuscripts we shall nevertheless regard HT's text as B's source.

The table above shows that ed. B has substantially expanded HT's account. Most of the events added by B to HT's version of Aššurbanipal's second campaign to Egypt are standard in Assyrian campaign accounts and have parallels in the accounts of the first Egyptian campaign. The alterations also follow the tendency to have the *main line* dominated by primary participants.

The arrival of a messenger at the Assyrian court corresponds to Bi_{63} parr. As in its account of Aššurbanipal's first campaign, B has the Assyrian king himself leading his army to Egypt. The phraseology resembles Ai_{67f}. In B, both Tarqu's and Tandamane's actions are preceded by a reference to their learning of events:

^{l}tarqu ... alāk girrīya išmēma ... idkâ tāḫāzīšu (Bi_{71-73})
^{l}tarqu ... išmâ taḫtê ummānātēšu ... ^{al}mimpi umašširma ana šūzub napištīšu innabit ana qereb ^{al}niˀ (i_{78-85}).

^{l}tašdamanē [alāk girrīya] išmēma ... ^{al}mimpi [umašširma ana šūzub napištīšu innabit an[a qereb ^{al}niˀ][429] (ii_{20-22}).
tīb tāḫāzīya ēmurma ^{al}niˀ umaššir innabit [ana ^{al}kipkipi][430] (ii_{27-28}).

B's report of Tandamane's second flight to Kipkipi may constitute an update of the account.[431] It also parallels HT's mention of Tarqu's second escape.[432] According to prism B, after Tandamane's defeat and escape the Egyptian vassal kings paid homage to Aššurbanipal. A counterpart may be seen in C/A's version of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Tarqu, where a reference

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428   Cf. above p.83f.
429   Restored according to eds. C and A.
430   Restored according to eds. C and A.
431   Cf. e.g. the insertion of a reference to Lule's death by Chic.-Tayl. (see above n.254). Comparable is further the addition of "ana ^{māt}nabayate" by VAT 5600+ II,23f to the narration of Uwaite's escape (cf. $Bviii_{31}$).
432   "^{l}tarqu ša alāk ummānātēya išme ^{al}niˀ ... umaššir ^{nār}iaruˀu ēbir[ma ..." (obv.31-32).

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to the submission of kings "ša aḫi tâmtim qabal tâmtim u nābali" is related (i_{68-71}).[433]

The parallelism between B's accounts of Aššurbanipal's first and second campaign has also found its expression in "ašnīma ana ^{māt}mușur [u ^{māt}kusi] ušteššera ḫarrānu"[434] (Bii_{18-19}) which refers back to "ina maḫrê gi[rrīya] ana [^{māt}ma]kan u ^{māt}[meluḫḫa] lu allik" (Bi_{50-51}).[435] The formal beginning of the campaign narrative is thus to be found in Bii_{18-19} parr.

The assimilation of the narrative of comparable events, which have already noted for B's version of Aššurbanipal's first campaign has reached a higher level here. Not only passages within a narrative but a complete narrative was adapted to another one. This has at least two very important implications. For the attempt to trace earlier stages of development in *late versions*, it means that it is not possible to reconstruct the altered passages. The consequences for the treatment of suspected *doublets* are of even greater importance. We cannot *a priori* assume that two similar narratives constitute alternative versions of one story. In the light of the literary development of Assyrian annals the assimilation of originally different accounts with common features seems more probable. Further examples will be given below.

The conception of the crushing of Tandamanē's rebellion as a campaign of the Assyrian king has led to an increasing separation of this account from the previous one. In B the insertion of "arkānu" marked the beginning of the new section. The adaptations also affected the *discourse structure*.

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[433]   Since, however, the two passages have different functions within the accounts - in the report on the first Egyptian campaign the vassal kings are sent to Egypt to support the Assyrian troops, whereas in B's version of the second Egyptian campaign the Egyptian vassal kings submit to the victorious king - the comparison is a weak one. It is also possible that Bi_{24} reflects HT rev.5.

[434]   Restored after eds. C and A.

[435]   The next campaign, against Baʾalu of Tyre, is referred to as Aššurbanipal's third campaign (Bii_{41}).

In B *stage* and *inciting event* are marked and separated from the account of the campaign proper by the mention of a messenger arriving in Nineveh. The description of Tandamane's preparations is downgraded by the replacement of the two sentences containing "ušatbâ" and "iṣbata ḫarrāna" by the more usual "idkâ".[436] The battle between Tandamane's forces and the Assyrians is not mentioned in B. The resolution of the conflict with the Assyrian king as *agent* is therefore found in the passage on the conquest and looting of Thebes, which contains the overall *peak* of B's account. HT's "aspuna abūbiš" is omitted, but the looting is described with three *main line* verbs ("assuḫma", "alqâ", "ašlula" [ll.35-36]).

B's summarizing remarks (ii_{37-38}) reflect the tendency towards placing more emphasis on results than on a sequence of events.[437] The account is concluded with the mention of Aššurbanipal's return to Nineveh (Bi_{39}).

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436   Cf. HT obv.16 parr.; Bi_{66} parr.

437   Similarly, VAT 5600+ has omitted the mention of a victory against Ammuladdin ($Bviii_{43-45}$), but rather concentrated on the result, Ammuladdin's capture (II,40-44). IT further left out the references to Ammuladdi's fight against the Amurri and narrates only that Ammuladdi was captured alive and brought before Aššurbanipal (l.114). Cf. also IT's remarks on the submission of Uwaite"s (ll.113.119-121.123-126, see below n.439) and Natnu (ll.123.124).

This trend can also be recognized in HT's omissions from E's account of the Kirbit affair. HT has only retained the narration of the destruction of Kirbit and the capture of its mayor (rev.11-12), but left out references to prior events. The preference of mentioning results against relating a sequence of events implies a reduction of tension and thus HT's account is *episodic*. This is also true of F's version of the campaign against Teummān, where the tendency is underlined by altering the order of narration (cf. below n.437) and expanding the description of the conquest of Elam (Fii_{62-66} // Bv_{93-98}, cf. below, appendix II, table 8, and appendix III, figure 3 with comments). By its omissions F has created a historical inaccuracy. F retained the time denotation of Bv_{77ff} (// Fii_{57}), but left out its reference, the mustering of the Assyrian army. In F, therefore, "in ^{ara}ḫulūl ..." relates to the conquest of Elam.

A has expanded the narration of Aḫšeri's death by a inserting a parallel line ($Aiii_9$), a reference to Aḫšeri's relatives ($Aiii_{10}$), and a quotation of Ištar's promise ($Aiii_{6-7}$) and thus placed more emphasis on the resolution of the conflict. Unfortunately IT's version is mutilated, but since 1.87 concludes IT's version of Gyges' submission and 1.89 mentions Ualli, there remains only one line for the Aḫšeri episode. From the account of the campaign against Dunanu IT has only retained that Aššurbanipal captured Sapibel and took Dunanu with rich spoil to Assyria (ll.105-107).

A part of the last section of F's account of Aššurbanipal's first campaign against Ummanaldasi is paralleled by the text of a prism represented by ND 4378B, 5527, 5529, and 5533 (cf. Knudsen, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nimrud", pll.xxi, xxiv, xxv, xxvi), assigned by Knudsen to ed. C. Freedman, however, argued convincingly that the prism belongs to a different edition (*Assurbanipal's "annals"*, p.8f). Since the fragments' text agrees with C against F and A in other passages (Cix_{66ff}, without equivalent in F and A), we shall assume that they present an earlier version compared to F and A. ND 4378B+ ll.x+1-x+11

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With regard to the development of the participant orientation pattern, B's adaptation of the account to the preceding one and to the usual sequence of events runs against the tendency to reduce the number of *reversals* on the *main line* (HT: 3xr ≈ 13.33 %; B: 6 x r ≈ 24 %). B's *main line* is generally dominated by primary participants. Only in the reports of the arrival of a messenger and of the submission of vassal kings do secondary participants appear as *agents*. The participant relation in the passage containing the overall *peak* is A B'.[438]

In the description of the booty taken from Thebes B has resolved the chronological order by adding that Aššurbanipal took two obelisks to Assyria (Bii_{33-35}). Four lines later his return to Nineveh is mentioned. B has combined similar passages describing the taking of booty and thus resolved the

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correspond to Fiv_{8-16} ($// Av_{53-62}$). Up to "ašlula ana $^{m\bar{a}t}$aššur" (l.x+12) the text is identical with that of editions F and A. Then the prism continues to give a summary of Aššurbanipal's conquests and the booty taken and mentions the distribution of the spoil among Assyrians. This is narrated in neither F's nor A's account on the first campaign against Ummanaldasi, but a similar passage is found later in the two editions ($Fvi_{12ff} // Avi_{125ff}$) in the context of a second expedition against the Elamite king, the last campaign reported in ed.F. A mentions briefly a further expedition against the Elamite king (Ax_{6-16}). Since the similarities of the descriptions could be due to the subject and there are also differences. (ll.x+12-31.40-44 are not represented in F/A; F/A add "^{d}nusku" to the list of gods in l.x+36, A further adds "^{d}adad" to l.x+34, and the texts of $Fvi_{16-21} // Avi_{3-8}$ are not present in the preserved parts of the prism. The evidence does not require the assumption of a textual dependency, but on the other hand it cannot be ruled out. It is quite conceivable that F transferred parts of this passage from the end of a first campaign against Ummanaldasi to the end of the report of a second campaign against the same king. Of B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Ummanigaš ($Bvii_{3-42}$) F and A have only retained that Ummanigaš who had accepted a bribe from Šamaš-šum-ukīn was killed by Tammaritu ($Fiii_{6-11} // Aiii_{136}-iv_2$).

Similarly A has transferred the account of the wealth of booty taken during a first campaign against Uwaite² and of a famine among the Arabs to a passage after the report of a second campaign against the Arab king ($Bviii_{12-31} //$ VAT 5600+ I,54-II,22 [cf above n.374] $// Aix_{42-74}$)

An exeption to the general tendency is provided by A's addition of v_{15-16}.

438   The development of the participant designations at this point is significant. While HT had 3rd p.pl. ("ikšudū"; HT obv.74) referring to the Assyrian troops, B - followed by C/A, and F - has retained the pl. ("ikšudā"; Bii_{29}) with "qātāya" as grammatical subject. The pronominal suffix refers to Aššurbanipal. The development ends with the use of 1st p.sgl. ("akšud") in ed. H (ii_7).

chronological order of narration to a thematic one.[439]

The text of C/A is almost identical with that of B.[440] A has replaced "mār aḫatīšu" (ii_{10}) with "mār ^{I}šabaku" and inserted "ina šane girrīya" after the

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[439] A thematic rather than a chronological order can also be observed as a result or redactorial intervention in F's version of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Elam (Biv_{87-88}: "against Teummān"). The order of narration is according to importance; first the victory over Elam, then the killing of the Elamite king and then of his soldiers. Thereafter the account returns to the description of the extent of Aššurbanipal's victory, which is thus stressed twice. F has transferred the remarks on Ummanigaš' and Tammaritu's escape to the passage narrating their enthronement ($Fii_{68.70}$), thus further altering the chronological order of narration towards a thematic one (cf. $Biv_{74-86.89-96}$). This purpose may also be responsible for the twofold mention of Uwaite''s punishment ($Aviii_{1-14}$, Aix_{97-114}). The insertion of the first passage may have been prompted by the mention of Uwaite''s escape, whereas the second passage introduces the description of punishments inflicted by the Assyrian king on insubmissive enemies.

  Several of IT's accounts can be adduced. Unfortunately IT's report of the campaign against Teummān / Elam is only poorly preserved. The extant portions are different from the preceding versions. IT 1.100 mentions ^{al}šušan ^{al}pi-[dil-ma]. Since the next line narrates the taking of booty, the cities probably are mentioned as having been conquered. This took place during Aššurbanipal's second campaign against Ummanaldasi ($Fiv_{36.38}$ // $Av_{84.87}$). IT 1.102 relates the installation of Tammaritu as king of Ḫidāli, which in eds. B, F, and A is mentioned after the campaign against Teummān. Thus IT appears to have put together information from several campaigns against the Elamites. IT's order of narration of Aššurbanipal's expeditions against Arabs differs from that of the major editions: Ammuladdi (1.114), Natnu (ll.123-124), Uaite' (ll.113.119.[124]-126). The narration of Šamaš-šum-ukīn's fate may have prompted the first mention of Uaite' (1.113 "^{I}uwaite' [ša pī it]tīšu iššaknu"). The second mention (1.119: "^{I}iaute'") is part of a list of kings humiliated in Nineveh (cf. Ax_{17-30}). The list notes Elamite kings first and follows a reference to Aššurbanipal's conquest of Elam (ll.115-118). The third mention (1.124 - king's name not preserved) followed the narration of the submission of Natnu, king of Nabayāti ("ša ana ^{mat}n]abayā[ti ittak]lu u tā[martišu ...."). It is interesting to note that ll.113.119 have both orthographic forms of the name, although the extant *Vorlagen* of this passage use only one. Uwaite''s support of Šamaš-šum-ukīn is mentioned by $Avii_{99}$ (Uwaite') and VAT 5600+ I,42-44 (Uwaite'). Uwaite''s humiliation is narrated in A (Uwaite'). Cf. also below n.1026. Both passages in IT mention him as king of "Sumuili", which has no equivalent in B, VAT 5600+, C or A.

  A resolution of the chronological order of narration is also recognizable in A's resumption of Aimu's capture in Ax_{1-4} (// ix_{19-22}). The redactor presumably placed Aimu's execution (Ax_5) in its historical context rather than mentioning a separate event (*contra* Weippert, "Die Kämpfe des assyrischen Königs Assurbanipal", p.49). It is noteworthy that the first part of the later passage is narrated in subordinate clauses. A has also inserted the account of Abiate''s entronement to between the reports of the latter's support for Šamaš-šum-ukīn against Aššurbanipal and of another conspiracy together with Natnu ($Aviii_{48-51.68ff}$, cf. below n.913), both of which had not been reported in the preceding versions. Whether Abiate' was re-installed or B and VAT 5600+ omitted the former incident cannot be decided from the texts.

  However, thematic order is not necessarily a sign of redactorial intervention. In the case of Aššurbanipal's first campaign against Ummanaldasi it is already present in the earliest extant account, that of ed. F. F's account begins with the submission of cities ($Fiii_{39-61}$) and then turns to individuals ($Fiii_{62ff}$).

  For the presence of *resumptive repetition* in *early versions* and its employment by redactors to mark secondary insertions see below appendix II p.236 with n.913.

[440] For minor alterations see below.

mention of the messenger, thus omitting the back-reference and separating the two accounts more clearly from each other.

Edition F has the account of the campaign against Tandamanē as its first campaign account[441] and thus concentrates on the final confrontation between the Assyrian and a Kushite king. F further has omitted the *stage* of B's version including the mention of the messenger, B's summarizing remarks and the reference to Aššurbanipal's return to Nineveh.[442]

Thus in F no conflict is introduced and there is consequently only one *peak*, the conquest and looting of Thebes.

As has been noted above, Ed. H has retained only the *peak* section.

Figure 13 Discourse profile of HT's account of Aššurbanipal's second Egyptian campaign indicating omissions by F and H

10   15   20   25   30   35   39

☐ ■ retained by F

■ retained by H

<hr />
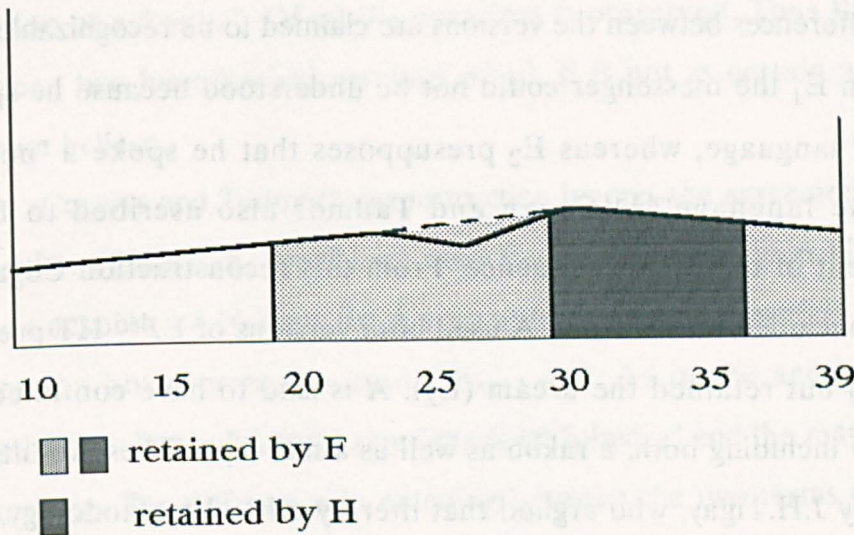
441   Consequently the Egyptian vassal kings are described with "ša aššur-aḫḫa-iddina šar ^{māt}aššur abu bānû'a ištakan qereb muṣur" (Fi$_{41}$), whereas B reads "ša qereb ^{māt}muṣur aškun" (ii$_{23}$).

442   An abbreviation of the *stage* is also apparent in HT's treatment of E's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Kirbit (see appendix III, table 6) Even though E's text is badly mutilated, enough has been preserved to indicate that that E's *stage* was far more extensive than that in HT (rev.8-9). B/C have further abbreviated HT's *stage* by leaving out rev.7, which paralleled rev.8. They also omitted the *inciting event*, the request for Aššurbanipal's intervention by the inhabitants of Dēru (HT rev.10).
    Comparable is furthermore F's omission of the first part of B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Ašḫeri (Biii$_{18-32a}$; cf. appendix III, table 7). The omitted passage narrates a first battle between Assyrian and Mannean forces before Aššurbanipal entered Aḫšeri's territory. F has drastically abbreviated B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Teummān by compressing B's *stage* into one subordinate clause ("ša ikpudū limuttu"; Fii$_{61}$) and omitting the *inciting event* (Bv$_{15-24}$).

b) The Gyges Affair

In the discussion about appropriate usage of Ancient Near Eastern material for literary criticism applied to Old Testament narratives, A's account of the submission of Gyges to the Assyrian king has received special attention. In Aii_{100f} we find a twofold mention of a messenger sent by the Lydian king to Aššurbanipal. It is the presence of two different terms for "messenger", "rakbu" and "mār-šipri", that caught attention. K.A.Kitchen argued that this passage and others indicate that the presence of varying terminology cannot serve as evidence for conflation of sources.[443] On the other hand M.Cogan and H.Tadmor[444] have argued that A was dependent on two different versions of ed. E, E_1 and E_2. While E_1 is argued to have used "rakbu", E_2 had "mār-šipri". Further differences between the versions are claimed to be recognizable in the fact that in E_1 the messenger could not be understood because he spoke a "barbaric" language, whereas E_2 presupposes that he spoke a "mutually intelligible language"[445] Cogan and Tadmor also ascribed to E_2 the development of the dream sequence. From this reconstruction Cogan and Tadmor concluded that HT and A used both versions of E.[446] HT preferred rakbu (E_1) but retained the dream (E_2). A is said to have conflated both versions by including both, a rakbu as well as a mār-šipri. These results were accepted by J.H.Tigay, who argued that literary-critical methodology, using variations in vocabulary as indications for sources was thus corroborated.[447]

The expansion the description of Uaite's "sin" by ed. A ($vii_{86.88.90f.104-106}$) may have been prompted by Uaite's capture and punishment (cf. Aix_{97-114})

[443] *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*, p.124.
[444] "Gyges and Assurbanipal".
[445] P.74.
[446] Cf. pp.77f.
[447] "Stylistic Criteria", pp.154f.

There are, however, various difficulties with Cogan and Tadmor's reconstruction of the literary history of the Gyges story. They have convincingly shown that the length of a col. of E_2 was 80 lines.[448] If the mention of the mār-šipri in BM 134454 col. B, l.2' belongs to the account of the Gyges affair then the whole account must have comprised more than one complete col., for BM 134454, col. A contains part of the narrative. Of those at the very least 80 lines are (partly) preserved:

BM 134454 col. A:	11 lines
BM 134445 + 121018:	14 lines
BM 134455 + 127923:	14 lines
BM 134454 col. B:	2 lines
	41 lines.

This leaves at least 39 lines of E_2 which are completely lost. There is no reason to exclude the possibility that these lines could have contained the mention of a "rakbu". Of ed. E_1 even less is preserved. Thus the distinction between two hypothetical versions of ed. E is not as certain as Cogan and Tadmor believe.

Cogan's and Tadmor's reconstruction ignores the agreements between A and other editions. A would have used E_1, E_2, B, and perhaps HT and C, too, for an account of 14 lines. In A's account of Gyges' downfall and his son's accession both terms are used ($Aii_{111.122}$). As in the account of Gyges' submission a "rakbu" is (not) sent "ana ša'al šulmēya" and the mār-šipri delivers a message. The difference in meaning between the two terms could provide enough reason for A's additional reference to a "mār-šipri" relating Gyges' dream. The parallelism does not necessarily imply that according to ed. A two distinct envoys were sent by the Lydian king. The construction may rather be

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[448]   P.70, n.18. ed. E probably did not contain the list of the Egyptian vassal kings found in Ai_{90ff} (partially paralleled in C). Both E and HT have a relative clause narrating that Assurbanipal's father had installed these kings. A and C do not have this clause since the information had already been given together with the names of the kings (Ai_{110} // Cii_{84} [// B/D]). HT did not have the list. It is thus not probable that it was present in E.

regarded as *overlay* and might reflect E's high rhetorical level in the narration of the messenger's arrival at the Assyrian court.

"ūmu <u>šuttu annītu</u> ēmurū   ¹rakbūšu <u>išpura</u> ana maḫrīya ana ša²āl šulmēya
<u>šuttu annītu ša ēmurū</u>   ina qātā^{II} ¹mār-šipri <u>išpuramma</u> ušannâ iâti" (Aii$_{100\text{-}102}$)

In any case the two different terms cannot possibly be used for the identification of different sources of ed. A![449] The same is true for the presence of the dream The bad state of preservation of the supposed E_1 does not permit to exclude the possibility of a dream episode in E_1.

The preserved portions indicate that E's account(s) were far more extensive than those of the later versions. The extant parts of E's *main line*(s) read:

K 1821// A 7920[450]:

l.3	itḫâ	B'	A		
l.4	īmurūšuma	A'	B'		r
l.5	iqbûšu	A'	B'		I
l.9	ubilūniššu	A'	B'	A	I
l.12	ul ibšīma	A'			I
l.13	nakratma	B'			r
l.14	lā išemmû	A'	B'		r
l.16	ūbila	B'			r

BM 134454, BM 134445, BM 134455, BM 127923[451]:

BM 134454	col.	A$_{11'}$	[lā išmû]	[A']		
		A$_{17'}$	ušamqi[tū]	C	B$^{(')}$	
BM 134445 / BM 121018 col.		C$_{8'}$	ušannîma	?		
BM 134455 / BM 127923 col.		C$_{12}$	u]$_{[}$šē$_{]}$bilamma	B	A	
			amḫur	A	(B)	r

It is evident that in E's version(s) the rhetorical level was comparatively high. E's participant orientation pattern exhibits comparatively many reversals and references to internal participant relations. Secondary participants like the

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[449]   Since Cogan's and Tadmor's study was used by J.H.Tigay ("Stylistic Criterion", p.154) as basis for his argumentation for an empirical model for Pentateuchal criticism the point made above has to be emphasized.

[450]   Cogan and Tadmor's E_1.

[451]   Cogan and Tadmor's E_2.

Lydian messenger or the inhabitants of Assyria figured prominently. All this has changed in HT. The account was compressed to five *main line* verbs. HT has drastically reduced the rhetorical level. Only one passage contains direct speech. Correspondingly HT has simplified the participant orientation pattern. There are only two *main line agent*s (Aššur and Gyges) and only one *reversal*.

In HT the beginning of the account of the Gyges episode is marked by the mention of a new name. The introduction sentence is comparatively "heavy". Much emphasis is placed on the fact that Gyges country was "ašru rūqu". Gyges had not been a vassal of Aššurbanipal and therefore this account does not deal with the crushing of a rebellion. This provides an explanation for the fact that neither Aššurbanipal nor his generals are mentioned on the *main line* as grammatical subjects. The introduction line mentions that Aššur appeared to Gyges in a dream. The exhortations given by Aššur to the Lydian king are mentioned in HT's account in a construction, which consists of 3 + 1 members. It is noteworthy that they are given in direct speech:

ša ^{I}aššur-bān-apli ... šēpē^{IImeš} rubûtīša ṣabatma
šarrūšu pitluḫma
ṣulla bēlūssu
ša ēpiš ardūti u nādin mandatti lillikuš suppûka

Thus the contents of the dream are emphasized and the rhetorical level increases. This is also evident from the fact that the actual reason for Aššur's appearance to Gyges has not yet been told in the account. This is different from the usual (strictly chronological) order. It is only from a subordinate clause and after the conflict is solved that the reader learns what had happened before. Unfortunately due to the bad state of preservation of manuscripts belonging to edition E we do not know whether this deviation from the expected order constitutes a secondary development.The time denotation "ūmu šuttu annitu ēmurū" links the second section of the account with the first. Contrary to the first section the second is narrative rather than descriptive. HT plainly narrates

that, after Gyges had sent a messenger to Aššurbanipal, he defeated his enemies and sent (them ?) with tribute to Nineveh. The rhetorical *peak* of HT's version of the account of the Gyges affair is found near the beginning in the retelling of Gyges' dream. It coincides with neither the point of highest tension nor that of the *DENOUEMENT*. The same tendency as that of the plot development is also found in the structuring of the dream section, where the greatest emphasis is placed on the first member. It is noteworthy that the only Assyrian intervention happens in the dream section.

HT's *main line* reads:

				HT	B	F	A	IT
rev.15 ušabrīšuma	A*	B				+	+	+	[+]
rev.19 išpura	B	B'	A	r	r	r	r[452]	[ ][453]
				-	-	-	][454]	-
				-	-	-	][455]	-
rev.20 ikšuda	B	C		s	-	-	s[456]	-
				-	s[457]	s	I	-
rev.21 ušēbila	B	C	A	I	I	I	I	r[458]
unaššiq	B	A		s	-	-	-	I
				-	-	-	+[459]	-

In the report of the Gyges affair the literary development appears to be inconsistent. B, C, and F have an abbreviated version of HT's account, whereas A has a more extensive report. But since ed.A relates the contents of Gyges' dream, paralleled in E and HT, but not in B, C and F, we may regard the text of A as the earlier one compared with that of the latter editions.[460]

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452 "išpurū" (subjunctive), but Var.: "išpura".
453 Thompson, "Excavation at Nineveh": "[išpuru ...]" (l.87).
454 "išpuramma" - B B' A.
455 "ušannâ" - B A.
456 "ikšud".
457 "utammehma" - B C.
458 "tāmartīšu kabit]ti ušēbilamma" - B A.
459 A then continues to narrate Gyges' rebellion, his downfall and the accession of his son (Aii111-125).
460 Cf. also the agreements between a variant reading Aii97, and HT rev.15 and of a variant reading to Aii100 to HT rev.19 noted in Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige*, p.20, n.f and g, against B, C, and F. "ušanna" (Aii102) may have a parallel in E (BM 134445 l.9': "ušannīma"). E is, however, too mutilated, and the parallel of too a common kind to deduce any literary dependency from it.

B has omitted from HT the quotation of Aššur's exhortations,that part of the narrative in which the highest rhetorical level was found. B also replaced HT's "ikšuda" with "utammeḫma" (iii$_2$). B retained the relative clauses and appositions of HT and further amplifies "utammeḫma" by adding a mention of the weapons used. Since the expression used by B is common[461], it does not constitute a substantial rise of the rhetorical level.

At the end of the narrative B omits the remark on the kissing of Aššurbanipal's feet, but adds a different phrase ("atammarū danān aššur u ^{d}marduk"). The addition, however, was not retained in the later editions. The tendency to abbreviate prevailed. Thus C like B does not have the mention of the kissing of Aššurbanipal's feet, but also omits B's final phrase.

A follows HT more closely than B, C, and F had done. Thus a direct quotation of the dream contents is given, though it differs in wording from HT. The exhortations of Aššur as narrated in A comprised only two commands. The first one ("ṣabatma") constitutes an abbreviation of HT's first command (rev.17). A has not taken over any of the other commands, but has added a different one: "ina zikir šumīšu kušud ^{l}nakrēka" (emphasizing Aššurbanipal's importance rather than Aššur's), whereby the contents of the dream (kušud) are linked to the narration of the later events ("ikšuda"). A has not only retained the reference to the conquest ("ikšuda"), which was already found in HT, but also "utammeḫma" from B and C as a link between "ikšuda" and "ušēbila". Like C and F, A has not taken over B's additional remark at the end of the narrative. In A the account of the Gyges affair does not end with the reference to Gyges paying tribute to Aššurbanipal, but continues to report the following changes of Lydio-Assyrian relations.

The IT, too, exhibits an account of the Gyges affair. It omits the description of Lydia as a "distant place ...". The reference to Gyges' dream is

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461   Cf. Aii$_{131}$.iii$_{60}$.

retained, though the word order is different. Campbell Thompson gives "šumēya" in square brackets. If IT indeed read so, then it would have agreed with A against HT, B, C, F, which all read "šarrūtīya".[462] IT also quotes the first exhortation of Aššur to Gyges in the same text as A, apart from the omission of "šar ^{māt}aššur" after the mention of Aššurbanipal. Unfortunately the continuation of this sentence is mutilated in IT. Campbell Thompson only gives "-ka". If IT 1.86 indeed was identical with Aii₉₉, Aššur's second exhortation, then we would have another case of assimilation of the descriptions of command and fulfillment, for the extant part of IT 1.86 is very similar to Aii₉₉, only that it is given as an indicative in the 1st person, not as imperative. The development of the correspondence between the relations of dream and event would thus be:

HT rev.17. 20	ša ^{I}aššur-bān-apli šepē^{meš} rubûtīšu ṣabatma	^{I}gimiraya ... ikšuda qātēšu
Aii₉₈f. 103f	šepā^{II} ^{Id}aššur-bān-apli šarri ^{māt}aššur ṣabatma ina zikir šumīšu kušud ^{I}nakrūtī^{meš}ka	ultu libbi ūmē ša iṣbatū šepē šarrūtīya ^{I}gimiraya ... ikšud
IT ll.85f	šepā ^{Id}aššur-bān-apli ṣa[batma] [ina zikir šumīšu kušud ^{I}nakrē^{meš}]ka	ina zikir šumīya ^{I}nakrē^{meš}šu ikšud

IT has, however, omitted the correspondence to "šepā ^{Id}aššur-bān-apli ṣa[batma]". The development of this passage, especially the treatment of HT by A, resembles that of Akkadian epic literature. However, the correspondence is not between comparable situation, but between command and fulfillment. It is noteworthy that the tendency to abbreviate prevailed.

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462   HT + "kabti".

c) The Mugallu Affair, the Iakinlu Affair, and Aššurbanipal's Campaign against Baʾalu of Tyre

In HT the report of the Gyges affair is followed by the account of the submission of Mugallu, king of Tabal (rev.22-26). As in the Gyges-episode Aššurbanipal does not intervene in the course of events.[463] No rise or fall of tension is apparent in the short narrative. The participant orientation pattern is unified. There is only one *reversal* at the end of the section. No internal participant relations are described and no secondary participants are introduced.

The account of Iakinlu, king of Arvad's submission is similar. Again the Assyrian king does not intervene, the submissive king lives far away[464] and the account is brief and *episodic*. It narrates the last incident reported in HT.

However, the literary relationship between the extant versions is complex. On the one side there is reason to assume that A's account represents an intermediate stage between HT and B[465], on the other side there is slight indication that it is secondary compared to B.[466]

We shall thus regard both eds. B and A as being dependent on HT's version, but disregard their mutual relationship. A's version indicates that the

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[463] Tabal is described as "ḫuršānu šadû pašqātu". Cf. the description of Lydia as "nagû nibirti tâmti ašru rûqu ša šarrāni^meš ālikūt maḫri abbēya lā išmû zikri šumīšu" (HT rev.14-15).

[464] "Ikkilu āšib rapašti qabal tâmtim ša kīma nūni ina mê^meš lā nībi [ina gi(?)b]iš edê danni šitkunū šubtu ša eli tâmtim gallati ilûma" (rev.27-29)

[465] As HT, ed.A has separate accounts of the submissions of the two rulers (+ Sandišarme, king of Ḫilakka) and mentions horses as tribute only for Mugallu (HT rev.26 // Aii73-74). In B the reports are drawn together into one unit.

[466] B in its summarizing remarks at the beginning of its account mentions "šadê šaqūti" (ii68), which is paralleled in HT (rev.22), but not in A. Thus B's *Vorlage* probably differed from A. Furthermore, A has a difficult text in Aii73ff: "eli ᶫmugalli sīsê^meš rabûti^meš mandattu šattišamma ukīn ṣērussu". Either "eli ᶫmugalli" or "ṣērussu" is redundant or we have to regard "eli ᶫmugalli" as the introduction of a new participant ("as for Mugallu"). However, Mugallu is already the grammatical subject in the preceding passage. The same sentence also occurs in B, where the passage preceding "eli ᶫmugalli" had had a compound grammatical subject.

report of Sandišarme's submission probably existed in an independent form. We shall assume this for B's *Vorlage*.

For convenience the texts will be given here.

HT rev.22-31	Bii₆₇₋₈₁	Aii₆₃₋₈₀
	malki qabal tâmtim u šarrāni^{meš} āšibūti šadê šaqūti danān epšētīya annāti ēmurūma iplaḫū bēlūti	
^Imugalli šar [^{māt}tabal] āšib ḫuršāni šadî pašqūti ša ana šarrāni^{meš} abbēya ^Iškakkē^{meš} šitpurū ētappalū dasāti qereb mātīšu ḫatti imqussuma puluḫti šarrūtīya išḫupšuma balu epēš qabal ^Iškakkē^{meš} tāḫāzi ana ninua^{ki} išpuramma usalla bēlūti sīsê^{meš} rabûti [mad]attu nadān mātīšu ukīn sīrussu	^Iiakinlu šar ^{māt}aruadda⁴⁶⁷ ^Imugallu šar ^{māt}tabala ^Isandišarme ša ^{māt}ḫilika ša ana šarrāni^{meš} abbēya lā kanšū iknušū ana nīrīya mārāte ṣīt libbīšunu itti nudunnê ma'adi u tirḫāti ma'assi⁴⁶⁸ ana epēš abrakkūti ana ninua^{ki} ūbilūnimma unaššiqū šēpēya eli ^Imugalli sīsê^{meš} rabûti madattu šattišamma ukīn sērussu	^Iiakinlu šar ^{māt}aruadda āšib qabal tâmtim ša ana šarrāni^{meš} abbēya lā kanšū iknušū ana nīrīya mārassu itti nudunnê ma'adi ana epēš abrakkūti ana ninua^{ki} ūbilamma unaššiqa šēpēya
^Iikkilu šar ^{māt}aruada āšib rapašti qabal tâmtim ša kīma nūni ina mê^{mes} lā nîbi [ina gi?b]iš edê danni šitkunū šubtu ša eli tâmtim gallati ilûma lā kitnušū ana nīr bēlūti [ušal]lûma ana epēš ardūtīya iknušma iṣūta abšāni ḫurāṣē^{mes} šipāte samāte^{mes} šipāte salmāte^{mes} nūnē^{mes} iṣṣūrē^{mes} šattišamma ukīn elīšu		^Imugallu šar ^{māt}tabal ša itti šarrāni^{meš} abbēya idbubū dasāti bintu ṣīt libbīšu itti tirḫāti ma'assi ana epēš abrakkūti ana ninua^{ki} ūbilamma unaššiq šēpēya eli ^Imugalli sīsê^{mes} rabûti mandattu šattišamma ukīn sīrussu
		sandišarme ḫilakka ša ana šarrāni^{meš} abbēya lā iknušū lā īšūtū abšānšun mārtu ṣīt libbīšu itti nudunnê ma'adi ana epēš abrakkūti ana ninua^{ki} ubilamma unaššiq šēpēya

A has adapted the different accounts to each other and placed them after an account of Ba'alu's submission, which had not been related in HT. The order of narration has been changed in A. The account which bears the greatest similarity to that of Ba'alu's submission, the Iakinlu-episode[469], is placed first. A

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467 F adds "āšib qabal tâmtim" (Cf. HT).
468 "tirḫāti ma'assi" > F.
469 "āšib qabal tâmtim" (Aii₅₀.₆₃).

has retained elements present in both of HT's accounts and, we may assume, probably in A's Sandišarme-*Vorlage*, too: a reference to the kings' former insubmissiveness and their later obedience.[470] A has retained only few distinct elements of the accounts[471] and has thus increased the similarity of the two accounts.

HT (Imugallu):	HT (Ikkilu):	A (Mugallu):	A (Iakinlu):	A (Sandišarme)
Imugallu šar [māttabal] āšib ḫuršāni šadî pašqūti	Iikkilu šar mātaruada āšib rapašti qabal tâmtim ša kīma nūni ina mêmeš lā nību [gib?]iš edê danni šitkunū šubtu ša eli tâmtim gallati ilûma	Imugallu šar māttabal	Iiakinlu šar mātaruadda āšib ------ qabal tâmtim	sandišarme ḫilakka
ša ana šarrānimeš abbēya iškakkēmeš šitpurū ētappalū daṣāti qereb mātīšu ḫatti imqussuma puluḫti šarrūtīya isḫupšuma balu epēš qabal iškakkēmeš	ša lā kitnušū ana nīr bēlūti [uṣal]lûma	ša itti šarrānimeš abbēya idbubū daṣāti	ša ana šarrānimeš abbēya lā kanšū	ša ana šarrānimeš abbēya lā iknušu lā īšutu abšānšun
tāḫāzi ana ninuaki išpuramma uṣalla bēlūti	ana epēš ardūtīya iknušūma īšūta abšāni		iknušu ana nīrīya	

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470   See table below.
   The apparent replacement of "ša lā kitnušū ana nīri" referring to Aššurbanipal as a primary participant by "ša ana šarrānimeš abbēya la kanšū" disagrees with the usual development. In HT's Iakinlu-section, however, the phrase "ša ana šarrānimeš abbēya iškakkēmeš šitpurū" is found, which has no correspondence in A except "ša lā kitnušū ana nīri". Thus A's alteration to "ša ana šarrānimeš abbēya lā kanšū iknušu ana nīrīya" in fact increases the internal coherence.
471   From the Iakinlu-episode, which had contained the most extensive description of the geographical location A took over "āšib qabal tâmtim" and from the Mugallu-episode A retained the mention of "sīsê rabûti" as tribute (cf. below, n.477).

ḫurāṣē^{meš}
šipāte
samāte^{meš}
šipāte
ṣalmāte^{meš}
nūnē^{meš}
iṣṣūrē^{meš}

		bintu ṣīt libbīšu	marassu itti	martu ṣīt
		itti tirḫāti	nudunnê	libbīšu itti
		ma'assi ana	ma'adi ana	nudunnê
		epēš abrakkūti	epēš abrakkūti	ma'adi ana
		ana ninua^{ki}	ana ninua^{ki}	epēš abrakkūti
		ubilamma	ubilamma	ana ninua^{ki}
		unaššiq šēpēya	unaššiq šēpēya	ubilamma
		eli ˡmugalli		unaššiq šēpēya
sīsê^{meš} rabûti		sīsê^{meš} rabûti		
[mad]attu		madattu		
nadān mātīšu	šattišamma	šattišamma		
ukīn ṣērussu	ukīn elīšu	ukīn ṣērussu		

A has also added material to the Mugallu- and Iakinlu-episodes. The phrase "unaššiq šēpe^{II}ya" (Aii[66.72(80)]) may have been taken from A's *Vorlage* of the account of Sandišarme's submission or from HT's summarizing remarks (rev.33). By the insertion of "mārassu (/ bintu / mārtu) ṣīt libbī šu itti nudunnê ma'di (/ terḫati ma'assi) ana epēš abrakkūti ana ninua^{ki} ubilamma (Aii[65-67.70-72.78-80]), A adapted the accounts to that of Ba'alu's submission (Aii[56-57] [// Bii[53-54]]: "mārtu[472] ṣīt libbīšu ... ana epēš abrakkūti ūbila adi maḫrīya").[473] The mutual assimilation of the accounts does not necessarily imply that the added elements are not historical. It is interesting to note that in IT the accounts of the submissions of Iakinlu and Sandišarme were combined whereas that of Mugallu is given separately. IT mentions only in the latter section, not even in the account of Ba'alu's submission, that the king's daughter was sent to Aššurbanipal. This may be regarded as a complete distortion of the actual events, but it also may be due to a different *Vorlage*.

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[472] Bii[53]: "mārassu".

[473] Comparable is C's addition of: "ana rēṣū[t ˡšamaš-šum-ukīn]" (viii[15]) to B and K. The addition increases the parallelism between the Ummanigaš- and the Tammaritu sections in the account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Ummanigaš (Bvii[49] // Cviii[46-47]), which had already been linked by "kīma šāšūma ṭa'āti imḫur" (Bvii[47] parr. // Bvii[7-8] parr)

B has contracted all three accounts into one[474] which is preceded by generalizing anticipatory remarks.[475] The submission of the three kings is related as an example of these. Of the distinct elements only the mention of Mugallu's tribute was retained. The proleptic remarks draw upon the phraseology of the two accounts in HT. "malki qabal tâmtim u šarrāni^{meš} ašibūti šadê šaqūti" (Bii$_{67-68}$) resembles HT, rev.22 "ašib ḫuršāni šadê pašqūti" and HT, rev.27 "ašib rapašti qabal tâmtim". Bii$_{69}$ refers back to the account of the campaign against Ba^{ɔ}alu. Bii$_{70}$, "ēmurma iplaḫū bēlūtīya" resembles HT, rev.24 "puluḫti šarrūtīya isḫupšuma".

B continues with a report of events after the death of Iakinlu, which probably had not taken place, when HT was composed.

This report is very similar in B, C, F, and A. Differences between the versions include the use of different euphemisms for Iakinlu's death, the additional mention of names of Iakinlu's sons, the abbreviation of "itti tāmartīšunu kabitti illikunimma unaššiqu šepē^{II}ya" to "itti tāmartīšunu unaššiqu

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[474]   The order of narration agrees with that of ed.A against HT.
      A further example for the incorporation of originally separate accounts is provided by F's inclusion of the Bīt-Imbi episode in its account of Aššurbanipal's first campaign against Ummanaldasi (cf. iii$_{33-36}$). BM 134436 notes this incident as Aššurbanipal's 11th campaign (x$_{65a-65b}$: "ina 11-ê girrīya alik ana ^{al}Bīt-^{l}Imbi āl tukult[i ša ^{māt}Elamti^{ki}]). Whether the inscription belongs to ed. C (thus Freedman - BM 134436 overlaps with ND 5406, K 1794 and ND 814, even though the account is missing in K 1794) or ed. K (thus Cogan and Tadmor, "Assurbanipal's Conquest", p.234) is not of primary importance for our question. We note that a separate account was appended at the end of an annal edition and later incorporated into a larger unit.
      Unfortunately BM 134436's account breaks off at the equivalent to Fiii$_{55}$. Thus the length of the original account is not known. Freedman in his reconstruction adds only two lines up to the mention of Aššurbanipal's return (x$_{65k}$ //Fiii$_{57}$). F then continues to narrate the capture of Teummān's wife and sons (-Fiii$_{61}$) in Bīt-Imbi. The mention of Ummanaldasi (Fiii$_{62}$) starts a new paragraph. The incorporation may have been prompted by the mention of the subjection of various Elamite cities (Fiii$_{39-45}$). It is important to note, that in F the insertion was marked as such by the formula "ina mētiq girrīya" (Fiii$_{46}$; cf. above p.108).
      F and A have incorporated the originally separate account of Aššurbanipal's campaign "against Dunanu" (cf. Bvi$_{17-vii_1}$) into their narration of a campaign "against Elam" (Fii$_{33ff}$ // Aiii$_{27ff}$). They have marked the insertion with: "ultu ^{iš}kakkē^{meš} ^{d}aššur u ^{d}ištar eli ^{māt}elamti^{ki} ušamrirū aštakan danānu u lītu ina tayyartīya ... aškun panīya" (Fii$_{72-76}$ // Aiii$_{50-53}$).
[475]   These are missing in F, where, as in ed. A, the mention of Iakinlu is followed by "ašib qabal tâmtim". It is therefore not probable that F is dependent on B, but rather that both have a common *Vorlage*.

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šēpe^{II}ya" which is only found in ed. F(!) and the alteration of the description of the restoration of Iakinlu's sons by C and A.

C and F in their accounts about Mugallu and Iakinlu follow B closely. They have taken over the report of the submission of Ba'alu before narrating the events concerning Mugallu and Iakinlu. They have, however, omitted the lines with which B had linked the two sections, thus removing a sign of secondary literary development.

IT has combined the accounts of the submissions of Iakinlu and Sandišarme (ll.83-84)[476], but has a separate report of the Mugallu-affair, which is related in a different context (ll.138b-140). This indicates that IT had separate accounts as *Vorlage*. Thus we note that both B and IT (independently) combined accounts with similar contents and parallel structures. In IT all three accounts (including that of Ba'alu's submission) are very brief and do not give additional information. In view of the briefness of IT's reports it is noteworthy that the reference to Mugallu's tribute was retained.[477]

B's report of the campaign against Tyre is more extensive than those about Mugallu and Iakinlu, presumably because of actual Assyrian involvement. In B, (C,) F, and A it is introduced as a separate campaign.

B's version presents an *episodic* account, there is no substantial rise or decline of tension. Ba'alu's "sin" is mentioned in the *supportive material*, no *inciting event* is narrated, and the Assyrian king dominates the *main line* up to the mention of tribute.

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476 Placed after the narration of Ba'alu's submission (ll.81-83).
477 The following booty items are mentioned in IT:
l. 89: "imer_{sīsê}^{meš} rabûti^{meš}" (from Ualli - the context is mutilated, thus other items may have been mentioned)
l.140: "imer_{sīsê}^{meš} rabûti^{meš}" (from Mugallu)
l.154: "imer_{sīsê}^{meš} rabûti^{meš}" and various other goods (from Dugdanu).
Thus apparently the "sīsê^{meš} rabûti^{meš}" were of special importance. Their mention, however, is not marked in the surface structure of the account.

Nevertheless, the account is related on a comparatively high rhetorical level. Parallelisms with two or three members are present in $Bii_{44\text{-}45.54\text{-}56}$ (two) and $Bii_{45\text{-}47.51\text{-}52}$ (three). The highest rhetorical level is probably found in the passage describing Aššurbanipal's withdrawal of the siege of Tyre which constitutes an EEN-construction:

rēmu aršīšuma
maru ṣīt libbīšu utīrma arīmšu
^{al}ḫalṣē^{meš} ša [e]li ^{l}ba'li šar ^{māt}ṣurri urakkīsu aptur
ina tâmtim u nābali girretīšu malā uṣabbitū apti ($Bii_{59\text{-}64}$)

The participant orientation pattern is simple. There are no secondary participants and no internal participant relations on the *main line*.[478]

Table 8 Participant Orientation Pattern for accounts of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Ba'alu

	B			B	C	F	A	H	IT
ii_{42}	lu allik	A	B		+	+	+	-	
ii_{44}	urakkis	A	B	I	I	I	I	I	I
ii_{45}	udannin	A	B'	I	I	-	-	-	-
ii_{46}	uṣabbit	A	B	I	I	I	I	I	I
ii_{47}	aprus	A	B	I	I	-	-	-	-
ii_{49}	ušāqir	A	B'	I	I	-	-	-	-
ii_{50}	ēsiršunūti	A	B'	I	I	-	-	-	-
ii_{51}	usīq	A	B'	I	I	I	I	I	-
	ukarri	A	B'	I	I	I	I	I	-
ii_{52}	ušaknissunūti	A	B'	I	I	I	I	I	I
ii_{54}	[ūbi]la	B	A	r	r	r	r	r	I
ii_{56}	iššâ	B	A	I	[I]	I[479]	I[480]	I[481]	I[482]
ii_{58}	amḫuršu	A	B	r	r	r	r	-	-
ii_{59}	aršīšuma	A	B	I	I	I	I	-	-
	utīrma	A	B	I	I	I	I	-	-
	arīmšu	A	B	I	I[483]	I[484]	I[485]	-	-
ii_{63}	aptur	A	B	I	I	-	-	-	-
	apti	A	B	I	I	-	-	-	-

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478 Ba'alu's sons and daughters do not function as participants (cf. $ii_{53\text{-}58.60\text{-}61}$).
479 "ušēbila"
480 "ušēbila"
481 "ušēbila"
482 "ušēbila"
483 "addinšu".
484 "addinšu".
485 "addinšu".

amḫuršu	A	B	I	I	.	.	.	.
				-	I[486]	.	.	.	.
ii$_{66}$ atura	A		I	I	.	.	.	.

B, C, F, and A employ the standard campaign formula ina ... girrīya eli ... lu allik. The Assyrian king dominates the *main line* of this campaign narrative. Only two *main line* verbs have a different grammatical subject. They describe Baᵓalu's sending of his daughter and his son to Nineveh. The participant orientation pattern indicates the alternation of *patients* from primary to secondary participants. The latter had been introduced as "nišemeššu" in ii$_{45}$, but after in ll.46 and 47 the sgl. suffix, referring to Baᵓalu is used, they are referred to in l.48 with "-šunu". This may be taken as an example that literary inconsistencies do not necessarily indicate redactorial intervention.

C has followed B faithfully. The only apparent significant alteration is the addition of "[pān iṣnī]rīya utīramma"[487] by which the the correspondence between the description of the siege and its withdrawal was increased (cf. Bii$_{52}$ parr.)

F, followed by A, has omitted Bii$_{45.47-50.62-70}$, a part of the description of the siege and the narration of its withdrawal. The lifting of the siege could be deduced from "rēmu aršīšuma" and the lack of a reference to a capture of Tyre.[488] The omission of Bii$_{45}$, which contained a mention of "nišemeššu" has left the plural suffixes in Fi$_{62}$ without reference.

H has abbreviated the account even further. The introductory formula is not taken over. BM 123425[489], related to ed. H, mentions that Baᵓalu's son was sent to Nineveh, but does not relate what had happened afterwards.

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[486]   "utīramma". Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*, p.43, notes "[pān iṣnī]rīya utīramma" for B$_4$. However, Freedman, *Assurbanipal's "Annals"*, p.8, has identified Piekorn's B$_4$ as belonging to ed. C.

[487]   Cf. preceding note.

[488]   Cf. Sennacherib's account of the siege of Jerusalem, where the highest rhetorical level is found in the description of the siege, and where no conquest of that city is mentioned.

[489]   Cf. Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts", p.108.

Thus H's account contains only one *reversal*.

IT has drastically shortened the account of Ba'alu's submission (ll.81-83) It only mentions that the king did not keep Aššurbanipal's command, that Aššurbanipal besieged Tyre and that Ba'alu submitted. Thus IT has adapted the account of Ba'alu's submission to that of Iakinlu's submission. IT's *main line* contains no *reversal* at all. Aššurbanipal dominates the complete *main line*.

B   An Example of the Chronicler's Editorial Methods: The Account of Sennacherib's Siege of Jerusalem.

Having established a pattern of redactorial methods applied in the transmission of Assyrian royal campaign accounts we shall now compare the results of our investigation with the Chronicler's treatment of his sources. Fundamental problems with this undertaking have already been outlined above. 1. The Chronicler's *Vorlage* is not extant.[490] 2. The Chronicler did not aim to produce a new version of 'Sam.-Kgs.' but rather to supplement it. He is to be regarded as an author rather than a redactor. We therefore have to allow for a larger number of alterations due to his personal taste and style than in the Assyrian royal inscriptions. A comparison of Sam.-Kgs. and Chronicles can only be of illustrative value, but not on its own serve as an empirical model.

We shall confine our brief survey of the Chronicler's methods to his treatment of the account of Sennacherib's invasion into Judah. We shall ignore

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[490]   Even if we accept the MT or LXX of Kings, whichever is closer to the MT of Chronicles, as the Chronicler's *Vorlage*, extra-biblical sources have not been preserved. Only where the Chronicler has retained or abbreviated Sam.-Kgs. can we assume with some certainty that the Chronicler's *Vorlage* is extant. Wherever the Chronicler presents a more extensive account which can not be explained by a literary dependency on Sam.-Kgs., as e.g. of Josiah's passover (2 Chr.35$_{1-19}$, cf. 2 Kgs.23$_{21-23}$), this may be taken from a non-extant source and thus impossible to investigate. The fact that large scale expansions by the Chronicler cannot be *demonstrated*, does, of course, not imply that they did not take place. It does, however, imply obstacles and uncertainties for any investigation of the Chronicler's editorial method.

We further have to note that the Chronicler took over comparatively few *narratives*, often with only few significant alterations. Thus only few examples for the structural development of narratives can be adduced from his work.

here, as far as possible, the question whether the narratives in Kings themselves might constitute secondary versions. This would only affect our investigation if we were able to establish by source criticism the Chronicler's *Vorlage*. This, however, is not the case.

The two versions of the narrative (2 Kgs.18$_{17}$-19$_{37}$) show substantial differences in structure and wording. Therefore a comparison can only be carried out in very general terms. Since 2 Kgs.18$_{13-16}$ correspond to vv.9-12 and 2 Kgs.18$_{17ff}$ do not refer back to a previous campaign, we regard 2 Kgs.18$_{13-16}$ and 2 Kgs.18$_{17ff}$ as reports of the same event. The first passage gives a general overview, the second a more detailed account with emphasis on the theological significance of the events. The division is supported by differences in the participant orientation pattern and by the fact that the parallel passage in Is.36-37 has no equivalents for 18$_{14-16}$.[491] While the *main line* of 18$_{14-16}$ contains solely references to the main participant relationship, the *main line* of 18$_{13}$ and the second section has it only once (וישלח, 2 Kgs.18$_{17}$). Even in this single sentence the main participant relation is only given via a secondary participant (B-B'-A). On the other hand, 2 Kgs.18$_{17ff}$ presuppose information provided by 2 Kgs.18$_{13f}$.[492] We have thus included both passages in the participant orientation table below.

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[491] Since a dependency of the Chronicler on vv.14-16 is not evident, these verses may not have been present in his *Vorlage*. Since, however, v.14 and v.17 begin with וישלח, omission because of *homoioarkton* cannot be ruled out.

Further hypothetical source divisions in the Kgs.-version (cf. e.g. Stade "Anmerkungen", pp.173-183, Childs, *Assyrian Crisis*, pp.69-103, Honor, *Sennacherib's Invasion*, pp.45-48, Dion, "Sennacherib's Expedition to Palestine") will be ignored here because a) they are hypothetical and would rely on criteria which are to be examined in the present thesis and b) it would be extremely difficult to demonstrate that the Chronicler was dependent on a source of Kgs. rather than on the Kgs.-version itself. Laato's attempt to show that the Chronicler used B$_1$ (cf. below n.569) rather than Kgs.' account ("Hezekiah and the Assyrian Crisis") failed. The mention of סרפים in 2 Chr.32$_{17}$ (cf. 2 Kgs.19$_{14}$) and the parallelism between 2 Kgs.19$_{18}$ and 2 Chr.32$_{19}$ indicate that the Chronicler's *Vorlage* was more extensive than B$_1$.

[492] 2 Kgs.18$_{13}$ provides the *stage* for the narrative and in v.14 it is mentioned that Sennacherib camped at Lachish (cf. v.17).

The narrative as presented in Kgs. has a complex structure which is reflected by the participant orientation pattern. There are comparatively many and extensive speeches.[493] In the table below different levels of quotation have been set out in different columns. The leftmost column gives the *main line* of Kgs.' account with participant orientations. The other columns contain contain the *main lines* of speeches, with quotations within speeches indented.

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[493]   An interesting parallel to the general course of events is found in B's version of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Teummān (Biv_{87ff}).

Table 9 Participant Orientation Pattern of 2 Kgs.18$_{17}$-19$_{37}$

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עלה;494      B  A'
ויתפשם       B  A'      I
וישלח495     A  B       r
                                חטאתי   A-B
                                שוב     B-A
                                אשא     A-B
וישם         B  A       r
ויתן496      A  B       r
קצץ497       A          I
ויחנם        A  B       I

וישלח498     B  B'  A   r
ויעלו        B' (A)     I
ויבאו        B' (A)     I
ויעלו499     B' (A)     I
ויבאו500     B' (A)     I
ויעמדו       B'         I
ויקראו501    B'  A      I
ויצא         A' B'      r
ויאמר502     B' A'      r
                                אמרו    A'-A
                                                 אמר   B-(A)
                                                          (בטחח)504   A
                                                          אמרת        A
                                                          בטחת        A
                                                          מרדת        A-B
                                                          בטחת505     A-C
                                                          תאמרו506    A/C-B507
                                                          הסיר        A-A*
                                                          ויאמר       A-A'

                 והחערב503  A-B        ואחנה  B-A
                                        תוכל   A-B
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494   2 Kgs.18$_{13}$.
495   2 Kgs.18$_{14}$.
496   2 Kgs.18$_{15}$.
497   2 Kgs.18$_{16}$.
498   2 Kgs.18 $_{17}$.
499   > pc mss., LXX, S, V.
500   > pc mss., LXX, S, V.
501   2 Kgs.18$_{18}$. ויקראו > Is. (אליו > אליהם).
502   2 Kgs.18$_{19}$.
503   2 Kgs.18$_{23}$.
504   2 Kgs.18$_{20}$.
505   2 Kgs.18$_{21}$.
506   2 Kgs.18$_{22}$.
507   A further speech is quoted.

עליתי[523] B-A   A-B'[522]   חשיב[517]

אמר A°-B

r	B'	A'	ויאמר[508]				
		B'-A'	דבר				
		B'-A'	אל תדבר				
r	B'	A'	ויאמר				
		B-B'	שלחני				
I	B'		ויעמר[509]				
I	B'	A'	ויקרא				
I	B'	A'	וידבר				
I	B'	A'	ויאמר				
		A'	שמעו				
		B-A'	אמר[516]				

אל ישיא A-A'

אל יַבְטַח[518] A-A'

אל תשמעו[519] A'-A   אמר B-A'

אל תשמעו A'-A

הצילו[520] A°-A

r	(B')	A'	החרישו[510]
I	B	A'	ולא ענו
I	A	A'	ויבא[511]
I	A	A'	ויגדו
			ויהי
I		A	כשמעו[512]
I		A	ויקרע
I		A	ויתכס
I	A	A°	ויבא
I	A	A'A°	וישלח[513]
I		A'A°	ויאמרו[514]

אמר A-A°

ישמע[521] A°-B'

והוכיח A°-B

ונשאת A'-A°

I	A'	A°	ויבאו[515]

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508   2 Kgs.18$_{26}$.
509   2 Kgs.18$_{28}$.
510   2 Kgs.18$_{36}$.
511   2 Kgs.18$_{37}$.
512   2 Kgs.19$_{1}$.
513   2 Kgs.19$_{2}$.
514   2 Kgs.19$_{3}$.
515   2 Kgs.19$_{5}$.
516   2 Kgs.18$_{29}$.
517   2 Kgs.18$_{24}$.
518   2 Kgs.18$_{30}$.
519   2 Kgs.18$_{31}$.
520   2 Kgs.18$_{33}$.
521   2 Kgs.19$_{4}$.
522   Although the context would rather point towards a speech by Sennacherib (יהוה אמר אלי עלה על הארץ הזאת והשחיתה), the mention of אֲדֹנִי makes it clear that Rab-shakeh is speaking.
523   2 Kgs.18$_{25}$.

ויאמר[524] A'' A' I   תאמרון A'-A

                                             אמר A*-A

וישב[525] B' r   אל־תירא A-B'
וימצא B' B I   נ ֹ חן[538] A*-B
וישמע[526] B C s   ישׁב B
וישׁב[527] B s   יצא C-B   הפלחיו A*-B
וישׁלח B B' A I

                       תאמרון[530] B'-A

                                    אל ישׁאך A*-A
                                    בטח A

                                   שׁמעת[535] A
ויקח[528] A B' r   חנצל A*-A[537]
ויקראם A I   ההצילו[536] C'-C'   לא חנתן A*-A'-
ויעל A A* I   B[539]
ויפרהשׂו A A* I
ויחפלל[529] A A* I
ויאמר A A* I

                       עשׂית A*
                     הטה[531] A*-A
                     שׁמע A*-A
                     פקח A*-A
                     ראה A*-B
                     שׁמע A*-B
                החריבו[532] B-C
                  נחנו[533] B-C*
             הושׁיענו[534] A*-A'-B

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524   2 Kgs.19$_6$.

525   2 Kgs.19$_8$.

526   2 Kgs.19$_9$.

527   Is.37$_9$: וישׁמע may be due to scribal error prompted by several occurrences of וישׁמע in the context. Both readings are found in 1QIs^a (ישׁמע וישׁוב // LXX: καὶ ἀκούσας ἀπέστρεψεν)

528   2 Kgs.19$_{14}$.

529   2 Kgs.19$_{15}$.

530   2 Kgs.19$_{10}$.

531   2 Kgs.19$_{16}$.

532   2 Kgs.19$_{17}$.

533   2 Kgs.19$_{18}$.

534   2 Kgs.19$_{19}$.

535   2 Kgs.19$_{11}$.

536   2 Kgs.19$_{12}$.

537   אלהיך (v.10) is the notional *agent*.

538   2 Kgs.19$_7$.

539   אלהיך (v.10) is the notional *agent*.

אמר   A*-A

שמעתי	A*-A
בזה[541]	A'-B
הגיעה	A'-B
הרפת[542]	B
וגרפת	B
הרימות	B
ותשא	B-A*
הרפת[543]	B-A*
ותאמר	B

עליתי	
ואכרת	B
ואבואה	B
קרתי[551]	B
שתיתי	B
ואחריב	B
	B

שמעת[544]	B-A*
הביתיה	A*-(B)
ותהי[545]	(B)-C
חתו	C'
ויבשו	C'
היו	C'
ירעתי[546]	A*-B
ושמחתי[547]	A*-B
והשיבכתיך	A*-B

אכול[548]	A
זרעו	A'
קצרו	A'
ונטעו	A'
ואכלו	A'
יספה[549]	A'
ועשה	A'
חצא[550]	A'

540   2 Kgs.19$_{20}$.
541   2 Kgs.19$_{21}$.
542   2 Kgs.19$_{22}$.
543   2 Kgs.19$_{23}$.
544   2 Kgs.19$_{25}$.
545   2 Kgs.19$_{26}$.
546   2 Kgs.19$_{27}$.
547   2 Kgs.19$_{28}$.
548   2 Kgs.19$_{29}$.
549   2 Kgs.19$_{30}$.
550   2 Kgs.19$_{31}$.
551   2 Kgs.19$_{24}$.

A*[559] חעשה

A*-B אמר[556]

B-A' לא יבא
B-A' ולא־יורה
B-A' ולא־יקדמנה
B-A' ולא־ישפך
B ישוב[557]
B-A' לא יבא
A*-A' וגנותי[558]

(A"<B>s) ויהי[552]
A" (B') I ויצא
A" B' I ויו
B' r וישכימו
B I ויסע[553]
B I וילך
B I וישב
B I וישב
B I ויהי[554]
B' B I[555] הכהו
B' I נמלטו
B I וימלך

The participant orientation pattern exhibits several features which in Sennacherib's and Aššurbanipal's annals we could associate with *early stages* of literary development. The table above indicates that there are extensive references to secondary participants and internal participant relations. Noted are, apart from the protagonists Hezekiah and Sennacherib (and the Lord), the Rab-shakeh, the Tartan, and the Rab-saris as secondary participants for the Assyrian king, Sennacherib's sons[560], the king of Egypt, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Eliakim, Shebna and Joah as secondary participants for Hezekiah, and Isaiah and the angel[561] as secondary participants for the Lord It is

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[552]   2 Kgs.19_{35}.
[553]   2 Kgs.19_{36}.
[554]   2 Kgs.19_{37}.
[555]   The participant relation is ambiguous. The *agent* is introduced as אדרמלך ושראצר בניו (with mlt mss. vrs.; cf. Is.37_{38}) with the suffix referring to Sennacherib. According to 2 Kgs.19_{7}, however, Sennacherib's sons may be regarded as secondary participants for the Lord.
[556]   2 Kgs.19_{32}.
[557]   2 Kgs.19_{33}.
[558]   2 Kgs.19_{34}.
[559]   Grammatical subject: קנאת־יהוה.
[560]   Cf. above n.555.
[561]   It is noteworthy that the מלאך יהוה is not introduced by a transition passage as being sent by the Lord (cf. 19_{35}).

noteworthy that the Tartan and the Rab-saris have no narrative function,[562] the two *main line* verbs dominated by the inhabitants of Jerusalem mention that they did *not* answer[563], and none of the three servants of Hezekiah mentioned by name plays a special rôle. This is also true for Tirhakah, who does not intervene in the course of events.

The main participant relationship is introduced indirectly at the beginning of the story (B-B'-A, 2 Kgs.18₁₇), but is not reversed on the *main line*. It is rather found in Rab-shakeh's first speech comprising a recitation of Sennacherib's first message to Hezekiah (18₁₉₋₂₅, cf. table above). The same is true for A*-B.

The Kgs.-version also exhibits a formal inconsistency. Hezekiah receives ספרים (19₁₄), reads *them* (ויקראם), but then suddenly the sgl. is used (ויפרשהו). We can further note the ambiguity in Rab-shakeh's speech as to whether חשיב (2 Kgs.18₂₄) is part of Sennacherib's message to Hezekiah or not.[564] The speeches with their different levels of quotation contribute to the complexity of the narrative. Thus in 2 Kgs.18₂₂ Hezekiah is quoted twice and in v.30 once in Sennacherib's speech recited by Rab-shakeh. In v.25 Sennacherib's message quotes the Lord. In fact, almost all messages are recited by secondary participants. Sennacherib's messages to Hezekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem are delivered by Rab-shakeh, Hezekiah's messages to Isaiah are delivered by his servants, the Lord's messages to Hezekiah by Isaiah and messengers. Only Hezekiah's prayer (19₁₄₋₁₉) is spoken directly to the Lord. It is interesting to note that Hezekiah sent to Isaiah to ask the prophet to pray (19₂₋₄), but also prayed himself.[565]

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562   The parallel passage in Is.36₂ only mentions the Rab-shakeh and omits ויקראו
אל-המלך (2 Kgs.18₁₈).
563   חרשו ולא ענו (18₃₆).
564   Cf. above n.522.
565   This is comparable to events noted in B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Teummān, which relates that Ištar addressed Aššurbanipal directly (Bv₄₇ff) and through a message given to a seer in a dream (Bv₅₀ff).

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The *main line* of the Kgs.-version contains:

41 x I	-	73.21 %	(40 x I	-	78.43 %)[566]	
12 x r	-	21.43 %	(8 x r	-	15.69 %	
3 x s	-	5.36 %	(3 x s	-	5.88 %)	

If we treat the references to the Lord (and Isaiah and the angel) separately, the percentage of *reversals* is still greater:

36 x I	-	64.28 %	(35 x I	- 68.63 %)	
14 x r	-	25.00 %	(10 x r	- 19.61 %	
5 x s	-	8.93 %	(5 x s	- 9.80 %)	
1 x srs	-	1.79 %[567]	(1 x srs	- 1.96 %)	

With the exception of 19_5 the narrative appears to follow the chronological order.

The evaluation of the discourse profile is, of course, affected by our division of the Kgs.-version into two units. If the Kgs.-version is regarded as one coherent narrative, the number of *peaks* increases by one. We shall, however, concentrate on $18_{13.17ff}$. The narrative is related on a high rhetorical level. Speeches figure prominently ($18_{19-25.26.27-35}$ $19_{3-4.6-7.10-13.15-19.20-34}$). This second section begins with the introduction of the protagonists, but the participant functions are immediately transferred to secondary participants (ירושלם < הַמֶּלֶךְ־חִזְקִיָּהוּ ;חרתן , רב סריס, רב שקה < מלך אשור). The narrative then continues to relate the encounter between envoys of the two kings (18_{18}). The mention of the primary participants in Rab-shakeh's speech leads to a rise in tension. The speech is structured clearly. Rab-shakeh gives four reasons why it would be better for the Jerusalemites to surrender:

1. Hezekiah is dependent on help from the Egyptians, which they are unable to provide (v.21),
2. Hezekiah is dependent on the Lord, whose altars he has abolished (v.22),
3. the Judean army is too weak to stand against the Assyrians (vv.23f), and
4. Sennacherib is sent by the Lord himself (v.25).

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[566] The number in brackets denote the participant orientation functions (excluding 18_{14-16}).
[567] The additional *reversals* are the transitions to וַיֹּאמֶר (2 Kgs.19_6) and וַיִּשְׁלַח (19_{20}). The *switches* are to וַיָּבֹא (19_1) and וַיַּעַל (19_{14}). The *srs*-function is present in the transition to וַיָּשָׁב (19_8).

While the first two points concern internal participant relations, the last two refer to the main participant relation. With regard to the phraseology used it is noteworthy that in three of the four parts of Rabshakeh's speech בטח is prominent. Sennacherib's message to Hezekiah culminates in his claim to be sent by יהוה, which is the least expected of the four arguments. At precisely this point Rab-shakeh is interrupted by Hezekiah's officials.

After his refusal to continue his speech in Aramaic, Rab-shakeh addresses the inhabitants of Jerusalem. While his first speech and the interruption had been introduced with a plain ויאמר (vv.19.26), the continuation of Rab-shakeh's speech is introduced by a cluster of verbs ויעמד רב־שקה ויקרא בקול־גדול יהודית וידבר ויאמר (v.28). This constitutes a further rise in the rhetorical level which also affected the *main line*.

The second part of Rab-shakeh's speech, too, is well structured. Four negated exhortations, of which the first and the third are amplified by כה (כי) אמר המלך / מלך אשור (vv.29.31), introduce the different sections:

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אל ישיא לכם
אל יבטח אתכם
אל תשמעו אל חזקיהו
אל תשמעו אל חזקיהו (vv.29.30.31.32)
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While the first part states expressly that Hezekiah is unable to protect his people (18_{29}), this is not stated of the Lord who is referred to in the second section. אכלו and שתו in the third section (v.31) remind of and contrast with v.27. The juxtaposition of life and death (וחיו ולא תמותו) in v.32 as the options left to the inhabitants of Jerusalem concludes the third section. The fourth section resumes the first two. In both passages נצל is prominent. Again it is stated that Hezekiah cannot save his people (v.32), but the last section goes beyond the second section in comparing the Lord to the gods of the conquered peoples (vv.33-36). Here the climax of the second part of Rab-shakeh's speech is found. In each of the two parts one root figured prominently, בטח in the first, נצל in the second.

With the description of the Jerusalemites' reaction in a parallelism the scene changes. The immediate confrontation is over and the narrative focusses on internal participant relations. Tension rises with the mention of Hezekiah as *agent* and the relation of his reaction to Sennacherib's message which is described more extensively than that of the people (19_1). The reference to Hezekiah going to the Temple and sending envoys to Isaiah constitutes a transition to a further participant. In Rab-shakeh's speech the final participant relation had been A*-B.[568] In a rhetorical question Sennacherib had claimed that the Lord could or would not save Jerusalem. Thus the conflict is intensified and tension rises further. This is even more the case with the Lord's announcement of Sennacherib's death (19_7). The scene switches again to Rab-shakeh and Sennacherib (19_{8-9}). On learning of Tirhakah's advance the latter sends another message to Hezekiah.[569] While the first message emphasized the relationship between Hezekiah and his subjects (A-A'), the second one focusses on the relationship between the Lord and Hezekiah (A*-A). Again we can note a rise of tension:

18_{29}: אל ישיא לכם חזקיהו

19_{10}: אל ישאך אלהיך

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568   כי־יציל יהוה את ירושלם מידי (v.35).

569   וישב וישלח ... (v.9).

    19_{9a} as fulfillment of the promise of v.7 is one of the basic arguments for the division of 2 Kgs.$18_{(13.)17ff}$ into different strands (cf. above n.491.). This view demands that $19_{(36.)37}$ belongs to the same source as 19_7. There are, however, several difficulties with this opinion. The author of strand B_1 ($18_{(13..)17}$-19_{9a}) remembered details of the campaign such as the siege of Lachish, the titles of the Assyrian officials, or the names of the Assyrian king and the Pharaoh as well as circumstances of Sennacherib's death (cf. Bab.Chron. Iiii$_{34-36}$, Babylon-stele of Nabonidus I$_{35-40}$, and R.Borger's remarks in *TUAT*, I,4, pp.391f). It does not seem plausible that he should have been wrong about the reason of Sennacherib's return to Assyria (cf. Chic.-Tayl.ii$_{78}$-iii$_{16}$). There is no reference to a battle against the Egyptians, Sennacherib's fear, Hezekiah's relief, or the emptiness of Sennacherib's boasts (cf. 18_4) in B_1.

    A different interpretation of 2 Kgs.19_7 may be tentatively suggested here. Since Hezekiah's request repeatedly emphasizes the Lord's taking notice of Sennacherib's words (אולי ישמע - 19_4) and the Lord's reply begins with אל תירא אשר שמע יהוה אלהיך, יהוה אלהיך (19_6) it cannot be ruled out that שמע שמועה (v.7) refers to Sennacherib having to take notice of the (fulfillment of the) Lord's announcements.

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The anonymity of Sennacherib's envoys sent to deliver his second message gives more prominence to the Assyrian king as the primary participant and thus corresponds to the intensification of the conflict recognizable between the contents of the two messages. Hezekiah's reaction to Sennacherib is described more extensively than after Rab-shakeh's speech (19_{14-19}, cf. 19_{1-2}). Now the focus is on *Hezekiah's* prayer rather than on *Isaiah's*[570], another transition from a secondary to a primary participant. The Lord's answer to Hezekiah's prayer, too, is more extensive and on a higher rhetorical level than its counterpart. It contains comparisons, parallelisms and EEN-constructions. Then the narrative accelerates and the outcome of the conflict is related.

The Chronicler's narrative structure is much simpler than that of his *Vorlage*. Only one encounter between Assyrian envoys and the Jerusalemites is related.[571] After mentioning Sennacherib's invasion (2 Chr.32_1) he added references to Hezekiah's preparations for a siege (vv.2-6a) and a speech by the Judean king to encourage his people (vv.6b-9). This first part of the Chronicler's version, not paralleled in Sam.-Kgs., exhibits comparatively many terms common to the Chronicler's *Sondergut*. We can note שָׁלַח, הִתְחַזֵּק, לָרֹב (v.5), שָׂרֵי מִלְחָמָה, קָבַץ (v.6), הָמוֹן (v.7), וְעִם עֹזֵר (v.8).[572] This creates a linguistic unevenness between the two parts of the narrative. The building operations noted by the Chronicler as Hezekiah's preparations for a siege may well have been taken from a different source.[573] A speech of Hezekiah had

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570   Cf.19_{1f}. It should not be ignored that 19_1,too, mentions Hezekiah going to the Temple.
571   Cf. also the Chronicler's omission of the Bath-shebah episode (2 Sam.11-12$_{25}$) from his account of David's Ammonite war.
572   Cf. Driver, *Introduction*, pp.535-540.
573   Cf. Is.22$_{8ff}$. References to building operations have also been added in other parts of the Chronicler's work (cf. 1 Chr.11$_{8f}$, 2 Chr.8$_{1-6}$ 11$_{5-12}$ 14$_{5f}$ 17$_{12f}$ 26$_{9f}$ 33$_{14}$ and the discussion of these passages in Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung*, pp.9-78). This indicates that these insertions are due to the Chronicler's personal preferences rather than to general developmental tendencies.

been referred to but not quoted in the Kgs.-version (18$_{29\text{-}31}$).[574] By the upgrading of indirect to direct speech the account becomes more balanced. The Chronicler first relates a speech by the Judean king, then quotes the Assyrian king. Both speeches are directed towards the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The insertion together with the description of the Jerusalemites' reaction prevents the rise of tension. The Chronicler notes that they trusted Hezekiah and thus the unsuccessfulness of Sennacherib's attempt to persuade the inhabitants of Jerusalem to surrender is anticipated. This is made explicit by the connection of the two passages with אחר זה (2 Chr.3$_7$).

The Chronicler's version of Sennacherib's message summarizes the Assyrian messages of the Kgs.-version.

עַל־מָה אַתֶּם בֹּטְחִים (2 Chr. 32$_{10}$)	- cf. 2 Kgs.18$_{19\text{-}25.30}$ 19$_{30}$
הֲלֹא יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ מֵסִית אֶתְכֶם, אַל יַסִּית אֶתְכֶם (2 Chr.32$_{11}$)	- cf. 2 Kgs.18$_{32}$
לָתֵת אֶתְכֶם לָמוּת (2 Chr.32$_{11}$)	- cf. 2 Kgs.18$_{32}$
בְּרָעָב וּבַצָּמָא (2 Chr.32$_{11}$)	- cf. 2 Kgs.18$_{27.31}$
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יַצִּילֵנוּ (2 Chr.32$_{11}$)	- cf. 2 Kgs.18$_{30.32}$
הֲלֹא־הוּא יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ הֵסִיר אֶת בָּמֹתוּ . . . (2 Chr.32$_{12}$)	- cf. 2 Kgs.18$_{22}$
הֲלֹא תֵדְעוּ מֶה עָשִׂיתִי אֲנִי וַאֲבֹתַי . . . (2 Chr.32$_{13}$)	- cf. 2 Kgs.18$_{33\text{-}35}$
כִּי יוּכַל אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לְהַצִּיל אֶתְכֶם מִיָּדִי (2 Chr.32$_{13}$)	- cf. 2 Kgs.18$_{35}$
אַף־כִּי אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לֹא יַצִּילוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיָּדִי (2 Chr.32$_{15}$)	- cf. 2 Kgs.18$_{35}$
אַל־יַשִּׁיא חִזְקִיָּהוּ אֶתְכֶם (2 Chr.32$_{15}$)	- cf. 2 Kgs.18$_{29}$.

The Chronicler took up key words from the speeches in 'Kgs.' (בטח, נצל, סית, שיא), but did not retain them as *key words*. He thus omitted repetitions and reduced the rhetorical level.

Vv.16-20 are of special significance for an analysis of editorial techniques. The narrator with his mention of (a) further speech[es] by the Assyrian messengers (32$_{16ff}$) enters a different level of story telling. Not the events themselves but rather their significance is focussed on (למען ילכדו

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574 For the insertion of comparable speeches, which G.v.Rad termed *levitische Predigt* ("levitical sermon") cf. also 1 Chr.28$_{2\text{-}10}$, 2 Chr.25$_{7\text{-}8}$ 15$_{2\text{-}7}$ 19$_{6f}$ 20$_{15\text{-}17}$ 20$_{20}$ 32$_{7\text{-}8a}$ and von Rad's discussion in "Die levitische Predigt".

את העיר, לבהלם, לחרף ליהוה אלהי ישראל (את).[575] This is also apparent in the Chronicler's omission of 2 Kgs.19₃₅ᵦ, where the Assyrians' surprise had been expressed by והנה.

The order of narration in the Chronicler's version is thematic rather than chronological.[576] He notes, that the Assyrian envoys spoke קול גדול יהודית (v.18) after he mentioned Sennacherib's letter(s) (v.17). V.17, part of Sennacherib's message, notes that foreign gods could not save their peoples (עמם), v.18 mentions the "people of Jerusalem" (עם ירושלם), and v.19 refers to the "God of Jerusalem" (אלהי ירושלם).

The participant orientation pattern, too, was simplified:

בבא[577]B		
ויבא B (A')	I	
ויחן B	A'	I
ויאמר B	A'	I
וירא[578]A	B	r
ויּנּעץ A	A'	I
ויקבצו A'		I
ויסתמו A'		I
ויחזק[579]A		I
ויבן A		I
ויעל A		I
ויחזק A		I
ויחזן[580]A	A'	I
ויקבצם A	A'	I
וידבר A	A'	I

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[575]   Cf. also v.19b which was taken from Hezekiah's prayer (2 Kgs.19₁₈ᵦ) to the *main line* and בבשת פנים (v.21). Comparable is further the Chronicler's replacement of
ויאמר . . . החלך אל רמות גלעד by
ויסחהו לעלות אל רמות גלעד (1 Kgs.22₂ // 2 Chr.18₂). Cf. also 2 Chr.12₇ 28₅.₁₆ 32₃₁.
The difference between these two levels of narration parallels the difference between what J.L.Austin termed *locutionary*, *illocutionary*, and *perlocutionary acts* in the utterance of statements (*How to Do Things with Words*). While the Kgs.-version concentrated on the events themselves, which can be compared to the *locutionary aspect*, Chr also emphasized their purpose (*illocutionary* aspect) or effects (*perlocutionary* aspects). This parallels in the Assyrian annals the emphasis on results rather than on the course of events.

[576]   Cf. also 2 Chr.22₇ᵦ.₈ 28₅.₁₆₋₂₁ 32₂₆.₃₁.
[577]   2 Chr.32₁.
[578]   2 Chr.32₂.
[579]   2 Chr.32₅.
[580]   2 Chr.32₆.

חזקו[592] A'

אמצו A'

אל תיראו A'

אל תחתו A'

I ויסמכו[581] A'

r שלח[582] B B' A*

B-A' אמר[593]

בטחים A'

יושבים A'

מסיח[594] AA-A'

יצילו A*-A'

הסיר[595] A

ויאמר A

תשחחוו A'

חקטירו A'

תרעו[596] A'-B

יכלו C'-C'

אל ישיא[597] AA-A'

אל יסיח AA-A'

אל תאמינו A'-A

ולא יוכל C'-C'

יצילו[598]-A' A*

I דברו[583] B' A/A*

I כתב[584] B A*

A*-A' לא יציל

I ויקראו[585,591] B'

I וידברו[586] B' A*

r ויתפלל[587] A A*

I ויזעקו A/A" A*

I וישלח[588] A* A"

I ויבחר A" B

r וישב B

I ויבא B

I הפילהו[?] B' B

r ויושע[589] A* A

I וינח[590] A* A

581	2 Chr.32$_8$.
582	2 Chr.32$_9$.
583	2 Chr.32$_{16}$.
584	2 Chr.32$_{17}$.
585	2 Chr.32$_{18}$.
586	2 Chr.32$_{19}$.
587	2 Chr.32$_{20}$.
588	2 Chr.32$_{21}$.
589	2 Chr.32$_{22}$.
590	With LXX (καὶ κατέπαυσεν αὐτοὺς - וינח להם) for MT וינהלם
591	Pc mss LXX* Vg sgl.
592	2 Chr.7$_7$.
593	2 Chr.32$_{10}$.
594	2 Chr.32$_{11}$.
595	2 Chr.32$_{12}$.
596	2 Chr.32$_{13}$.
597	2 Chr.32$_{15}$.
598	Grammatical subject: אלהים. Nonn mss יציל (cf. v.17b).

The participant orientation pattern indicates a greater emphasis on primary participants. Sennacherib's messengers remain unnamed[599], Hezekiah's envoys are not even mentioned.[600] In the second part of his account the Chronicler does not note the inhabitants of Jerusalem as *main line agents* (cf. 2 Kgs.18$_{36}$). Because of the omission of 2 Kgs.19$_{35b}$ the same is true for the Assyrian army. Isaiah appears only once as *main line agent*, in a compound subject (2 Chr.32$_{20}$). Internal participant relations between B and B' are not mentioned on the *main line*.[601] The Chronicler's concentration on the main conflict can also be recognized in Hezekiah's designation as עבדו, with the

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[599]   Cf. the Chronicler's מלכים אשר באו (1 Chr.19$_9$) for a list of Aramean kings (2 Sam.10$_8$). In his version of the Babylonian embassy to Hezekiah (2 Kgs.20$_{12-19}$ // 2 Chr.32$_{31}$) he has replaced מראדך בלארן בן־בלאדן מלך בבל (2 Kgs.20$_{12}$ [MT reads "...בראדך"]) by שרי בבל. This parallels exactly the development of participant designations in Aššurbanipal's account of the rebellion of Egyptian vassal kings (see above n.366).

[600]   Comparable is the omission from 1 Sam.31$_7$ (// 1 Chr.10$_6$) of the reference to Saul's armour-bearer. In other passages, however, the Chronicler retained mentions of the latter. Similarly the Chronicler mentions only Joab in his report of the execution of the census commanded by David (1 Chr.21$_4$), whereas the corresponding passage in Sam. had also mentioned army leaders (2 Sam.24$_4$). This created an inconsistency between David's command (לכו ספרו [pl.!], 1 Chr.19$_2$) and its fulfillment. In his version of Ahaziah's death the Chronicler has omitted, apart from the narration of Israelite affairs as the killings of Jezebel (2 Kgs.9$_{30-37}$) and Ahab's seventy sons (10$_{1-14}$), all references to Elisha or the latter's disciple (9$_{1-6}$). This passage deals with internal participant relations and has secondary participants as *main line agents*. The same is true for Jehu's acknowledgement by Israelite soldiers (9$_{11-14a.15b}$) and the dialogue between Joram and the watchman (9$_{17-20}$, with alternation between primary and secondary participants). Significant is the replacement of ואמרת . . . אשר משחו יהוה . . . בה־אמר יהוה משחתיך למלך אל־ישראל (2 Kgs.9$_3$) with . . . יהוה . . . (2 Chr.22$_7$). Cf. also the Chronicler's abbreviation of Kgs.' account of Hezekiah's illness and convalescence (2 Kgs.20$_{1-11}$ // 2 Chr.32$_{24}$). The Chronicler mentions neither the prophet Isaiah, nor Hezekiah's servants, which had appeared as *main line agents* in Kgs. account. Consequently there are no internal participant relations in the Chronicler's version. Isaiah's announcements are represented in 2 Chr.32$_{24}$ by ויאמר לו with the Lord as grammatical subject. 2 Chr.32$_{24}$ contains only one *reversal*.
     A reverse alteration in 1 Chr.19$_3$ // 2 Sam.10$_3$ (שלח דוד את־עבדיו > באו עבדיו) adapts the passage to the context (cf. 2 Sam.10$_2$ // 1 Chr.19$_2$). The additional references to Priests and Levites (cf. 1 Chr.15 16$_{1-6}$ 23 24 26 27, 2 Chr.5$_{12}$ 7$_6$ 8$_{14-15}$ 11$_{13-14}$ 13$_{9-10}$ 17$_8$ 19$_{8-11}$ 20$_{19}$ 23$_{2.4.6.7.8.18}$ 24$_{5-6}$ 29-31 34$_{9.12.13.30}$ 35$_{1-17.18}$ probably reflect the Chronicler's personal preferences rather than general tendencies of literary development.

[601]   Cf. the Chronicler's omission of 2 Sam.12$_{27-30}$.

pronominal suffix referring to יהוה (2 Chr.32₁₆).[602] Thus Hezekiah's function in the conflict is that of a secondary participant for the Lord. Correspondingly Sennacherib's letter, which in the 'Kgs.'-version was sent to Hezekiah (2 Kgs.19₁₀.₁₄) according to the Chronicler was written לחרף יהוה (2 Chr.32₁₇). In both versions the conflict had been resolved by the Lord's intervention.[603] The Chronicler has thus edited the narrative with its outcome in view.

We can also note a reduction of *reversals*. The participant orientation functions of the Chronicler's account are:

25 x I - 83.33 %
5 x r - 16.67 %

If we disregard the Chronicler's concluding remarks (2 Chr.32₂₂.₂₃) the reduction of *reversals* is even greater (23 x I [88.46 %], 3 x r [11.54 %]).

We can thus note that the structural differences between the accounts of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah as presented in Kgs. and Chr. parallel those between different versions of Sennacherib's and Aššurbanipal's campaign accounts.

C The Microstructural Development of Assyrian Annalistic Texts

From our investigation of the development of the structure of Assyrian campaign accounts we obtained a partly negative answer to our question whether it is possible to establish the relative stage of development of Old Testament narratives. If we take the redactorial treatment of Assyrian campaign accounts as an empirical model, we may be able to suggest that a narrative with

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[602] This led to the juxtaposition in v.16 of עבדיו, with the suffix referring to Sennacherib, and עבדו, with the suffix referring to the Lord.

[603] In the narration of Sennacherib's death the Chronicler uses the unusual expression הפילהו בחרב (2 Chr.32₂₁; cf. 2 Kgs.19₃₇: הכהו בחרב), which alludes to the Lord's announcement in 2 Kgs.19₆₋₇. The latter passage had not been taken over by the Chronicler. This may indicate that the Chronicler presumed the knowledge of his *Vorlage* among his readers.

a certain discourse structure and participant orientation is in an *early stage* of literary development, but *late stages* cannot be identified with any certainty.

We shall thus proceed to investigate *minor* changes and analyze the effects of redactorial treatment to the grammatical texture of narratives. Again we need to emphasize that we can only *describe* the differences between versions, but not explain them. We can note alterations and their agreement or disagreement with more or less general tendencies of literary development. Since such tendencies can only be recognized from the alterations themselves, they cannot provide explanations, but are only of statistical value.

We have already seen above that basically, if narratives were altered at all, they were abbreviated. The easiest way of abbreviation is, of course, that of plain omission. No replacement is given for the omitted text. We may distinguish two sorts of omitted material: Firstly information that, apparently, was not thought to be important enough for retention and, secondly, information that was important, but already contained in the context or was regarded as being self-evident.[604]

The different categories in which the alterations have been grouped cannot be strictly separated from each other. For example, the omission of a sentence may unify a passage and at the same time give more prominence to the later part of a series of actions. However, to avoid repetition we have generally noted alterations only once. There are other alterations for which no motivation is apparent or which are of too little significance to be considered here. It is further important to note that to all of the changes mentioned below contrasting

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[604] An interesting parallel may be seen in the results of D.J.Allterton's study of the formulation of sentences ("Deletion and proform reduction"). Allerton established the following hierarchy of treatment of information:
'NEW' = Indefinite
'GIVEN' = Definite
'SUPER-GIVEN' = Proform
'HYPER-GIVEN' = Deleted (p.236). Allerton deduced from this the general validity of a "law of least effort" (p.213).

examples may be adduced. Several, as for example the insertion of anticipatory remarks or A's additions of speeches, have already been mentioned above and these will not be repeated here. None of the trends whose existence is argued in the present thesis is universally valid and without exception. The redactor's personal preferences or the specific form or contents of some narratives may have prompted alterations against general tendencies. This has, of course, consequences for the application of our suggested empirical model to Old Testament narratives. Narratives, passages within narratives, sentences within passages may have been treated differently from their contexts.

Categories which have already been noted above, such as the emphasis on results or the tendency towards the unfication of the *main line*, will not be repeated here. For each of the major developmental tendencies one example from Sennacherib's annals and one from Aššurbanipal's annals will be given in the main text.

1 Omission

a) Omission of Main Clauses

(1) Omission of the First Part of a Series of Actions

We have already seen above that redactors often concentrated on results rather than on the sequence of events.[605] The omission of the first part of a series of actions is related to this. F's omission of Aššurbanipal's first Egyptain campaign is a drastic example. Further alterations related to this tendency are updates[606] and resolutions of the chronological order.[607] The tendency can also be observed on a smaller scale.

Example 1: Bull 4 has omitted the report of the conquest of Lule's cities (Chic.-Tayl. ii_{41-46}) and mentions only the installation of a new king there.[608]

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[605]   See above pp. and .
[606]   Cf. above nn.252 and 429.
[607]   Cf. above n.437.
[608]   Cf. also Bull 4's omissions of "alme" as the first of a series of successive verbs in Chic.-Tayl. ii_{72} and of "illiku rēṣīšu" from Chic.-Tayl. ii_{81}.

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Example 2: B, C, and F have omitted the contents of Gyges' dream (HT rev.16-18) with the mention Aššur's orders to Gyges and have only retained the narration of their fulfillment.[609]

(2) Omission of Sentences Without Relevance for the Main Course of Events

With the identification of omitted sentences as being of little importance for the main course of narration, there is, of course, the danger of circular reasoning. The very fact that these sentences were omitted shows that they were regarded as dispensible. However, the participant orientation patterns indicate main conflicts, and sentences contributing to the narration of this main conflict can be distinguished from the remainder of the narrative. We can further note the omission of events that had no consequences in the further course of narration. Comparable also are omissions of negated sentences.

Example 3: Rass. has omitted Bell 1.10 which relates the unsuccessful pursuit of Merodach-baladan. The unsuccessfulness is expressed by a negated *main line* verb ("ul innamir").[610]

Example 4: A omits the reference to the accession of Indabigaš ($Bvii_{57b}$) after his victory over Tammaritu is reported (Aiv_{11} // $Bvii_{56-57a}$) which is

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[609] From HT's report of the Kirbit affair B and C omit that the inhabitants of Deru asked the Assyrian king for help and that Aššurbanipal dispatched his generals (rev.10-11). The description of the siege had already been omitted in HT (cf. above n.435). We can also note F's and A's omission of $Biii_{18-32}$ from the account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Aḫšeri. The two latter editions have retained only the description of the destruction of the country and the taking of booty (Fii_{26-31} // $Aii_{130-133}$). F and A have omitted the reference to the siege of Izertu and two other cities (Bii_{47-49}) and mention only the ravaging of the district ($Aiii_{2-3}$ // $Biii_{50-51}$). From B's report against Dunanu F and A have omitted B vi_{21-22} which narrate that Aššurbanipal "covered Gambulu with his battle array like a storm". F and A only report the conquest and destruction of Dunanu's capital and the deportation of captives and booty (Fii_{77}- iii_5 // A iii_{54-69}).
A's additional report of massacres among Uwaite"'s subjects ($vii_{108-115}$), which contrasts with the omissions noted above adds details to the accounts of B (cf. $viii_{8-9}$) and VAT 5600+ (cf. iv_{13-14}). It may well be due to a different source which has not been preserved. For the addition of a stock-phrase cf. also $Aiii_{59f}$ // Fii_{80}.
[610] We can further note Bull 4's omission Chic.-Tayl. i_{82} iii_{6b-7}.

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without immediate consequences for the main conflict (Aššurbanipal - Tammaritu).

(3) Omission of Descriptive Sentences

This category is related to the previous one. Here we note the omission of sentences with descriptive rather than narrative force. Formally these sentences are main clauses, but their function may be compared to that of adverbs or adjectives.

Example 5: Bull 4 has omitted Chic.-Tayl. i_{70}, one of three sentences describing the difficulty of the terrain by narrating Sennacherib's actions.[611]

Example 6: HT obv.4 ("[epš]et maruštu ... ul ibbalkit ina libbīšu") has no equivalent in the subsequent versions. This sentence does not denote a progress of events.[612]

b) Omission of Descriptive Sentence Constituents

We have already seen above that with progressive transmission the rhetorical level of several narratives was reduced. Sometimes, as e.g. in the case of E's account of the arrival of the Lydian messenger, whole passages with high rhetorical level were omitted. Redactors also omitted qualifiers from retained paragraphs and thus increased emphasis on the main line of narration. They

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[611] We may also note the omission of Chic.-Tayl. i_{65} referring to Aššur's encouragement of Sennacherib. The function of this sentence might parallel that of "ina emūq aššur" (Chic.- Tayl. i_{35}), "ina tukulti aššur" (Chic.-Tayl. iii_1), "ina qibit aššur" (Chic.- Tayl. v_{76}). The omission also reduces the number of *main line* participants by removing Aššur as grammatical subject from the *main line* of the account of Sennacherib's second campaign. Cf. also Bull 4's omission of Chic.-Tayl. ii_{15} ("... kīma zī ...") and of "urappiš māti" from Chic.-Tayl. ii_{32}. The omission of "ušarme karmiš" from Chic.-Tayl. i_{78} resolves the EEN-construction and leaves only the usual "abbul aqqur". Thus the omission may also be regarded as an adaptation to common phraseology. The case is similar with the omission of "titališ ušeme" (Chic.- Tayl. i_{79-80}) by which a parallelism is resolved. Here, too, the more usual expression "ina girri aqmūma" was preferred. (cf. Chic.-Tayl. ii_{19}, iv_{12}). Cf. also Bell.'s omission of "imqussu ḫattu gimir" (BM 113203, l.26).

[612] It is also noteworthy that the *main line* verb is negated and that before and after this sentence Tarqu is the grammatical subject. Thus the omission also unifies the passage. Comparable are the omissions of "libbu ušarḫissuma" (HT obv.55), "ispuna abūbiš" (HT obv.74), HT rev.7 (negated), and HT rev.18 by the later versions, of Bvii$_{47-48}$ (l.48 negated) by F (retained in A), and Bii$_{45.48-49}$ by F and A.

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613   Chic.-Tayl. has omitted "ṣeḫer rabi" (Bell. 1.22 // Chic.-Tayl. i_{22}). Bull 4 has omitted "zaqrūti" (Chic.-Tayl. i_{68} // Bull 4, 1.9), "maḫra", (Chic.-Tayl. ii_{29} // Bull 4, 1.16), "kabittu" (Chic.-Tayl. ii_{35} // Bull 4, 1.17).

From HT's account of the Gyges affair the later versions have omitted "ālikūt maḫri" (HT rev.14). F and A have omitted "zikra sinniš ṣeḫer u rabi" (Bvi$_{37}$). F (iii$_9$) has omitted "la kēnu" after the mention of Šamaš-šum-ukīn (Bvii$_8$) and has only retained "nak[ri". Thus the negated modifier was not taken over.

For additions of adjectives cf. Bi$_{76}$ (//Ai$_{82}$) // HT obv.17 (stock-phrase), Fi$_{46}$ (//Aii$_{36}$) // Bii$_{27}$ (//Ciii$_{55}$), Aii$_{12}$ // HT obv.58.

614   BM 113203 1.6 contains several appositions after the mention of Merodach-Baladan and a subordinate clause which refers back to one of the appositions. All these are omitted in the later versions. Cf. also Chic.-Tayl.'s omission of "nakri aksi" from Bell. 1.20 (// Chic.-Tayl. i_{66}) and Bull 4's omissions of "āl bēlūtīya" after the mention of Nineveh (Chic.-Tayl. iii$_{47}$), the name of the governor of Hararate (Chic.-Tayl. i_{55}), a list of booty items (Chic.-Tayl. i_{55-56}), "šūt rēšīya" before "bēl paḫati" (Chic.-Tayl. ii$_6$ and ii$_{31}$), and "kadre bēlūtīya" after "mandattu" (Chic.-Tayl. iii$_{36}$). Bull 4 has further replaced "bīt ṣēri kultari mūšabīšunu" (Chic.-Tayl. i_{78-79}) with "bīt ṣēri kultarīšunu" (1.11).

From HT the later versions omit "ardu dagil panīya" after the mention of Niku (obv.52), al šarrūtīšu ašar tukultīšu after the mention of Memphis (obv. 20), "nīš ilāni^{meš}" after "adê" (HT obv.54 // A ii$_9$; B, C, and F omit complete passage), "šar kusi" after the mention of Tarqu (HT obv. 66, cf Bii$_7$, Ciii$_{32}$, and Aii$_{20}$) and "mimma aqru" from the list of booty items taken from Thebes (HT rev.1). HT (obv.50 // Aii$_5$) omits from Eiv$_{10f}$ (BM 134481) "āl bēlūtīya" after the mention of Nineveh. F and A have omitted "šar elamti^{ki}" after the mention of Tammaritu (Bvi$_{58}$). They have further omitted the names of conquered cities (Biii$_{34-36}$), appositions after the mention of the month of Ululu (Bv$_{77-78}$), the patronym after the mention of Dunanu (Bvi$_{17}$, cf. Fii$_{74}$ and Aiii$_{52}$), and an apposition after the mention of Sapibel describing the cities geographical position ("ša qereb nārē^{meš}", Bvi$_{24}$; cf. Fii$_{77}$, Aiii$_{59}$). A has left out "ardīšu" after the mention of Indabigaš (Fiii$_{23}$) and "ḫišiḫti ^{d}aššur šar ilāni^{meš} bēl gimri" (Aii$_{98}$ // HT rev.16).

For additions of appositions cf. HT obv.25 // Eiii$_{13}$, HT obv.20 // Eiii$_3$, Bii$_{36}$ (// Aii$_{44}$) HT rev.4, Aii$_{58}$ // Bii$_{55}$ (political relevance? Yaḫimilki was allowed to return to Tyre and may have succeeded Ba'alu as ruler there), Fii$_{79}$ (//Aiii$_{58}$) // Bvi$_{25}$.

615   From Bell. 1.13 Rass. (// Chic.-Tayl. i_{42}) omitted "ša kīma mīrāni ṣahri qereb ekallīya irbu". Cf. also Rass.' (// Chic.-Tayl. i_{58}) omission of "ša ultu ana nīrīya la kitnūšu" (negated !) from Bell. 1.8, and the Bull 4's omission of this clause from Chic.-Tayl.i_{67} and of "ša ina qitrub tāḫazi umašširu" from Chic.-Tayl. i_{26}. Cf., however, the addition of a subordinate clause in Chic.-Tayl. iii$_{19}$.

F has omitted from B's account of Tammaritu's escape to Assyria the remark that Tammaritu had spoken disrespectfully about the decapitation of Teummān (Bvii$_{59-61}$). Cf. also the omissions of "la kanšu ana nīrīya" Bvi$_{20}$, "(ša) damiqti la ḫassu la iṣṣuru adē mamit ilāni^{meš} rabûti^{meš}" (Bvii$_{5-6}$), "ša niba la īšu" (Bvi$_{35}$), "ša ela šāšu iqsu" (B vii$_{45}$) by F and A. A has further left out "[ša ina mi]ṣir mātīšu ašbū" (Bviii$_6$). IT has not retained the subordinate clauses after the menti), "ša ela šāšu iqsu" (B vii$_{45}$) by F and A. A has further left out "[ša ina mi]ṣir mātīšu ašbū" (Bviii$_6$). IT has not retained the subordinate clauses after the mention of Lydia (Aii$_{95-96}$). From HT obv.61 the subsequent versions have omitted "ša [kar bēl] matāti šumšu".

For additions of subordinate clauses cf. Bi$_{67}$ (// Cii$_{35}$, Ai$_{66f}$) // HT obv.14 Biii$_3$ // HT rev.21, Avii$_{88}$ // Bviii$_1$, and, perhaps, HT obv.52 [E's account mutilated].

construct chains[616] and circumlocutory expressions[617], but often reduced the vividness of accounts. Thus in several cases we can note the omission of adverbs or adverbial phrases[618] Since subordinate clauses are of descriptive rather than narrative function their omission parallels that of descriptive main clauses as well as that of adverbs, adjectives, and appositions, all increasing the emphasis on the main line of narration. The effects of other alterations, as e.g. omissions from lists[619], cannot be traced in the narrative structure. From some passages several qualifiers were omitted.[620]

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[616]   Bull 4 replaced "ana nīr bēlūtīya" (Chic.-Tayl. ii_{36}) with "ana nīrīya" (Bull 4 l.17). Cf. also Chic.-Tayl. ii_{38} // Bull 4 l.18, Chic.-Tayl. iii_{16} // Bull 4 l.27. From a list of rulers and cities in Chic.-Tayl. iii_{32-34} Bull 4 has only retained the names of the cities (l.30).

Comparable is the abbreviation of "ša ina šarrāni^{meš} abbēya mamman lā īšu" (Chic.-Tayl. ii_{34}) to "ša šarrāni^{meš} abbēya lā īšu" (Bull 4, l.17).

F (iii_{26}) has abbreviated "iṣbatū šēpē^{II} šarrūtīya" (B vii_{70}) to "iṣbatū šēpē^{II}ya" and omitted "mātīšu" after "nišē" from $Bvi37$ (Fii_{78}, cf. also Bvi_{27-35}). A has omitted "amāt" before "lemuttim" (HT obv.48 // Aii_1). B, followed by C and A, has abbreviated "miḫrit ummānāteya" (HT obv.16 // Bi_{74}, Cii_{74}, Aii_{80}) to "ana maḫrīya". The alteration has also changed the reference from a secondary to a primary participant.

Comparable is the omission of "ša elamti^{ki}" ($Bvii_{63}$) by $Fiii_{22}$ and Aiv_{23}.

[617]   Chic.-Tayl. i_{30-35} // Bull 4, l.6, Chic.-Tayl. iii_{21-27} // Bull 4, l.28 (cf. Borger, *ABL*, p.76), BM 113203, l.60 // Bell. l.16, HT rev.4 // Bii_{36}, HT obv.69 // Bii_{14}, HT rev.20 // Aii_{106}.

[618]   Bull 4 has omitted "arkīya" (Chic.-Tayl. ii_{48}), "ina qitrub tāḫāzi" (Chic.-Tayl. i_{26}), "nakriš" (Chic.-Tayl. ii_{77}), "ina qabal tamḫāri" (Chic.-Tayl. iii_5), "(ana) epēš ardūti" (Chic.-Tayl. iii_{49}).

HT has omitted "arkānu" ($Eiii_{x+1}$ // Ai_{118}). B, C, F and A have omitted "adi maḫrīya" (HT rev.19). F and A have omitted "ana dalāl ilūtīšun rabīti ..." ($Bvii_{66-68}$). The omission of the reference to the Assyrian officer from the same passage and Bii_{38} may be that of a secondary participant. F and A have further omitted ($Bviii_{57}$). C has omitted "eninna yāti" ($Bviii_{57}$, cf.Cx_{58}). A has omitted "ina qereb tamḫāri balṭussu" (HT rev.20, cf. Aii_{106}). IT has omitted "ana maḫrīya" (Aii_{110}).

Several of the added adverbial constructions are stock-phrases (cf. $Bii81$ // Aii_{74}, $Fiii_{29}$ // Aiv_{33} //$Bvii_{72}$, $Biii_{10}$ // HT rev.11, $Avii_{116}$ // $Bviii_8$, Aix_{43} // $Bviii_{13}$), others clarify the narrative structure ($Fiii_{12}$ // Aiv_3 // $Bvii_{45}$), Aii_{103} // HT rev.19f, $Avii_{117}$ // $Bviii_9$). A further cases are Aii_6 // Bii_6.

[619]   Cf. BM 113203, ll.31-33 // Bell. l.8, Chic.-Tayl. i_{25} // Bell. l.7), Chic.-Tayl ii_{13} // Bull 4 l.13, Chic.-Tayl. ii_{27} // Bull 4 l.15, Chic.-Tayl. ii_{73f} // Bull 4 ll.22-23, Chic.-Tayl. iii_{8-11} // Bull 4 ll.25.26 (cf. Chic.-Tayl ii_{74} // Bull 4 l.23), Bell. l.7 // Rass., (// Chic.-Tayl. i_{31}).HT abbreviated the list of booty items from E's the account of the campaign against Kirbit (K 1821 iv_{2f}: "[nišē^{me}]š alpē^{meš} ṣēnē^{meš} [šall]ašu kabittu išlulūni") to "išlula nišēšu" (HT obv. 11). Cf. also the omission of Bvi_{31-33} by F and A.

For additions of or too lists cf. above p.73 and Bii_{12} (// Aii_{23}) // HT obv.68, $Aii_{83-84.91-92}$ // $Ciii_{123-124}$, $iv_{1.3}$ (//$Bii_{83.88.90}$), $Aiii_{65}$ // Bvi_{35}, $Fiii_3$ (// $Aiii_{66}$) // Bvi_{35}.

[620]Cf. Chic.-Tayl. i_{64} // Bull 4 l.9, Chic.-Tayl. ii_{47-49} // Bull 4, l.19, Chic.-Tayl.ii_{50-60} // Bull 4, l.20, Chic.-Tayl. ii_{67-68} // Bull 4 l.21, Chic.-Tayl. iii_{12-13} // Bull 4, l.26

HT obv. 5-8 // Ai_{57b-59} (//Bi_{56-59}, Cii_{22-26}), HT rev.16f // Aii_{98} // IT l.85, A further case is found in the report of the submission of Ikkilu's / Iakinlu's son. B ii_{86-87} // F ii_4, $Bvii_{7-8}$ // $Fiii_9$ // $Aiii_{137}$, $Bviii_{54-57}$ // $Cx_{47-49.58}$ // $Aviii_{60-62.64}$.

2 Contraction

A further means of abbreviating a *Vorlage* is that of contraction. While omitted material cannot be recovered in *late stages* of narratives without the existence of earlier *Vorlage* contracted passages are more likely to indicate the presence of a secondary edition. Thus the application of this technique by redactors may provide us with some criteria for the identification of *late stages*.

a) Subordination

A redactor combining material from two passages or sentences may coordinate or subordinate the retained text. An example of co-ordination, that of the accounts of Mugallu's, Iakinlu's, and Sandišarme's submissions has already been discussed above.[621] More often one passage or sentence was subordinated to another one.

Example 7:

BM 113203, l.26: "u šū ēpiš lemnēti akāmu girrīya ana rūqēti ēmurma imqussu ḫattu gimir ellatīšu ēzibma ana ^{māt}guzummani innabit" (l.26).

BM 113203, l.34: urriḫma arkīšu ana ^{māt}guzummani ˡmundaḫṣīya ana qereb agamme u appārāte uma⁎ᵒirma 5 ūmē uba⁎ᵒūšuma ašaršu ul innamir

Bell., l.6: "ina qabal tamḫāri šuātu ēzib karāssu ēdiš ipparšidma ana ^{māt}guzummani innabit qereb agamme u appārāte ērumma napištuš ēṭir" (l.6).

Bull 4: šū ana šūzub napištīšu ēdiš ipparšidma

Here we can note a combination of co-ordination and subordination. Bell. has placed side by side the narrations of Merodach-baladan's escape. It is apparent that the redactors have progressively reduced the number of *main line* verbs. This simplifies the discourse structure, because there are fewer verbs denoting progress of narration. In BM 113203 three different grammatical subjects had been mentioned. Bell. and Bull 4 have each replaced a main clause by an adverbial phrase and thus increased the ratio of modifiers per verb in the

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621   Cf. also Chic.-Tayl.'s combination of BM 113203, ll.58.62 in Chic.-Tayl. i₅₇₋₆₀.

later versions. Bell. and Bull 4 have both reworded their *Vorlage*. The passages combined by Bell. related Merodach-baladan's fate. In BM 113203, 1.26 he is mentioned as grammatical subject, in BM 113203, 1.34 as grammatical object. Bell. harmonized the references to Merodach-baladan, who now dominates all *main line* verbs of this passage. The only phrase in BM 113203, 1.26 which did not have Merodach-baladan as grammatical subject ("imqussu ḫattu gimir) was omitted by Bell. The combination of the two passages from BM 113203 led to a resolution of the chronological order. Bell. also retained an equivalent of BM 113203, 1.34. Thus the contraction could have been identified as being secondary. In Chic.-Tayl., however, the later passage is omitted. There only the verb-modifier ratio could have given slight, but not conclusive, indication of redactorial intervention. In Bull 4 all signs were removed. The case is different with Bell. 1.5, which summarizes BM 113203, 11.5-25 and which was retained by both Chic.-Tayl. and Bull 4. Bell. 1.5 contains only one *main line* verb, but several qualifiers:

ina rēš šarrūtīya ša ¹ᵈmarduk-apla-iddina šar ᵐᵃᵗkarduniaš adi ummānātḫà elamtiᵏⁱ ina tamerti kišᵏⁱ aštakan taḫtāšu.

There is no further sentence like this in Bell.'s account. Not the comparatively high number of qualifiers but the unevenness within a narrative may thus be taken as a criterion for the identification of *late stages*. However, this identification does only affect the passage concerned, not the account as such. Indeed, in the retained portions of BM 113203's account Bell. has carried out only few noteworthy omissions.[622]

Example 8: The different designations for the people of the conquered district of Kirbit provide a good example from Aššurbanipal's campaign accounts:

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[622]   See above p.70ff.
     For a further case cf. BM 113203, 1.30 // Bell. 1.8.

Eiv$_{7-9}$[623]: ... ālāni^{meš} imbariš iktumūma ... niše^{meš} ... išlulūni ... niše āšibūti ālāni šunūti

HT rev.12: išlula niše^{meš}šu niše^{meš} ālāni^{meš} šâtunu kišitti qātē^{II}ya

Biii$_{14}$: niše^{meš} ^{āl}kirbit mala ašlulu

Again we can witness progressive downgrading and subordination. HT has replaced "... ālāni^{meš} imbariš iktumūma" with "kišitti qātē^{II}ya" and B has downgraded "išlula niše^{meš}šu" to "mala ašlulu".[624]

b) Replacement of Lists by Common Denominators

Related to the preceding category is the replacement of lists by common denominators.

Example 9:

Chic.-Tayl. i$_{39ff}$: ^{l}urbi ^{l}aramu ^{l}kaldu ša qereb uruk^{ki} ... ušēšamma šallatiš amnu ina tayyartīya ... (names) ... ^{l}aramu lā kanšūti mitḫāriš akšud 208,000 niše^{meš} ... šallatu kabittu ašlula ana qereb ^{māt}aššur^{ki}.

Bull 4, l.7: ina tayyartīya ^{l}aramu ša šiddi ^{nār}idiglat ^{nār}puratti akšud ašlula šallašun[625]

Example 10:

A has represented "aššassu māre^{meš}šu mārāte^{meš}šu šal sekretīšu am nāre^{meš} šal nārāte^{meš}" (B vi$_{27}$) by "qinnūšu zēr bīt abīšu" (Aiii$_{61}$)[626]

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623   Cf. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*, p.14, BM 128306 and BM 134481 (cf. Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh", pl.20), BM 134445 and BM 121018 (cf. Thompson, "A Selection From the Cuneiform Historical Texts", ## 20.21).

624   Cf. also HT obv. 11-14 // B i$_{66-70}$ (//C,A), HT obv. 69 // A ii 24, Bvi$_{35-49}$ // Fiii$_{2}$ // Aiii$_{65}$, Bvii$_{3-46}$ // Aiii$_{136}$-iv$_{2}$, Bvii$_{93.94.97}$-viii$_{1}$ // A vii$_{82-86}$, HT obv.67 // Bii$_{11}$ // Ciii$_{35}$ // A ii$_{22}$, Biv$_{74-78}$ // Fiii$_{61}$ // Aiii$_{37}$, Bvii$_{6}$ // Fiii$_{8}$, Bvii$_{45-46}$ Fiii$_{12}$ // Aiv$_{3-4}$, Cx$_{50-56}$ // Aviii$_{58}$, Ei$_{8-10}$ (cf. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*, p.10) // Ai$_{54f}$, Biv$_{79-86}$ // Fii$_{68.70}$ // Aiii$_{45.48}$, E (BM 134445 iii$_{1}$) // HT rev.9, HT obv.21-22 // B i$_{84b-85a}$, HT obv.18 // Bi$_{77}$ (= Cii$_{77}$, Ai$_{82}$), IT l.85 // Ai$_{104-106}$, Bvii$_{53}$ // Fiii$_{18}$ (cf. also A iv$_{10}$ // B$_{5}$), Eiv$_{5}$ (Cf. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*, p.14, with the restoration of the mayor of Kirbit's name from BM 134481.) // B iii$_{12-13}$ // Civ$_{33-34}$, B vi$_{17-19}$ // Fiii$_{53}$ // Aiii$_{27}$, Bii$_{65}$ // Hiii$_{22}$.

For expansions cf. HT obv.48 // E (BM 128230 iii$_{6-7}$ [cf. Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts From Nineveh", pl.19]), Cii$_{121-122}$ // HT obv.41, Ciii$_{92}$ (//Fi$_{66}$, Aii$_{59}$) // Bii$_{56}$, Avii$_{86}$ // Bviii$_{1}$, Aix$_{52}$ // Bvii$_{21}$, Fiii$_{26}$ (//Aiv$_{25}$) // Bvii$_{70}$, Aix$_{53f}$ // Bviii$_{23}$, Aix$_{55}$ // Bviii$_{23}$, Cx$_{58}$ // Bviii$_{57}$, Aix$_{56}$ // Bviii$_{24}$.

625   Cf. also Bell., ll. 28-30 // Chic.-Tayl. ii$_{16ff}$ // Bull 4, 13-14, Chic.-Tayl. i$_{74-76}$ // Bull 4, l.11, Chic.-Tayl. iii$_{45}$ // Rass., Chic.-Tayl. ii$_{62-63}$ // Bull 4 l.20, Chic.-Tayl. i$_{52}$ // Rass., Chic.-Tayl. ii$_{69-71}$ // Bull 4, l.22.

626   Cf. also the A's replacement of the names of Egyptian vassal kings mentioned in HT obv.33 by "šarrāni^{meš} annūti mala apqidu" (i$_{118}$). The booty items listed in E's account of the campaign against Kirbit (Eiv$_{2f}$; cf. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*, p.14) have been summarized to "šallassu" by Biii$_{11}$ and Civ$_{32}$.

IV Application of Results

We have already noted above that literary-critical hypotheses applied to the study of Old Testament narratives were not supported by our study of the literary development of Assyrian campaign accounts. Since, however, these hypotheses purport to be derived from the texts themselves only by an application of our new analogy to Biblical stories and a comparison with usual literary-critical methods can we reach further conclusions.

We shall thus examine the validity of both our proposed analogy and literary-critical methodology in an analysis of narratives from the Old Testament, 1 Kgs.$22_{1\text{-}38}$ and 1 Kgs.20.[627] Of course, even if we succeed in

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[627] We shall concentrate on the literary aspects and disregard, as far as possible, the question of historicity. It may suffice to remark here, that the presence of "common motifs" or *Wandermotive* alone cannot give enough reason to question historicity (*contra* H.Weippert, "Ahab el campeador?") This is admitted by Jepsen, "Israel und Damaskus," p.156, n.15, who nevertheless argues from other reasons that 1 Kgs.22 constitutes a prophet legend to which various fairy tale motifs were added. Both matters, historical reliability and literary development, are, of course, inseparably bound to each other. If one assumes that 1 Kgs.22 is the result of various redactions, the historicity of the narrative must be questioned. If on the other hand the historicity of the narrative is questioned this may have consequences for a literary critical analysis. Thus for historical reasons it has been argued that the Israelite king mentioned in the narrative in 1 Kgs.22 originally was not Ahab, but that 1 Kgs.22 rather constitutes a compilation from sources dealing with the alliances of Jehoshaphat with Joram and Joram with Ahaziah (C.F.Whitley, "The Deuteronomic Presentation of the House of Omri"). Since internal reasons, too, are used it is necessary to discuss this line of argumentation briefly. Whitley argues that the Biblical accounts draw a distorted picture of Ahab. Ahab's children bear Yahwistic names (already noted by Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p.289) and there is no evidence that Ahab set up altars for Baal outside Samaria. Ahab is said to appear throughout in the same narratives as Elijah and Elisha. Internal inconsistencies within this group of narratives are seen between 1 Kgs.$19_{15\text{-}16}$ and 2 Kgs.8_{13}; 9_4. Whitley reaches the conclusion that there is reason to suspect the accuracy of the documents under consideration. He argues that a ruler of Ahab's strength would not have submitted to a Syrian king as is narrated in 1 Kgs.20. In 1 Kgs.20_{13} the Israelite army is said to have consisted of 7,000 men which Whitley thinks is too little compared with Ahab's army at Qarqar (10,000). A small Israelite army would agree better with Hazael's invasion during the reign of Jehoahaz, son of Jehu (2 Kgs.$13_{1\text{-}9}$). Benhadad's offer to return cities conquered by his father (1 Kgs.20_{34}) corresponds to Jehoash's victories over Benhadad, son of Hazael (2 Kgs.13_{25}). The presence of Syrian troops in Samaria (2 Kgs.6_{24f}) is thought to suit the reign of Ahab best. Whitley also sees an inconsistency between the representations of Jehu and Hazael by the Deuteronomic writer and Assyrian documents. He reaches the conclusion that wars against the Arameans ascribed by the Biblical writer to the dynasty of Omri belong rather to the later dynasty of Jehu (pp.147f). Whitley also refers to 1 Kgs.22_{40} for evidence of Ahab's natural death and to parallels in phraseology in other narratives to explain how the narration of the killing of Ahab arose. In 2 Kgs.$9_{14\text{-}15}$ it is narrated that Joram was killed by an arrow, just as it was related of Ahab in 1 Kgs.22_{34}. Both kings were killed as punishment for the killing of Naboth. Joram retires wounded from the battle and is killed by Jehu's arrow - Ahab is hit by an arrow and dies from the loss of blood. From this Whitley deduces that 1 Kgs.22 is a

establishing the superiority of one of the two methods against the other, this

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conglomerate of different strands. However, the parallels drawn between the various Biblical accounts are artificial. Many differences between them could be adduced. According to Whitley's own analysis the size of Ahab's army at Qarqar (10,000 men and 2,000 chariots according to Shalmaneser III's Monolith) included the Judean forces. Furthermore, the Old Testament reports an extensive famine in Israel during Ahab's reign (1 Kgs.18). Thus the size of Ahab's force mentioned in 1 Kgs.20 is by no means surprising (2 Kgs.13_7 notes that after the Aramean invasion 10,000 soldiers and 10 chariots were left to Jehoahaz). The correspondence of Benhadad's offer with Jehoash's victory is indeed striking, since no war between Omri and Benhadad I. is reported. An explanation may be seen in 1 Kgs.15_{20} where it is reported that Benhadad took cities from Baasha. The second part of 1 Kgs.20_{34} would then refer to a different time, after the foundation of Samaria by Omri. No definite explanation can be given. The cities referred to in 2 Kgs.13_{25} as being conquered by the Arameans during the reign of Jehoahaz were probably *Galilean* cities (cf. Keil, *Commentary*, p.379), since Jehu had lost all of Gilead to Hazael, if the identification of Aphek (1 Kgs.$20_{26,30}$) with 'En-Gev (with the ancient name being preserved at Fiq) at the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee is correct. The cities referred to in 1 Kgs.20_{34}, however were probably situated in *Gilead* (cf. Aharoni, *LOB*, p.335; Miller, "The Rest of the Acts of Jehoahaz," p.339, prefers S.Toltowsky's identification of Aphek with the present village of Faqqua situated on Mt. Gilboa). Thus the two passages should be regarded as referring to different incidents. Miller ("The Elisha Cycle and the Accounts of the Omride Wars"), assumes that the Israelite kings originally were anonymous in the stories of the Elisha Cycle. He follows Whitley in regarding the two battle accounts in 1 Kgs.20 as belonging to the three victories mentioned in 2 Kgs.13_{25} which leaves the question, why and how the stories were transferred from their original position! The third narrative is found in the "extremely composite account" of 1 Kgs.22 (the LXX has these three accounts in immediate succession). Miller argues that Ahab died a peaceful death, referring to 1 Kgs.21_{27-29} and 22_{40}. While it is evident that 22_{40} does not exclude a violent death (see below) the MT of 21_{29} speaks of the *House* of Ahab (בֵּית־אַחְאָב) rather than of the king himself (the LXX omits these words; only O^+ has a representation. The omission by the LXX may be explained by the increased parallelism with the first part of the prophecy)! And it is the *House* of Ahab that is mentioned in 2 Kgs.9_{7-9} in Elisha's order to Jehu to carry out judgement (cf. also 2 Kgs.10_{30}). There is thus no evidence for a peaceful death of Ahab. Miller also argues that the Assyrian annals imply that Israel and Syria were allies rather than enemies during Ahab's last years. The Assyrian texts (actually only the Monolith inscription of Shalmaneser III.) mention Ahab and Hadadezer as members of a coalition in Shalmaneser's 6th year. This note does not present enough evidence to exclude the possibility of a war between Israel and the Arameans. Miller further questions the necessity of conquering Ramoth-gilead since 2 Kgs.10_{32-33} implies that Gilead was in Israelite hands. But according to 1 Kgs.22_3 Ahab wanted to capture a city not a region. In the same verse he states: "Do you know that Ramoth-gilead belongs to us and we keep quiet ...". And Ramoth-gilead is where the battle takes place (v.29). Thus the narrative assumes that Gilead is in Israelite hands (contrast 1 Kgs.20_{26} with the battle taking place at Aphek implying that Gilead was occupied by the Arameans; cf. also 1 Kgs.20_{34} mentioning the restoration of cities to Israel). Miller, like Whitley, concludes that different stories have been combined to produce the narrative in 1 Kgs.22, but unlike Whitley he only reckons with two stories, one of them narrating the battle at Ramoth-gilead, during which Joram was injured (2 Kgs.8_{28}), the other one dealing with Jehoahaz (2 Kgs.13). Both battles took place at the same place and thus the accounts could easily be confused. Then the battle accounts in 1 Kgs.20 and 22 were adapted to the stories of the Elisha cycles by replacing the kings' names with מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל and later subjected to the opposite tendency. The anonymous stories were ascribed to well known personalities. Later on the stories in 1 Kgs.22 and 2 Kgs.3 were again revised to emphasize Jehoshaphat's piety. Miller further argues that the Moabite campaign narrated in 2 Kgs.3 could only take place during the reign of Jehoshaphat, since only after the latter's death did Edom have a king (2 Kgs.8_{20-22}) and in 2 Kgs.3_9 the "king of Edom" is mentioned. 2 Kgs.8_{20} states that Edom revolted from the Judean rule and set up a king of their own. It is not stated that previously there had not been a "king" of Edom. A governor over Edom may well

would not prove that *all* narratives were subjected to the same kind of editorial treatment. The purpose of the application of our results is rather to outline the consequences for the study of Old Testament narratives and to obtain a working hypothesis, the validity of which nevertheless has to be constantly examined.

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have been mentioned as "king" but nevertheless have been subject to the king of Judah.

Jepsen, "Israel und Damaskus", argued that an Israelite-Aramean war would not suit the historical picture (alliance at Qarqar) for Ahab's reign. He also draws attention to the fact that at the time of Jehu's assassination of Joram, Ramoth-gilead was in Israelite hands. Furthermore, Ahab's relationship to the נביאים as depicted in 1 Kgs.22 is thought to differ from that of 1 Kgs.17-19 where Ahab is shown as the prophets' enemy. Finally, Jepsen refers to 1 Kgs.20₃₄ and argues that a defeat of Omri by the Arameans leading to a loss of Israelite cities and the establishment of bazaars by Arameans in Samaria would not suit Omri's reign. That Israel and Damascus fought as allies against Shalmaneser does not *a priori* exclude the possibility of wars between them. If 1 Kgs.22₁ refers back to 1 Kgs.20, then a Syro-Ephraimite war would also have preceded the alliance, for it is not likely that both wars took place after Qarqar (Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser III in 841 B.C.; the battle at Qarqar took place in 853 B.C., Jehu reigned for 6 years [1 Kgs.10₃₆], before him reigned Jehoram for 12 years [2 Kgs.3₁] and Ahaziah for 2 years [1 Kgs.22₅₁] [accession years counted]). It is quite conceivable that Israel and Syria could have put their quarrels aside as long as the Assyrian threat lasted. The Israelite occupation of Ramoth-gilead at the time of Jehu's accession, too, does not imply historical inaccuracy in 1 Kgs.22. As we have pointed out above, Gilead was probably in Israelite hands at the time of 1 Kgs.22, thus the border city could well have been captured by Jehoram. As for Ahab's relationship towards the נביאים it was Jezebel, not Ahab, who had the prophets of the Lord killed (cf. 1 Kgs.18₄,₁₃, 19₂) and Ahab's addresses to Elijah in 1 Kgs.18₁₇ and 21₂₀ parallel his statements about Miciah (cf. 1 Kgs.22₈,₁₈). A further example is found in 1 Kgs.20₁₃ff. Jepsen, however, argued that 1 Kgs.20, too, originally did not refer to Ahab's reign. Jepsen further argued that Ahab would not suit as a contemporary of Benhadad, but rather, as indicated by an Assyrian inscription (*TUAT* I,4, p.365) as a contemporary of Hadadezer who succeeded Benhadad and was assassinated by Hazael and thus 1 Kgs.22 is thought to have taken place in Jehu's dynasty, the king in question being Jehoash, whose father Jehoahaz was had been defeated by the Arameans (2 Kgs.10₃₂). However, according to 2 Kgs.8₇₋₁₅ Benhadad was killed and his throne usurped by Hazael, which is paralleled in the Assyrian records by the description of the usurpation of Hadadezer's throne by Hazael and by describing Hadadezer's death ("šadāšu emēdu"). Thus both records mention that the throne of the Aramean king contemporary to Ahab was usurped by somebody named Hazael. If Jepsen's suggestion is accepted two errors have to be assumed in the Biblical accounts for that period. The name of the Israelite king mentioned in 1 Kgs.22 originally was not Ahab, and it was not Benhadad, but Hadadezer who was killed by Hazael (it is, of course, theoretically possible but very unlikely that both kings, Benhadad, son of Hazael and contemporary of Jehoash, and Hadadezer were killed by somebody named Hazael). It is less difficult to assume that the Benhadad of the Biblical account and the Hadadezer of the Assyrian text are in fact the same person (for a possible parallel in Aššurbanipal's annals cf. below n.1026). This was suggested by Albright on the basis of his reconstruction of the so-called Melcarth-stele ("A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I of Damascus to the God Melcarth"). However, Pitard's new reading of the inscription indicates that the stele probably was not set up by any of the known kings of Damascus (*Ancient Damascus*, p.137-144).

We conclude that there is no cogent historical evidence that 1 Kgs.22 originally did not deal with Ahab. Thus we can disregard the historical aspect and concentrate on the literary part.

Since internal criteria for the identification of redactorial intervention are necessarily ambiguous, such a working hypothesis is of crucial significance for the understanding of narratives in the Old Testament.

A 1 Kgs.22$_{1-38}$

Scholarly opinion about the literary pre-history of the narrative in 1 Kgs.22 is not unanimous. While on one side the literary unity has been argued,[628] literary-critical analysis has led some scholars to the identification of different layers in the story.[629] Before we examine these attempts to reconstruct the literary history we shall analyse the present form of the narrative with regard to the criteria applied in the above investigation of the transmission of Assyrian campaign accounts.

Table 1 Participant Orientation Pattern of 1 Kgs.22$_{1-38}$

(C B) וישבו[630]				
A ויהי[631]	B			
A ויורד	B	I		
B ויאמר[632]	B'	r	B'	הירעתם
			B/B'	מחשים
B ויאמר[633]	A	I	A	התלך
A ויאמר	B	r		
A ויאמר[634]	B	I	B-A*	דרש

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628   Cf. e.g. Wellhausen, *Composition*, p.284, Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, p.80, H.Cancik, *Grundzüge der hetithischen und alttestamentlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, pp.198f.

629   W. Roth gives a brief review over the interpretations of 1 Kgs.22 by Wellhausen, Kittel, Greßmann, Noth, Montgomery, Würthwein, and Rofé ("The Story of the Prophet Micaiah"). However, he focusses on the interpretations derived from literary critical research rather than on the literary critical work itself. Cf. also De Vries, *1 Kings*, p.270 ("seldom has a simple prophet story undergone so complex a process of editing and redaction, and seldom has a passage raised so wide a range of theological problems ...").

630   1 Kgs.22$_1$.
631   1 Kgs.22$_2$.
632   1 Kgs.22$_3$
633   1 Kgs.22$_4$.
634   1 Kgs.22$_5$.

ויקבץ B B*"[635][646]	r	
ויאמר B B"	I	
		האלך B
		אם־אחדל B
ויאמר B"B	I	
		עלה B
		ויחן A*-(C)-B
ויאמר A B [636]	r	
		ונדרשה A/B-A"
ויאמר B A [637]	r	
		שנאחיו B-A"
		לא יתנבא A"-B
ויאמר A B	r	
		אל יאמר B
ויקרא B B' [638]	r	
ויאמר B B'	I	
		מהרה B'
ישבים B/A [639]	I	
מתנבאים B"B/A	I	
ויעש B* [640]	I	
ויאמר B"B	I	
		אמר A*
		תגנח B-C
נבאים B" [641]	I	
		עלה B
		הצלח B
		ונחן A*-(C)-B
דבר B' A" [642]	I	
		יהי A"
		ורברת A"
ויאמרו A" B' [643]	r	
		אדבר A"
ויבוא A" B [644]	I	
ויאמר B A"	r	
		הנלך A/B-C
		אם נחרל A/B-C
ויאמר A" B	r	
		עלה B
		והצלח B
		ונחן A*-(C)-B
ויאמר B A" [645]	r	

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635   1 Kgs.22$_6$.
636   1 Kgs.22$_7$.
637   1 Kgs.22$_8$.
638   1 Kgs.22$_9$.
639   1 Kgs.22$_{10}$.
640   1 Kgs.22$_{11}$.
641   1 Kgs.22$_{12}$.
642   1 Kgs.22$_{13}$.
643   1 Kgs.22$_{14}$.
644   1 Kgs.22$_{15}$.
645   1 Kgs.22$_{16}$.
646   This participant designation is derived from נביאיו , נביאיך (v.22).

משבעך B-A"
לא תדבר A"-B

r B A"ויאמר[647]

ראיתי A"-B'
ויאמר A*-A"
עמר A"

ישובו B'

r B A ויאמר[648]

אמרתי B-A
לוא יתנבא A"-B

r B A"ויאמר[649]

ראיתי A*-A*
ויאמר[653] A*

יפתה A"
ויעל B
ויפל B

ויאמר A"
אמר A"
ויצא[654] A"
ויעמד A"
ויאמר A"-A*

אפחה A"

ויאמר A*-A"
ויאמר[655] A"-A*

אצא A"
והייתי A"

ויאמר A*-A"

חפתח A"
תוכל A"
צא A"
ועשה A"

נחן[656] A*-A"-B"
דבר A*-B

r B"ויגש[650]
I A" B"ויכה
I A" B"ויאמר

עבר A"-B"

r A" B"ויאמר[651]

ראה B"
תבא B"
קח B'
השיבהו B'-A"
אמרח[657] B'

r B B'ויאמר[652]

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647 1 Kgs.22$_{17}$.
648 1 Kgs.22$_{18}$
649 1 Kgs.22$_{19}$.
650 1 Kgs.22$_{24}$.
651 1 Kgs.22$_{25}$.
652 1 Kgs.22$_{26}$.
653 1 Kgs.22$_{20}$.
654 1 Kgs.22$_{21}$.
655 1 Kgs.22$_{22}$.
656 1 Kgs.22$_{23}$.
657 1 Kgs.22$_{27}$.

אמר B

r	B A"ויאמר658	
I	A"ויאמר B/B'	
r	B/A ויעל659	A"-A' לא דברת
I	A B ויאמר660	671 שמעו

I	B ויתחפש	B672 התחפש
I	B ויבוא	B ובא
sr	C' C'צוה661 C B	A לבש
s	(C' A)ויהי662	
I	C'אמרו	C' לא תלחמו
I	C' A ויסרו	
r	A ויזעק	
r	C' A ויהי663	
I	C' A וישובו	
s	C'משך664 (B)	
I	C' B ויכה	
r	B B' ויאמר	B' הפך
		B'-B הוציאני

	ותעלה665
I	B והיה
I	B וימת
I	(B)ויצק
	ויעבר666
I	B וימח667
I	B ויבוא
I	B' B ויקברו
I	B'וישטף668
r?	(B) X669וילקו
I	(B) X670וחצו

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658 1 Kgs.22$_{28}$.
659 1 Kgs.22$_{29}$.
660 1 Kgs.22$_{30}$.
661 1 Kgs.22$_{31}$.
662 1 Kgs.22$_{32}$.
663 1 Kgs.22$_{33}$.
664 1 Kgs.22$_{34}$.
665 1 Kgs.22$_{35}$.
666 1 Kgs.22$_{36}$.
667 1 Kgs.22$_{37}$.
668 1 Kgs.22$_{38}$.
669 Grammtical subject: הכלבים.
670 Grammatical subject: הזנות.
671 Grammtical subject: עמים כלם.
672 Indirect speech? LXX, S, T have 1st pers. sgl. That Ahab is the *agent* is evident from the context and ואחה.

It is apparent that the participant orientation pattern is comparatively complex. There are two *switches* (3.64 %), thirty *identical* states (54.54 %), and almost as many *reversals* (22 x r, 1 x sr - 40% + 1.82%). The percentage of *reversals* is higher than in any of the Assyrian campaign accounts studied above. There are also many participants in the story. Apart from Ahab and Jehoshaphat, the narrative mentions four hundred prophets (vv.6,12f), Micaiah, son of Imlah (vv.6.13.15.24ff), a messenger sent by Ahab (vv.9.13) Zedekiah, son of Chenaanah (vv.11.24), the Lord (vv.13ff), the people of Israel (vv.17), the heavenly court (vv.19f), a "lying spirit" (vv.21f), Amon, the governor of the city (v.26) and Joash, the king's son (v.26), king of Aram (v.32), thirty-two Aramean officers (v.31ff), an Aramean soldier (v.34), the driver of Ahab's chariot (v.34). Most of these are also mentioned on the *main line*.

The complexity of the participant relations is paralleled in the narrative structure. There are speeches with different levels of quotation and, apparently, little effort was made to unify the *main line*. Ahab's interruption of Micaiah's prophecy (v.18) could easily have been omitted by a redactor, which would have reduced the number of *reversals*, but evidently was not. The narrative is related on the locutionary[673] level and no anticipatory remarks are apparent. The narrator follows the course of events. This is recognizable in the separation of Ahab's dispatching of the messenger (v.9) and the mention of the latter's return (v.13) and, as was already noted, in Ahab's interruption of Micaiah's speech. No significant unevenness of the grammatical texture is apparent. The rhetorical level is comparatively high and there is a clear rise of tension in the story up to its resolution in the narration of Ahab's death (vv.34ff). Taking the development of Assyrian campaign accounts as point of departure, there is every indication that 1 Kgs.22$_{1-38}$ is in an *early stage* of literary development. Various

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673   Cf. above n.574.

characteristics of the narrative have nevertheless led scholars to different conclusions which will be examined below.

1 E.Würthwein's Analysis

In a detailed study E.Würthwein distinguished several redactional layers and various minor additions in 1 Kgs.22$_{1-38}$.[674] He derived his identification of different strands by analyzing suspected inconsistencies and isolating self-sufficient passages (*Lückenprobe*). He suggested that the nucleus of the narrative was found in a campaign account, comprising vv.2b-4.29-37, into which a prophet story was incorporated. The prophet story itself is seen as the result of two redactions of a basic narrative. Würthwein identified vv.1.23.28b.35d.38a as minor additions by various redactors. We can note that his reconstruction only reckons with expansions, not abbreviations.

Würthwein assumed a first difficulty in the course of narration in the fact that Jehoshaphat's speech to Ahab is introduced twice, in v.4 and v.5 with ויאמר יהושפט אל־מלך ישראל in connection with the fact that Jehoshaphat asked Ahab to inquire the word of the Lord after he had already agreed to Ahab's suggestion. Furthermore, the consultation of the prophets remains without consequence in the further course of narration. However, the twofold introduction of Jehoshaphat's speech may be explained by the change in subject. Jehoshaphat agrees in principle with Ahab's suggestion, but would prefer to inquire the Lord's word first.[675] This also removes the difficulty that Würthwein

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[674] *Die Bücher der Könige*, pp.255ff, "Zur Komposition von 1 Reg 22$_{1-38}$".

[675] This would explain why in contrast to 2 Kgs.3$_7$ העלה is missing from Jehoshaphat's answer. Further cases of repeated speech introductions are found in Gen.9$_{1.8.12.17}$, 9$_{25.26}$, 15$_{2.3}$, 15$_{5.7}$, 16$_{9.10.11}$, (17$_{9.15}$,) 20$_{9.10}$, 24$_{24.25}$, 27$_{36}$, 37$_{21.22}$, 41$_{39.41}$, Ex.3$_{5.6}$, 3$_{14.15}$, 4$_{5.6}$, (5$_{4.5.6}$) 6$_{1.2}$, (7$_{14.19}$, 7$_{26}$.8$_1$, 16$_{32.33}$,) 33$_{19.20.21}$, (35$_{1.4}$, Num.24$_{21.23}$,) Dt.9$_{12.13}$, Jdg.8$_{23.24}$, 19$_{12.13}$, 1 Sam.17$_{34.37}$, 23$_{10.12}$, 26$_{9.10}$, 26$_{17.18}$, 2 Sam.(15$_{3.4}$,) 24$_{22.23}$, (1 Kgs.3$_{23.24}$,) 2 Kgs.13$_{17.18}$, Jer.37$_{17.18}$, (Ru.3$_{14.15}$, 2 Chr.2$_{10.11}$). Uncertain cases are given in brackets. The only case of repeated speech introduction to be treated in the Chronicler's work, the double introduction of Araunah's speech in 2 Sam.24$_{22.23}$, was resolved by the Chronicler (1 Chr.21$_{23}$). The only case of possible repeated speech introduction in the Chronicler's work is found in 2 Chr.2$_{10.11}$: ויאמר חורם מלך־צר בכתב וישלח אל־שלמה ... ויאמר חורם. The first part of Hiram's "speech" parallels 1 Kgs.5$_{21}$, which in Kgs. is not part of

saw in the contents of Jehoshaphat's speech. Würthwein supposes that the narrative was written in Judah when the Judeans were Israelite vassals because of the negative view of Ahab, which also would explain why Jehoshaphat followed Ahab's order in spite of the danger involved. This, however, is mere speculation. One can, on the other hand, note that Ahab plays the leading role in the narrative and from the outset has the initiative. Thus it is quite conceivable that Jehoshaphat agreed in principle to Ahab's suggestion, but nevertheless preferred to inquire the word of the Lord. There is no real difficulty with the double speech introduction, but the explanation is rather to be found in the contents of Jehoshaphat's speech(es).

In Würthwein's analysis vv.2b-4.29-37 were isolated as a self-sufficient unity ("Lückenprobe"). He argued that vv.29ff do not refer back to the prophet story. A back reference may, however, be found in v.36 אִישׁ אֶל־עִירוֹ וְאִישׁ אֶל־אַרְצוֹ which may resume אִישׁ לְבֵיתוֹ of v.17. This does not, of course,

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Hiram's letter but is given in 3rd pers. In Kgs. then follows the letter introduced separately. Thus 2 Chr.2$_{10.11}$ are not the result of a combination of sources. To be sure, in some cases the speech introductions have been ascribed to different sources (Gen.15$_2$: J, 15$_3$: E; Gen.16$_{11}$: J, 16$_{9.10}$: redact. expansion; 24$_{24}$: J, 24$_{25}$: E; 7$_{36a}$: J, 27$_{36b}$: E; 37$_{21}$: J (רֵאוּבֵן without textual support emended to יְהוּדָה), 37$_2$: E; 39$_{39-40}$: J, 39$_{41}$: E; Ex.3$_5$: J, 3$_6$: E; 5$_4$: J, 5$_5$: E; 6$_1$: J, 6$_2$: P; 7$_{14}$: J, 7$_{19}$: P; 7$_{26}$: J, 8$_1$: P; (according to Eißfeldt, Hexateuch-Synopse), but there still remain enough cases to question the certainty of the division into sources in 1 Kgs.22$_{4.5}$. We thus conclude that repeated speech introduction should be regarded as a literary device rather than an indicator for redactions. It is, of course, possible that 1 Kgs.22$_4$ was adapted to 2 Kgs.3$_7$.

Interesting cases of double speech introductions are found in the Neo-Assyrian version of the Gilgameš-epic in Gilgameš' replies to Siduri and Uršanabi (the parallel passage in Gilgameš' reply to Utnapištim is not extant). Gilgameš first tells what happened to Enkidu and then addresses Siduri, resp. Uršanabi, resp. Utnapištim. While in the OB version of Gilgameš' reply to Siduri report and address are part of the same speech (in the OB version the preserved portions of the report of Gilgameš' encounter with Sursunabu / Uršanabi differ greatly from those of his encounter with Siduri; the report of Gilgameš's encounter with Utnapištim is not preserved), the Neo-Assyrian version has separate speech introductions for the direct addresses (Xii$_{15}$. iii$_{32}$. [v$_{22}$]) although Gilgameš is already speaking. Since the double speech introductions in the Neo-Assyrian version cannot be explained by general trends of the development of Akkadian Epic Literature, we may refer to these passages, although, as a whole we have rejected the Gilgameš epic as empirical model for the transmission of Old Testament narratives. Thus another possible explanation for the twofold introduction of Jehoshaphat's speech would be, that the author/redactor intended to contrast the two parts of the speech.

reduce the self-sufficiency of vv.2b-4.29-37, but it is questionable whether self-sufficiency alone provides sufficient reason for assuming redactionist expansions.[676] It is always possible to isolate different scenes from a narrative and to ascribe them to different redactors, and to assign all linkages to attempts to harmonize the various sources. In principle no complex narrative would be exempt from this approach. Yet to deny the possibility of complex narratives as works of authors rather than redactors is methodologically not justified. Nevertheless we concede the possibility that this passage might indeed constitute a story nucleus. Würthwein's further suggestion that the prophet story incorporated into this narrative should itself have undergone two redactions is improbable. If Würthwein's reconstruction was right the prophet story in its original version would have to have existed independently. But, as we shall see, it is only understandable in connection with the campaign account. It is also improbable that the result of two further redactions should lead to a story that by chance could be inserted in a campaign narrative which did not have to be altered at all. There remains, however, the possibility that the original version of the prophet story as analyzed by Würthwein was included in the campaign account and that it was subjected to two redactions after it had become part of the account. Although this does not agree with Würthwein's analysis, we shall nevertheless follow up this possibility.

Würthwein's reconstruction is attractive. It results in a story nucleus that is simple and coherent, although with a somewhat abrupt beginning. Jehoshaphat is mentioned as the grammatical subject of the first main clause although the story is mainly about the king of Israel.

The prophet story is regarded as the result of a basic narrative and two subsequent redactions. The various strands are thought to constitute a

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[676]   Würthwein himself doubts this ("Zur Komposition von 1 Reg 22_{1-38}", p.246)!

discussion of the problematic relationship between prophets of salvation and prophets of doom. In the first strand the confrontation between the two kinds of prophets is related. The second strand introduces Zedekiah ben Kenaanah and thus characterizes the behaviour of the prophets of salvation. The third strand discusses the prophets of salvation's claim to possess the spirit and reaches the conclusion that the spirit they have is a lying spirit. It is very doubtful whether this reconstruction can be deduced from the text. It rather seems to be due to circular reasoning and to have determined Würthwein's analysis. One would expect the reflections of later opinions to supplant earlier ones. Why should such a discussion have been necessary, if it was already apparent that Micaiah was the true and the four hundred were false prophets? It further seems strange that such a controversy should have been expressed in a *narrative*. Furthermore, as Seebaß[677] has pointed out, Ahab's attempt to disguise himself, but not Jehoshaphat (!) receives its motivation from Micaiah's prophecy.

The basic version of the prophet story added to the campaign narrative is thought to be present in vv.5-9.13-18.26-28a. These passages do not constitute a self-sufficient story. V.5 would be a very abrupt beginning of a story mentioning both Jehoshaphat and the king of Israel. Jehoshaphat is not introduced as king of Judah. No reason is stated in this passage why anyone should seek the Lord's word. The prophet story would end with Micaiah being thrown into prison. For a prophet story this is not a satisfying conclusion. The narrator is expected to relate which prophecy was fulfilled. No reason is given why this passage should have been added. Ahab's death could already have been regarded as the fulfillment of a prophecy (cf. 1 Kgs.21$_{19}$). To make this explicit the addition of vv.35d.38, regarded by Würthwein as later expansions, would have been sufficient, presupposing, of course that 21$_{19}$ was known to the redactor. The

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677   "Micha ben Jimla", p.115.

addition of a reference to four hundred prophets whose prophecy was evidently wrong is even less likely. The redactor would have added the reference to further participants, thus making the plot more complex. He would also have added reference to a prophecy that was not fulfilled. One could, however, argue that it was the prophecy of the four hundred prophets that was heeded by the two kings and thus it was thought necessary to include the reference to the false prophets. That the twofold introduction of Jehoshaphat's speech is the result of redactorial activity is not very likely. It would have been conceivable if two independent sources had been interwoven, but this is evidently not the case with the campaign narrative and the prophet story. In v.13 the relative clause after המלאך would not have been necessary if the passage had followed immediately after v.9. v.28a refers back to v.19 to Micaiah's own statement and not to 16b which is part of Ahab's speech. According to Würthwein's analysis, however, v.19 had not yet been added. We concede, that it is possible that this portion was added. The redactor would have had added a reference to a secondary participant, the סריס. He also added the reference to a further protagonist, Micaiah ben Imlah. Since the prophet story had no independent existence it is strange that the name of the prophet of the Lord is mentioned, but not the name of the Israelite king. The redactor did not have to mention the prophet's name. With Seebaß,[678] who refers to Thenius, we have to emphasize that there is nothing unusual in the fact that prophets were consulted in face of a war. Thus there is no break between v.4 and v.5 - neither in form nor in contents.

The second strand comprises vv.10-12.24-25. Würthwein follows Schwally[679] in his analysis of this passage. Schwally sees a difficulty in v.10. He regards v.10 not as an introduction of that episode but rather to the preceding one which, in his opinion, is given too late. The presence of such a "late"

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678   "Micha ben Jimla", p.116, n.21.
679   "Zur Quellenkritik", pp.159-161.

introduction in Jer.36₂₁.₂₂ indicates that this feature of the narrative should be regarded as a literary technique rather than as an indication for redactorial activity.[680] A further difficulty is seen between vv.6-7 and v.12. Schwally thinks that v.12 is written as if the author did not know vv.6-7. Therefore he regards v.12 as a parallel rather than as a continuation of vv.6-7. This, however, is certainly wrong. כָּל־הַנְּבִיאִים in v.12 clearly refers back to the earlier mention of the prophets. The repetition is used to express the link between Zedekiah and the four hundred prophets and for intensifying the description of the conflict between Micaiah and the false prophets. It further served to show more clearly the identity of Micaiah's first answer with the false prophets' message. Micaiah's first answer to Ahab (v.15) resembles v.12 more closely than v.6:

$$^6\text{עלה ויתן ארני ביד המלך:}$$
$$^{12}\text{עלה רמח גלעד והצלח ונתן יהוה ביד המלך:}$$
$$^{15\,[681]}\text{עלה והצלח ונתן יהוה ביד המלך:}$$

That Zedekiah was one of the four hundred is not stated in the text and thus an explicit back reference to the prophecy of the four hundred is not to be expected and its absence cannot be used to support any theory.[682]

Zedekiah is introduced as Micaiah's opponent. Still the problem of the reference of v.28a to v.19 remains to be solved. Why would v.10 have been added? Zedekiah's reaction to strike Micaiah is better understandable if Micaiah has accused him of speaking with a lying spirit. The prophecy of the four hundred would have been sufficient reason for Ahab's and Jehoshaphat's going to war in spite of Micaiah's message. Micaiah's threat towards Zedekiah (v.25) is without consequence in the narrative, as noted above. No reason is

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680   Cf. also (1 Sam.25₃) 2 Sam.13₁₈ 13₃₂ 15₁₀ 16₂₃ 19₁.₅ (19₃₃).
681   The missing of רמח גלעד in v.15 is due to the fact that it was mentioned in the king's question preceding Micaiah's answer, whereas it had not been mentioned in the passage preceding v.12.
682   Contra Schwally, "Zur Quellenkritik", p.161, Würthwein, "Zur Komposition von 1 Reg 22₁.₃₈", p.251.

given why it should have been added and why a redactor should not have added a remark on the fate of Zedekiah.

The third strand consists of vv.19-22. For the isolation of this passage Würthwein follows Volz[683] in referring to a different usage of רוח in vv.20-23 and v.24.[684] רוח in vv.19-22 is supposed to be even more personalized than in v.24. The usage of רוח in v.24 is, however, compatible with the mention of a person[685], whereas this is different in vv.22a.23. If thus a difference is seen, it should be set between vv.19-21.22b.24 and vv.22a.23. v.22 provides a link between both usages of רוח. The author of vv.(21-)22 did not have any difficulty with the co-occurrence of both usages. The distinction thus is artificial! Volz further argues that according to v.24 the reason for the false prophecy is that the רוח יהוה has left whereas according to vv.19-22 the reason is the presence of a רוח שקר. However, these statements do not exclude each other. Schwally further draws attention to the fact that רוח, albeit a femininum, is construed here with masc. verbs, which he links to a development of the imagery of later times. To retain the established link between v.18 and v.24 he is, however, forced to omit רוח from v.24. This is methodologically not justified. Whether his evolutionary view of the development of angelology is correct or not does not concern us here. It is important that vv.19-23 and v.24 agree in their grammatical usage of רוח. Würthwein further regards the linkage between v.18 and v.19 as bad. The connection between v.18 (לוא יתנבא עלי טוב כי אם־רע) and the prophecy of vv.19ff is found in v.23 (ויהוה דבר עליך רעה), which is regarded by Würthwein as a redactorial expansion. The latter is,

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683   *Geist Gottes*, p.20.
684   Volz (*Geist Gottes*, p.20) regards v.23 as a secondary linkage between vv.19-22 and v.24. There the concept of רוח is regarded as less personalized; cf. also Schweizer, "Literarkritischer Versuch", p.7, n.12.
685   The verbal form is masc.! As for the usage of עבר מאת with רוח there is no fundamental structural difference between ונעבר אי־זה עבר רוח יהוה מאתי and מאת אחינו (Dt.2₈).

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however, without foundation. Zedekiah's reply with its reference to the רוח

יהוה speaking through Micaiah presupposes the presence of Micaiah's second

prophecy. Only Micaiah's second prophecy contains the prophet's express claim

to speak the word of the Lord (v.19:לכן שמע דבר־יהוה). A further difficulty,

according to Würthwein, is found between v.17 and vv.24-25. The first passage

implies a disaster only for Ahab, whereas the second passage, according to

Würthwein implies a greater catastrophe. It is, however, not stated anywhere in

the narrative that both judgments will be carried out through the same event.

The reference of הירם ההוא is not clear. Possibly it refers back to Micaiah's

prophecy, possibly to the day of Zedekiah's fear. The threat against Zedekiah

only states that Zedekiah will hide himself on "that day". Thus the difficulty is,

or at least may be, artificial. F.L.Hossfeld and I.Meyer[686] have adduced the

following reasons for the secondary nature of vv.19-23: at the beginning of v.19

the speaker is not mentioned by name, only in this passage Ahab is mentioned

by name, vv.8 and 18 have, רע v.23 has רעה, only in vv.19-23 the prophets are

termed Ahab's prophets, in vv.19-23 Micaiah's message is not given in a

metaphor, v.24 cannot refer to vv.19-23, because Zedekiah would have

misunderstood Micaiah. They also refer to the similarity between 1 Kgs.22 and

Is.6$_{1-8}$.

Each passage within the narrative necessarily has its own peculiarities.

Thus it is not enough to point out these peculiarities, it needs to be shown that

these features demand the assumption of redactorial activity. Of the features

adduced by Hossfeld and Meyer only the difference between רע and רעה and

the missing mention of the speaker at the beginning of v.19 need to be taken

seriously. While the latter may be due to the fact that in v.19 Micaiah resumes

the speech which had been interrupted, the former feature clearly does not

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686   *Prophet gegen Prophet*, p.32f.

point to different sources. The word-pair טוב-רע is shorter and more common than טובה-רעה. Co-occurrences of רע and רעה are not unusual.[687] As for the supposed parallelism with Is.6$_{1-8}$, this may be due to an author just as well as to a redactor.

With the insertion of these verses, v.28a has its reference. The redactor would have added a second prophecy by Micaiah, necessitated by the addition of the first redactor. For the addition of Micaiah's second prophecy no reason is apparent. If a redactor had added vv.19-22 it would have been more natural to insert it *before* v.18 and thus reduce the number of changes of the grammatical subjects and have both prophecies of Micaiah in one passage, especially since Micaiah's prophecy ends with ויהוה דבר עליך רעה (v.23) and Ahab complains לוא יתנבא עלי טוב כי אם־רע (v.18). But we are not to judge what redactors might have preferred, we can only examine whether the assumption of a redaction is required by the narrative in its present state or not, or at least if the assumption of a redaction makes sense or not. With the assumption of a sufficient number of redactions any hypothetical literary development of a given text can be explained. The explanation with the smallest number of supposed redactions should be preferred. Thus it seems easier to assume the literary unity of at least the prophet story than to assume the sequence of these developmental stages. Firstly, because the prophet story would have to have be inserted in its supposed first stage of development and it seems strange that subsequent redactions should have affected only the prophet story and not the campaign narrative. Secondly, there are internal

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[687]   Cf. Gen.6$_5$ 44$_{29.34}$, Num.11$_{10.15}$, 1 Sam.29$_{6.7}$, 2 Sam. 13$_{16.22}$*, 1 Kgs.21$_{20.21.25.29}$, 2 Kgs. (8$_{12.18}$) 21$_{2.6.9.12.15.16.20}$, Is.3$_{9.11}$, Jer. (6$_{19.29}$) 7$_{6.12.24}$, 11$_{8.12.14.15.17}$ (12$_{4.14}$) 15$_{11.21}$ 16$_{10.12}$ (18$_{8.10.11.12.20}$) (23$_{10.11.12.14.17.22}$) 32$_{23.30.32.42}$ 39$_{12.16}$ 40$_{2.4}$ 42$_6$ .10.17, Mi.2$_{1.3}$ 3$_2$ ("ק").11 , Ps.34$_{14}$ .15 .17 .20 .22 41$_{6.8}$ 52$_3$ .5 94$_{13.23}$ 140$_{2.3}$, Job 2$_{3.7.10.11}$, (Pr.6$_{14.18}$ 11$_{15.19.21.27}$, 13$_{17.19.21}$ 14$_{22.32}$ 15$_{26.28}$ 16$_{4.6}$ 17$_{11.13}$ 24$_{16.20}$ 26$_{23.26}$ 28$_{5.14.22}$, Ko.2$_{17.21}$ 8$_{6.9.12}$); passages containing the word-pair טוב-רע are marked with asterisk.

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inconsistencies if the material thought to have been added in redactions is omitted from the story in its present form.

By the insertion of the prophet story and subsequent redactions the story is thought to have expanded and become more complex. To the main line of events side lines would have been added, which contrasts with the developmental tendencies recognized in our analysis of the transmission of Assyrian royal campaign accounts.

2 H.Seebaß' Analysis

H.Seebaß[688] has proposed a similar literary development for the Ahab narrative in 1 Kgs.22. The advantage of his reconstruction over that of Würthwein is, that it reckons with greater units of text and thus makes the imagined redactions simpler. Seebaß regards as the story nucleus vv.1-9.13-19a.26-38. The campaign account and a basic prophet story are regarded as a unity. A redactorial expansion is seen in vv.19b-23. Seebaß thus sets paragraph divisions differently from Würthwein (13-18.19-22.23). He follows Würthwein in regarding the references to Zedekiah in vv.10-12.24-25 as secondary. v.19a is regarded as belonging to the story nucleus and referring back to Micaiah's first prophecy. Thus he is forced to read כֵן לֹא with LXX (οὐχ οὕτως v.19) for לָכֵן of MT. Seebaß' reconstruction differs from that of Würthwein in that the former regards vv.19b-23 as being added earlier than vv.10-12.24.25. In principle, however, both approaches are similar and thus to be rejected for the same reasons.

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688   "Micha ben Jimla".

3 H.Schweizer's Analysis

A different model of literary development for the narrative of Ahab's war against the Arameans was reconstructed by H.Schweizer.[689]

Schweizer reached the conclusion that the present version of the narrative is the result of the combination a basic narrative with one major redaction and a few minor expansions. The basic narrative consists of vv.3.6.9.15-16.19-28a.29*.34-35. The redactorial treatment as analysed by Schweizer has not been consistent. In vv.1-9 the redactor mainly took material from 2 Kgs.3[690] whereas in vv.10ff he felt free to present his own material. Schweizer discovers a difficulty between v.6 and vv.4-5.[691] While the latter passage mentions both kings, Ahab's question in v.6 only uses the singular. He further sees tension between v.6 and v.10, vv.11-12 and v.15. In v.15 the king's question has the plural whereas Micaiah's answer has the singular. Like Schwally Schweizer fails to note that Micaiah's answer in v.15 constitutes a repetition of the false prophets' message.[692] Thus the difference in number may not be used for literary critical purposes. The pl. in Ahab's question in v.15

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[689] "Literarkritischer Versuch".

[690] Schweizer's argument for a literary dependency of 1 Kgs.22₄ᵦ.₇ on 2 Kgs.3₇.₁₁ (*Elischa in den Kriegen*, pp.32ff) cannot be regarded as successful. Schweizer argued that a redactor having to omit מואב אל from 2 Kgs.3₇ added גלעד רמה at the end of the sentence which resulted in "bad Hebrew" and therefore למלחמה was omitted by the Chronicler. It seems strange that a Hebrew editor should not have realized that he created a sentence in "bad Hebrew". It would have been easier for an editor to replace one adverbial phrase with another of the same kind. Schweizer further argues that the comparisons in 1 Kgs.22₄ᵦ lack a verb for reference. He thus fails to notice that in 2 Kgs.3₇ כמוני כמוך cannot refer back to אעלהbut rather constitutes an independent sentence. Furthermore, in 1 Kgs.22₄ אעלה (sgl., referring to Ahab only) would have been out of place, since it was Jehoshaphat who asked for a consultation of prophets. Schweizer also claimed that by the omission of את־יהוה from 2 Kgs.3₁₁ the editor of 1 Kgs.22₇ would have obscured the meaning of the sentence, since it was not clear who was inquired. This, too, has to be refuted since a) נביא ליהוה occurs in the first part of the sentence in both versions, and b) in 1 Kgs.22₅ Jehoshaphat asks דרש־נא את־דבר יהוה ... and thus in v.7 (ונדרשה מאותו ...) the supplement was not necessary. Since literary dependency could not be demonstrated, two other possible explanations for the similarities seem more probable: they could be due to the use of a fixed formula (I.Lande, quoted by Schweizer, *Elischa in den Kriegen*, p.34, n.39) or to a common author of both narratives (Thenius, *Könige*, pp.273-4).

[691] "Literarkritischer Versuch", p.6.

[692] Cf. above, pp.173f.

probably refers back to the plural in v.7 (נדרשה).[693] The supposed difficulty with v.10 has already been discussed above.[694] The "late" mention of Zedekiah is due to the same reason as the repeated reference to the prophets and the introduction of the scene in v.10, it leads to an increase of tension. The mentions of the two prophetic opponents are close to each other. Thus the supposed tensions are artificial and cannot be used for the identification of hypothetical sources. A further difficulty is seen by Schweizer in the continuation of v.18 by לכן. The only reason given by him is that such a continuation would be "makaber sadistisch".[695] Since the personal taste of the literary critic must not determine his methodology Schweizer's suggestion has to be rejected.[696] Schweizer regards Micaiah's two prophecies as so different in content and phraseology that it cannot be made probable that they belong together. Here we have to ask whether it has to be made probable that they belong together or whether it has to be made probable that they do not belong together. Furthermore the difference in content determines the different vocabulary used. If it is not impossible that one prophet pronounced two messages of different content Schweizer's line of argument is invalid. A further inconsistency is seen between v.31 and vv.34-35.[697] vv.34-35 relate an extensive battle which, according to Schweizer, contrasts with v.31. V.31, however, does not contain an order to prevent fighting against the Israelite and Judean army, but rather to concentrate on trying to kill the Israelite king. The inconsistency apparent to Schweizer does not exist. The narration of the order of the Syrian king increases tension because it increases the probability that Ahab's plot

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[693]   *Contra* Schweizer, who regards Ahab and Micaiah as the reference of the plural in v.15. It should be noted that G and T^f have sgl. in v.15.

[694]   Cf. above p.173.

[695]   "Literarkritischer Versuch", pp.7f.

[696]   The reading of pc mss, לא כן creates an internal inconsistency with v.23. Thus the MT is to be preferred.

[697]   Cf. "Literarkritischer Versuch", p.8.

could be successful. That Micaiah was the true prophet is presumed throughout the narrative. Thus the confrontation of prophetic message and the king's attempt to escape the judgment is increased. Schweizer regards the twofold mention of Ahab's death and the double time statement in vv.35-36 as indications of redactorial intervention and concludes the story originally ended with v.35a.[698] As for the second time statement no reason is adduced why this should have been added by a redactor. Thus the assumption of redactorial treatment does not resolve the problem. Furthermore הערב and כבוא השמש differ in meaning[699]. Schweizer also sees difficulties between vv.12a and (8.)10b. In 10b נבא is used in the Hithpa'el, whereas in v.12 it is found in the Niph'al. This, however, is not unusual.[700] Schweizer further sees a tension between v.10 and v.15. While v.10 mentions both the Israelite king and the Judean king, v.15 relates that Micaiah came to the Israelite king - Jehoshaphat is not mentioned. This however can be explained by the fact that it was Ahab who had sent for Micaiah and that it is only the Israelite king who speaks to the prophet. Thus, again, the inconsistency is artificial. All of Schweizer's criteria have been shown to be inconclusive. The features, which he draws attention to, are better explained as literary techniques than as indications of redactorial treatment. The insufficiency of Schweizer's analysis becomes even clearer when we investigate how the hypothetical redaction would have altered the text. The basic narrative according to Schweizer is to be found in vv.3.6.9.15-16.19-28a.29*.34-35. There are various inconsistencies in this hypothetical story nucleus. Schweizer himself recognizes that the call for the prophet Micaiah is

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[698]   For a brief discussion of the different mentions of Ahab's death see below.
[699]   Cf. Jos.8$_{29}$, 10$_{26.27}$.
[700]   Further co-occurrences of Niph'al and Hithpa'el of נבא are found in 1 Sam.10$_{11}$ (ni), 1 Sam.10$_{5.6.10.13}$ (hith); 1 Sam.19$_{20}$ (ni), 1 Sam. 19$_{20.21(2x).23.24}$ (hith); Jer.14$_{14}$ (ni), Jer.14$_{14}$ (hith); Jer.23$_{16}$ (ni), Jer.23$_{13}$ (hith); Jer.26$_{20}$ (ni), Jer.26$_{20}$ (hith); Jer.29$_{31}$ (ni), Jer.29$_{26.27}$ (hith); Ez.13$_{17}$ (ni), Ez.13$_{17}$ (hith); Ez.37$_7$ (ni), Ez.37$_{10}$ (hith).

unmotivated.[701] Further unmotivated features of the narrative are the Israelite king's adjuration of Micaiah to tell the truth, after Micaiah had almost verbatim (v.12 is not part of the basic narrative) repeated the message of the four hundred prophets. Only Micaiah's second prophecy is part of this story nucleus. This part of Micaiah's message explains the message of the false prophets. Without Micaiah's first prophecy the second prophecy would refer to Micaiah's first answer to the king. One further would expect the prophets to figure more prominently in the text since they are addressed by the only prophecy given in the story nucleus. Schweizer's reconstruction mentions them only in v.6. The reconstruction of the basic narrative contains too many inconsistencies and difficulties to be convincing. Zedekiah's reply to Micaiah includes אי־זה עבר מאתי רוח־יהוה (v.24). This is better understandable if a prophecy of Zedekiah preceded that of Micaiah. Furthermore, the king injured by an Israelite soldier (the Arameans are mentioned only in v.35) orders his charioteer to take him away from the camp[702] (v.34) but nevertheless continues to fight.[703] Micaiah would not be expressly mentioned as grammatical subject until v.25 if v.15 followed upon v.9. Especially for ויבא in v.15 one would expect a grammatical subject to be mentioned. Apart from the internal inconsistencies and difficulties created by the assumption of a basic story nucleus, the formal development would sharply contrast with the developmental tendencies isolated in the first part of the present work. Again the redactor's ability to insert a substantial amount of text without having to alter or omit even a single word of his main *Vorlage* is astonishing. It would have been much easier to rewrite the whole narrative. Schweizer does not give any reason why the text

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701   "Literarkritischer Versuch", p.11.
702   Schweizer prefers the MT (מחנה) as *lectio difficilior* to the reading of the LXX (ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου).
703   The implications of הפך and כי will be discussed below in connection with H.Weippert's reconstruction of the literary history of 1 Kgs.22.

should have been extended. His reconstruction has a very simple participant orientation pattern. The redactor would have added a time statement (v.1) and an introductory remark introducing another participant, the king of Judah, and mentioning his presence at the Ahab's court (v.2). Since the redactor emphasized the parallelism to the story narrated in 2 Kgs.3 why did he not take over 2 Kgs.3$_{7a}$? He added a conversation between Ahab and Jehoshaphat (vv.4-5). While in the basic narrative it was Ahab who asked the four hundred prophets, in the extended narrative this happens on Jehoshaphat's initiative (v.5). No reason is apparent why v.5 should have been *added*! The redactor would further have added vv.7-8, the second part of Jehoshaphat's and Ahab's conversation. While in the story nucleus it was Ahab, who called for Micaiah, in the extended story this happens on Jehoshaphat's initiative. Again, no reason is obvious for such an alteration. The redactor further would have added vv.10-11. We have already discussed the supposed problem with v.10. As for v.11 we have already mentioned that עבד in Zedekiah's reply to Micaiah's second prophecy assumes a preceding prophecy by Zedekiah. If a redactor added references to Jehoshaphat, which according to Schweizer's reconstruction was the case, it seems strange that in v.11 he should use the sgl. (תנגח) and not the plural. The redactor further added vv.13-14, the conversation between Micaiah and the messenger sent by Ahab. This conversation is not necessary for the further course of narration. The redactor would have added a mention of a secondary participant as grammatical subject. In the story nucleus the messenger did not occur on the *main line*. The redactor further would have added vv.17a,18. Assuming that אדנים (v.17b) refers to both kings, Schweizer treats v.17b as a further redactorial expansion. However, it is more natural to treat the grammatical plural as a notional singular here.[704] Micaiah addresses Ahab, not

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[704]   Cf. e.g. Is.19$_4$, Mal.1$_6$.

Jehoshaphat. Even to Ahab's question, containing a 1st pers.pl[705] reference, the prophet replies with 2nd pers.sgl. (v.15).[706] We have already mentioned above that this prophecy is necessary for understanding the further course of narration and thus should be regarded as part of the original story. v.17a is very short and does not expressly mention judgment for Ahab. With v.18 the redactor would have added another address of Ahab to Jehoshaphat. It is difficult to understand why the mention of Jehoshaphat in v.29 should have been added not by the first but by a further redactor, since the Judean king's presence in the battle is presumed by v.32, which, according to Schweizer, was added by the first redactor. It is difficult to see how and why the meaning of the whole narrative could have been altered without changing the wording. We have also pointed out that the time statements in v.35 and v.36 are not synonymous but complementary.[707] The redactor would have added a mention of the king of the Arameans as grammatical subject. In v.36 the redactor would have added a sentence with an impersonal subject.

It is difficult to see, why v.37 should not have been present in the original form of the story, since Micaiah claimed that Ahab would not return in peace and Ahab claimed that he would. This conflict would have remained unresolved if Schweizer's reconstruction was right, v.35b and v.38 belong together. It is possible to argue that both passages are secondary, but it would not have been necessary to separate them into two parts. It would have been easier for a redactor to add both remarks at the end of the narrative. Since there is no compelling reason against the originality of the two remarks it seems better to regard them as belonging to the original story. Thus as the only possible part of Schweizer's discussion remains that a redactor adapted 1 Kgs.22 to 2 Kgs.3 by the addition of vv.4b.4cd.7abc.

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[705] The sgl. forms in the LXX can be explained as adaptations to vv.6 and 15b.
[706] Cf. also v.20.
[707] Cf. above, p.180.

A variation of Schweizer's approach was presented by O.H.Steck[708]. The main differences are:

v.11	Schweizer: strand B	Steck: strand A
vv.13-14	Schweizer: strand B	Steck: strand A
v.15[709]	Schweizer: strand A	Steck: strand B
v.16	Schweizer: strand A*	Steck: strand B
v.17	Schweizer: strand A	Steck: strand B
vv.19-23	Schweizer: strand A	Steck: strand B
vv.36[710]-37	Schweizer: strand B	Steck: strand A

The cardinal point of Steck's analysis is found in the observation that there are two separate layers of tradition in vv.24-28 and vv.19-23. In his view vv.24-28 do not presuppose vv.19-23. Steck conceives the following differences in the two strands: In v.24 Zedekiah only refers to himself, not to the other prophets. According to v.24 the רוח יהוה has left Zedekiah, whereas according to vv.19-23 Zedekiah still has the spirit, though a רוח שקר. V.25 announces judgment for Zedekiah, while according to vv.19-23 he acts according to the Lord's order. According to vv.24-28 Zedekiah's prophecy is false, because he does not have the spirit whereas according to vv.19-23 it is false because he does have the spirit (רוח שקר). From this observation Steck unfolds his analysis which leads him to the conclusion that a basic narrative consisting of vv.3.6.11.9.13-15aα.17.24-28a.29*.34-35abα.36*-37 was supplemented by vv.2b.4.5.7-8.10.12.15*.16.18-23.29*.30-33.36*.[711] Steck's reconstruction differs from Schweizer's in that the former regards v.11 as part of the original narrative and thus the introduction of Zedekiah is not as abrupt as

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[708] "Bewahrheitungen des Prophetenworts".
[709] + minor addition.
[710] + minor addition.
[711] Steck regards vv.1-2a.35bß.38 as linkages to the context (cf. "Bewahrheitungen des Prophetenworts", p.92).

in Schweizer's reconstruction. From the observation that Jehoshaphat is not mentioned in some passages (vv.3.6.11.17.24-28.34-37), where Steck had expected him to be mentioned, Steck deduces that the Judean king did not participate in the original story. However, in v.3 a mention of Jehoshaphat is not necessarily to be expected, since Ahab asks Jehoshaphat separately in v.4. The prophets' reply in v.6 is given in sgl. (עלה) since it was Ahab, who had asked them. Since the story took place at Ahab's court and Ahab is the initiator of the campaign[712], the fact that "only" Ahab is asking the prophets is not surprising. Ahab's leading role in the undertaking also explains why vv.11.17.24-28.34-37 lack mentions of the Judean king (cf. v.20!). Arguments based on a scholar's expectations of a narrative have two major difficulties. They are based on subjective impressions and they fail to note that course and form of the narrative in question may be determined by the events reported. The isolation of the basic narrative was based on a "Lückenprobe". Keeping v.11 as part of the original narrative Steck alters the succession of verses found in the MT of 1 Kgs.22 and places v.11 before v.9. This leads to an immediate succession of order and fulfillment. Steck argues that the present position of v.9 is due to the fact that the redactor created a second scene at the gate. But it is difficult to see why he should not have been able to retain v.11 after v.6 or why vv.10.12 would have been added at all. Thus there is no reason for an alteration of the order v.11 - v.9. to the present one. Furthermore, there is the problem of the relative clause after the mention of the messenger in v.13, which is not necessary if v.13 immediately followed upon v.9. Steck does not regard Micaiah's first answer (v.15aßb) as part of the original story. The addition of a first answer which did

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712   Ahab did not ask Jehoshaphat ... הנלך but rather החלך אתי ; cf. also v.31, where only the Israelite king is mentioned as main target for the Aramean's agression.

not reflect Micaiah's true opinion[713] would contrast with the developmental tendencies recognized in the first part of the present work. While Schweizer had regarded Micaiah's second prophecy (vv.19-23) as original, Steck's conclusion is that Micaiah's first prophecy (v.17) belongs to the story nucleus. Steck's choice is inferior to Schweizer's, since Zedekiah's reaction suits Micaiah's second prophecy better than his first, because the second prophecy is directed against the false prophets. Furthermore, the splitting of v.15 makes the redactorial process imagined for 1 Kgs.22 more complex and thus the analysis less plausible. Steck draws attention to the fact that Micaiah is introduced with patronym in both v.8 and v.9. Since both mentions occur in direct speech towards different people (v.8 to Jehoshaphat, v.9 to the messenger) the patronym is necessary in both instances and its presence may not be used for literary critical analysis. Jehoshaphat did not know Micaiah, and the messenger had to know exactly whom to fetch. If v.8 and v.9 were not speech but narration and one of the two verses had been added by a redactor, the latter would,

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[713]   Evidence for the ironic character of Micaiah's first answer may be seen in the fact that Micaiah repeats the false prophets' message of v.12 and refers to the king with הַמֶּלֶךְ (יַד) whereas in his second prophecy he uses 2nd p. ms. (עָלֶיךָ, נְבִיאֶיךָ). Ahab did not believe it was Micaiah's true opinion, as is shown by v.16! For יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ in v.12 the LXX (B, L) read εἰς χεῖρας σου καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Συρίας. Thenius takes this as a reflection of the original text (בְּיָדֶיךָ גַם הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲרָם; better: מֶלֶךְ אֲרָם; possible is also יָדְךָ, cf. vv.6.15 (A) and a *Vorlage* without גַם (cf.v.13)) which having become illegible was corrected towards v.6 (cf. also DeVries). Micaiah learnt from the messenger only the content of the first prophecy of the four hundred. It is, of course possible that the text of the second prophecy was adapted, but not to the 400's first prophecy, but rather to Micaiah's answer (v.15) and/or the parallel text in Chr. A lacks Συρίας whereas the other mss. lack καί. It is difficult, if not impossible, to decide which reading is original. The reading of the LXX contains the difficulty that the phraseology would differ from v.6 (יְדָ(י)ךָ, יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ) without apparent reason. Then we would expect Micaiah's answer to be adapted to the prophecy of the four hundred rather than vice versa. On the other hand the development of MT's reading is more easily explained than that of LXX and in 1 Kgs.22 the LXX generally gives a literal translation. Their different readings may be due to scribal error, since יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ and יַרְדְּ מֶלֶךְ (which may have constituted the Vorlage of A only differ in one letter /sound. Συρίας may have been taken from v.11 Συρίαν (cf. also 20[13.42]). Since the correctness of LXX's reading has not been demonstrated yet, we base our investigation on M. That the text of Kgs. was adapted to Chr. does not seem likely. Thus the alteration of the text of Kgs. would have to have taken place before the Chronicler's work, but nevertheless G had a text with the correct reading. It seems easier to assume that M has the correct text.

presumably, not have used the patronym. This could only have a certain probability if two independent sources had been combined, which evidently is not the case in 1 Kgs.22.

Steck regards the succession of events narrated in vv.13-18 as complicated. But Micaiah's first answer is clearly ironic[714] and thus there is no alteration of his message. Steck's distinction of Micaiah's speaking evil from the Lord ordering disaster is artificial. (ה)רע refers to the effect of the message for Ahab (עלי) and Micaiah is only secondary participant for the Lord. Thus, again, the difficulty Steck adduces does not exist. Steck takes up the argument that according to vv.30-33 only the Israelite king is the target of the Arameans' attack and not his army.[715] We have already argued that this view is not tenable. We shall now examine the redactional process that follows from Steck's analysis. Difficulties in the course of narration are found in Steck's story nucleus:

- v.3 would be a sudden beginning for a narrative[716]
- the calling of Micaiah (v.9) is unmotivated[717]
- in the reference to the messenger in v.13 the subordinate clause is redundant, the exhortation to Micaiah is not necessary, since it implies that Micaiah's prophecy of doom was expected, then the calling of the prophet is even less motivated.
- Zedekiah's reaction (v.24) is not motivated.

Steck does not give an explanation for his view on v.36. His comments seem to imply that the first part of v.36 is regarded as belonging to the story nucleus while the second part of the verse was added later. This has the advantage that pronominal suffix in ארצו can refer to Jehoshaphat, but the addition would seem unmotivated, since nothing more is narrated of Jehoshaphat.

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714   Cf. previous note.
715   Thus also Josephus, *Ant.*, VIII,15,4, who adds that except the Israelite king nobody was killed during the battle.
716   The addition of a historical introduction would contrast with the developmental tendencies established above.
717   Especially the presence of מהרה is noteworthy.

We can note with Steck (p.93) that the main purpose of Strand "B" is to supplement strand "A". B has added references to Jehoshaphat and linked the consultations of the prophets to requests by the Judean king (vv.5.7f). B has introduced a second scene in which Zedekiah appeared. B further added a speech of Micaiah before and after the original one. Especially, the addition of Micaiah's first answer would not make sense and is completely unmotivated. The addition of vv.4-5, of an order the fulfillment of which is already reported, would contrast with the tendencies established above. The same is true for the addition of vv.7-8. We have already discussed the hypothetical addition of v.10 above. By the introduction of a new scene the plot would have become more complex. The addition of v.12, too, seems unmotivated, since the information had already been supplied in v.6. This has, however, the advantage against Schweizer's reconstruction that the form of Micaiah's answer in v.15 is explained. It would, however, have been easier to retain the phraseology of v.6. For a discussion of the addition of the further passages see above.

5 H.Weippert's Analysis

In a recent essay[718] H.Weippert has developed Schweizer's and Steck's analyses further. She begins with the observation that the various participants are mentioned with different types of reference.[719] The Israelite king participating in the story is 17 times mentioned as "king of Israel", 12 times as "the king"[720], and only once as Ahab[721] (+ twice in a "redactorial end note").

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[718]   "Ahab el campeador?".

[719]   Already been noted by Würthwein, "Zur Komposition von 1 Reg 22$_{1-38}$", pp.247-248.

[720]   Some of these cases have to be disregarded because the designations occur in direct speech (המלך) in vv.6.8.12.13.15.27; מלך־ישראל in vv.31.32). המלך outside direct speech is found in vv.15.16.35.37. Especially the passage in vv.13-17 is remarkable:

והמלאך אשר־הלך לקרא 13מיכיהו דבר אליו לאמר הנה־נא דברי הנביאים
פה־אחד טוב אל־המלך יהי־נא דבריך כדבר אחד מהם ודברת טוב: 14ויאמר
מיכיהו חי־יהוה כי את־אשר יאמר יהוה אלי אתו אדבר: 15ויבוא אל־המלך
ויאמר המלך אליו מיכיהו הנלך אל־רמת גלעד למלחמה אם־נחדל ויאמר ליו
עלה והצלח ונתן יהוה ביד המלך: 16ויאמר אליו המלך עד־כמה פעמים אני

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Both mentions of his opponent in war are "king of Aram". Jehoshaphat however is mentioned 3 times as "Jehoshaphat, king of Judah" and 10 times as "Jehoshaphat" only. Micaiah is mentioned once as "prophet of the Lord", 7 times as "Micaiah", twice as "Micaiah son of Imlah".[722] Zedekiah is mentioned twice as "Zedekiah" and twice as "Zedekiah son of Kenaanah". Further participants are "Amon the ruler of the city" and "Jehoash the king's son"[723] and many more, not mentioned by name. The designations for the two kings as given by the narrative portions of MT and LXX[724] are as follows:

v.				
v.2	מלך־ישראל[725]	βασιλέα Ισραηλ	יהושפט מלך־יהודה	Ιωσαφατ βασιλεὺς Ιουδα
3	מלך ישראל	βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ		
4	מלך ישראל	βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ	יהושפט	Ιωσαφατ
	-	-[725]	יהושפט	Ιωσαφατ
5	מלך ישראל	βασιλέα Ισραηλ	יהושפט	Ιωσαφατ βασιλεὺς Ιουδα
6	מלך ישראל	ὁ βασιλεύς Ισραηλ		
	-	ὁ βασιλεύς[726]		
7	-	προς βασιλέα Ισραηλ	יהושפט	Ιωσαφατ
8	מלך ישראל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ	יהושפט	Ιωσαφατ
9	מלך־ישראל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ		
10	מלך־ישראל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ[727]	יהושפט מלך־יהודה	Ιωσαφατ βασιλεὺς ιουδα
15	המלך	βασιλέα		

משבעך אשר לא־תדבר אלי רק־אמת בשם יהוה: ¹⁷ויאמר ראיתי את־כל־ישראל
נפצים אל־ההרים כצאן אשר אין־להם רעה ויאמר יהוה לא־אדנים לאלה ישובו
איש־לביתו בשלם

Here the reference to Ahab by המלך seems to prepare for the prophecy in which he is referred to with רעה and אדנים . The other passage using המלך outside direct speech (vv.35.37) narrates Ahab's death with v.36 referring back to v.17 (לביתו / , אל־עירו אל־ארצו). The usage of המלך in the narrative sections may also be used for making the contrast of events and prophecy of the four hundred clearer. The four hundred stated that המלך would be successful, but המלך died. Thus to a certain extent the designations for Ahab seem to have served literary purposes and thus cannot be taken as traces of redactorial activity. That Ahab is mentioned by name in v.20 is due to the fact that he was enticed not because he was king of Israel but because he was *Ahab*.

721   V.20 (direct speech).
722   Weippert adds one mention as "zur Jahwebefragung geeigneter Mann" but this cannot properly be called a mention of Micaiah. In v.8 Micaiah is mentioned in direct speech.
723   Weippert adds the mention of Ahaziah in 1 Kgs.22$_{40}$, but this verse is not part of the narrative proper.
724   The mentions within speeches have been disregarded here, since e.g. the address of a king may have been conventional and not open to the narrators choice.
725   +℧ πρὸς βασιλέα Ισραηλ O.
726 *L* adds Ισραηλ.
727   *L* adds Αχααβ.

	הַמֶּלֶךְ	βασιλεύς		
16	הַמֶּלֶךְ	ὁ βασιλεύς		
18	מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל	βασιλεύς Ισραηλ		
26	מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל	βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ		
29	מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל	βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ	יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה	Ιωσαφατ βασιλεὺς Ιουδα
30	מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ	יְהוֹשָׁפָט	Ιωσαφατ βασιλὲα Ιουδα
32			יְהוֹשָׁפָט	Ιωσαφατ βασιλὲα Ιουδα
			יְהוֹשָׁפָט	Ιωσαφατ
33	מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ		
34	מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	βασιλὲα Ισραηλ _728		
35	הַמֶּלֶךְ	ὁ βασιλεύς		
37	הַמֶּלֶךְ	ὁ βασιλεύς		
	הַמֶּלֶךְ	τὸν βασιέα[729]		

From the fact that the Israelite king in MT's version of the story is not mentioned by name in 29 cases (including mentions within speeches) Weippert concludes that the insertion of his name is only secondary. She disregards the additional mentions of LXX. While it is apparent that LXX adapted mentions of Jehoshaphat to those of the Israelite king, it cannot be ruled out completely that LXX in its mentions of Ahab was dependent on a Hebrew text and thus could represent a version closer to the original than MT.[730] In our investigation above we have seen that later versions tend to state functions of events or participants in narratives.[731] Thus, e.g. in Ahaz's call for help Tiglathpileser is referred to as "king of Assyria" and not mentioned by name. The same is true for the mention of the Aramean king in 2 Chr.24$_{23\text{-}24}$. It has to be said, however, that we did not observe cases where this tendency led to narratives like the one in 1 Kgs.22 where in the narrative Ahab is only mentioned twice by name. We could also refer to the tendency of adaptation to context. Mentions of Ahab may have been adapted to mentions of "the king of Israel". Although we cannot rule

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[728] L adds ὁ βασιλεύς.

[729] L adds Αχααβ.

[730] DeVries, *1 Kings*, pp.261f, regards the additional mentions of Ahab's name in LXX as "explicative".

[731] Cf. above n.575.

out that this is the result of a developmental tendency, it may well be due to reasons of contents.

In the Old Testament narratives about Ahab there is a striking inconsistency of referring to the Israelite king. While chs.18 and 21 almost exclusively use the personal name this is different in chs.20 and 22. Designations for the Israelite king in ch.20 (LXX ch.21) are:

v.2 אחאב מלך־ישראל	Αχααβ βασιλέα Ισραηλ
v.4 מלך־ישראל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ
v.7 מלך־ישראל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ
v.11 מלך־ישראל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ
v.13 אחאב מלך־ישראל	τῷ βασιλεῖ Ισραηλ
v.14 אחאב	Αχααβ
	Αχααβ
v.15	Αχααβ
v.21 מלך־ישראל	βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ
v.22 מלך־ישראל	βασιλέα Ισραηλ
v.28 מלך־ישראל	τῷ βασιλεῖ Ισραηλ
(v.31 מלך־ישראל	βασιλέα Ισραηλ)
v.32 מלך־ישראל	τῷ βασιλεῖ Ισραηλ
v.38 למלך	τῷ βασιλεῖ Ισραηλ
v.39 המלך	ὁ βασιλεύς
המלך	τὸν βασιλέα
v.40 מלך־ישראל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ
v.41 מלך־ישראל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ
v.43 מלך־ישראל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ[732]

Here the prophet / man of God remains anonymous, but the name of the Aramean king is given. Again it is possible to argue that the mentions of Ahab are secondary.[733] But then the question has to be answered why the narrative was thought to be dealing with Ahab, since there is no other connection between Benhadad and Ahab reported in the OT. There is a very

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[732] Here again, DeVries, 1 Kings, regards the mentions of the Israelite king's name in the MT in v.13 and in LXX in vss.14b and 15 as "explicative". There still remain, however, the mentions in vss.2 and 14a, which are found in both versions.

[733] Thus DeVries, 1 Kings, p.247, who regards the mentions of "Ahab" in v.2 and v.14 as later additions and prefers for v.13 the reading of LXX[BL] which lack an equivalent for "Ahab". But LXX has additional Αχααβ in vv.14.15. It is methodologically unjustified to regard in both, the MT in v.13 and LXX in (ch.21) vv.14.15, the longer text without further reasons as "explicative" (DeVries, p.244). Cf also the David-Goliath story (1 Sam.17), where Goliath is usually called הפלשתי and only twice mentioned by name, or Rab-shakeh's speech to the Jerusalemites (2 Kgs.18₁₉,₂₅,₂₉₋₃₅), mentioning Hezekiah by name and referring to the Assyrian king as המלך הגדול מלך אשור (Cf. Cogan and Tadmor, II Kings, pp.230f).

interesting parallel in 2 Kgs.3, where a war of Joram and Jehoshaphat against Moab is narrated. The designations for the participating kings are:

v.				
v.4	למלך־ישראל	τῷ βασιλεῖ Ισραηλ		
5	במלך ישראל	ἐν βασιλεῖ Ισραηλ		
6	המלך יהורם	ὁ βασισεὺς Ιωραμ		
7			יהושפט מלך־יהודה	Ιωσαφατ βασιλέα Ιουδα
9	מלך־ישראל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ	ומלך־יהודה	καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ιουδα
	ומלך אדום	ὁ βασιλεὺς Εδωμ		
10	מלך ישראל	βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ		
11	מלך ישראל	βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ καὶ	יהושפט	Ιωσαφατ
	ומלך אדום	καὶ βασιλεὺς Εδωμ		
12	מלך ישראל	βασιλέα Ισραηλ	יהושפט734	Ιωσαφατ βασιλεὺς Ιουδα
			יהושפט	Ιωσαφατ
13	מלך ישראל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ		

Joram is introduced as "יהורם מלך על ישראל" (v.1) and then called "המלך יהורם" (vv.4.5.9.10.11.12.13 <2x>) and only once "מלך־ישראל" (v.6).[735] The Judean king, however, is called "יהושפט מלך־יהודה" Both narratives have to be treated in the same way. If we regard the designations for the king in 1 Kgs.22 as an indication that the story originally dealt with a different Israelite king then the same must be true for 2 Kgs.3. There however, the chronological position of the narrative is clearer. There is a reference to Ahab's death in v.5 which seems to imply that the Israelite king mentioned in the narrative is Ahab's successor. It is interesting to note that in the first reference to Ahab, in v.4, again מלך־ישראל is employed, and only in the

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[734]   2 mss + מלך יהודה

[735]   The two narratives are similar in that in both instances the Israelite king asks to join him against a foreign king, who acted wrongfully. The parallelism extends to phraseology:
1 Kgs.22,4:
התלך אתי למלחמה רמח גלעד ויאמר ... כנוני כנוך כעמי כעמך
2 Kgs.3.7:
התלך אתי אל־מואב למלחמה ויאמר אעלה כמוני כנוך כעמי כעמך כסוסי כסוסך.
In both instances the Judean king requests the consultation of a "prophet of the Lord:
1 Kgs.22,7:
ויאמר יהושפט האין פה נביא ליהוה עוד ונדרשה מאותו
2 Kgs.3,11:
ויאמר יהושפט האין פגה נביא עיהוה ונדרשה את יהוה מאותו .
However, the remainders of the narratives differ completely from each other.

second mention in v.5 his name is given. But our concern is not with whether the story in 1 Kgs.22 was originally about Ahab but rather whether the picture of its evolution as it is drawn by modern scholarship agrees with our results above. We thus concede that it is in principle not impossible that the story was originally not told about a specific king or a king not identical with Ahab. It is nevertheless a striking fact that the only mention of the king's name within the story proper is found in Micaiah's prophecy and not where it would have been more expected, used by the narrator in a narrative portion.[736]

That there is no need to explain the mentions of the Israelite king in 1 Kgs.22 as secondary insertions is further underlined by the fact that in several Babylonian Chronicles the mentions of the protagonists are comparable to 1 Kgs.22.[737] A first example is provided by Chronicle 3's report of Nabopolassar's 12th year[738]:

[24]M[U XII]^{kàm} ina ^{iti}Abi ^{kur}Ma-da-a-a ana muḫḫi Ninua^{ki} ki-i x x x [...]

[25][x (x)x i-ḫi-šam-ma ^{uru}Tar-bi-ṣu ālu šá pi-ḫat Ninua^{ki} i[ṣ-ṣ]ab-tu x[...]

[26][^{id}]l-d]iq-lat irdi-ma ina muḫḫi Bal-til^{ki} it-ta-di ṣal-tú ana libbi āli ʳipuš¹-m[a...]

[27][x]x it-ta-ar dabdâ nišē^{me} rabâti^{me} lim-niš iltakan^{an} ḫu-bu-ut-su iḫ-ta-bat šil-[lat-su iš-ta-lal]

[28][šàr A]kkadî^{ki} u [ummā]ni^{me}-šú šá ana re-ṣu-ut ^{kur}Ma-da-a-a illikū^{ku} ṣal-tú úl ikšudū^{du} āl[u] x [...]

[29][šàr Akkad]jiʳki(?)¹ [u(?) ^{m}]Ú-[ma-ki]š-tar ina muḫḫi āli a-ḫa-meš ittamrū(igi)^{meš} ṭūbtu^{tú} u su-lum-mu-u itti a-ḫa-meš iškunū^{meš}

[30][...^{m}Ú-ma-ki-i]š-tar u ummāni^{me}šú ana māti-šú it-tur šàr Akkadî^{ki} u ummāni^{me}-šu ana māti-šu itūrū^{ru}

Here we can note that in 1.29 two kings are mentioned in grammatical co-ordination.[739] Cyaxares, the king of the Medes is mentioned by name only

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[736]   If the story was written down in the northern kingdom it might not have been necessary to mention Ahab by name. Seebaß has proposed that the Israelite king was not mentioned by name because by this the typical characteristics of an era, which was marked by the alliance with Judah, were meant to be captured ("Micha ben Jimla", p.116).

[737]   Text and designations of the Chronicles are taken from Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*.

[738]   BM 21901 (96-4-9,6). Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, pp.90-96.

[739]   cf. also l.40: [š]àr Akkadî^{k}[¹ x] x [...^{m}Ú-m]a-kiš-tar x x x-a-ni ú-še-bir-ma.

(as in l.30), without any apposition - not even introduced as king of the Medes, whereas Nabopolassar is referred to as "king of Akkad" without express mention of his name. Indeed, his name is mentioned only once, at the beginning of the tablet in l.1, dealing with his tenth regnal year; he otherwise is only referred to as "king of Akkad"(ll.6.8.10.11.16[740].18.19.20.21.28[741].29[742].30.31.[32].38.38[743].40[744].46.47.49.53[745].56.58.59.63.64.[746]65[747].68.70.75.76). Contrarily, apart from Cyaxares (ll.29.30.40.47), also Sin-šarra-iškun (l.44), Aššur-uballiṭ (ll.[49.60].61.66) are mentioned by name. Strikingly l.30 exhibits another feature which is also found 1 Kgs.22: while in the first part of the line the compound subject is used with the sgl., in the second part of the line the pl. is construed with a very similar grammatical subject.[748]

The case is similar in Chronicle 4[749]. There, again, Nabopolassar is mentioned only in the first line and thereafter referred to as "king of Akkad" (ll.1.4.5.8.12.17.18.18.23.27), while his son Nebuchadnezzar is mentioned by name (ll.6.9.27), though in the first and final mentions with appositions.[750] In the preserved portion of Chronicle 5[751], which includes the first line of the tablet, we find another parallel to 1 Kgs.22. Just as Ahab in the Biblical account, Nabopolassar's name is not stated in his first mention in obv.1 (šàr Akkadî[ki]), but only later (obv.9). His son Nebuchadnezzar is introduced as "[md]Nabû-kudurrî-úṣur mār-šú rabû[û]" [mār] šarri šá bīt re-e-du-tú (obv.1) and thereafter mentioned by name only (obv.8.9.10.12.15) until his accession is reported

740 Only "šàr Akkadî[ki]" preserved.
741 Only "A]kkadî" preserved.
742 Only "[šàr Akkad]î[ki(?)]" preserved.
743 Only "šàr Akk[adî[ki]" preserved.
744 Only "[š]àr Akkadî[k[i]" preserved.
745 Only "šà]r Akkadî[ki]" preserved.
746 Only "šàr [Akkadî][ki]" preserved.
747 Only "[šàr] Akkadî[[ki]]" preserved.
748 Cf. 1 Kgs.22₁₀: יֹשְׁבִים pl. and 1 Kgs.22₁₉: וְיֹעֵל sgl.
749 BM 22047 (96-4-9,152), Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, pp.97-98.
750 Cf. also l.8, where he is referred to as "mār šarri".
751 BM 21946 (96-4-9).

(obv.15). Then he is referred to as šàr Akkadî[ki] in obv.21, rev.3.5.8.9.11.14.16.18. 21.25 and once as šarru, which further parallels mentions of Ahab in 1 Kgs.22 (המלך in vv.15.16.35.37). In Chronicle 5, rev.2 a certain [md]Nabû-šuma-⌈lišir⌉. This is found in a portion where the Babylonian king is only referred to as "king of Akkad". Chronicle 7[752] is not well preserved.[753] It, therefore, does not permit firm conclusions. The extant mentions of the Babylonian king are: šarru (i,3(?).7.14; ii,5.[5.]10.18.19.23.[23.]; iii,23), [md]Nabû-na²id (iii,15.16). Because of the tablet's bad state of preservation it is not possible to argue with any certainty that the first mention of Nabonidus did not include his name, but in the light of the previous example it would be quite conceivable. Further participants are: [d]Nabû-[d]bēl-dān(kal) aḫu [... (i,15f), [m]Ku-raš šàr An-šá-an (ii,1) / [m]Ku-raš (ii,2.3, iii,12.15.18.19[.24]) / [m]Ku-raš šàr [kur]Parsu (ii,15), [m]Iš-tu-me-gu (iii,2), [m]⌈Ug⌉-ba-ru (iii,15.22) / [m]Gu-ba-ru (iii,20), [m]Kám-bu-zi-ia māru šá [m]K[u-raš] (iii,24). Thus again we have an unbalanced pattern of participant mentions. If, therefore, it is argued that the mentions of the Israelite king's name in 1 Kgs.22 are secondary, the same has to be held for the mentions of the Babylonian kings in the Babylonian Chronicles referred to above. There is, however, no indication at all for the latter![754]

Weippert follows Würthwein in arguing that the twofold introduction of Jehoshaphat's speech(es) in vv.4.5 indicates two different sources / redactions.[755] Further features of the narrative in 1 Kgs.22, to which H.Weippert drew attention are that the death of the Israelite king is reported

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752   BM 35382 (Sp II 964).
753   Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, p.104: "Besides some surface breaks the bottom and most of the left-hand side of the tablet is missing."
754   The parallels in the Babylonian Chronicles may suggest that the narrative in 1 Kgs.22 was recorded in the northern kingdom, where the name of המלך was self-evident. This contrasts with the view that the criticism of the Israelite king implies that the narrative was written down in Judah (cf. Schmitt, *Elisa*, p.45).
755   See above p.169.

three times (vv.35.37.40)[756], that after Jehoshaphat's cry (v.32) nothing else is reported about him[757], that it is not related what happened to Micaiah, who had been thrown into prison[758], and that the threat against Zedekiah has no consequences in the narratives. The last of the three mentions of Ahab's death is not part of the narrative proper but in an end note[759] and thus cannot be counted. As for the second mention of the king's death the LXX has it as a continuation of the direct speech from v.36 (וימת המלך / ὅτι τέθνηκεν ὁ βασιλεύς [כי ימת]) and for וירא they have ἦλθον [וירבאו]).[760] It is,

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[756] וישכב אחאב עם אבותיו in v.40 is thought to imply a peaceful death (probably first adduced by G.Hölscher, "Das Buch der Könige", p.185; taken up by Weippert, "Ahab el campeador", DeVries, *1 Kings*, p.97, Whitley, "Deuteronomic Presentation", p.148 and others), claiming that the formula is not applied anywhere in the Old Testament to a violent death of a king. In 2 Kgs.14₂₂ we find, however, the clause אחרי שכב־המלך עם אבותיו, referring to the death of Amaziah, who is expressly stated to have been assassinated. DeVries notes this clause but regards it as a gloss. Although no reason is given for this verdict, even if it is a gloss, it nevertheless shows that a violent death is compatible with its description with שכב! B.Alfrink, "L'expression שכב עם אבותיו," interprets המלך in 2 Kgs.14₂₂ as referring to the king of Edom, but neither Edom nor its king are mentioned in this passage, but only Elath. It, therefore seems more probable that המלך refers to Azariah's father Amaziah, who is mentioned in 1 Kgs.14₂₁. Thus the remark cannot be used for arguing that the story in 1 Kgs.22 originally dealt with a different Israelite king. In this connection 1 Kgs.9,26 is quoted as further indication of Ahab's peaceful death, but that passage applies only to Ahab's house, not to Ahab himself! H.Seebaß, "Zu 1 Reg XXII 35-38" has suggested, that the formula could be used, because the king did not die during the battle but later from his loss of blood (see Seebaß' reconstruction of the original text below n.761). Anyway it remains to be shown that, even if presupposed that one or both of the two short remarks imply a peaceful death their historical reliability is greater than that of 1 Kgs.22.

[757] Cf. however איש אל־ארצו in v.36 (cf. below p.199)! Why did the final redactor not relate Jehoshaphat's fate. Weippert's stages of development thus necessarily has the same inconsistencies as she claims MT has!

[758] Würthwein, "Zur Komposition von 1 Reg 22₁₋₃₈", pp.246-247.

[759] For another case where (because of particular circumstances) the death of a king has been reported in a narrative and in the end note cf. 2 Kgs.14₁₉.₂₂; cf. also 1 Sam.31₄.₅.₆.₇.₈; 1 Kgs.15₂₇.₂₈.

[760] H.Seebaß has advanced a different explanation of the twofold mention of Ahab's death. He regards the MT of v.37 as correct but prefers his reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the LXX in v.35. There MT reads: וימת בערב ויצק דם־המכה אל־חיק הרכב . The LXX has: ἀπὸ πρωὶ ἕως ἑσπέρας καὶ ἀπέχυννε τὸ αἷμα ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ ἅρματος. Seebaß suggests that the LXX has preserved in this passage translations of variant readings which arose through scribal error: וימת בערב / מבקר עד ערב. The omission / addition of עד could be explained as Haplo- / Dittography. There remain וימת ב and מבקר.ם and ב are found in both phrases and ו/ר ק/ח ו/ר are similar in the Aramaic cursive script of the 4th and 3rd centuries. Seebaß regards מבקר עד ערב as the original reading, since וימת would have been mentioned too early in the narrative. וירא שמרון with Ahab as grammatical subject would then contrast with Ahab's order ... עד באי בשלום (v.27) and agree with Micaiah's prophecy אם־שוב תשוב בשלום (v.28).

therefore, no certain case either. וימת can also be understood as Pluperfect, which also would reduce the significance of the second mention of the king's death. The repetition of the mention of the king's death by an author seems more probable than that a redactor should have added a mention if one was already present. As for the other features of the narrative, the absence of narrations of the fates of Jehoshaphat and Micaiah and the unfulfilled threat against Zedekiah, could all be explained by omission, whether by the author or a later redactor cannot be decided. This, however, is not taken into consideration by H.Weippert. On the contrary, she assumes a growth from a nucleus to the massoretic version.

H.Weippert regards vv.3a-c.11a-d.29a* (ויהושפט is regarded as secondary addition [ויעל in sg.]).34a-35c as the narrative nucleus:

3ויאמר מלך־ישראל אל עבדיו הידעתם כי־לנו רמת גלעד ואנחנו מחשים מקחת
אתה מיד מלך ארם:
11ו/ויעש לו צדקיה בן־כנענה קרני ברזל ויאמר כה־אמר יהוה באלה תנגח
את־ארם עד־כלתם:
29ויעל מלך־ישראל ויהושפט מלך־יהודה] רמת גלעד:
34ואיש משך בקשת לתמו ויכה את־מלך ישראל בין הדבקים ובין השרין ויאמר
לרכבו הפך ידיך והוציאני מן־המחנה כי החליתי: 35 ותעלה המלחמה ביום
ההוא והמלך היה מעמד במרכבה נכח ארם וימת בערב:

While it remains to be made plausible why such a story should be transmitted in the first place, our main concern is whether the supposed expansion of this story agrees with the developmental tendencies recognized from the transmission of our proposed empirical model. There are, however, serious inconsistencies in this supposed story nucleus. According to Weippert the Israelite king is injured before the battle by one of his own soldiers[761] but nevertheless he orders to take him out of his camp into battle. מחנה, however, does not necessarily designate a stationary camp, but can also mean "army"[762]. From Ahab's order to his charioteer it is clear that the narrator did not refer to

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[761] "Das ist die Art und Weise, wie die Sage ihre Helden sterben läßt" ("Ahab el campeador", p.461).
[762] Cf. e.g. Jdg.4₁₆.

the Israelite camp. הפך ידיך implies a *return*, and the injury is given as reason (כי) for the order. The Israelite king wants to return *because* and not *although* he is injured. If Weippert's reconstruction was right, both phrases would have to be regarded as later additions. Another difficulty with her reconstruction is found in the fact that Zedekiah's prophecy was not fulfilled, thus it does not constitute a progress over the MT where the fulfillment of Micaiah's threat against Zedekiah was not reported. H.Weippert claims that Zedekiah's prophecy <u>was</u> fulfilled in the story nucleus, but there is no hint of an Israelite victory. On the contrary, the king died. It is surprising that far-reaching alterations could have been applied to a narrative and nevertheless the wording of the narrative have been completely preserved. Furthermore, there would be no preparation for the situation of battle in v.35 if Weippert's reconstruction was correct. In the reconstructed nucleus Zedekiah would not be introduced as a prophet in v.11! If, however, v.11 is read after v.10 this becomes clear from the context, since Zedekiah may have been regarded as one of כל־הנביאים.

In the second stage according to Weippert's reconstruction the narrative was set into context with other stories about wars between Israel and Aram and expanded by vv.1ab.2a.36a-37c:

<u>וישבו שלוש שנים אין מלחמה בין ארם ובין ישראל</u>: ²<u>ויהי בשנה השלשית</u>¹
[וירד יהושפט מלך־יהודה אל־מלך ישראל]:
³ויאמר מלך־ישראל אל עבדיו הידעתם כי־לנו רמת גלעד ואנחנו מחשים מקחת
אתה מיד מלך־ארם:
¹¹ויעש לו צדקיה בן־כנענה קרני ברזל ויאמר כה־אמר יהוה באלה תנגח
את־ארם עד־כלתם:
²⁹ויעל מלך־ישראל [ויהושפט מלך־יהודה] רמת גלעד:
³⁴ואיש משך בקשת לתמו ויכה את־מלך ישראל בין הדבקים ובין השרין ויאמר
לרכבו הפך ידיך והוציאני מן־המחנה כי החליתי:
³⁵ותעלה המלחמה ביום ההוא והמלך היה מעמד במרכבה נכח ארם וימת בערב:
³⁶<u>ויעבר הרנה במחנה כבא השמש לאמר איש אל עירו ואיש אל־ארצו</u>: ³⁷<u>וימת</u>
<u>המלך ויבוא שמרון ויקברו את המלך בשמרון</u>:

While the insertion of a transition is conceivable, it is not clear why vv.36-37 should have been added. According to Weippert, the king's heroic death did not fit into the concept. Again, no reason for this is obvious. We may ask, which concept? The victory had to be turned into defeat. Since in 1 Kgs.20 Ahab's victory against Benhadad is related, there is no reason why in this narrative the Israelite king should have to be defeated. Anyway the addition of vv.36-37 states neither victory or defeat expressly. This can only be deduced from the mention of the Israelite king's death which was already present in the first of Weippert's stages of development. In this second stage direct speech with an impersonal grammatical subject was added. A second time denotation being synonymous with the first one would have been added, too. The direct speech with איש אל ארצו only makes sense if the Judean king participates in the story.[763]

The next stage of the literary development as reconstructed by Weippert was marked by the insertion of the narrative expanded by vv.35d, 38a, 40b into the Ahab history. The added material is:

ויצק דם־המכה אל חיק הרכב
וישטף את־הרכב על ברכת שמרון
וילקו הכלבים את־דמו והזונות רחצו כדבר יהוה אשר דבר
וימלך אחטיהו בנו תחתיו

Although it is of course possible that after the story was thought to deal with Ahab, the narration of Ahab's death was adapted to the prophecy (1 Kgs.21$_{19}$). One would, however, expect that the passage describing the fulfillment would be left in one piece. We have seen that the chronological succession was resolved in secondary versions. Thus it would not have been necessary to adhere to the chronological order. It is, however, also possible that

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763   That איש אל־ארצו implies the participation of both Israel and Judah was already noted by Thenius, *Bücher der Könige, ad loc.*

v.35d was added later to prepare for v.38. v.35d has no equivalent in the prophecy. Apparently this editor did not believe in Ahab's peaceful death! It seems strange that although the story was *inserted* into the Ahab narrative the name of the Israelite king should not have been mentioned. If the story so far, as part of the Ahab history, did not have to mention Ahab's name, why should this be necessary for the work of an author? The addition of v.40b without v.40a is improbable since the mention of an enthronement usually is given after that of the predecessor's death.[764] Again it would be possible to argue that v.40b was added first and then v.38, but even then it remains to be shown why the death succession sequence should have been interrupted. The repetition of the mention of the king's death would be more probable. After the further addition of vv.39a and 40a the story comprised vv.1a-2a.3a-c.11a- d.29a*.34a-35c.39a.40a.b. This is regarded as the result of a basic narrative that had undergone two redactions, the first one having turned a victory into a defeat and the second ascribing the story to Ahab.

According to Weippert the final redaction led to a "Jehoshaphat recension" (addition of 2b.4a-10b.12a-28c.29a*.30a-33c) which is the narrative as we have it now. The editor introduced a number of new participants: Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, four hundred prophets of Baal, the prophet Micaiah son of Imlah and a messenger. Also mentioned are Amon, governor of the city, and the Israelite king's son Joash. According to Weippert's own figures the redactor has added to the basic narrative comprising 18 sentences and the redactional expansions comprising 9 and 7 sentences further material to a total of 129 sentences. Again it is surprising to find that all the previous editions are preserved in their original wording in the final edition. It would have been much

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[764]   Cf. 2 Sam.10_1, 1 Kgs.11_{43} $14_{20.31}$ $15_{8.24.28}$ $16_{6.10.22.28}$ 22_{51}, 2 Kgs.1_{17} $8_{15.24}$ 10_{35} 12_{22} $13_{9.24}$ $14_{16.29}$ $15_{7.10.14.22.25.30.38}$ 16_{20} 19_{37} 20_{21} $21_{18.26}$ 24_6. Exceptions are found in synchronistic remarks (1 Kgs.[12_{17}] 15_{25} 16_{29} 22_{25}, 2 Kgs.3_1 15_{13}).

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easier for the final redactor to rewrite the complete narrative, especially since passages like v.3 are of no importance for the "Jehoshaphat recension". It is also surprising that even the final redactor did not regard it as necessary to mention the Israelite king's name apart from v.20. The story would have developed from a simple nucleus with only few *primary participants* to a complex narrative with *primary* and *secondary participants* and remained thus. Weippert's reconstruction implies that the first version was written down, a redactor obtained either the original or a very faithful copy and changed the basic thrust of the narrative. A second redactor obtained either the original or a very faithful copy of the first redactor's work, and identified the Israelite king with Ahab. He did not know the very first version or agreed with the first redactor's treatment. In any case he did not regard it as necessary to change the wording. Then a third redactor obtained either the original or a very faithful copy of the second redactor's work. He did not know the very first version or the first redactor's version, or, at least, he agreed with the second redactor's treatment of the first redactor's treatment of the original. He, too, did not regard is as necessary to change the wording, but rather tried to express his viewpoint by additions only. All subsequent potential redactors obtained the original or faithful copies of the third redactor's work. They did not know the very first version or the two first redactions or they agreed with all redactorial treatments of the narrative known to them and did not regard it as necessary to change the wording of the final one. Thus we either have to assume very extensive redactorial activity and by chance we have just this one of many different versions that were created of the story nucleus, or, we have to assume that each new version completely replaced its predecessor and had some kind of authoritative status. It is not sufficient to isolate different layers in a narrative; the analysis of the redactorial process involved is more important!

6 S.J.DeVries' Analysis

So far we have discussed attempts to reconstruct the development of 1 Kgs.22 proposing a story nucleus, which was supplemented in subsequent redactions. DeVries suggests that 1 Kgs.22 is the result of a combination of two independent sources by a redactor. He begins his analysis by demonstrating the compositeness of the narrative in 1 Kgs.22. In addition to features already discussed above[765] DeVries draws attention to the following supposed inconsistencies: v.10 is thought to be inconsistent with v.30 (לבש בגדיך) and to be redundant after v.6, vv.6 and 12 (LXX) differ in form, the king summons a סריס, but a מלאך returns, לכן (v.19) is thought to have to be preceded by something spoken by Micaiah וכל־הנבאים מתנבאים לפניהם is thought to be redundant after v.6 and inconsistent with v.12b. DeVries also draws attention to the incongruence between דבריך (pl.) and דבר אחד מהם (sgl.) in v.13. In his opinion the plural points to Micaiah's different prophecies and thus could only stem from a redactor's hand. DeVries further notes that the change of grammatical subject at the beginning of v.19 is not marked as such. He also argues that the two occurrences in 1 Kgs.22 of ביום ההוא referring to the future in v.25 and to the past in v.35 indicate two separate sources. DeVries adduces Dt.31$_{16-22}$ and 1 Sam.3$_{1-21}$ as the only other passages where the expression is used for future and past.

The סריס mentioned in v.9 was not termed a מלאך because at this point he was no messenger. Various other passages show the same development of

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765   The singular address in vss.10-12.15 (in v.15 DeVries, *1 Kings*, regards the sgl. as found in G, T^f as original) in contrast with the co-ordination of the two kings at the beginning of v.10, Micaiah's different replies, scene change in v.10, double speech introduction in vv.4b.5, double introduction of Micaiah in vv.8.9. With regard to the incongruence of sgl. - pl. between v.10 and v.12 we may add to our discussion above that Zedekiah's message, too, is given in the sgl. If thus v.10 and v.12b belong to different sources, the same must be true for v.10 and v.11. Thus DeVries' reconstruction is inconsistent. We have already pointed out above that in v.15 the reading of the LXX can be explained as adaptation to v.6, and thus the MT has a superior text.

designations.[766] The presence of לכן in v.19 does not imply that it originally constituted a continuation of a speech of the prophet. Firstly the text is uncertain[767] and secondly לכן can be used to begin a speech.[768] It is true that וכל הנבאים מתנבים לפניהם does not present new information. The assumption, however, that in the original version of a given narrative every sentence must provide new information is not justifiable and thus it does not matter for literary critical purposes whether the sentence is redundant or not. Indeed one wonders why it would have been added in the first place if it was redundant. DeVries does not explain where the inconsistency between v.10 and v.12b is to be found, possibly in the use of the pl. in לפניהם in v.10 and the address in the sgl. in v.12b or between מתנבאים and נבאים. In either case, as we have seen above, the assumption of different strands is not justified. As for the supposed incongruence of דבריך with דבר אחד מהם, it is noteworthy that the ק", supported by mlt mss, S, T, V and the parallel passage in Chr., has the sgl. דברך. But even if the כ'' has the original reading, it seems inconceivable that the messenger could have asked Micaiah to foretell a victory in several prophecies, when only because Micaiah did exactly as he was told by the messenger, further prophecies were demanded. דבריך would then be easier understood as "words" rather than "oracles". As for the uses of ביום ההוא, it is difficult to see why this should be incompatible with single authorship or redactorship. Furthermore, in all three passages the expression referring to the future occurs in direct speech while the expression referring to the past occurs in narrative. Thus the supposed inconsistency is artificial. There remains the change of grammatical subject at the beginning of v.19. LXX have

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766   קח רכב ושלח לקראתם (2 Kgs.6,32), וישלח איש מלפניו בטרם יבא המלאך
וילך רכב הסוס לקראתו ... (2 Kgs.9,17.18), ויהי שני בא המלאך עד הם
... וישבו המלאכים ... רכב סוסים אחריהם (2 Kgs.7,14); cf. also המלאכים in
Josh.6,17-25 who had been mentioned as אנשים in ch.2.
767   LXX: οὐχ οὕτως.
768   Cf. Gen.4₁₅ (LXX, σ, θ, (S, V): οὐχ οὕτως), 30₁₅, Jdg.8₇ 11₈ 1 Sam.28₂(2x).

an additional Μιχαιας, but no reason for an omission of מיכיהו is apparent. Thus we have to leave this question open. The assumption that v.19 was inserted by an editor does not solve the problem, since an editor, too, could have inserted a mention of the speaker. DeVries' claim that the story as it stands in 1 Kgs.22 has no meaningful sequence is subjective and need not be discussed here. Although DeVries' attempt to demonstrate the compositeness has not proved to be successful, we shall continue to examine the implications of his reconstruction of the literary history of 1 Kgs.22$_{1-38}$. DeVries assumes that 1 Kgs.22$_{4b}$ being dependent on 2 Kgs.3$_7$[769], which he regards as "late Jehuite polemic", is a late addition. Further redactorial expansions are ויאמר at the beginning of v.19, ויעל ויפל רמת גלעד in v.20, v.12a and v.13. The remaining text is split into sources. Like Würthwein, DeVries has isolated the different scenes and combined them into two sources. Those parts of the text which would have disturbed the unity of the hypothetical sources were ascribed to a redactor. Thus the result has determined DeVries' method. The two sources isolated are: 1 Kgs.22$_{2b-4a.4bß-9.15-18.26-37}$ and 1 Kgs.22$_{10-12a.14.19^*.20a^{α}.20b-25}$.[770]

Although narrative A, due to DeVries' methodology, does indeed constitute an internally consistent account, narrative B contains some difficulties. The narrative has no proper beginning. The reader / listener is not told why the prophets were consulted and כל־הנביאים has no reference in

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[769]   Cf. the discussion of the relationship of 1 Kgs.22$_{4b}$ - 2 Kgs.3$_7$ and 1 Kgs.22$_7$ - 2 Kgs.3$_{11}$ above nn.690.736.

[770]   Vv.1-2a.35bß.38 are regarded as minor redactorial remarks. That vv.1-2 are secondary has also been argued by J.Morgenstern, "Chronological Data of the Dynasty of Omri" on the grounds that Jehoshaphat appears to have travelled to Samaria without his army but is ready to go to war with his army when being asked by Ahab. Furthermore, as has been pointed out the reference of the "3 years" is unclear. Morgenstern dates a first campaign against the Arameans in 870 B.C. and then interprets 1 Kgs.22$_{1-2}$ as having originally mentioned a journey of Jehoshaphat to celebrate (cf. 2 Chr.18$_{1-2}$) betrothal or marriage of Jehoram, Jehoshaphat's son, with Athaliah in 867 B.C. There is, however, not enough evidence to support Morgenstern's proposal.

narrative B.[771] In narrative B Micaiah is introduced without patronym. DeVries deduces from this that at the time narrative B was written Micaiah had become a legendary figure like Elijah and Elisha.[772] This assumption is without any foundation, but it is necessary for DeVries' reconstruction. It is easier to regard the mention of Micaiah in v.14 not as the first mention of the prophet and to question the validity of DeVries' reconstruction. V.14 with its emphasis on grammatical object (אֹתוֹ ... אֶת־אֲשֶׁר) seems unmotivated in narrative B, whereas it suits the messenger's attempt to influence Micaiah's message. DeVries' redactor would have had before him two narratives about the prophet Micaiah, son of Imlah. In each the king of Israel is about to campaign against the Arameans and in each Micaiah's message is opposed. DeVries does not adduce any reason why a redactor should have combined the two accounts. He could have simply left them in their original forms. Fortunately the two accounts were in such a form that it was possible to combine them without having to alter them. The redactor only had to add a few sentences. He added v.4bα and thus converted Ahab's speech into Jehoshaphat's. In 2 Kgs.3₇ it is Jehoshaphat who utters the same sentences. It seems strange that in 2 Kgs.3 they form Jehoshaphat's reply, whereas in 1 Kgs.22 they are part of Ahab's question. The redactor would also have added וַיֹּאמֶר at the beginning of v.19. It seems more probable that a redactor would have added מִיכָיְהוּ, too, as the LXX did. No reason is apparent why Micaiah's speech consisting of vv.14.19 should have been split up by a redactor. V.14 could have been inserted before v.17. The addition of vv.12b-13 by the redactor with the introduction of a secondary participant would not have been necessary. The redactor would have added a speech (v.12b) which was phrased after Micaiah's speech in v.15, rather than adapting

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771   Such a reference is, of course, not necessary (cf. v.6) but DeVries' reconstruction would be more convincing with it.

772   *Prophet against Prophet*, p.40.

Micaiah's speech to that of the four hundred prophets, which would seem more probable, since the narrator's / redactor's point was that Micaiah repeated the false prophets' message. The redactor would also have inserted רמת גלעד, since the place was not mentioned immediately before his insertion in v.12. This would contrast sharply with other instances of lack of attention for which, if DeVries is correct, the redactor was responsible. This, of course, is only valid if MT of v.12 is correct. If LXX has the correct text the insertion does not make sense at all, since there is no hint in the narrative that it was Ahab's intention to capture the king of the Arameans. The redactor further would have added ויעל ויפל רמת גלעד to v.20. If this sentence is missing, no object for enticing Ahab is mentioned. There is no hint that this sentence should be secondary. In narrative B it is not clear whether the spirit is successful in enticing Ahab or not. Thus we note that DeVries' reconstruction is not superior to the ones discussed above. Two accounts about a certain prophet existed in such a form that they could be combined without major alterations. Just these two accounts were combined by a redactor. This indeed does not seem probable.

B 1 Kgs.20

Another narrative which may be considered is found in 1 Kgs.20. The narrative may be compared to *early stages* of Assyrian campaign accounts. The discourse structure is complex, there are many participants on the *main line*, many *reversals*, secondary participants figure prominently and there are extensive references to internal participant relations. The story is related on the locutionary level[773] and appears to follow the chronological order. The rhetorical level is high and speeches contain different levels of quotations. Yet,

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[773]   Cf. above n.575. A possible exception is v.33.

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various scholars have isolated various scenes and ascribed them to different authors or redactors.

1 J.Wellhausen's Analysis

J.Wellhausen separated passages dealing with king and prophet from the rest of the narrative and regarded the former as secondary. In his opinion vv.13.14.22.28 were inserted to form a *vaticinium ex eventu*.[774] Similarly vv.35-43 are regarded as being dependent on 22_{1ss} and presupposing ch.21 between ch.20 and 22.[775] The parallelism of וילך מלך־ישראל על־ביתו סר וזעף (20_{43}) and ויבא אחאב אל־ביתו סר וזעף (21_4) does not necessitate the assumption of dependency of one passage on the other. Even though סר וזעף occurs only in these two passages, the similarity in wording may be due to a common author/redactor. It may have been a fixed expression. Even if we regard a dependency as the most likely explanation, it remains to be shown that 20_{43} is dependent on 21_4 and not *vice versa*. And even if 20_{43} should be dependent on 21_4 it is difficult to see why this could not have been the case with ch.21 preceding ch.20. The designation of the purpose of a passage as to form a *vaticinium ex eventu* does not affect the literary unity of a narrative in which this passage is found. Thus Wellhausen's analysis remains inconclusive.

Wellhausen's analysis was developed by Benzinger[776], who adduced further reasons for regarding 1 Kgs.20 as a composite narrative. The passages mentioning prophet(s) are taken as being "non-essential" for the course of

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774   Cf. *Composition*, p.284.
775   "vv.35-43 beziehen sich gerade so auf 22,1ss wie 20,22 auf 20,23ss, vgl. v.13.14.28. Aber sie sind erst später eingesetzt, da sie wie 20,43 mit 21,4 zeigt, das 21. Kap. zwischen dem 20. und dem 22. voraussetzen". (*Composition*, 283).
776   *Könige, ad loc.*

narration.[777] He further discovered internal difficulties, since according to v.12 the Arameans attacked first, whereas in v.14 the prophet encourages Ahab to attack. Benzinger also refers to 1 Kgs.22, where the relationship between prophet and king is completely different. Benzinger is even able to supply us with a motif for the redactorial expansion: a reader of the story took offence at the fact that only Ahab's failures were regarded as divine ordinance but not his victories.

Benzinger follows Wellhausen in separating vv.35-43 from the preceding mentions of the prophet. He draws attention to similarities with 1 Kgs.13. There is similar phraseology (בדבר יהוה) in v.35 and $13_{1.2.5.9.17.18.32}$), in both narratives absolute obedience is demanded and the prophet is punished by being killed by a lion. The prophet is different from that of vv.13.14.22.28. While old sources are thought to deal with נביאים only, 1 Kgs.20_{35-43} mention the בני הנביאים. This leads him to assume a late date for 1 Kgs.20_{35-43}.[778]

Benzinger employs all three basic techniques for the source-critical analysis of Old Testament narratives: the *Lückenprobe*, the search for internal difficulties, and the comparison with the "usual" way of narration. If the passages mentioning the prophet are not necessary for the course of narration the same has to be said for vv.7-8 (the elder's council) and vv.23-26 (the Arameans' council). Narratives generally do not only consist of "necessary" passages. Thus, the fact, that a passage appears to be non-essential does not imply that it is secondary. The similarity of 1 Kgs.20_{35-43} to 1 Kgs.13 is indeed striking. But it remains doubtful whether the points of parallelism are specific enough to postulate dependency of one narrative on the other. בדבר יהוה also occurs in 1 Sam.3_{21}[779], Jer.8_9, Ps.33_6, 2 Chr.30_{12}[780]. The בני הנביאים are mentioned in

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777   *Könige*, p.119.
778   *Könige*, 121f.
779   mlt Mss ' ו 'כד; cf. Targ.^{edd}, V; > LXX, L^{115}.
780   Pc. mss S, T 'נד.

2 Kgs.2$_{3.5.7.15}$, 4$_{1.38(2x)}$, 5$_{22}$, 6$_1$, 9$_1$. Their mention in 1 Kgs.20 is thus not unusual. Further details will be discussed below.[781]

A further expansion of Wellhausen's analysis had already been presented by Schwally.[782] In his opinion, vv.15-20, too, suffered redactorial treatment. The mentions of the נערי שרי המדינות are to be regarded as secondary, because of the occurrence of מדינה.[783]

2 H.-C.Schmitt's Analysis

Schmitt[784] lists the following difficulties, which led him to the assumption of different layers of tradition in 1 Kgs.20:

- the Israelites' advance and their victory over the Arameans are reported in both, v.19f and v.21.
- according to v.12 the Arameans attacked first, according to v.14 Ahab attacked first.[785]
- in 1-12.21/31.32 the title "king of Israel"[786] is used while v.13-20 speak of "Ahab".
- vv.22.23 mention the "king of Aram" whereas vv.1.5.8.19 / 26.30.32.33 refer to him as "Benhadad".
- passages speaking of a battle in מישור or עמקים are suspicious, for the environment of Aphek is not substantially different from that of Samaria.
- in vv.1-34 prophets mentioned only within redactorial expansions; it is therefore likely that vv.35-43, too, are comparatively late.

He thus reaches the conclusion that 1 Kgs.20 is a combination of a *Grundschicht* with three redactorial layers. The *Grundschicht* consists of vv.1-12.21/26f.29-34. The redactorial layers are seen in vv.13-20[787]/22-25.28/35-43. Schmitt then proceeds to argue that the added material consists of three

781   For the supposed internal contradiction as to who attacked first cf. p.213f. For the relationship between 1 Kgs.20$_{35-43}$ and 1 Kgs.13 see below p.211.

782   "Quellenkritik", pp.158-159.

783   See below n.793.

784   Elisa, pp.46-48.

785   Already noted by Wellhausen, *Composition*, p.284. Cf. also Benziger, *Könige*, p.119.

786   "Ahab" in v.2 is regarded as redactorial insertion.

787   Parts of this passage had already been ascribed to a redactor by Schwally, "Quellenkritik", pp.157-159, who regards Ahab's question in v.14 as "absurd". The mentions of the נערי שרי המדינה in 15a.17a.19 are also regarded as secondary, since מדינה is not Hebrew but Aramaic. Schwally further argues that v.19 is not necessary, since it had already been stated before that army and the "servants of the governors of the districts" had gone out of the city. v.30 is seen as "legendary" and discordant with the rest of the narrative, since Israel could have entered Aphek once the wall had fallen.

separate strands which nevertheless belong together. Indications of the former are seen in the different designations for participants and the different relationship between king and prophet, a unifying factor is seen in the formulae "the Lord will deliver into the hands of NN" (vv.13.28) and "to know that I am Yahwe". If Schmitt's reconstruction of the literary development of 1 Kgs.20$_{1-43}$ is right, two narratives relating conflicts between Israel and Arameans were expanded by prophet stories and combined. First the second story was expanded by vv.22-25,28 and influenced by this (?) the other story was expanded by vv.13-20. Finally a third prophet narrative (vv.35-43) was added. vv.22-25,28 are regarded as part of the extensive redaction adding references to prophets, to which also 1 Kgs.22, 2 Kgs.3$_{4ff}$, and 2 Kgs.6$_{24ff}$ were subjected.[788] Schmitt is aware that there are fundamental differences in the functions of the prophets between 1 Kgs.20 and 22. He argues that the redactor was forced to retain the positive picture of Ahab presented in 1 Kgs.20 and could not mention the prophet's name because he did not know any prophet with such a positive outlook towards the Omride dynasty. Schmitt probably did not notice that according to his view the first redactor expanded not the whole *Grundschicht* but rather only vv.26f.29-34. There we do not find so positive a picture of Ahab that could not have been altered. Speculations as to whom or what hypothetical redactors might have known cannot render Schmitt's reconstruction more convincing.

The various designations for the participating kings will be discussed below. Schmitt's argument for separating the different redactorial expansions from each other would mean that a redactor could or at least would only have used one designation for each of the participants. Consequently, the *Grundschicht* would have to be split up further with the result that almost every

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[788]   References to prophets are thought to have been added in order to explain events during campaigns as fulfillment of prophecies. Cf. Schmitt, *Elisa*, p.49.

verse would constitute a separate strand. This presupposition cannot be supported and thus Schmitt's claim has to be rejected. As for the different references to the prophet(s), Schmitt's line of argument is even less convincing. The prophets are mentioned as "נביא אחד" (v.13), "הנביא" (v.22), and "איש האלהים" (v.28). נביא אחד and הנביא are the expected forms of first and second reference to a participant and איש האלהים is used as a synonym.[789]

Schmitt further argues that vv.35-43 are "very late". Indications for this are seen in dependencies on various other Old Testament texts. The motif of punishment through a lion is thought to be taken from 1 Kgs.13, the expression "he went איש אחד מבני הנביאים from 1 Kgs.21$_4$, and אל ביתו סר וזעף from Elisha-narratives (1 Kgs.4$_1$, 9$_1$). From this Schmitt deduces that the passage in 1 Kgs.20$_{35-43}$ presupposes the books of Kings in roughly their present extent. This line of argument assumes that all of the possible sources available to or narratives influencing the author / redactor of 1 Kgs.20$_{35-43}$ are extant in the Old Testament. This assumption is not justified and so Schmitt's argument has to be rejected. Furthermore, even if a literary dependency is assumed, it remains to be shown that 1 Kgs.20 is dependent on the other narratives and not vice versa.

There are several difficulties with Schmitt's reconstruction of the literary development of 1 Kgs.20. Firstly, it is not quite true that v.21 simply is a doublet of v.19f. v.21 rather constitutes a summarizing remark at the end of a narrative, which is shown by the resumption of סוס ורכב from v.1. This explains ויצא at

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[789]   Cf. 1 Sam.9$_{9-10}$: ולכה לפנים בישראל כה־אמר האיש בלכתו לדרוש אלהים לכו ונלכה עד־הראה כי לנביא היום יקרא לפנים הראה: ויאמר שאול לנערו טוב הדבר ויאמר לו גם־אני. 1 Kgs.13$_{18}$: לכה נלכה וילכו אל־העיר אשר־שם איש האלהים נביא כמוך ... The addressed prophet is called איש האלהים throughout the narrative. 2 Kgs.5$_{8.14.15}$: ויהי כשמע אלישע איש־האלהים כי־קרע מלך־ישראל את־בגדיו וישלח אל־המלך לאמר למה קרעת בגדיך יבא־נא אלי וידע כי יש נביא בישראל: ...וירד ויטבל בירדן שבע פעמים כדבר איש האלהים וישב בשרו כבשר נער קטן ויטהר: וישב אל־איש האלהים הוא וכל־מחנהו ויבא ויעמד לפניו ויאמר הנה־נא ידעתי כי אין אלהים בכל־הארץ כי אם־בישראל ועתה קח־נא ברכה מאת עבדך:

the beginning of v.21. Furthermore, v.19f have the נערי שרי המדינות and

the people of Israel as grammatical subject whereas in v.20 it is the king of

Israel. If vv.13-20 are ascribed to a "late" redactor the *Grundschicht* would not

have mentioned Benhadad's fate. This would be unexpected, since the latter

figures prominently in vv.1-12[790] and the other Aramean kings are only

mentioned in v.1 and 12 in the *Grundschicht*. In v.1 וילחם has only Benhadad

as grammatical subject and in v.12 it is he who issues the command to attack.

Thus v.19f have to be part of the *Grundschicht*. Then, however, at least vv.15-

18[791], too, must be regarded as part of the earliest version of the narrative.[792]

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[790] Cf. especially v.7 where emphasis is placed on his personality.

[791] The place of vv.13-14 in the literary development of the narrative will be discussed below.

[792] The mentions of מדינה in vv.(14.)15.17.19 cannot be used as evidence for the compositeness of 1 Kgs.20₁₋₂₁ (*contra* Schwally, see above n.788). A word used by a redactor could just as well have been used by an author. That מדינה otherwise occurs only in "late" texts (Ez.19$_8$; Ko.2$_8$ 5$_7$; Est.1$_{1.3.16.22}$ 2$_{3.18}$ 3$_{8.12.13.14}$ 4$_{3.11}$ 8$_{5.9.11.12.13.17}$ 9$_{2.3.4.12.16.20.28.30}$, Da.8$_2$ 11$_{24}$; Esr.2$_1$; Neh.1$_3$ 7$_6$ 11$_3$ (Hebrew passages) / Da.2$_{48.49}$ 3$_{1.2.3.12.30}$; Esr.5$_8$ 6$_2$ 7$_{16}$ (Aramaic passages) might only be used for dating the narrative as a whole. It is an interesting fact that this word occurs in a passage narrating an Israelite war against the Arameans. One might conjecture that the מדינות were part of the Aramean rather than of an imagined Israelite administrative system. This would suit the fact that Benhadad was able to proceed as far as Samaria into Israelite territory, while after the defeat he was checked already at Aphek (see above n.627). The people of Israel and the נערי שרי המדינות are carefully distinguished from each other.

Schmitt further argued that the presence of the word פחה in v.24, which is supposed to occur elsewhere only in exilic/post-exilic or undatable texts indicates a late date of that passage (vv.22-25.28). פחה is commonly regarded as an Akkadian loan word derived from bēl pīḫāti/pāḫāti. But taken on its own this does not imply a "late" date. As a common Assyrian administrative term it is likely to have been widely known in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. at least. This is also indicated by the probable occurrence of the term on a stele errected by Barrakīb for his father Panammu(wa), son of BRṢR, king of Jaʾudi (=Samʾal). The stele was found 1888 near Zinjirli and is dated by Donner and Röllig (*KAI* II, p.223) to the second part of the 8th ct. (between 733/32 and 727). The passage reads:

מלך . אשור . רן [. . .] 12[אשור . פחי . ואחי . יארי . יאחי . וחנאה . מראה . מלך .

אשור . על . מלכי . כבר . כבר . ברש [. . ורץ] Donner and Röllig regard פחי (and יאחי, a defective form of איחי) as stat. cstr. pl. being construed with יארי. The syntactical parallelism of אחי and פחי seems to indicate that the *governors* are not to be regarded as Assyrian officials but rather as officials of Jaʾudi. Landsberger (quoted by Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomathie*, 1.Teil, p.74) has advanced an alternative explanation of l.12. He regards פחי and אחי as being derived from חיא with פ as conjunction ("and he lived and Jaʾudi lived / and he made Jaʾudi live"). The grammatical subject of this sentence would be Panammu(wa), which is indicated by the introduction of a new grammatical subject with מראה. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, II, p.84 follows Landsberger and refers to the fact that in Hebrew the pl. of פחה is פחות or פחוות - fem. The arrangement of topics on the stele would, however, favour the former explanation. The context would necessitate to translate חיא with "living/being well". The well-being of Jaʾudi is mentioned on the stele already in ll.9-10 whereas from l.10 onwards the relationship of Panammu(wa) with the Assyrian king and other kings is described. Furthermore, in l.17 איחי is followed by the apposition מלכב. This

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Schmitt's next argument for the compositeness of 1 Kgs.20 rests on his interpretation of שׂים in v.12: וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־עֲבָדָיו שִׂימוּ וַיָּשִׂימוּ עַל־הָעִיר.

LXX reads for this passage καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ Οἰκοδομήσατε χάρακα· καὶ ἔθεντο χάρακα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. LXX has χάραξ to translate the following words כַּר (Ez.21₂₇), מָצָב (Is.29₃), מָצוֹד (Ec.9₁₄), מָצוֹר (Dt.20₁₉), and סֹלְלָה (Is.37₃₃, Jer.40(33)₄, Ez.4₂, 26₈).[793] Of these passages Ez.21₂₇ is of special interest since here שׂים and an equivalent of χάραξ co-occur (לָשׂוּם כָּרִים עַל־שְׁעָרִים).[794] Thus it may be suggested that (אֶת־כָּרִים) was accidentally dropped from MT. While this is, of course, possible[795], it is not likely that the same word should have been accidentally omitted twice in the same verse. It seems more plausible that LXX has supplemented an elliptic formula. In any case, the actual meaning of Benhadad's order is not clear. Even if כָּרִים is to be

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would parallel the co-occurrence of אחי and פחי in l.12. Cf. also l.3 where it is narrated that אִיחִי אַבָה 70 were killed - the grammatical subject of the sentence may not have been preserved. The last grammatical subject mentioned is Hadad in l.2. אִיא further occurs in an inscription by Panammu(wa), son of QRL [Donner-Röllig, *KAI*, no.214] ll.24.27.28.30.31. Of these especially ll.28-30 seem to indicate that אִיא may imply some official function. Thus Donner and Röllig's interpretation is preferred here. According to S.A.Kaufman (*Influences*, p.82) H.L.Ginsberg showed that the reading of פחה in the passage noted above is incorrect. Kaufmann refers to "Aramaic Studies Today", p.236, n.35. There, however, Ginsberg only *states* that פחי ואחי means "so he lived and Y²dy lived" and discards the possibility of "and (he) let Y²dy live" by referring to the causative prefix ה in ll.4.8. פחה further occurs in a letter to Pharaoh Necho dated from the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C. (Donner-Röllig, *KAI* no.266, l.9).

A different explanation for the presence of פחה was advanced by Benzinger (*Könige*, p.120): "Man kann vielleicht vermuten, dass ein aufmerksamer Leser, der die 32 שׂרים in 22₃₁ schon vorfand, diese mit den 32 Königen so combinierte, dass er annahm, die Könige seien durch שׂרים ersetzt worden. Für שׂרים wäre dann später der übliche Titel פחות eingesetzt worden." Since, however, in 1 Kgs.22 שׂרים was evidently retained, Benziger suggestion is not convincing.

793   In Is.31₉ MT לו אור אֲשֶׁר־אוֹר נְאֻם־יְהוָה וְחֻתּוּ מִנֶּס שָׂרָיו יַעֲבוֹר מִמָּגוֹר וְסַלְעוֹ בַּצִּיּוֹן וְתַנּוּר לוֹ בִּירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם: is represented by LXX as πέτρᾳ γὰρ περιλημφθήσονται ὡς χάρακι καὶ ἡττηθήσονται, ὁ δὲ φεύγων ἁλώσεται. Τάδε λέγει κύριος Μακάριος ὃς ἔχει ἐν Σιων σπέρμα καὶ οἰκείους ἐν Ιερουσαλημ.

794   Cf. also Mi.4₁₄: מָצוֹר שָׂם עָלֵינוּ; LXX: συνοχὴν ἔταξεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.

795   The omission may be ascribed to Homoioteleuton: שִׂימוּ אֵת כָּרִים וַיָּשִׂימוּ אֵת כָּרִים עַל הָעִיר. If, for the first omission יָמוּ is accepted as basis for the Homoioteleuton another ו would have to have been inserted before יְשִׂימוּ. The same is true for a possible omission of מָצָבִים (pl. not in OT) or מָצוֹרִים.

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supplemented, the beginning of a siege by the Arameans does not constitute a contradiction to v.14.[796]

Schmitt also refers to the designations for the various participants to support his identification of various strands in 1 Kgs.20.

v.1	בֶּן־הֲדַד מֶלֶךְ־אֲרָם	υἱὸς Αδερ[797]		
2			אַחְאָב מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	Αχααβ βασιλέα Ισραηλ
3	(בֶּן־הֲדַד	υἱὸς Αδερ)[798]		
4			מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ
5	(בֶּן־הֲדַד	υἱὸς Αδερ)		
7			מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ
9	בֶּן־הֲדַד (הַמֶּלֶךְ	υἱοῦ Αδερ -)		
10	בֶּן־הֲדַד	υἱὸς Αδερ		
11			מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ
13			אַחְאָב מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	τῷ βασιλεῖ Ισραηλ[800]
14			אַחְאָב -	Αχααβ Αχααβ
15	-	_[799]		- Αχααβ
16	בֶּן־הֲדַד	υἱὸς Αδερ		_[801]
17	בֶּן־הֲדַד	-		

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[796] For שׂיﬦ with the meaning of arranging an army for battle Keil refers to 1 Sam.11$_{11}$ and Job 1$_{17}$. Then the phrase would not imply the actual attack.

[797] L^p, O + βασιλευς συριας.

[798] Mentions in direct speech are given in brackets.

[799] L: και (ο) βασιλευς εζερ μετ αυτου.

[800] txt: B bc$_2$e$_2$ L; τω αχααβ (τω) βασ. rel.

[801] boc$_2$e$_2$ + ο βασιλευς μετ αυτων (-τω e$_2$; του b).

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v.				
			לוֹ	τῷ βασιλεῖ Συρίας[802]
18		–[803]		
20	בֶּן־הֲדַד	υἱὸς Αδερ		
	מֶלֶךְ אֲרָם	βασιλεὺς Συρίας		
21			מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל	βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ[805]
22	(מֶלֶךְ־אֲרָם)	υἱὸς Αδερ	מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל	βασιλέα Ισραηλ
		βασιλεὺς Συρίας)		
23	מֶלֶךְ־אֲרָם	βασιλέως Συρίας		
26	בֶּן־הֲדַד	υἱὸς Αδερ		
28			מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	βασιλεῖ Ισραηλ
30	בֶּן־הֲדַד	υἱος Αδερ		
31			מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ[806]
			(מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	βασιλεῖ Ισραηλ)
32	(בֶּן־הֲדַד	υἱὸς Αδερ)		–[807]
33	(בֶּן־הֲדַד	υἱὸς Αδερ)		
34		–[804]		–[808]
38			לַמֶּלֶךְ	βασιλεῖ Ισραηλ
39			הַמֶּלֶךְ	ὁ βασιλεύς
			הַמֶּלֶךְ	τὸν βασιλέα
40			מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ
41			מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ
43			מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	ὁ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ

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802   The Hebrew ... וַיִּשְׁלַח בֶּן־הֲדַד וַיַּגִּדוּ לוֹ is represented in the LXX by καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ Συρίας ... . The table above is thus somewhat misleading. O agrees with the MT: απεστειλεν υιος αδερ και απηγγελαν αυτω.

803   b:ο βασιλευς; oc₂e₂: ο βασιλευς συριας.

804   Z boc₂e₂ + βασιλευς συριας.

805   B: βασιλευς ισραηλ; A: βασιλευς συριας.

806   For מַלְכֵי בֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל resp. מַלְכֵי חֶסֶד (v.31) N reads βασιλευς ....

807   Z + αχααβ.

808   Z boc₂e₂ + αχααβ.

An analysis of the designations employed for the Israelite king in 1 Kgs.20 does not confirm Schmitt's conclusions. In the supposed *Grundschicht* the latter is referred to by the narrator as מלך־ישראל in vv.4.7.11.21.31.32, and as אחאב מלך־ישראל in v.2. In the supposed redactorial expansions he is referred to as מלך־ישראל אחאב (v.13), אחאב (v.13.14), מלך־ישראל (vv.22.28.41.43), and המלך (vv.38.39.40). Two of the four designations used for the Israelite king occur in both the *Grundschicht* and the redactorial expansions. המלך is used only in vv.35-43. In the preceding passages two kings were mentioned and thus המלך would have been ambiguous. In vv.35-43 only the Israelite king is mentioned. אחאב is used but once by the narrator[809] and thus there is no clear-cut distinction of layers with regard to participant designations. With regard to the titles used for the Aramean king the result is no different. We see that in vv.1-12.21 / 26f.29-34 (*Grundschicht*) the Aramean king is called by the narrator בן־הדד (vv.9.10.26.30). He is called בן־הדד מלך־ארם in v.1. In the supposed redactorial expansions the narrator refers to him as בן־הדד in vv.16.17, as בן־הדד מלך־ארם in v.20 and as מלך־ארם in v.23. We thus note that two of the three designations employed occur in both the *Grundschicht* and redactorial expansions. The single occurrence of the third designation, used only in v.23, is not enough evidence for an identification of different strata.[810] The case is slightly different for the designations employed by the Greek versions. There we find that in the supposed *Grundschicht* the LXX only uses υἱὸς Αδερ (vv.1[811].9.10.26.30). With one exception (v.9) even in direct speech only this

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809 Twice according to the LXX.
810 The reference to the Aramean king in v.23 as מלך ארם may well be due to the preceding prophetic speech where the same designation is used rather than to a later redactor. Since in the prophetic speech the narrator does not have free choice of the designation used for the Aramean king, no literary-critical conclusions regarding different layers of tradition may be drawn therefrom.
811 Adapted by *L* and *O* to the Hebrew בן־הדד מלך־ארם.

designation is employed (vv.3.32.33). The supposed redactorial expansions use various designations: υἱὸς Ἀδερ (vv.16) βασιλεὺς Συρίας (vv.17.23) and in v.20 and the prophetic speech in v.22 υἱὸς Ἀδερ βασιλεὺς Συρίας.[812] But still there is no clear-cut difference in designations for the Aramean king, since υἱὸς Ἀδερ is employed in both strands. We thus conclude that the designations for the various participants do not constitute valid criteria for the establishment of redactional layers. One would have to argue that any given redactor only used one designation, a claim without any evidence.

Schmitt then proceeds to argue that the passages mentioning מישור or עמקים are secondary ("suspicious"). If the story presupposes that the geographical environment of Aphek is fundamentally difficult from that of Samaria and that is not the case, this could be used to question the accuracy of the narrative but not its integrity. A mistake could be made by a narrator just as well as by a redactor. But, accepting the correctness of the identification of Aphek with ᶜEn-Gev[813] and of Schmitt's impression of its geographical situation the narrative does not state that the Arameans *aimed* to fight the Israelites there. The actual meaning of המישור in this passage is not certain. While the term usually describes the tableland of northern Moab,[814] in 1 Kgs.20 it might refer to the Golan[815] or the valley of Jezreel[816] , or it may not describe a specific region at all but just refer to general tactics. In any case it cannot be used to identify sources.

Schmitt's final argument, that vv.35-43 are to be regarded as secondary, because the other passages mentioning prophets have been shown to be

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812   It is interesting to note that O and L, in spite of their tendency to adapt the Greek text to the Hebrew, differ from the MT here (מלך־אדם).
813   See above n.627.
814   Cf. Aharoni, *LOB*, p.39.
815   Thus Koehler-Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 3ʳᵈ ed.
816   Thus Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, 17ᵗʰ ed., who also regard Aphek as having been situated there.

inserted by later redactors, is not justified. Nothing in the passage itself forces us to regard it as secondary.

Thus we conclude that our working hypothesis according to which 1 Kgs.22$_{1-38}$ and 1 Kgs.20 should be regarded as representing narratives in their *early stages* of literary development still remains valid.

V Conclusions

From the of the empirical model to 1 Kgs.22$_{1-38}$ and 1 Kgs.20 suggested in the present thesis, it has become apparent that the Assyrian Royal annals may constitute a valid analogy for the transmission of Old Testament narratives.[817]

The four Akkadian epics considered did not meet the requirements of an adequate empirical model, because their *late stages* and the present form of Old Testament narratives exhibit fundamental structural differences. The usefulness of the Chronicler's work is, for several reasons outlined above, only a very limited one. The Assyrian campaign accounts, on the other side fulfilled the conditions set to a valid analogy.

Our investigation of the transmission of the latter has basically confirmed Olmstead's generalizing view of a progressive abbreviation.[818] It is, however, important to note that it oversimplifies the matter. We have seen that in several cases manuscripts written at a later date nevertheless provide an

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[817] Abbreviations of Greek and Latin literature, the 'Επιτομαι provide interesting parallels to the treatment of Assyrian annals. Opelt ("Epitome", cols. 968-972) mentions omissions of speeches, interpretative remarks, repetitions, contractions, but also some additions (cf. also 2 Makk.2$_{19-26}$ for an epitomizer's description of his aims). It is important to note that some epitomes were accomplished by the same authors as their more extensive *Vorlagen* (cf. Galdi, *L'epitome nella litteratura latina*, pp.257ff, Opelt, "Epitome," cols.957f). Jerome expressly described the Biblical Books of Chronicles as epitomes of the Books of Kings (ep.53,8,18; quoted in Opelt, "Epitome", col. 946).

[818] "The procedure of the Assyrian scribe is regularly the same. As soon as the king had won his first important victory, the first edition of the annals was issued. With the next great victory, a new edition was made out. For the part covered by the earlier edition, an abbreviated form of this was incorporated" (*Assyrian Historiography*, p.8).

earlier text version.[819] Furthermore, there are additions and expansions as well as omissions and abbreviations. The latter are more numerous in number but the existence of the former should not be ignored. It reminds us that the application of any analogy necessarily implies some inaccuracy. An empirical model can only give a broad picture. Any narrative within a collection, any passage within a narrative, any sentence within a passage may have been treated differently from its context and general developmental trends. Yet analogies are necessary and provide us with an important touchstone for literary critical methodology.

In our analysis of the development of Assyrian campaign accounts we were able to establish the following indications of narratives in their *early stages*:

- a complex discourse structure
    - the presence of several peaks
    - relation of sidelines to the main course of events
    - several scenes
- a complex participant orientation pattern
    - high ratio of *reversals*
    - many participants
    - secondary participant as *main line agents*
    - co-occurrence of primary and secondary participants as *agents* in comparable situations
    - main participant relation mentioned in the *supportive material* rather than on the *main line*
- a simple time organization
    - chronological order of narration
    - relation of sequence of events rather than concentration on results
- a high rhetorical level
    - comparatively extensive use of rhetorical devices
    - descriptive sentences and phrases
- enumerations as compared to common denominators.

We have found far fewer signs of secondary versions:

- emphasis on the significance of the events rather than on the events themselves (illocutionary / perlocutionary aspects)[820]
- linguistic inhomogeneity

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819   Cf. e.g. Chic.-Tayl. as compared to Bull 4 or A's version of Aššurbanipal's Egyptian campaigns.

820   If the speeches added by ed.A are not taken from early sources, but rather express the redactor's ideology, they may be noted here. This provides an interesting parallel to the Chronicler's insertion of prophetic speeches and a comparison between them may yield further insights into the Chronicler's work and the redactions of Assyrian campaign accounts.

It is in the nature of things that there are more indications for *early stages* of narratives. The work of an author can in various respects not be strictly separated from that of a redactor. Thus, for example, already in the earliest version of a story the narrator may decide to present the events in thematic rather than chronological order or emphasize significance of events rather than merely relate them. From the narrative alone we cannot decide whether such "redactions" took place in the narrator's mind before he actually told his story or were carried out by subsequent editors. This implies that the narrative features associated with *early versions*, do not *have* to be present there. Narratives may be *episodic* already in their earliest extant version.[821]

All this has important consequences for source criticism. The assumption of universal progressive expansion or growth of Old Testament narratives with all its implications[822], if it cannot be supported by further evidence, should be abandoned. This constitutes a serious obstacle for source criticism. If narratives were abbreviated and text omitted, earlier stages of development are lost and cannot be recovered.

A second result of our investigation concern applies to our understanding of supposed doublets and type scenes.[823] We have seen above in the investigation of the transmission of accounts of Iakinlu's, Mugallu's Sandišarme's and Baᵓalu's submissions, that stories exhibiting similar features were further assimilated to each other. With the application of common literary-critical methodology the three brief accounts in ed.A may have been identified as doublets, referring to the same incident. The same is true for B's accounts of Aššurbanipal's two Egyptian campaigns. However, since earlier

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821   Cf. e.g. the Bīt-Imbi episode in ed. C.
822   This concerns primarily the establishment of developmental stages of narratives, (cf. e.g. Gunkel's statement: "je knapper eine Sage ist, desto wahrscheinlicher ist es daß sie in alter Form erhalten ist" [*Urgeschichte und Patriarchen*, p.26] and above, nn.5.7).
823   Cf. Irvin, *Mythyrion*.

versions are extant, we can demonstrate that the development was a different one, the accounts were assimilated, not dissimilated. The narratives' distinct features are not secondary but present in the earliest extant version. This presents a further difficulty for source criticism, because originally distinct features may have been omitted or altered and are thus not recoverable. We have further seen that the development of Assyrian campaign accounts according to the trends recognized above, for example abbreviations or the preference for references to primary over mentions of secondary participants, could create formal inconsistencies, which therefore do not necessarily indicate the presence of different strands in a narrative.[824] Inconsistencies or historical inaccuracies were also caused by the concentration on primary participants or on results[825], updates may have created anachronisms, the general trustworthiness of the accounts, was, however, not affected.

The results of our investigation also affect the criteria for the identification of *Sagen* as opposed to historical literature in the Old Testament. We can note that most of the "epic laws of popular poetry" ("epische gesetze der volksdichtung") proposed by A.Olrik[826] can be recognized in the Assyrian campaign accounts or can be explained by general tendencies of literary development in the latter. The most important of Olrik's laws are:

- "eingangsgesetz und gesetz des abschlusses"[827]
- "gesetz der wiederholung"[828]
- "gesetz der dreizahl"[829]
- "gesetz der szenischen zweiheit"[830]

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824   Cf. above n.5.
825   E.g. according to ed. B Aššurbanipal lead the Assyrian army in "his" first Egyptian campaign, whereas according to the earlier versions he stayed in Assyria. Cf. also F's dating of the conquest of Elam rather than the departure of the Assyrian army during Aššurbanipal's campaign against Teummān (see above n.437).
826   "Epische Gesetze". Olrik's suggestions were taken up be Gunkel in the 3rd ed. of his Genesis commentary, p.LI, n.1, cf. also Westermann, *Genesis* 2, pp.33ff.
827   The narrative relates a conflict and its resolution.
828   Comparable situations are related in similar or identical wording.
829   The number "three" is of special significance. No more than three participants appear in a scene.
830   The narrative relates the confrontation between two protagonists.

- "gesetz des gegensatzes"[831]

Since secondary versions tend to concentrate on the main conflict, the characteristics of the first, third, and fifth of these "laws" may be explained by redactional treatment. The second law, that of repetition, does not apply to Assyrian campaign accounts, but rather to the epics considered above. It is important to note that it does not apply to Old Testament narratives either! Linguistic research suggests that the third "law" with its maximum of three participants is probably valid for any narrative literature.[832] For us it suffices to note that it applies to Assyrian campaign accounts. It is easily recognizable in episodic accounts and, since the number of participants is generally reduced during the process of transmission, also in secondary versions of complex accounts.

Our investigation has mainly yielded negative results, arguing against the validity of common source critical hypotheses. Literary critical research plays an important part in the study of the Old Testament. Since its results are inseparably bound to its presuppositions, continuous re-examination of the latter is thus crucial. The preliminary nature of a methodology based on hypotheses should thus be emphasized and undergo continuous re-examination.

The present thesis suggests an empirical model for the transmission of Old Testament narratives, that implies a view of their literary development which differs markedly from that of common literary critical methodology. It cannot answer all the questions raised and it does not claim to be able to. Until further evidence is adduced, the analogy taken from the redactorial treatment of Assyrian Royal annals can, however, provide us with a working hypothesis and a general conception of how Old Testament narratives may have been edited.

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[831] Popular poetry tends to polarize, e.g. between good and evil.

[832] Cf. Grimes (*Thread of Discourse*, p.269): "Four participants operating at once has not been found yet."

APPENDIX I - SOURCES OF CHRONICLES

Chronicles and 4QSam[a]

		MT(Sam.)	LXX(Sam.)	4QSam[a]	MT(Chr.)	LXX(Chr.)
1	1 Sam.31₃ //1 Chr.10₃	אל	ἐπί	על[834]	על	ἐπί
2	1 Sam.31₄ //1 Chr.10₄	ל	πρός	אל[835]	אל	τῷ
3	2 Sam.5₃ //1 Chr.11₃	-	-	_[836]	כדבר יהוה ביד שמאל	κατὰ τὸν λόγον κυρίου διὰ χειρὸς Σαμουηλ
4	2 Sam.5₄b-5 //1 Chr.11₃[833]	+	+	_[837]	-	-
5	2 Sam.5₆ //1 Chr.11₅	. . . כי אם	ὅτι	כי[838]	-	-
6	2 Sam.5₈ //1 Chr.11₅	ויגע בצנור ואת־הפסחים ואת־העורים שׂנאו נפשׁ דוד על־כן יאמרו עור ופסח לא יבוא אל־הבית	ἁπτέσθω ἐν παραξιφίδι καὶ τοὺς χωλοὺς καὶ τοὺς τυφλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας τὴν ψυχὴν Δαυιδ· διὰ τοῦτο ἐροῦσιν Τυφλοὶ καὶ χωλοὶ οὐκ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς οἶκον κυρίου	יגע[839] . . . שנאה[840]	-	-

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833   Cf. however, 1 Chr.29₂₇.
834   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.80.
835   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.80.
836   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, pp.60.188.
837   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.60.
838   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, pp.66.128.
839   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, pp.83.129.
840   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.136.

7	2 Sam.5₈ //1 Chr.11₅	- -		846-	בראשונה יהוה לראש וסר ויעל יואב בן צרויה ויהי לראש853	ἐν πρώτοις καὶ ἔσται εἰς ἄρχοντα καὶ εἰς στραηγόν καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐν πρώτοις Ιωαβ υἱὸς Σαρουια καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς ἄρχόντα
8	2 Sam.5₉ //1 Chr.11₈	ויבן דוד סביב	καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ	ויבנה עיר847 מסביב854	ויבן העיר	καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ
9	2 Sam.5₁₀ //1 Chr.11₉	ויהוה אלהי צבאות	κύριος παντοκράτωρ 843	ויהוה848	יהוה צבאות	κύριος παντοκράτωρ
10	2 Sam.5₁₁ //1 Chr.14₁	חרשי עץ וחרשי אבן קיר842 ויבנו	τέκτονας ξύλων καὶ τέκτονας λίθων καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν844	חרשי קיר [וי]בנ[ו]849	חרשי קיר וחרשי עצים לבנות	οἰκοδόμους τοίχων καὶ τέκτονας ξύλων τοῦ οἰκοδομῆσαι αὐτῷ οἶκον
11	2 Sam.5₁₃ //1 Chr.14₃	פלגשים ונשים	γυναῖκας καὶ παλλακὰς845	פיל[ג]שים ו[850	נשים	γυναῖκας
12	2 Sam.5₁₃ //1 Chr.14₃	ויולדו עוד דוד	καὶ ἐγένοντο τῷ Δαυιδ ἔτι	ויולד דויד לדויד עוד851		καὶ ἐτέχθησαν Δαυιδ ἔτι
13	2 Sam.6₂ //1 Chr.13₆841	כל עם אשר אתו	πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ	אתו[852]	כל ישראל	πᾶς Ισραηλ

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841   Cf. also the table of correspondences in Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, pp.194-197.

842   חרשי אבן קיר may be a combination of חרשי אבן, represented by LXX(Sam.) and חרשי קיר, represented by MT(Chr.) and 4QSamª; cf. Rehm, *Textkritische* Untersuchungen, p.123.

843   O: + ὁ θεός ὁ.

844   O: λίθων τοίχου, L: τοίχου or τοίχου λίθων.

845   O: παλλακὰς καὶ γυναῖκας (O-A: ἐπτά παλλακὰς καὶ γυναῖκας).

846   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.189.

847   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 70.

848   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.66.

849   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.99

850   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.192.

851   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.83.

852   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.194.

853   The reading could be expected in Samuel, too. There, however, Joab is already mentioned as leader. Josephus mentions David's offer (Antiquities, VII 3₁).

854   The reading may have been prompted by the preceding עיר דוד; cf. Rehm, *Textkritische* Untersuchungen, p.63.

#	Reference	MT Sam	LXX Sam	4QSam[a]	MT Chr	LXX Chr
14	2 Sam.6₂ // 1 Chr.13₆	מבעלי יהודה	ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ιουδα	בעלחה אל בעלה / היא / קרית יערים קרי[ח][857] אשר ליהודה		ἀνέβη εἰς πόλιν Δαυιδ, ἥ ἦν τοῦ Ιουδα
15	2 Sam.6₂ // 1 Chr.13₆	ארון האלהים אשר נקרא שם שם יהוה צבאות יושב הכרובים עליו	τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧν ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων καθημένου ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβιν ἐπ' αὐτῆς	as in Sam., however without יהוה צבאות and only once שם.[858]	ארון האלהים יהוה יושב הכרובים נקרא שם	τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κυρίου καθημένου ἐπὶ χερουβιν, οὗ ἐπεκλήθη ὄνομα αὐτοῦ
16	2 Sam.6₃ // 1 Chr.13₇	האלהים	κυρίου	]יהו[ו[859]	האלהים	θεοῦ
17	2 Sam.6₃ // 1 Chr.13₇	את־העגלה חדשה	ἐφ' ἅμαξαν καινήν	א]ת[העגלה[860]	בעגלה	τὴν ἅμαξαν
18	2 Sam.6₄ // 1 Chr.13₇	וישאהו מבית אבינדב אשר בגבעה עם ארון האלהים ואחיו הולך לפני הארון	σὺν τῇ κιβωτῷ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπορεύοντο ἔμπροσθεν τῆς κιβωτοῦ[855]	[861] _	- -	-
19	2 Sam.6₅ // 1 Chr.13₈	כל בית ישראל	οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ	בני ישראל[862]	כל ישראל	πᾶς Ισραηλ
20	2 Sam.6₅ // 1 Chr.13₈	בכל עצי ברושים	ἐν ἰσχύι καὶ ἐν ᾠδαῖς	עז] ו]בשירים[863]	כל־עז ובשירים	ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ ἐν ψαλτῳδοῖς[865]
21	2 Sam.6₆ // 1 Chr.13₉	נכון	Νωδαβ[856]	נו/ירן[864]	כידן	_[866]

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855 O: + καὶ ἦραν αὐτήν ἀπὸ οἴκου Ἀμιναδαβ ἐν βουνῷ (O^-A: ὃς ἦν ἐν τῷ βουνῷ).
856 B. A: Ναχων, O^-A: Αχων, L: Ορνα τοῦ Ιεβουσαιου.
857 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 194.
858 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.194.
859 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.194.
860 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.195. חרשה - בגבע is missing in 4QSam[a] (Ulrich: "Dittography").
861 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.195.
862 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.195.
863 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.195.
864 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.195.
865 L: ᾠδαῖς.
866 A: χειλων. complures: χε(ι)δων.

22	2 Sam.6₆ // 1 Chr.13₉	אל ארון האלהים ויאחז בו	τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κατασχεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτήν	אל ארון הא[ל]הים[868	את ידו לאחז את הארון	τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατασχεῖν τὴν κιβωτόν
23	2 Sam.6₇ // 1 Chr.13₁₀	שם האלהים	ἐκεῖ ὁ θεός	שם האלהי[ם] 869	-	ἐκεῖ
24	2 Sam.6₇ // 1 Chr.13₁₀	על השל	.867	על־אשר שלח ידו על 870אל[הארון	]על אשר שלח ידו[	διὰ τὸ ἐκτεῖναι τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτόν
25	2 Sam.6₇ // 1 Chr.13₁₀	עם ארון האלהים	παρὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ	לפני אלהים 871הא[ל]ו[ה]ים[	לפני האל[ה]ים	ἀπέναντι τοῦ θεοῦ
26	2 Sam.6₉ // 1 Chr.13₁₂	ויאמר	λέγων	872לאמר	לאמר	λέγων
27	2 Sam.6₁₃ // 1 Chr.15₂₆	ששה צעדים	(ἦσαν μετ' αὐτῶν ...) ἑπτὰ χόροι	873.	-	-
28	2 Sam.6₁₃ // 1 Chr.15₂₆	שור מריא	μόσχος καὶ ἄρνα	שבעה פרים ושבענה 874אילים[	שבעה פרים ושבעה אילים	ἑπτὰ μόσχους καὶ ἑπτὰ κριούς
29	2 Sam.6₁₄ // 1 Chr.15₂₇	-	-	10 words875	כל הלוים המשאים את הארון המשררים וכנניה השר המשא המשררים	πάντες οἱ Λευῖται αἴροντες τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς κιαθήκης κυρίου καὶ οἱ ψαλτῳδοὶ καὶ Χωνενιας ὁ ἄρχων τῶν

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867 *OL*: + ἐπὶ τῇ (> A) προπέτεια.
868 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.195.
869 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.195.
870 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.195.
871 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p. 196.
872 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p. 196.
873 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p. 196.
874 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p. 196.
875 Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p. 196.

						ᾠδῶν τῶν ᾀδόντων
30	2 Sam.6_{14} // 1 Chr.15_{27}	ודוד חגור אפוד בר	καὶ ὁ Δαυιδ ἐνδεκυδὼς στολὴν ἔξαλλον[876]	חגור[878]	ועל דויד אפור בר	καὶ ἐπὶ Δαυιδ στολὴ βυσσίνη
31	2 Sam.6_{15} // 1 Chr.15_{28}	ודוד וכל בית ישראל	καὶ Δαυιδ καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος Ισραηλ	ודו]יד[879]	וכל ישראל	πᾶς Ισραηλ
32	2 Sam.6_{15} // 1 Chr.16_{1}	ויעל דוד עלהות לפני יהוה	καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν Δαυιδ ὁλοκαυτώματα ἐνώπιον κυρίου	ויעל[880]	ויקריבו עלות	καὶ προσήνεγκαν ὁλοκαυτώματα
33	2 Sam.7_{23} // 1 Chr.17_{21}	ולעשות לכם הגרלה	τοῦ ποιῆσαι μεγαλωσύνην	ולע]שות ג]רלה[881]	גרלות	μέγα
34	2 Sam.7_{23} // 1 Chr.17_{21}	ואלהיו	καὶ σκηνώματα	ואהלים[882]	-	- -
35	2 Sam.8_{1} // 1 Chr.18_{1}	מתג האמה	τὴν ἀφωρισμένην	מתג האמה[883]	בת ובנתיה	Γεθ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς
36	2 Sam.8_{2} // 1 Chr.18_{2}	ותהי	καὶ ἐγένετο	וה]יות[884]	ויהיו	καὶ ἦσαν
37	2 Sam.8_{4} // 1 Chr.18_{4}	אלף ושבעה מאות פרשים	χίλια[877] ἅρματα καὶ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδες ἱππέων	אלף ר]כב ושבע]885	אלף רכב ושבעה אלפים פרשים	χίλια ἅρματα καὶ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἵππων
38	2 Sam.8_{6} // 1 Chr.18_{6}	לדוד לעבדים	(ἐγένετο ὁ Σύρος) τῷ Δαυιδ εἰς δούλους	לדו]י[ד עברים[886]	לדויד עברים	(ἦσαν) τῷ Δαυιδ εἰς παῖδας

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876   The *Vorlage* for ἔξαλλον may have been read by the LXX as בר (Rehm, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p.53).

877   A: ἑπτά.

878   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p. 196.

879   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p. 196.

880   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p. 197.

881   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.67.

882   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.71.

883   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.183.

884   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.159f.

885   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.56.

886   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.159.

39	2 Sam.8₈ // 1 Chr.18₈	הרבה	σφόδρα		רבה[888]	רבה	σφόδρα
40	2 Sam.8₈ // 1 Chr.18₈	-	ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποίησεν Σαλωμων τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν χαλκῆν καὶ τούς στύλους καὶ πάντα καὶ τοὺς λουτῆρας καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη	בה עשה שלמה את ים את ים...[889] הנחשת ואת העמודים ואת כל־הנחשת	נכה עשה שלמה		ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν Σαλωμων τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν χαλκῆν καὶ τούς στύλους καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ χαλκᾶ
41	2 Sam.10₅ // 1 Chr.19₅	-	ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν	על האנשים[890]	על האנשים		περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
42	2 Sam.10₅ // 1 Chr.19₅	שבו בירחו	καθίσατε ἐν Ιεριχω	שבו ירחו[891]	שבו בירחו		καθίσατε ἐν Ιεριχω
43	2 Sam.10₆ // 1 Chr.19₆	- -		אלף ככר כסף[892]	אלף ככר כסף		χίλια τάλαντα
44	2 Sam.10₆ // 1 Chr.19₆	ואת ארם צובה	-[887]	ומצובה רכב ומצוב]ה רכב ופרשים[893]			καὶ ἐκ Σωβα ἅρματα καὶ ἱππεῖς
45	2 Sam.10₇ // 1 Chr.19₇	עשרים אלף רגלי	εἴκοσι χιλιάδας πεζῶν	שנים שלשי]ם אלף רכב[894]	שנים ושלשים רכב		[896]δύο καὶ τριάκοντα χιλιάδας ἁρμάτων
46	2 Sam.10₇ // 1 Chr.19₇	- -		ובני] עמון נאספו מן ה]ערים[895]	ובני עמון נאספו מערים		καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Αμμων συνήχθησαν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν

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887   O: καὶ Ρωωβ καὶ τὴν Συριαν Σουβα, M: Βαιθροωβ καὶ τὸν Συριαν Σουβα, L: καί Βαιθρααμ καὶ τὸν Συρον Σουβα.

888   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, pp.45-47.

889   Ulrich,, *Qumran Text*, p.45-47.

890   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.85.

891   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.136.

892   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.152.

893   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.152.

894   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.152.

895   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.152.

896   BS: + ἁρμάτα καὶ ἱππεῖς (*ex 6 repet.*).

47	2 Sam.24₁₆ // 1 Chr.21₁₅	היה	ἦν	עד	עומר[897]	עמר	ἑστώς
48	2 Sam.24₁₆ // 1 Chr.21₁₅	האורנה	Ορνα		א[רנ]ה[898]	ארנן	Ορνα
49	2 Sam.24₁₆ // 1 Chr.21₁₅	- -		וישא דויד את עיניו וירא את־מלאך יהוה עמד בין הארץ ובין השמים וחרבו שלופה בידו נטויה על ירושלם ויפל דויד והזקנים מכסים בשקים[899]	וישא [דויד] את עיניו וירא בין] הארץ ובין] מין [השמ]ים וחרן בן ו שלופה נטויה על פן] יהם מחכן]סים בן]שקים	καὶ ἐπῆρεν Δαυιδ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶδεν τὸν ἄγγελον εἰς κυρίου ἑστῶτα ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἡ ῥομφαία αὐτοῦ ἐσπασμένη ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκτεταμένη ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ
50	2 Sam.24₁₇ // 1 Chr.21₁₇	יהוה	κύριον		יהוה[900]	האלהים	θεόν
51	2 Sam.24₁₇ // 1 Chr.21₁₇	ואנכי העויתי	καὶ ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμήν ἐκακοποίησα		[וא]נכי הרעה הרעתי[901]	והרע הרעתי	κακοποιῶν ἐκακοποίησα
52	2 Sam.24₁₈ // 1 Chr.21₁₈	ויאמר לו עלה הקם	καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἀνάβηθι καὶ στῆσον		ויאמר עלה[902]	לאמר לדויד כי יעלה דויד להקים	τοῦ εἰπεῖν πρὸς Δαυιδ ἵνα ἀναβῇ τοῦ στῆσαι
53	2 Sam.24₁₉f // 1 Chr.21₁₉f	אשר דבר בשם יהוה וישקף ארנונה	καθ᾽ ὃν τρόπον ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ κύριος. καὶ διέκυψεν Ορνα		[כא]שר צוה יהוה וישקף[903]	כאשר צוה יהוה וישב ארון	ὃν ἐλάλησεν ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Ορνα

897   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, pp.156-159.
898   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, pp.156-159.
899   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, pp.91.156-159.
900   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, pp.156-159.
901   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.86.
902   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.105.
903   Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, p.158.

| 54 | 2 Sam.24₂₀ // 1 Chr.21₂₀ | | | | | |

| 54 | 2 Sam.24_20 // 1 Chr.21_20 | המלך ואת
עבדיו
עברים עליו
ויצא
ארנונה
וישתחו
למלך אפיו
ארצה | τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ παραπορευο-μένους ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσεκύνησεν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν | את מלך ואת
עבדיו עוברים
עליו מתכסים]
בשקים[904] וארנה
רש חטים | המלאך
וארבעת
בניו עמו
מתחבאים
וארנן רש
חטים | τόν βασιλέα καὶ τέσσαρες υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ μεταχαβιν· καὶ Ορνα ἦν ἁλοῶν πυροῦς |

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904   Cf. above, no.49.

David[906]	דברי שמואל הראה / דברי נתן הנביא / דברי גד החזה (1 Chr.29$_{29\text{-}30}$)	דברי דויד המלך הראשנים והאחרנים ... עם כל־מלכותו וגבורתו והעתים אשר עברו עליו ועל־ישראל		
Solomon	דברי נתן הנביא / נבואת אחיה השילוני / חזות יעדי החזה על־ירבעם בן־נבט (2 Chr.9$_{29}$)	שאר דברי שלמה הראשנים והאחרונים	ספר דברי שלמה (1 Kgs.11$_{41}$)	יתר דברי שלמה וכל־אשר עשה וחכמתו
Rehoboam	דברי שמעיה הנביא ועדו החזה (2 Chr.12$_{15}$)	דברי רחבעם הראשנים והאחרונים ... ומלחמות רחבעם וירבעם כל־הימים	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (1 Kgs.14$_{29}$)	יתר דברי רחבעם וכל־אשר עשה
Abijah	מדרש הנביא עדו (2 Chr.13$_{22}$)	יתר דברי אביה ודרכיו	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (1 Kgs.15$_{7}$)	יתר דברי אבים וכל־אשר עשה
Asa	ספר־המלכים ליהודה וישראל (2 Chr.16$_{11}$)	דברי אסא הראשונים והאחרונים	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (1 Kgs.15$_{23}$)	יתר כל־דברי־אסא וכל־גבורתו וכל־אשר עשה והערים אשר בנה
Jehoshaphat	דברי יהוא בן־חנני אשר העלה[907] על־ספר מלכי ישראל [908](2 Chr.20$_{34}$)	יתר דברי יהושפט הראשנים והאחרנים	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (1 Kgs.22$_{46}$)	יתר דברי יהושפט וגבורתו אשר־עשה ואשר נלחם

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905 For the reigns of Jehoram (cf. 2 Kgs.8$_{23}$), Ahaziah, Athaliah, Amon (2 Kgs.21$_{25}$), Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah the Chronicler has no literary reference.

906 A further reference to possible sources for the account of David's reign is מספר דברי־הימים למלך דויד (1 Chr.27$_{24}$; LXX: ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ βασιλέως Δαυιδ).

907 LXX has κατέγραψεν and the Vulgate reads *digessit*.

908 cf also 1 Chr.9$_{1}$.

King			
Jehoash	מדרש ספר המלכים (2 Chr.24$_{27}$)	בניו ורב המשא עליו ויסוד בית האלהים	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (2 Kgs.12$_{20}$)	יתר דברי יואש וכל־אשר עשה
Amaziah	ספר מלכי־יהודה וישראל (2 Chr.25$_{26}$)	יתר דברי אמציהו הראשנים והאחרונים	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (2 Kgs.14$_{18}$)	יתר דברי אמאציהו
Uzziah	כתב ישעיהו בן־אמוץ הנביא (2 Chr.26$_{21}$)	יתר דברי עזיהו הראשנים והאחרנים	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (2 Kgs.15$_{6}$)	יתר דברי עזריהו וכל־אשר עשה
Jotham[909]	ספר מלכי־ישראל ויהודה (2 Chr.27$_{7}$)	יתר דברי יותם וכל־מלחמתיו ודרכיו	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (2 Kgs.15$_{36}$)	יתר דברי יותם אשר עשה
Ahaz	ספר מלכי־יהודה וישראל (2 Chr.28$_{26}$)	יתר דבריו וכל־דרכיו הראשנים והאחרונים	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (2 Kgs.16$_{19}$)	יתר דברי אחז אשר עשה
Hezekiah	חזון ישעיהו בן־אמוץ הנביא על־ספר מלכי־יהודה וישראל (2 Chr.32$_{32}$)	יתר דברי יחזקיהו וחסדיו	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (2 Kgs.20$_{20}$)	יתר דברי חזקיהו וכל גבורתו ואשר עשה את־הברכה ואת־התעלה ויבא את־המים העירה
Manasseh	דברי מלכי ישראל[910] (2 Chr.33$_{18}$)	יתר דבריו מנשה ותפלתו אל־אלהיו ודברי החזים המדברים אליו בשם יהוה אלהי ישראל	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (2 Kgs.21$_{17}$)	יתר דברי מנשה וכל־אשר עשה וחטאתו אשר חטא
	דברי חוזי[911] (2 Chr.33$_{19}$)	תפלתו והעתר־לו וכל־חטאתו ומעלו והמקמטות אשר בנה בהם במות		

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[909] A further reference to possible sources for the account on the reign of Jotham is: כלם התיחשו בימי יותם מלך־יהודה ובימי ירבעם מלך־ישראל (1 Chr.5$_{17}$; πάντων ὁ καταλοχισμός ἐν ἐμέραις Ιεροβοαμ βασιλέως Ισραηλ).

[910] מלכי ישראל > LXX.

[911] LXX: τῶν λόγων τῶν ὁρώντων.

והעמיד האשרים
והפסלים לפני
הכנעו

Josiah	ספר מלכי־ישראל ויהודה (2 Chr.35$_{26\text{-}27}$)	יתר דברי יאשיהו וחסדיו ככתוב בתורת יהוה. ודבריו הראשנים והאחרנים	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה (2 Kgs.23$_{28}$)	יתר דברי יאשיהו וכל־אשר עשה
Jehoiakim	ספר מלכי ישראל ויהורה (2 Chr.36$_{8}$)	יתר דברי יהויקים ותעבתיו אשר־עשה והנמצא עליו	ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהורה (2 Kgs.24$_{5}$)	יתר דברי יהויקים וכל־אשר עשה

APPENDIX II - DISCOURSE PROFILES

Figure 1 discourse profile for B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Aḫšeri
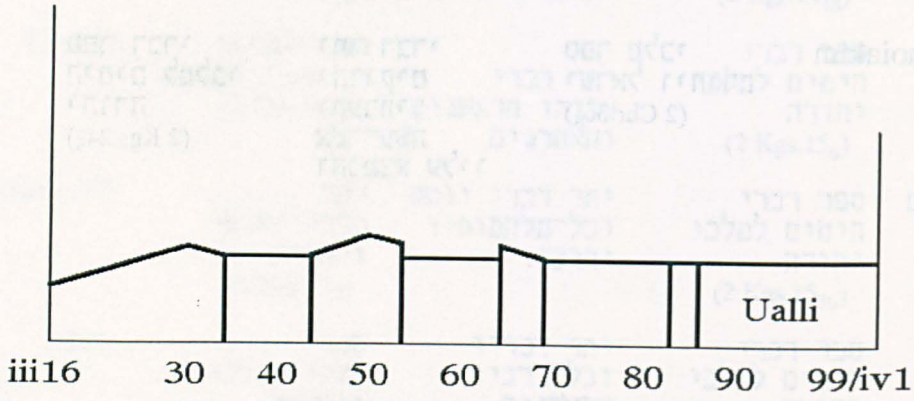
Figure 2 discourse profile for B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Aḫšeri, indicating alterations by F and A
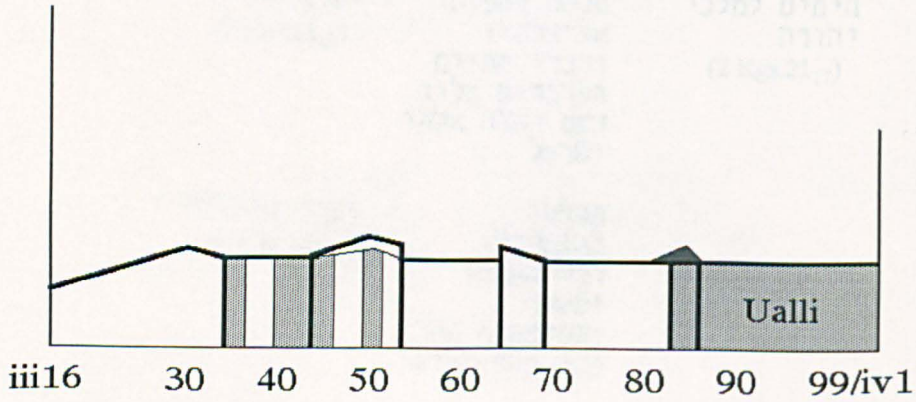
retained by F and A

added by A

Figure 3 discourse profile of B's account of Aššurbanipal's campaign against
Teummān

iv87 99/v1 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 99/vi1 10 16
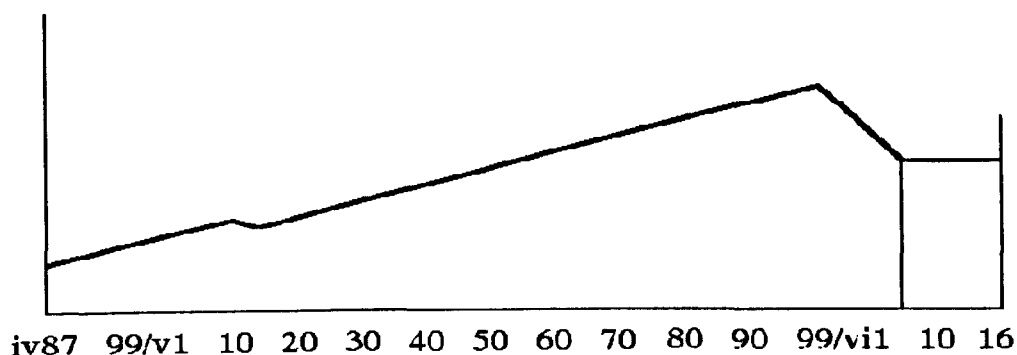
Comments:

1. Aššurbanipal's campaign against Aḫšeri (figures 1 and 2)

The oldest account of the major versions is that of edition B. B begins the account with the campaign formula "[ina ḫanšê] girrīya eli Aḫšeri šar mātmana lu allik" (iii_{16}). The account is divided into various episodes. A first unit is framed by the mention of Aḫšeri as major enemy of Aššurbanipal (iii_{16}) and the narration of his death (iii_{82-85}). Within this larger section iii_{16-69} narrate the campaign from the setting off of the Assyrian army to the safe return. After the account of the campaign proper a minor expedition against the Manneans is reported (iii_{70-81}), Then a short episode narrates Aḫšeri's fate (iii_{82-85}). This segment is introduced by the mention of the Mannean king referring to his insubmissiveness. A second major unit narrates the submission of Aḫšeri's son Ualli (iii_{86}-iv_2).

Within the main campaign account (iii_{16-69}) two sections, both introduced by "ina mētiq girrīya" can be isolated (iii_{34-42}; iii_{52-65}). We have seen

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in A's version of Aššurbanipal's campaign that this formula was used to mark an insertion of a list of submissive vassal kings.[912] A similar function may be assumed for the expressions in iii$_{34.51}$. We can further note a case of *resumptive repetition*[913] in ll.50-51 and l.66:

> "nagû šuātu akšud abbul aqqur ina ^{d}išāti aqmu
> mālak 10 ūmē 5 ūmē ušaḫribma[914] šaqummata atbuk (ll.50-51)

> ina tīb tāḫāzīya nagûšu ušaḫrib" (l.66)

The pronominal suffixes in "nagûšu" (iii$_{66}$) and "mātīšu" (iii$_{67}$) refer back to Aḫšeri, who was last mentioned in ll.43-46. There it is narrated that he fled from Izertu, his seat of government, to Atrāna. ll.47-51 relate the siege and conquest of Izertu and other cities and the devastation of the whole district ("nagû šuātu"). L.66 thus resumes the narration where it had been interrupted for the insertion.[915] When this insertion was made is impossible to determine.[916] In our establishment of B's *discourse profile* we shall concentrate on iii$_{16-33.43-51.66-69}$. Two further episodes (iv$_{3-8.9-17}$) were separated from the previous sections by a horizontal line in the ms. and are thus treated separately.

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[912]   Cf. above p.107 with n.396.
[913]   Cf. Talmon, "Synchroneity and Simultaneity".
       From F's account of Aššurbanipal's first campaign against Ummanaldasi (cf. Fiii$_{33-36}$), where Fiii$_{37f}$ is resumed by Fiii$_{70}$ is evident, that the presence of a *resumptive repetition* alone does not necessary imply that the framed section was inserted by a later redactor. If the text between these lines was secondarily incorporated the narrative in its earlier version would not have mentioned Ummanaldasi. Cf. also Bvii$_{57.77}$.
       A further example is provided by the insertion of Cx$_{50-56}$, which narrate that Yauta' fled to Natnu, who offered him protection from the Assyrians. Thereafter C relates Natnu's submission to Aššurbanipal. The inserted passage is framed by resumptive repetition (Cx$_{45-48.57-59}$). A has transferred the account of Natnu's submission into the context of a campaign against Abiate', Natnu's ally. Again the insertion was marked by resumptive repetition (Aviii$_{48.69}$).
[914]   Thus K 1705, K 2732, eds. F and A. B: "ušaḫrirma".
[915]   Similarly "alāk girrīya" (iii$_{43}$) refers back to "attallaka" (iii$_{33}$).
[916]   It should be noted that Biii$_{34-42}$ in its extant form is not a self-contained unit. "adi qereb ^{al}izertu" (iii$_{38}$) receives its significance from the report of Izertu's conquest (iii$_{47-50}$). On the other hand in Biii$_{34-42}$ there are no pronominal references pointing outside the section (F and A have added "-šu" to "ālāni" [Biii$_{37}$ // Fii$_{26}$ // Aii$_{130}$]). It is only in iii$_{44}$, that Izertu is described as "āl šarrūtīšu", in iii$_{38}$ the city had been plainly mentioned. Since it might be expected that the significance of the city is mention at the earliest occurrence of its name, "adi qereb ^{al}izertu" may be seen as an adaptation of the inserted passage to the context. No certainty, however, can be obtained.

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As has been mentioned above, B begins the account with a campaign formula. The motive for Aššurbanipal's campaign (Aḫšeri's "sin") is given in subordinate clauses, first in general ("ša ana šarrāni abbēya lā kitnušū -1.19), then more specifically (itappalu da[bab]āti -1.19[917]). The *inciting event*, typically the arrival of a messenger or a request for help, is not mentioned. The first lines dealing with the campaign proper (ii$_{20ff}$) mention that the Assyrian army went off and set up camp.

The parallelism "ušmannu addina / aškuna karāši"[918] constitutes a rise of the surface structure level. The next lines mention that Aḫšeri learned of ("išmēma") the Assyrian preparations for battle. Now both opponents have entered the scene and move towards each other - tension rises. The participant relation, which at the beginning of the account had been A-B, has changed to B-A. The description of Aḫšeri's advance is unusually extensive.[919] The supplements of itbuni constitute an EEN-construction:

> ina šāt mūši
> ina[920] šipir nikilti
> ana epēš tāḫāzi (itbûni)
> ana mitḫuṣi ummānāteya (iii$_{25-27}$)

The whole passage is arranged as *overlay*:

ana	epēš tāḫāzi	itbûni
ana	mitḫussi	ummānāteya
		sābē tāḫāziya ittīšun imdaḫḫasū
		iškunū abiktašun (iii$_{26-29}$).

The mention of the Assyrian victory is further amplified by a description of its extent (iii$_{30}$). The conflict is resolved and tension decreases, only to rise

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[917] Cf. Thompson, "A Selection from the Cuneiform Historical Texts", p.104 (#25).

[918] The actual text of B iii$_{21-22}$ is not certain. Piepkorn gives: "... aškunu [. . . . k]a-ra-ši . . ." and notes that the break is big enough to accommodate 11 signs. , ll.18f, however, reads "aškuna karāši" with no break at all between the words. The text of BM 134441 (Thompson, "A Selection from the Cuneiform Historical Texts from Nineveh", p.104, #25) is intelligible and constitutes a chiastic parallelism: "ušmannu addina / aškuna karāši". There is thus no literary reason to assume that some words have been omitted.

[919] For descriptions of enemies' advance after having learned of the Assyrian advance cf. HT obv.5-8.16; Bi$_{57-62.66-67.73-74}$; iv$_{33-34}$; vii$_{9-29}$.

[920] Omitted in Thompson, "A Selection from the Cuneiform Historical Texts", #24.

again with the mention of Aššurbanipal's advance. In the report of battle and victory 3rd p.pl. had been employed (participant relation A' B'). Now the scope has switched back to the Assyrian king (iii_{31}). While the first confrontation appears to have taken place in Assyria[921] Aššurbanipal then enters Mannean territory. The narration of this is intensified by "šalţiš" (l.33).

Again Aḫšeri learns of Aššurbanipal's advance (l.43)[922], but this time he leaves Izertu and escapes (ll.44-46). Again, the report of the ravaging of the whole district (ll.47-50) is intensified by a description of the extent of the destruction (l.51), which parallels, and exceeds l.30:

> mālak 3 bēri eqli šalmātīšunu umallu şēra rapša (iii_{30})
> mālak 10 ūmē 5 ūmē ušaḫribma šaqummata atbuk (iii_{51}).

This section constitutes an EEN construction:

nagû šuātu   akšud
                       abbul
                       akkur
                       ina ^{d}išāti aqmu
                       mālak 10 ūmē 5 ūmē ušaḫribma šaqummata atbuk (iii_{50-51}).

While iii_{30} has the Assyrian army as agents, in the second passage Aššurbanipal himself is the grammatical subject. Thus in the narration the result of the second confrontation contains the overall *peak* of B's account. The other sections do not exhibit substantial rise or decline of the rhetorical level.

2. Aššurbanipal's campaign against Teummān (figure 3)

Of the major editions B provides the oldest extant report.[923] Because of the extensive use of direct speech, parallelisms and EEN constructions the

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[921]   Cf. iii_{21f}, restored after Thompson, "A Selection from the Cuneifom Historical Texts", p.104, #25, ll.18f to "^{a}Idur aššur ušmannu addima ...".

[922]   The wording exactly parallels l.23.

[923]   K 2652 (cf. Streck, pp.189-195) may represent the text of one of B's *Vorlagen*. This ms. commemorates the dedication of a bow to Ištar and relates Aššurbanipal's prayer, Ištar's reply and the seer's dream. The purpose of the inscription and the presence of "amšala" in K 2652, obv.25 (B: "ina šāt mūši šuātu") point to a date not long after the event.

The parallels between B and K 2652 can be explained by either assuming a) that B (or a non-extant fore-runner) incorporated part of the votive inscription in its account or b) that K 2652 constitutes an extract of B's *Vorlage*, in which case it would be impossible, without further text finds, to establish for each difference between the two manuscripts their relative order.

rhetorical level of B's account is comparatively high. The literary devices employed allow only a slow progress of narration. The narrative structure is complex and exibits two climaxes.

B begins its account with the campaign formula "ina sibê girrīya eli[1] teummān šar ˢᵃᵗelamti[ki] lu allik" (Biv$_{87-88}$). Teummān's relations with Assyria are described in a subordinate clause after the mention of his name. There it is stated that he sent a messenger to Aššurbanipal demanding the extradition of the Urtaku's and Ummaldaše's sons who had sought refuge in Assyria. The mention of Aššurbanipal's refusal clarifies the conflict the resolution of which is related in the campaign account.

At first Teummān's messengers are mentioned in a subordinate clause ("ša ... ištanappara"; Biv$_{89-94}$) and plainly described as "ˡrubê^{me}šu. Aššurbanipal's reply contain's only one *main line* verb: "... ul aqbīšu" (Biv$_{96}$). Then B again refers to Teummān's envoys, this time in a main clause ("ina muḫḫi ... ištanappara") amplified by "arḫišam" (Biv$_{97-98}$). Teummān's officers are mentioned by name (Biv$_{97}$) and his messages are described as "mēreḫēte" (Biv$_{97}$). Correspondingly Aššurbanipal's reaction is related in a chiastic parallelism with *two main line* verbs: "... um amgur ul addinšu" (Bv$_{2}$). The repetitive structure delays the mention of the *inciting event* and thus increases tension.

K 2652 and ed.B differ greatly in their description of the campaign proper. In K 2652 only three lines (rev.11-13, l.10 probably corresponds to Bv$_{75-76}$) are devoted to the expedition. The text of K 2652 is not well preserved and, since it does not parallel ed. B, it cannot be restored with any certainty. According to K 2652 Teummān appears to have been killed by his subjects (rev.12: "iddû ˡpagar ˡteummān šar ˢᵃᵗelamti[ki]"). B reports that Aššurbanipal decapitated the Elamite king (vi$_1$). In the preserved portions of K 2652 this is only mentioned in rev.16: "eli nikkis qaqqadi ˡteummān šar ˢᵃᵗelam[ti[ki]]", which may refer back to the lost part of l.12. K 2652 with its reference to secondary participants appears to represent an older version compared to B (cf. also Bvii$_{60-61}$ // Aiv$_{15}$: "eli nikkis qaqqadi ˡteummān ša ikkisū aḫurû ummānātē^{me}šia . . ."). Since with regard to the date of K 2652 no final conclusion seems possible, we have taken ed.B as our point of departure. The differences between K2652 and ed.B in the narration of Teumān's death provide an interesting parallel to 1 Sam.31$_{9-10}$ // 1 Chr.10$_{9-10}$.

Another parallelism, immediately following the previous one, has the adversaries in opposition and clarifies the conflict even further:

ᴵteummān lemutta išteniʾâ
ᵈsin išteniʾšu itāt^{meš} lemutti (v₃₋₅).

It is noteworthy that this passage das not mention the Assyrian king. The conflict is still an indirect one.

The narrative proceeds to describe astronomical phenomena (Bv₅₋₁₀[924]), foreshadowing Teummān's accident (Bv₁₀₋₁₁).[925] The conflict seems to be resolved and tension decreases. However, in the next lines the reader/listener learns that Teummān nevertheless intends to attack (Bv₁₄₋₁₅).

B then reports that Aššurbanipal received intelligence of the Elamite advance (Bv₁₅₋₂₄). The message, and within the message Teummān's plan, is quoted in direct speech and thus increases the rhetorical level.[926] Correspondingly the description of Aššurbanipal's emotional response, too, is unusually extensive. The Assyrian king prays to Ištar (Bv₂₅₋₄₆) and receives her reply (Bv₄₆₋₄₉), which is continued by a seer's dream (Bv₄₉₋₆₇). Aššurbanipal's prayer is artistically composed. There are several EEN-constructions built in. At first the order of the appositions after mention of Aššurbanipal's name follows Ehelolf's principle:

"šar ^{māt}aššur
binût qātēki
ša iḫšuḫūšu aššur abu bānûki
ana udduš ešrēti . . ." (Bv₃₀₋₃₁)

---

924   The reference of "inbu" (Bv₉) is uncertain. It may either indicate the New Moon (cf. von Soden, AHw, II, p.381) or the execution of Sin's plan.

925   The description of Teummān's illness is given in a triad:
šapatsu uktambilma
ēnu^{II} isḫirma
gabaṣu iššakin ina libbiša. If with A 7962, P3, K 10621 we add -šu to ēnu (cf. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*, p.63, n.4) the passage would constitute an EEN-construction. A 7962 and K 2732 have libbīšu for libbiša (cf. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*,p.63, n.7) thus altering the reference from "ēnu" to "ᴵteummān" and increasing the parallelism.

926   For common descriptions of comparable events cf. e.g. HT obv. 9.24; B i₆₃₋₆₄; ii₁₇; iv₃₅₋₃₈.₄₃₋₄₇.

The supplements of "imbu zikiršu" are also arranged to an EEN-construction.

"udduš ešrēti
šullum parṣišun
naṣār pirištišun
šuṭūb libbišun[927] (Bv₃₁₋₃₂)

The next three lines lines contrast Aššurbanipal and Teummān:

anāku ašrīki ašteniʾî allika ana palaḫ ilutiki u šullum parṣīki u
šū teummān ... lā mūšaqir ilāni kuṣṣur kali ana mitḫuṣu ummānātēya (Bv₃₅₋₃₆)

The epithets of Ištar, apart from the first one, are also arranged according to their length:

(bēlit bēlīti)
ilat qabli
bēlit tāḫāzi
mālikat ilāni^meš" (Bv₃₇₋₃₈)

The same is true for Aššurbanipal's description of Teummān's preparations for battle:

"biltu [lā ūbila]928
idkâ ummānšu
ikšura tāḫāzi
ušaʾʾala iškakkē^meššu ana alāk ^mātaššur" (Bv₄₂₋₄₃)

and Ištar's advice and promise to the Assyrian king in the seer's dream:

"akul akala
šiti kurunna
ningûta šukun
nuʾid ilūti" (Bv₆₅₋₆₆)

"pānūka ul urrak
ul inarruṭa šēpēka
ul tašammal lēʾûtka ina qabal tāḫāzi" (Bv₆₉₋₇₀)929

---

927   "šuṭūb libbišun" does not belong to the same category; the first three members all deal with cult, whereas the fourth is more general in meaning.

928   The restoration of this line by Piepkorn is conjectural. If it is correct, then the first member would have one syllable more than the second. Only the last three members, all having "ana alāk ^mātaššur" as supplement, would constitute an EEN construction. If the phrase can be reconstructed as "biltu ušabtil" (cf. Aiii₂₄) the first and the second member of the construction would have the same number of syllables. It is, however, not reported that teummān actually paid tribute.

929   All three members contain the negation "ul". "pānūka", "šēpēka", and "lēʾûtka" correspond to each other.

The high rheorical level of *stage* and *inciting event* leads to an increase of tension at the beginning of the account of the campaign proper. The description of Aššurbanipal's mobilization of his forces, too, is more extensive than usual[930] and contains a chiastic parallelism.

"...urḫu aṣbatma
ušteššera ḫarrānu" (Bv$_{82-83}$).

Overlay is used in the narration of Teummān's reaction:

iṣbassu ḫattu
^{I}teummān   iplaḫma   ana arkīšu itur
ērub qereb ^{al}šušan (Bv$_{58-86}$).

The rise in the rhetorical level corresponds to the fact that the Assyrian king himself takes action, whereas in the previous section it had been the Assyrian gods.

Then B continues to describe Teummān's preparations for war and his advance. Teummān succeeded in seizing water-holes from the Assyrians. The mention of the enemies' success against the Assyrians is unusual and leads to a rise in tension, since the resolution of the conflict is further delayed. Then very suddenly the Assyrian victory is reported. The change of situation is very abrupt and no emphasis is placed on the battle as such. B then continues with a description of the extent of the Elamite defeat, using a parallelism with a comparison, which marks a surface structure *peak*, which in this passage corresponds to the *DENOUEMENT* of the notional structure:

"ina ^{I}pagrē^{meš}šunu ^{nār}ulaia askir

ṣalmatešunu   kīma ^{iṣ}baltāti ^{iṣ}ašāgi   umalla tāmarti ^{al}šušan".

The relation of Teummān's decapitation (Bvi$_{1-3}$) closes the circle to the beginning of the account. Further concluding remarks mention the submission of Elam (vi$_{4-5}$), the enthronement of Ummanigaš (ll.6-7) and Tammaritu (ll.8-9) and the taking and distribution of booty (ll.10-16).

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[930]   Cf. Bii$_{18-19}$; iv$_{50}$ and the campaign introductions.

APPENDIX III - PARTICIPANT ORIENTATION PATTERNS

Table 1 Participant Orientation Pattern - Sennacherib's Second Campaign

	Main Line	agent	patient	benefactive	operation	Rass./Chic.-Tayl.	Bull 4
1.20	utakkilannima	A[*931]	A	(B)	-		
	lu allik	A	B		I	I	+
	arkabma	A	(B)		I	I	I
1.21	ušašši	A	(B)		I	I	-
	attagiš	A	(B)		I	I	I
1.22	alme	A	B		I	I	-
	akšud	A	B		I	I	I
	ušēṣamma	A	B		I	I	-
	amnu	A	B		I	I	I[932]
1.23	abbul	A	B		I	I	I
	aqqur	A	B		I	I	I
	ušeme	A	B		I	I	-
	aqmūma	A	B		I	I	I
	ušēme	A	B		I	I	-
1.24	utīrma	A	(B)		I	I	I
	aṣbat	A	B		I	I	I
	udannin	A	B		I	I	-
	ušēšib	A	B		I	I	I
1.25	ušēridamma	A	B		I	I	I
	ušarme	A	B		I	I	I
1.26	amnūšunūti	A	B		I	I	I
	ušēpišma	A	(B)		I	I	-
	ušašṭirma	A	(B)		I	I	-
	ulziz	A	(B)		I	I	-
1.27	utīrma	A	(B)		I	I	-
	aṣṣabat	A	(B)		I	I	I
	umašširma	B	(A)		r	r	r
	innabit	B	(A)		I	I	I
1.28	ašḫup	A	B		r	r	r[933]
1.29	abbul	A	B		I	I	I
	aqqur	A	B		I	I	I
	aqmūma	A	B		I	I	I
	akšiṭ	A	B		I	-	-
	atbuk	A	B		I	-	-
	ušālik	A	B		I	-	-
1.30	ašlulam	A	B		I	I	-
	ušālikšunūti	A	B		I	I[934]	-
						I[935]	I[936]

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[931] Grammatical subject: "Aššur".
[932] "ašlula".
[933] "akšud".
[934] "ušālikšuma".
[935] + "uṣaḫḫir".
[936] "akšud".

I.31	abtuqma	A	B	I	I	I
	uraddi	A	B	I	I	-
I.32	aṣbatma	A	B	I	I	I
	unakkirma	A	B	I	I	I
					r[937]	I
					r[938]	I
					r[939]	-

I.33	amḫur	A	B	(I)	(I)	(I)
	ušaknissunūti	A	B	I	I	I

First section: 38 x I (95 %), 2 x r (5 %); second section: 2 (1) x I.

Table 2 Participant Orientation Pattern - Sennacherib's Third Campaign, Part 1[940]

				Rass.[941]	Chic.-Tayl	Bull 4
(ii$_{37}$	lu allik	A	B		+	+)
ii$_{39}$	isḫupūšu	A[*942]	B	I	I	I
ii$_{40}$	innabit	B	(A)	r	r	r
					r[943]	I
ii$_{46}$	isḫupūšunūtima	A[*944]	B'	r	r	-
	iknušū	B	A'	r	r	-
ii$_{48}$	ušēšibma	A	B	r	r	r
ii$_{49}$	ukīn	A	B	I	I	-
ii$_{60}$	iššûnimma	B	A	r	r	r[945]
	iššiqū	B	A	I	I	-

3 x I (37.5 %), 5 x r (63.5 %)

Table 3 Participant Orientation Pattern - Sennacherib's Third Campaign, Part 2

				Rass.	Chic.-Tayl	Bull 4
ii$_{64}$	assuḫamma	A	B'	(r)	(r)	(r)
	ûrâššu	A	B'	I	I	-
ii$_{66}$	aškunma	A	B'	I	I	I
	ēmissuma	A	B'	I	I	r[946]
ii$_{68}$	išât	B	A	r	r	-
ii$_{72}$	alme	A	B'	r	r	-

---

937   + "ušēšib".

938   + "amnūma".

939   + "urappiš".

940   Introductions of new participants divide Rass.'s account of Sennacherib's third campaign into four parts (//ii$_{38-60.60-72}$·ii$_{73}$-iii$_{17}$ iii$_{18-49}$).

941   Line count according to parallel passages in Chic.-Tayl.

942   Grammatical subject: "pulḫi melamme bēlūtīya".

943   "šadâšu ēmid".

944   Grammatical subject: "rašubbat kakki ^{d}Aššur bēlīya".

945   "ūbilūni".

946   "ukīn".

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| | akšud | A | B' | | I | I | | I |
| | ašlula | A | B' | | I | I | | I |

5 x I (71.43 %), 2 x r (28.57 %)

Table 4 Participant Orientation Pattern - Sennacherib's Third Campaign, Part 3

					Rass.	Chic.-Tayl.	Bull 4
ii$_{78}$	iplaḫ	B'	(A)		(r)	(r)	(r)
ii$_{81}$	ikterūnimma	B'	C	(A)	s	s	s
	illikū	C/B'	A	(A)	r	r	-
iii$_1$	uša$^{\jmath\jmath}$alū	C	C/B'		I	I	-
iii$_2$	amdaḫiṣma	A	C/B'		r	r	r
	aštakan	A	C/B'		I	I	I
iii$_5$	ikšuda	A	C/B'		I	I	I[947]
iii$_7$	alme	A	B'		s	s	-
	akšud	A	B'		I	I	-
	ašlula	A	B'		I	I	-
iii$_8$	aqribma	A	B'		I	I	s
iii$_9$	adūkma	A	B'		I	I	I
iii$_{10}$	ālul	A	B'		I	I	-
iii$_{11}$	amnu	A	B'		I	I	I
iii$_{14}$	aqbi	A	B'		I	I	I
iii$_{15}$	ušēṣamma	A	B'		I	I	I
iii$_{16}$	ušēšibma	A	B'		I	I	I
iii$_{17}$	ukīn	A	B'		I	I	I

13 x I (76.46 %), 2 x s (11.77 %), 2 x r (11.77 %)

Table 5 Participant Orientation Pattern - Sennacherib's Third Campaign, Part 4

					Rass.	Chic.-Tayl.	Bull 4
l.23	alme	A	B'		(I)	(I)	(I)
	akšud	A	B'		I	I	I
l.27	ušēṣamma	A	B'		I	I	I
	amnu	A	B'		I	I	I
l.29	ēsiršu	A	B		I	I	I
	urakkisma	A	B		I	I	I
l.30	utirra	A	B'[948]		I	I	-
l.31	abtuqma	A	B		I	I	I
l.34	addinma	A	B		I	I	I
	uṣaḫḫir	A	B		I	I	I
l.36	uraddima	A	B		I	I	I
l.37	ukīn	A	B		I	I	I
l.38	isḫupūšuma	A	B		I	I	I
l.41	iršû	B'	B	A	r	r	r
l.48	ušēbilamma	B	B'	A	I	I	I
l.49	išpura	B	B'	(A)	I	I	I

14 x I (93.33 %), 1 x r (6.67 %)

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[947] aṣbat.

[948] Grammatical object: "āṣê abul ālīšu".

Table 6 Participant Orientation Pattern for accounts of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Kirbit

					E	HT	B/C[949]
							+[950]
	[...]					-	-
iii$_2$	[taklūma][951]	B'	(A)		I?	+	-
iii$_3$	lā [pitluḫū][952]	B'	A*		I	I	-
iii$_5$	[...]					-	-
iii$_7$	it[	B'?	A'?		I?	-	-
[iii$_{8-9}$]						-	-
iii$_{10}$	iḫ[tanabbatū][953]	B'?	A'		I?	I?[954]	r
iii$_{11}$	ušaḫrirū	B'?	A ?		I?	I?[955]	-
iii$_{13}$	ispunū	B'?	A'?		I?	-	-
iii$_{15}$	imḫurū'inni	A'	A	B	r	r[956]	r
iii$_{16}$	uṣallū	A'	A	B	I	I	-
iii$_{19}$	uma''ir	A	A'	B	I	I	-
iii$_{20}$	ēluma	A'	(B')		I	-	-
iii$_{21}$	[i]lmū	A'	B'		I	-	-
iii$_{23}$	ikšudūma	A'	B'		I	I	r[957]
	ispunū	A'	B'		I	-	-
iii$_{32}$	iktumūma	A'	B'		I	-	-
iii$_{33}$	isḫupū	A'	B'		I	-	-
iii$_{34}$	idūkūma	A'	B		I	-	-
iv$_1$	urassibū	A'	B'		I	-	-
iv$_3$	išlulūni	A'	B'		I	-	r[958]
iv$_6$	iṣbatūni	A'	B		I	-	
	ublūni	A'	B		I	-	r[959]
iv$_7$	assuḫ	A	B'		I	I	I
iv$_8$	ušaṣbit	A	B'		I	I	I
iv$_9$	ušēšib	A	C		s	-	-

> 21 x I (>91.30 %), 1 x r (<4.35 %), 1 x s (<4.35 %)

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949 For probable differences between B/C's *Vorlage* and HT cf. above pp.83.111f.

950 + lu allik (4th campaign).

951 Cf. HT rev.7.

952 Cf. HT rev.7.

953 Cf. rev.9.

954 In HT rev.8 the mention of Tandā marks the beginning of an *anacoluthon*. This may extend to 1.9 (// Eiii$_{4-14}$) or only comprise the first verb thereafter ("lā iknušū"), with the following verbs in 3rd p.pl.ind. rather than 3rd p.sgl.subj. The latter is supported by the readings of Biii$_8$//C, which insert "u niše^{meš} ašibūti ^{a}^{l}kirbit" as express mention of the new grammatical subject.

955 "ušaḫribū".

956 "imdaḫarūnimma".

957 akšud - A B'.

958 "ašlula" - A B'.

959 "alqâ" - A B.

Table 7 Participant Orientation Pattern for accounts of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Aḫšeri[960]

Line	Word				B	C	F	A	H
iii_{16}	lu allik	A	B				+[961]	+[962]	
iii_{20}	adki	A	B		I		-	-	
	ušteššera	A	B		I		-	-	
iii_{21}	allikma	A	B		I		-	-	
	addima	A	(B)		I		-	-	
	aškuna[963]	A	(B)		I	...]	-	-	
iii_{24}	išmēma	B	A		r	[r]	-	-	
	u[ma]ᵒera	B	B'	A	I	I	-	-	
iii_{26}	itbûni	B'	A'		I	[I]	-	-	
iii_{28}	imdaḫḫaṣū	A'	B'		r	[r]	-	-	
iii_{29}	iškunū	A'	B'		I	I	-	-	
iii_{30}	umallū	A'	B'		I	I[964]	-	-	
iii_{32}	ērubma	A	B		I	[I]	I	I	
iii_{33}	attallaka	A	(B)		I	[I]	I	I	
iii_{38}	akšud	A	B'		I	[I]	I	I	
iii_{39}	abbul	A	B'		I	I	I	I	
	aqqur	A	B'		I	[I]	I	I	
	aqmu	A	B'		I	I	I	I	
iii_{42}	ušēṣamma	A	B'		I	[...	I	I	
	amnu	A	B'		I		I	I	
iii_{43}	išmēma	B	A		r		r	r	
iii_{44}	umaššir	B	(A)		I		I	I	
iii_{45}	innabit	B	(A)		I		I	I	
iii_{46}	ēḫuz	B	(A)		I	...]	I	I	
iii_{47}	alme	A	B'		r	r	-	-	
iii_{49}	ēsirma	A	B'		I	I	-	-	
	usīq	A	B'		I	[I]	-	-	
	ukarri	A	B'		I	[I]	-	-	
iii_{50}	akšud	A	B'		I	[I]	r	r	
	abbul	A	B'		I	I	-	-	
	aqqur	A	B'		I	I	-	-	
	aqmu	A	B'		I	[I]	-	-	
iii_{51}	ušaḫrirma	A	B'		I	[I]	I	I	
	atbuk	A	B'		I	[I]	I	I	
iii_{55}	akšud	A	B'		I	[...	-	-	
	akmu	A	B'		I		-	-	
	ašlula	A	B'		I		-	-	
iii_{56}	utīr	A	B'		I		-	-	
iii_{61}	aspun	A	B'		I		-	-	

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[960] Cf. comments in appendix 2.
[961] "ušteššera ḫarrānu".
[962] "ušteššera ḫarrānu".
[963] Thus Thompson, "A Selection from the Cuneiform Historical Texts", p.104, #25. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions*, p.50: "aškunu".
[964] "umalli" - A B'

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	aqmu	A	B'		I			-	-
	aduk	A	B'		I			-	-
iii$_{62}$	ašlula	A	B'		I			-	-
iii$_{64}$	akšud	A	B'		I			-	-
	aspun	A	B'		I			-	-
iii$_{65}$	aqmu	A	B'		I			-	-
iii$_{66}$	ušaḫrib	A	B'		I			-	-
iii$_{67}$	ušaḫḫir	A	B'		I			-	-
iii$_{69}$	atūra	A			I			-	-
iii$_{70}$	akbusa	A	(C)		(s)			-	-
iii$_{76}$	akšud	A	C		I			-	-
	assuḫ	A	C		I			-	-
	ašlula	A	C		I			-	-
	aṣbat	A	C		I			-	-
	utirra	A	C		I			-	-
iii$_{83}$	imnûšu	A*	B	B'/A*,965	(s/I)		(I)	(I966)	
iii$_{84}$	ušabšū	B'(/A*')B	(A)		r		r	I	
	iddû	B'(/A*')B	(A)		I		I	I	
								I967	
								I968	
iii$_{86}$	ūšib	B			(I)	...]	(I)	(r)	
iii$_{89}$	ēmurma	B	A*		I	[I]	I	I	
	iknuša	B	A		I	[I]	I	I	...]
iii$_{92}$	iptâ	B	(A)		I	I	I	I	I
	uṣalla	B	A		I	I	I	I	I
iii$_{94}$	išpurma	B	A		I	[I]	I	I	I
	unaššiq	B	A		I	I	I	I	[I]
iii$_{95}$	aršīšuma	A	B		r	[r]	r	r	-
iii$_{96}$	uma$^{∞}$irma	A	A'	B	I	I	I	I	-
iii$_{97}$	ušēbila	B	A		r	[r]	r	r	-
	iššûni	B	A		I	[I]	I	I	I969
iv$_{2}$	uraddima	A	B		r	r	r	r	r
	ēmissu	A	B		I	[I]	I	I	I
				970					
iv$_{6}$	akšud	A	C			[...]	-	-	-
	ašlula	A	C		I	I	-	-	-
iv$_{7}$	aṣbat	A	C		I	[I]	-	-	-
iv$_{8}$	ubila	A	C		I	I	-	-	-
iv$_{16}$	ikkisūnimma	A'	C			[+]	-	-	-
iv$_{17}$	ubilū	A'	C	A	I	[I]	-	-	-
				971					

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965   Aḫšeri's subjects function as secondary participants for Aššur and Ištar.
966   "tamnūšuma".
967   "imdaššarū" - B' B
968   "ušamqitū" - B' B(').
969   "ušēbila" - B A.
970   Ruling in ed.B.
971   Ruling in ed.B.

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Table 8 Participant Orientation Pattern for accounts of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Teummān

					B	F	A
iv_{87}	lu allik	A	B			-	-
iv_{96}	ul aqbīšu	A	B	A'	I	-	-
iv_{98}	ištanappara	B	B'	A	r	-	-
iv_{99}	uštaraḫ	B	B'	(A)	I	-	-
v_1	atkil	A	A^*	(B)	r	-	-
v_2	ul amgur	A	B		I	-	-
	al addīšu	A	B		I	-	-
v_4	išteni'â	B	A		r	-	-
	išteni'šu	A^*_1[972]	B		r	-	-
v_6	uštaniḫma	A^*_1			I	-	-
	ēmuršuma	A^*_2[973]	A^*_1		I	-	-
v_7	uštaniḫ	A^*_2	B		I	-	-
v_9	ukallimanni	A^*_1	A	B	I	-	-
v_{10}	umḫuršuma	A^*[974]	B		I	-	-
v_{11}	uktambilma	(A^*)	B		I	-	-
	isḫirma	(A^*)	B		I	-	-
v_{12}	iššakin	(A^*)	B		I	-	-
v_{14}	ul ibbaš	B			r	-	-
	idkâ	B	B'	(A)	I	-	-
v_{17}	ašbak	A	A^*		r	-	-
	ušannūni	A'	A		I	-	-
v_{26}	amḫur	A	A^*		I	-	-
v_{27}	aziz	A	A^*		I	-	-
	akmis	A	A^*		I	-	-
v_{28}	ušappa	A	A^*		I	-	-
	illaka	A			I	-	-
v_{46}	išmēma	A^*	A		I	-	-
v_{47}	iqbâ	A^*	A		I	-	-
v_{50}	utūlma	$A^{*\prime}$			I	-	-
	inaṭṭal	$A^{*\prime}$			I	-	-
v_{51}	igiltīma	$A^{*\prime}$			I	-	-
v_{52}	ušannâ	$A^{*\prime}$	A		I	-	-
v_{80}	adki	A	A'	(B)	I	-	-
v_{82}	aṣbatma	A	B		I	-	-
	ušteššera	A	B		I	-	-
v_{84}	nadi	B	(A)		r	-	-
v_{85}	išmēma	B	A		I	-	-
	iṣbassu	B[975]	(A)		I	-	-
v_{86}	iplaḫma	B	A		I	-	-
	itūr	B	(A)		I	-	-
	ērub	B			I	-	-
v_{88}	uzâ∞iz	B	B'		I	-	-

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[972] Grammatical subject: Sin.

[973] Grammatical subject: Šamaš.

[974] Grammatical subject: "miḫru".

[975] Because of the parallelism with "iplaḫma" in the following line, Teummān has been regarded as notional subject.

					F	A
v_{89} utīramma	B	B'		I	-	-
v_{90} ugdappiša	B	B'	A	I	-	-
v_{91} iškunū	B	(A)		I	-	-
v_{92} isbat	B	A		I	-	-
v_{96} aškun	A	B		r	I[976]	I
v_{97} askir	A	B		I	-	-
v_{99} umalla	B'			r	[977]	
vi_1 akkis	A	B		r	-	+
vi_5 ishupšuma	A*	B'		I	-	-
iknušū	B'	A		r	-	
					I[978]	I
					I[979]	I
					I[980]	I
					I[981]	I
vi_7 ušērib	A	B		r	I[982]	I
vi_9 aškun	A	B'		I	I	I
vi_{15} ušamma	A	B'		I	-	-

42 x I (77.78 %), 12 x r (22.22 %)

Table 9 Participant Orientation Pattern for accounts of Aššurbanipal's first campaign against Ummanaldasi

					F	A	
$Fiii_{35}$ adki	A	A'	B			+	
iii_{36} ušteššera	A	B			I	I	
iii_{37} ūbil	A	A'	(B)		I	I	
iii_{40} išmû	B'	A			I	I	
iii_{42} ishupšunūti	A*	B'			r	r	
iii_{45} imkuttūma	B'	A			r	r	
isbatū	B'	A			I	I	
iii_{48} akšud	A	B'			r	r	
iii_{50} anīr	A	B'			I	I	
iii_{51} akkis	A	B'			I	I	
apru'	A	B'			I	I	
iii_{52} alqâ	A	B'			I	I	Bīt-Imbi episode
iii_{56} ušēsamma	A	B'			I	I	
addīšuma	A	B'			I	I	
iii_{57} ūrâ	A	B'			I	I	
iii_{61} ušēsamma	A	B'			I	I	

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[976] "aktum" - A B'.
[977] See below n.979.
[978] "adūk".
[979] "umalla".
[980] "ušardi"
[981] "ašrup".
[982] "ušēribšu".

	amnu	A	B'		I	I
iii$_{63}$	išmēma	B	A		r	r
iii$_{64}$	umašširma	B	A		I	I
iii$_{65}$	innabitma	B	A		I	I
	ēli	B	(A)		I	I
iii$_{68}$	išmēma	B	A		I	I
iii$_{69}$	umašširma	B	(A)		I	I
	išbat	B	A		I	I
iii$_{71}$	ušērib	A	B		r	r
	aškunšu	A	B		I	I
iii$_{73}$	imšīma	B	A		r	r
	išteniʾâ	B	A		I	I^{983}
iii$_{77}$	ibrûma	A•	B		r	r
	ubaʾû	A•	B		I	I
iii$_{78}$	idkûniššuma	A•	B		I	I
	utirrūniššu	A•	B		I	I
	ušakniššuš	A•	B	A	I	I
iii$_{81}$	ērubma	A	(A)		I	-
	attalak	A	(B)		I	I
	utīr	A	B'		I	I
iv$_{11}$	akšud	A	B'		I	I
iv$_{12}$	abbul	A	B'		I	I
	aqqur	A	B'		I	I
	aqmu	A	B'		I	I
iv$_{16}$	ašlula	A	B'		I	I

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983   "iqbi" - B [A].

Table 10 Participant Orientation Pattern for accounts of Aššurbanipal's second campaign against Ummanaldasi

				F	A
Fiv$_{19}$	ušteššera	A	B		
iv$_{23}$	akšud	A	B	I	I
iv$_{24}$	išmēma	B	A	r	r
	isḫupšuma	A*	B	I	I
iv$_{25}$	umašširma	B	A	I	I
iv$_{26}$	innabit	B	A	I	I
iv$_{27}$	ēbirma	B		I	I
	iškun	B		I	I
iv$_{28}$	[u]ktataṣar	B	A	I	I
iv$_{29}$	akšud	A	B'	r	r
iv$_{30}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{31}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{32}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{34}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{35}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{36}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{37}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{38}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{39}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{40}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{41}$	ardēma	A	B	I	I
	allik	A	B	I	I
ina mētiq girrīya					
iv$_{45}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{46}$	ul ūqi	A	B'	I	I
	ul adgul	A	B'	I	I
				-	I[984]
				-	I[985]
				-	I[986]
				-	I[987]
				-	I[988]
iv$_{47}$	ēbir	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{49}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{50}$	abbul	A	B'	I	I
	aqqur	A	B'	I	I
	aqmu	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{51}$	utīr	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{52}$	adūk	A	B'	I	I
	urassip	A	B'	I	I
iv$_{54}$	innabitma	B	A	r	r
iv$_{55}$	išbata	B	A	I	I
iv$_{56}$	akšud	A	B'	r	r
iv$_{58}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I

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984 "ēmurū" - A'.
985 "iplaḫū" - A'.
986 "ušabrīma" - A* A'.
987 "irḫuṣū" - A A*.
988 "ēbirū" - A'.

	abbul	A	B'	I	I
	aqqur	A	B'	I	I
iv_{60}	aškun	A	B'	I	I
iv_{61}	ušabbir	A	B'	I	I
iv_{62}	ušapšiḫ	A	B'	I	I
iv_{64}	ašlula	A	B'	I	I
				-	I[989]
iv_{66}	attallak	A		I	I
ina tayyartīya					
iv_{70}	a]kšud	A	B'	I	I
iv_{71}	ēru]b	A	B'	I	I
iv	ušib	A	B'	I	I
iv_{72}	[aptēma]	A	B'	I	I
v_2	ušēṣamma	A	B'	I	I
	amnu	A	B'	I	I
v_{18}	ašlula	A	B'	I	I
	ubbit	A	B'	I	I
v_{20}	ukappira	A	B'	I	I
v_{33}	ašlula	A	B'	I	I
v_{39}	alqâ	A	B'	I	I
v_{40}	adqâ	A	B'	I	I
v_{41}	unassiḫa	A	B'	I	I
v_{42}	ušalpit	A	B'	I	I
v_{43}	amnâ	A	B'	I	I
v_{47}	ērubū	A'		I	I
v_{48}	ēmurū	A'		I	I
	iqmû	A'		I	I
v_{52}	abbul	A	B'	I	I
	aqqur	A	B'	I	I
	ukallim	A	B'	I	I
v_{53}	alqâ	A	B'	I	I
v_{54}	ēmid	A	B'	I	I
	uzammīšunūti	A	B'	I	I
v_{55}	ušaḫrib	A	B'	I	I
	ušappiḫa	A	B'	I	I
v_{65}	ašlula	A	B'	I	I
v_{67}	ēsipa	A	B'	I	I
	alqâ	A	B'	I	I
					I[990]
					I[991]
v_{69}	ušarbiṣa	A	B'	I	I
v_{71}	uzammâ	A	B'	I	I
vi_3	tušadgila	A*	A		
vi_7	tukallim[992]	A*	A		
vi_8	atmuḫ	A	A*		
vi_9	taṣbata	A*	A		
vi_{10}	ušeribšima	A	A*		
vi	ušarmiš	A	A*		

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989   "ērubma" - A.
990   "aspun" - A B'.
991   "uzammâ" - A B' (cf. Fv$_{71}$).
992   "ukallimū" - A'

vi$_{15}$	[ašruk]	A	A*
	uraddi	A	A'
vi$_{21}$	uza^{x}iz	A	A'

Table 11 Participant Orientation Pattern for accounts of Aššurbanipal's campaign against Dunanu

				B/C	F^{993}	A
Bvi$_{18}$	lu allik	A	B		-	-
					I^{994}	I
					I^{995}	I
vi$_{22}$	aktum	A	B'^{996}	I	-	-
vi$_{24}$	akšud	A	B'	I	I	I
					I^{997}	I
					I^{998}	I
vi$_{26}$	ušēṣâ	A	B	I	-	-
					I^{999}	I
vi$_{28}$	ušēṣamma	A	B'	I	-	-
	amnu	A	B'	I	-	-
vi$_{30}$	ušēṣamma	A	B'	I	-	-
	amnu	A	B'	I	-	-
vi$_{32}$	[ušeṣa]mma^{1000}	A	B'	I	-	-
	amnu	A	B'	I	-	-
vi$_{34}$	ušēṣamma	A	B'	I	-	-
	amnu	A	B'	I	-	-
vi$_{36}$	ušēṣamma	A	B'	I	I^{1001}	i
	amnu	A	B'	I	-	-
vi$_{38}$	ušēṣamma	A	B'	I	-	-
	amnu	A	B'	I	-	-
vi$_{41}$	aṣbat	A	C'	I(s)	-	-
vi$_{42}$	akkis	A	C'	I	-	-
	arpis	A	C'	I	-	-
vi$_{43}$	abbul	A	B'	I(s)	I	I
	aqqur	A	B'	I	I	I

993   The literary relationship between eds. F and A is difficult to discern. B agrees with A against F (Aiii$_{61}$//Bvi$_{25}$, Aiii$_{137}$//Bvii$_{8-9}$, Aiv$_5$//Bvii$_{48}$, Aiv$_{10}$//Bvii$_{53}$, Aiv$_{14-15}$//Bvii$_{60-61}$, Aiv$_{40}$//Bvii$_{70}$) and with F against A (Fiii$_{8-9}$//Bvii$_8$, Fiii$_{19}$//Bvii$_{57}$). The agreements of F and A against B necessitate the assumption of some kind of literary relationship between the two editions, either thy had an almost identical *Vorlage*, different from B, or A used both, B and F. If the former is true, in those cases where F and A disagree from each other and from B,it is not possible to evaluate F's or A's redactorial treatment.

994   "aštakan" - A B.

995   "aškuna" - A B.

996   Since the target of Aššurbanipal's campaign in B is described with "eli ^{l}dunani mār ^{l}bēl-iqīša ana ^{mãt}gambuli" (Bvi$_{18}$), B and B' cannot be strictly separated as primary and secondary participants. We have nevertheless used both designations to destinguish between Dunanu and his subjects.

997   "erub" - A B'.

998   "utabbiḫ" - A B'.

999   "utammeḫa" - A B/B'.

1000 Restored after prism D.

1001 "ašlula".

	ušḫarmit	A	B'		I	I	I
vi₄₄	ušālik	A	B'		I	-	-
vi₄₅	ušaḫrib	A	B'		I	-	-
vi₄₆	aprusa	A	B'		I	-	-
vi₄₈	anīr	A	B'		I	-	-
vi₄₉	atūra	A	B'		I	-	-
vi₅₁	ālul	A	C		s	-	-
vi₅₆	ērubma	A			I	-	-
vi₆₃	ēmurma	C'	C		(r)	-	-
	išbassunūti	C'			I	-	-
vi₆₄	ibqûma	C'			I	-	-
vi₆₅	isḫula	C'			I	-	-
vi₆₇	umaḫḫira	A	C		r	-	-
vi₇₀	išbat	B¹⁰⁰²	B'	A	(sr)	-	-
vi₇₅	ušēbil	B	B'	A	I	-	-
vi₈₂	ūbilšunūti	A	B		(r)	-	-
vi₈₆	ašlup	A	B'		(I)	-	-
	ašḫuta	A	B		I	-	-
vi₈₈	iddûšumma	A'	B		(I)	-	-
	itbuḫuš	A'	B		I	-	-
vi₉₁	anīr	A	B'		I	-	-
vi₉₂	ušēbil	A	B'		I	-	-
vii₂	ušaḫšila	A	B'	B	I	-	-

+1003

vii₉	išpura	B	C	A'	I	-	-
vii₁₂	ittanallakū	B/C	(A')		s	-	-
	ukkabasū	B/C	(A')		I	-	-
vii₂₀	umaᵓiršunūti	B	B'	A'	I	-	-
vii₂₁	iškunūšunūte	B	B'	A	I	-	-
vii₂₂	iqbi	B	B'	A'	I	-	-
vii₂₈	išbatūnimma	B'/C'	(A')		I	-	-
vii₃₁	ēlûnimma	A'	B'/C'		r	-	-
	iškunū	A'	B'/C'		I	-	-
vii₃₄	ikkisūnimma	A'	B'/C'		I	-	-
vii₃₅	ūbila	A'	B'/C'		I	-	-
vii₃₇	umaᵓir	A	B		I	-	-
vii₃₈	iklama	B	A'		r	-	-
vii₃₉	lā utirra	B	A		I	-	-
vii₄₂	idinnūinni	A*	B		r	-	-

1002 Ummanigaš, the *agent* of "išbat", is mentioned as having been installed by the Assyrian king (ultu ˡummanigaš qereb elamtiᵏⁱ aškunū ana šarrūti" [vi₇₃]) and thus may also be designated as A'.

1003 A has inserted a passage about Šamaš-šum-ukīn's rebellion (Aiii₇₀₋₁₃₅).

vii$_{43}$	ibbalkitma	C	B	(srs)	(srs)	(srs)
vii$_{44}$	urassip	C	B	I	I	I
vii$_{45}$	imḫur	C	B	I	-	-
vii$_{46}$	ūšib	C		I	_1004	_1005
vii$_{48}$	ul išâl	C	A	s	-	-
vii$_{50}$	illikamma	C	B^{1006}	s	I	I
vii$_{51}$	urriḫa	C	A'	I	I	I
vii$_{54}$	ibbalkitūma^{1007}	C'	C	r	I	I
vii$_{55}$	urassibū	C'/C		I	I^{1008}	I
vii$_{57}$	ūšib	C'		I	I	I
				-	I^{1009}	I
vii$_{65}$	ipparšūnimma	C'/C	A*	I	I^{1010}	I^{1011}
vii$_{70}$	ipšilūnimma	C'/C	A*	I	I^{1012}	I^{1013}
				-	-	I^{1014}
				-	-	I^{1015}
	išbatū	C'/C	A	I	-	I^{1016}
vii$_{71}$	imnûma	C	A	I	-	I
vii$_{72}$	uṣalla	C	A	I	I	I
vii$_{74}$	irbûni	A*	C	r	-	-
				-	I^{1017}	I
				-	I^{1018}	I
				-	-	r^{1019}
vii$_{76}$	ulzissunūti	A	C/C'	I	-	I
					+1020	+1021
vii$_{78}$	īdûma	B	A	sr	-	-
vii$_{88}$	ušēṣaššunūti	B	A	I	-	-
vii$_{92}$	ušēbila	B	A	I	-	-

[1004] Retained in a subordinate clause.

[1005] Retained in a subordinate clause.

[1006] From here onwards, B designates Šamaš-šum-ukīn.

[1007] "imḫurū" and "išmû" (A* - A, vii$_{53}$) probably are subjunctives continuing "ša aššur u ^{d}ištar usappû" (Bvii$_{52}$).

[1008] "iškun" - C' C.

[1009] "innabtūnimma" - C A. An equivalent of "innabtūnimma", "ipparšidū", is already present in B, but there in a subordinate clause.

[1010] C'/C C'.

[1011] C'/C C'.

[1012] C'/C C'.

[1013] C'/C C'.

[1014] "unaššiqma" - C A.

[1015] "ušēšir" - C A.

[1016] "išbatma" - C A.

[1017] "izzizma" - C A.

[1018] "idallala" - C A.

[1019] "aršīšuma" - A C.

[1020] C has inserted a description of a famine in Babylonia (Cviii$_{<115}$-ix$_{28}$).

[1021] A has added a description of a famine in Babylonia (Aiv$_{41-109}$). The contents parallel C's account, but the wording is different.

Table 12 Participant Orientation Pattern for accounts of Aššurbanipal's campaigns against Arabs[1022]

				B[1023]	C	A
						+[1024]
						I[1025]
ii$_{95}$	imḫurannima	B[1026]	A			
	uṣalla	B	A	I		
vii$_{97}$	ušazkirma	A	B	r		-
vii$_{98}$	utīrma	A	B	I		-

1022 B's account can be divided into five part, the beginnings of which are marked by introductions of new participants (vii$_{93}$-viii$_{22.23-31.32-38.39-50.51-63}$). All units are brief and no substantial rise or fall of tension is apparent. Only in the first and last section passages are marked by a comparatively high rhetorical level. In the first section this is found in the unusual narration of the distribution of booty items in Assyria. Bviii$_{20-22}$ constitute an EEN-construction:

    "sinnišat aštammu ina nidni
    lsirāšû ina dugḫabê
    lnukaribbu ina kišši imdanaḫarū [imeribi]lēmeš u amēlūti"

This is set into contrast with the description of a famine among the arabs (viii$_{25-27}$). A high rhetorical level is also found at the end of the fifth section. The final three lines conctitute an EEN-construction:

    anāku ḫadiš appaliss[uma
    pānīya damqātimeš elīšu aš[kun
    bilat mandattu šattišamma ukīn ṣīrušu.

1023 An account of Aššurbanipal's campaigns against Arabs is also provided by VAT 5600+ (VAT 5600 + K 2802 + 3047 + 3049 + BM 98591). For the text cf. Weippert, "Kämpfe des assyrischen Königs Assurbanipal", pp.74-81. The inscription contains a letter by Aššurbanipal to the god Aššur. The literary relationship between B, VAT 5600+ and A is difficult to discern. VAT 5600+ first presents a historical introduction (I,3-12) which is found in neither of the other versions and then agrees with B against A in its order of narration and several readings (Bviii$_9$ // // VAT 5600+ I.51 - Avii$_{118}$, Bviii$_{11}$ // VAT 5600+ I.53 - Avii$_{122}$, Bviii$_{24}$ // VAT 5600+ II,6 - Aix$_{55}$), but sometimes also agrees with A against B (I,50 // Avii$_{117}$ - Bviii$_9$, VAT 5600+ I,55 // Aix$_{43}$ - Bviii$_{13}$, VAT 5600+ I,38-44 // Avii$_{89-100}$). This, especially the presence of "ana mātnabayate" in VAT 5600+ II,23f (// Avii$_{124}$, cf. above n.431), seems to indicate that VAT 5600+ was written later than B but earlier than A. In one passage, however, it is probable that A has preserved an earlier version compared to VAT 5600+. (see above n.305). VAT 5600+ also agrees with C against B and A (VAT II,56-III,4 // Cx$_{50-56}$).

1024 "adki" - A A' B.

1025 "ušteššera" - A B.

1026 "Yauta mār Ḫazailu". For a possible connection between the two forms of the name, Uwaite and Yauta cf. Weippert, "Die Kämpfe des assyrischen Königs Assurbanipal", p.40, n.6. Weippert's claims that the mention of the name without patronym refers to Uaite b. Birdadda and that in Aviii$_{96}$-ix$_8$ the campaign is directed against Uaite b. Birdadda (cf. ix$_2$), whereas the corresponding passage in ed.B and VAT 5600+ the campaign was directed against Uaite b.Hasael ("Die Kämpfe des assyrischen Königs Assurbanipal", p.49), are not justified. VAT 5600 II,56f refers to Uaite b. Hazael (cf. ll.17.23). The supposed difference between Aix$_2$ and the parallel passages in B and VAT 5600+ (Weippert, "Die Kämpfe des assyrischen Königs Assurbanipal", p.59) can, if we ignore the variations in the spelling of the name, be explained by haplography because of homoioteleuton or homoioarkton: "lua-a-te mār lḫa-za-ilu mār aḫi abi ša lu-a-a-te-' mār lbir-ddadda" (Aviii $_{1-2}$).

Line	Lemma						
vii$_{99}$	iḫtiama	B	A		r		-[1027]
viii$_1$	lā iṣṣurma	B	A		I		-[1028]
	išlâ	B	A		I		-[1029]
viii$_2$	iprusma	B	A		I		r
viii$_3$	iklâ	B	A		I		I
							s[1030]
							s[1031]
							I[1032]
							s[1033]
							I[1034]
							I[1035]
viii$_4$	ušabalkitma	B	B'	A	I		I[1036]
viii$_5$	iḫtanabbatū	B'	A'		I		I
viii$_6$	uma"era	A	A'	B	r		I
							I[1037]
viii$_8$	iškunū	A'	B'		I		I[1038]
viii$_9$	urassibū	A'	B'		I		I[1039]
							r[1040]
							I[1041]
viii$_{11}$	u[ša]ḫizū	A'	B'		I		I
	ipqidū	A'	B'		I		I[1042]
							r[1043]
viii$_{13}$	išlulūni	A'	B'		I		
viii$_{15}$	umtanallū	A'	B'		I		
viii$_{16}$	uparris	A	A'		I		
	uza"iz	A	A'		I		
viii$_{19}$	išammū	A'			I		
viii$_{21}$	imdanaḫarū	A'			I		
viii$_{24}$	ušamqit	A*	B/B'				-
viii$_{25}$	iššakinma	A*"[1044]			I		-
viii$_{26}$	ēkulū	B'			r		-
viii$_{28}$	išimūšu	A*	B		r	...]	-
viii$_{31}$	imḫuršuma	B[1045]			r	[+]	+

1027 Subordinate clause.

1028 Subordinate clause.

1029 Subordinate clause.

1030 "išmēma" - B C.

1031 "lā iṣṣura" - B A.

1032 "umašširannimma" - B A.

1033 "iddinšunūti" - B B' C.

1034 "išpuramma" - B B' C.

1035 "ištakan" - B C.

1036 "ušamkirma".

1037 "adūk" - A B'.

1038 "aškun" - A B'.

1039 "urassip" - A B'. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige*, p.66, n.c) notes the variant reading "urassibū".

1040 "ipparšidma" - B A*.

1041 "innabit" - B (A).

1042 "iqmû".

1043 "innabit" - B (A).

1044 Grammatical subject: "sunqu".

1045 Grammatical subject: "maruštu".

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	innabit	B	(A)		I	[I]	+
viii$_{32}$	ilikamma	B^{1046}	A				
	unaššiq	B	A		I	+	
	aškun	A	B		r	r	
viii$_{35}$	aškunšu	A	B		I	I	
viii$_{38}$	ukīn	A	B		I	I	
(viii$_{45}$	iškunū^{1047}	A$^{(')}$	B)			[+]	
viii$_{48}$	uṣabbit	A'	B		(I)	-	
viii$_{49}$	[iddima]^{1048}	A'	B		I	-	
viii$_{50}$	ušēbila	A'	B		I	-	
						+^{1049}	
viii$_{53}$	išmâ	B^{1050}	A			+$\quad$s^{1051}$\quad$s^{1052}$\quad$I^{1053}	
viii$_{58}$	išpuramma	B	B'	A	I	I	
	unaššiq	B	A		I	I	
viii$_{60}$	uṣanalla	B	A		I	I	
viii$_{61}$	apalliss[uma^{1054}	A	B		r	r	
viii$_{62}$	aš[kun	A	B		I	[I]	
viii$_{63}$	ukīn	A	B		I	[i]	

1046 Grammatical subject: Abiate.

1047 The Moabite king is mentioned as grammatical subject. Thus the verbal form may be a subjunctive. One would, however, expect an indicative. It is not possible to decide whether the form is subjunctive or indicative pl. or a scribal mistake.

1048 Restored after prism D.

1049 Defeat of Adiya, queen of Arabia (Cx$_{39-44}$). Cf. Bviii$_{11}$.

1050 Natnu

1051 "iqbišuma" - B C.

1052 "iplaḫma" - B (A).

1053 "iršâ" - B.

1054 Restored after prism D.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AJSL	American Journal for Semitic Languages and Literatures
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
GE	Neoassyrian version of the Gilgameš-Epic
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JL	Journal of Linguistics
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
KAI	H.Donner und W.Röllig, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften (cf. bibliography)
LOB	Y.Aharoni, The Land of the Bible (cf. bibliography)
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
RB	Revue Biblique
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, ed. R.Borger, W.Hinz, W.H.Ph.Römer (cf. bibliography)
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
VT	Vetus Testamentum
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

Abbreviations in text-critical remarks follow *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Ed. K.Elliger and W.Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1976/7 and *Septuaginta, id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*. Ed. A.Rahlfs. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935. Repr. 1970.

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