


1998

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Recommended Citation

"Sargon II and His Redactors Repair Eanna of Uruk," *Biblical Research* 43 (1998): 22-49.

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Sargon II and his Redactors Repair Eanna of Uruk

Steven W. Holloway

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ABSTRACT

Uncritical reliance on redaction criticism for reconstructions of biblical events and chronologies can lead the hapless biblical investigator out of the realm of defensible historical proofs and counterclaims. As an exercise designed to highlight this hazard, a foundation inscription of the Assyrian king Sargon II is analyzed using familiar arguments for adducing multiple redactional hands. A second foundation inscription by a different king drastically alters the readers' conception of the *Vorlage* behind Sargon's text, inviting suspicion not only of the aforesaid redactional hands, but of the methodological climate that made their invention a routine procedure. The author concludes that, while redaction criticism can yield valuable historical insights when employed in the analysis of synoptic evidence, in the absence of such checks the method is apt to produce results that have little in common with those of other historical disciplines, such as Assyriology.

Custom without truth is just error in its old age.
Cyprian, *Ad Pompeium*

The goal of this paper is to cause the reader to think critically about redaction criticism. The customary means to this end entails analyzing a single biblical pericope, with the predictable outcome that half of you would nod in approval while the knuckles of the other half would go dangerously white. I have deliberately chosen an unfamiliar text in order to give you the brief privilege of standing outside your own discipline and, gazing in through the Gothic windows, to see perhaps what other restless students of antiquity perceive to lie behind the revelatory power of the redaction critical method.

study of ethnicity in the ancient Near East is in its infancy, contemporary texts describe the inhabitants of Babylonia as a scattering of Babylonian citizens—people of Akkadian or Kassite lineage—dwelling in fortified cities in a restive countryside enlivened by the unpredictable movements of Aramaean tribesmen, a land increasingly subject to political domination by the waxing power of the Sealands—the powerful Chaldean tribes.² Sargon's conquest was in fact achieved at the cost of driving out the resourceful Chaldean king, Marduk-apla-iddina II, better known to OT readers as Merodach-baladan, who had ruled Babylonia from 721 until his ejection from Babylon in 710.³ Unlike Assyria, the trade-rich crossroads that was Babylonia endured a legacy of political weakness and dynastic instability

Najafehabad, Iran, provide us with the ideologically-charged image that the king wished to bequeath posterity, that is, Sargon as world-conqueror, monumental builder and vicar of the god Aššur. The accuracy of the modern translations vary significantly, as our understanding of both the Standard Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian dialects of Akkadian continues to wax as the young (150 year old) discipline of Assyriology comes of age. ANET treatment of the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions is dated and on occasion simply inaccurate, a better resource is the relevant fascicle of Otto Kaiser, ed. *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (Gutersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1982-). The most reliable translation of the published Khorsābād inscriptions (the majority excavated in the 20th century remain unpublished) is Andreas Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 1994). Important recent synthetic studies of Sargon's reign include Galo W. Vera Chamaza, "Sargon II's Ascent to the Throne: the Political Situation," *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 6/1 (1992) 21-33, Giovanni B. Lanfranchi, "Consensus to Empire: Some Aspects of Sargon II's Foreign Policy," in *Assyrien Wandel der Zeiten XXXIX^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg 6-10 Juli 1992* (ed. Hartmut Waetzoldt and Harald Hauptmann, Heidelberg: Studia zum Alten Orient 6, Heidelberg: Heidelberg Orientverlag, 1997) 81-87.

² See John A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B C* (AnOr 43, Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968) 246-88, Grant Frame, *Babylonia 689-627 B C: a Political History* (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 69, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1992) 32-51, Steven W. Cole, *Nippur in Late Assyrian Times c. 755-612 B C* (State Archives of Assyria Studies 4, Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1996) 23-44.

³ For general background, consult John A. Brinkman, "Merodach-Baladan II," in *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, June 7, 1964* (ed. Robert D. Biggs and John A. Brinkman, Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1964) 6-53, idem, *Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747-626 B C* (Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 7, Philadelphia: Babylonian Fund of the University Museum, 1984) 45-54, idem, "Babylonia in the Shadow of Assyria (747-626 B C)," in *CAH* 3/2 26-32, Albert Kirk Grayson, "Assyria: Tiglath-Pileser III to Sargon II (744-705 B C)," in *CAH* 3/2 86-102.

stretching back to the Late Bronze Age.⁴ For Sargon or any king to dominate the land successfully, it was imperative to win the allegiance of the proud urban citizens, especially their elite corps, the powerful priesthoods of the ancient city temples, together with the army of bureaucrats in charge of tax assessment and canal supervision, the intrepid merchants who crossed political boundaries in search of profit, and the artisans capable of turning raw tin and copper into the Luristan bronzes that grace our museums today. To rule Babylonia as a legitimate king meant sustained patronage for the city temples: subsidizing sacrifices, maintaining far-flung latifundia, and repairing the fabric of the gloomy mudbrick structures that housed the ancient images of the gods of Sumer and Akkad.

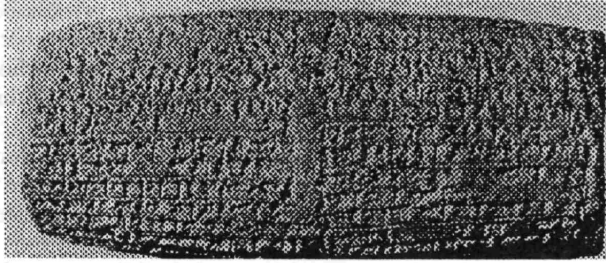
Now, mudbrick is the cheapest writing and building material in the world. Inscribe it, bake it into terra-cotta, bury it, and count on its being read five millennia hence. Buildings made of sun-dried mudbrick, however, require roof repairs after every hard rain and will inevitably leak, swell, soften, and collapse over time.⁵ The definitive solution was to tear down the infirm walls and rebuild from the foundation up, an expense beyond the means of any but kings and well-heeled rulers. For two thousand years prior to the birth of Sargon it had been the custom for magnanimous kings to memorialize their piety in ornate Sumerian or Akkadian texts impressed on baked clay bricks, pegs, tablets, hollow cylinders or prisms, and to bury them in the foundations of the temples they repaired for the edification of the gods and the fleeting cultural immortality of discovery by a later king.⁶ Sargon II did no differently; in his bid to control Uruk, a key political outpost in turbulent southern Babylonia, he recorded his repair work on É.an.na, a Sumerian ceremonial name meaning “heavenly house”, the temple complex devoted to Akkadian Ištar, Sumerian Nanâ, on a series of inscribed

⁴ See Brinkman, *Post-Kassite Babylonia*, 86-245; idem, *Prelude to Empire*, 3-38 (“institutional landscape”), Cole, *Nippur in Late Assyrian Times*, 5-22; Steven W. Holloway, “Assyria and Babylonia in the Tenth Century BCE,” in *The Age of Solomon Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium* (ed. Lowell K. Handy; Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 11; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997) 202-16.

⁵ For an overview of Iron-Age building techniques and architectural typology, including mudbrick, see Michael Roaf, “Palaces and Temples in Ancient Mesopotamia,” in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. Jack M. Sasson; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1995) 1.423-41; Ze’ev Herzog, “Building Materials and Techniques: An Overview,” in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (ed. Eric M. Meyers; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 1.360b-63a; G. R. H. Wright, “Building Materials and Techniques: Bronze and Iron Ages,” in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* 1.363a-67b.

⁶ For an overview of this subject see Richard S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Yale Near Eastern Researches 2; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968)

bricks and one clay cylinder.⁷ Marked on the map near the bottom right corner is the site of Uruk, located about a hundred miles SSE of Babylon.



YBC 2181 - Sargon II



Figure 2. Photograph of YBC 2181, the Uruk foundation inscription of Sargon II, together with the first 15 lines of the text in handcopy. Adapted from Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, pls. 23 and 53. In the public domain.

The cylinder in question, Yale Babylonian Collection no 2181, purchased on the antiquities market during WWI, was said to have come from Uruk, modern Tulūl al-Warkā⁸, and in light of the inscription there is no good reason to doubt it.⁸ The Standard Babylonian text itself, drafted in a

⁷ Grant Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157-612 BC)* (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Babylonian Periods 2; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995) B.22.3-4 (Akkadian); B.22.5-6 (Sumerian). É.anna of Uruk first appears in the inscriptions of Narām-Sin of Akkad (2254-2218 BCE).

⁸ "The inscription was found in that city [Warka] during recent activity on the part of Arab diggers"; Albert T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale*

contemporary Babylonian script, the first fragmentary 15 lines of which appears together with a photograph of the cylinder in question, is an unexceptional example of the genre of foundation inscription, a routine pastiche of divine invocation, royal titulary, description of repairs to be performed, concrete payback anticipated for the execution of this pious office, and a subtle sermon at the end directed at the good citizens of Uruk, who, in light of Sargon's celebrated clemency and thoughtfulness, had bloody well better behave themselves.

Assyriologists have on occasion used redaction-critical methods with Assyrian royal inscriptions, but nothing to compare with the massed troop movements of the Biblical specialists.⁹ Undoubtedly, multiple sources were

Babylonian Collection (Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts 1; New Haven and London Yale University Press, 1915) 50. For an overview of the archaeology of Tulūl al-Warkā', see Rainer Michael Boehmer, "Uruk-Warka," in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* 5.294a-98b.

⁹ Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead, "Assyrian Historiography A Source Study" (University of Missouri Studies, Social Science Series 3/1, Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1916) 1-66; Hayim Tadmor, "Introductory Remarks to a New Edition of the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III," in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2/9 (Jerusalem: Central Press, 1967) 168-88; Albert Kirk Grayson, "Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: Assyria and Babylonia," *Orientalia* 49 (1980) 140-94. A deluge of articles dealing with aspects of Assyrian historiography have appeared since the renaissance of Neo-Assyrian studies in the 1970s; see Paul Garelli, "L'État et la légitimité royale sous l'empire assyrien," in *Power and Propaganda A Symposium on Ancient Empires* (ed. Mogens Trolle Larsen; Mesopotamia: Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology 7; Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979) 319-28; Mario Liverani, "The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire," in *Power and Propaganda*, 297-317; Frederick Mario Fales, ed. *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions New Horizons in Literary, Ideological, and Historical Analysis* (Oriens Antiqui Collectio 17; Rome Istituto per l'Oriente, 1981) passim; Mordechai Cogan, "Omens and Ideology in the Babylonian Inscription of Esarhaddon," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (ed. Hayim Tadmor and Moshe Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1983) 76-87; Louis D Levine, "Preliminary Remarks on the Historical Inscriptions of Sennacherib," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation*, 58-75; Hayim Tadmor, "Autobiographical Apology in the Royal Assyrian Literature," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation*, 36-57; Mordechai Cogan, "A Plaidoyer on Behalf of the Royal Scribes," in *Ah, Assyria Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor* (ed. Mordechai Cogan and Israel Eph'al; Scripta Hierosolymitana 33; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1991) 121-28; Frederick Mario Fales, "Narrative and Ideological Variations in the Account of Sargon's Eighth Campaign," in *Ah, Assyria*, 129-47; Tomoo Ishida, "The Succession Narrative and Esarhaddon's Apology: A Comparison," in *Ah, Assyria*, 166-73; Bustanay Oded, "'The Command of the God' as a Reason for Going to War in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," in *Ah, Assyria*, 223-30; Alan R Millard, "Large Numbers in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," in *Ah, Assyria*, 213-22; Piotr Michalowski, "Memory and Deed:

involved in the construction of the lengthier examples of the annalistic genre, such as the so-called Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, that summarizes 31 years of military campaigns, with irregularities in the use of pronouns and geography sufficiently blatant to reveal harmonization of a number of documents.¹⁰ Wielding the same tools as modern redaction critics use to pry open the biblical texts, I will attempt to demonstrate in a short (77 line) inscription of Sargon II evidence of three redactional hands: the Diplomatic Redactor, or Dtr (i 18-25; i 30-31a; ii 28-38); the Priestly Court Theologian, or P (i 1-13; i 26-29; i 31b-36; i 37- ii 27), and the Assyrian Seneschal (i 14-17). I shall spare this readership the joys of sustained Akkadian philology by working solely from the accurate literal translation made by Grant Frame,¹¹ with the occasional modification for the sake of clarity and consistency. Square brackets indicate textual lacunae and restorations, while parentheses marks signal the inclusion of illustrative words not present in the Akkadian original.

The Uruk foundation inscription of Sargon II, YBC 2181:

i 1-13) [For] the goddess Ištar, mistress of the lands, (most) eminent of the gods, [(most) valiant] of the goddesses, [...] fierce, terrifying flood, [(...) who] is endowed with [...] (i 5) [...] ... majestic, [...] awe, [...] ... the firmament (of the heavens), [...] ... [...] humble, (i 10) [... who give]s judgment and decision, [...] purification rites, [...] which is inside Uruk, [...], his lady:

i 14-15) [Sargon (II), king of Assy]ria, king of the world, viceroy of Babylon, [king of (the land of) Sume]r and Akkad, prince who provides for her,

i 16-17) [In order to ensure] his [good health], to prolong his days, to lengthen his reign, [to...] his [...], (and) to overthrow his enemy,

i 18-25) [(With regard to) É.an.]na, which Šulgi, a previous king, had had built and which had become old, (with regard to) this temple, whose walls had buckled,

the Historiography of the Political Expansion of the Akkad State,” in *Akkad the First World Empire: Structure, Ideology, Traditions* (ed. Mario Liverani History of the Ancient Near East/Studies 5; Padova: Sargon srl, 1993) 69-90. For a luminous study of modern historiographic reconstructions of Mesopotamia, see Omar Carena, *History of the Near Eastern Historiography and Its Problems: 1852–1985. Part One: 1852–1945* (AOAT 218/1; Kevelaer/ Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag, 1989).

¹⁰ Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858-745 BC)* (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods 3; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996) A.0.102.14 (BM 118885).

¹¹ Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, B.6.22.3.

whose bondings had disintegrated, whose parapet had become ruined, whose foundation had collapsed, (and) whose reconstruction had not occurred to (any of) the kings, (his) predecessors —

i 26-29) At that time, the great lord, the god Marduk, gave excellent judgment to Sargon (II), king of Assyria, king of the world, viceroy of Babylon, one who was chosen by the god Asari, and increased his wisdom.

i 30-36) He (Sargon) directed his attention [to] renovating the abandoned cult centers and sanctuaries of all the gods of the land of Akkad. He was assiduous toward the sanctuaries of É.an.na, the abode of the goddess Ištar, mistress of the lands, his lady. (With regard to) the outer enclosure wall of É.an.na in the lower courtyard, he tore down its parapet and laid bare its foundation.

i 37-ii 6) With fervent entreaties, prayers, and expressions of humility he (Sargon) laid its foundations (anew) and he fixed its foundation on the breast of the netherworld (as secure) as a mountain. (ii 1) With the work of the god Kulla, the chief builder, and (with the help of) artisans who know (their) craft, he raised its top with (ritually) pure bricks and completed its construction. He made (it) larger than before and carried out the plans accordingly.

ii 7-15) On account of this, may the goddess Ištar, mistress of the lands, look upon this work with pleasure and may she bestow a (long) life on Sargon, king of Assyria, (ii 10) king of the world, viceroy of Babylon, the king who provides for her! May she say good things about him before the god Marduk, king of the gods! May she go (with him) as his helper in strife and battle!

ii 16-27) May he shatter the weapons of his enemies and may he achieve whatever he wants! May he subjugate at his feet all the rulers who are not submissive to him! (ii 20) By the command of the goddess Ištar, beloved of the lord of the gods, may he increase (his) good fortune! May long life, happiness, and gladness be bestowed on him and may his reign be long! May he make the foundation of his throne secure for future days and may he control (all) regions (of the world)!

ii 28-38) May he exercise the rule over the people who are of privileged status (and) freed from taxation by the great gods! (ii 30) During his reign may those ones freed from taxation not be in disorder! May he take away their negligence and may he remove their sin! Let turmoil be unknown to them (ii 35) (and) may he make their heart(s) rejoice! Like the foundations of Uruk and Eanna, may their foundations be firm!

ii 39-41) Copy of the inscription, dispatched from the palace of Assyria; copied and collated.

The timeless task of Sargon's Diplomatic Redactor or Dtr required him to catalogue and accurately reproduce the history and titles of foreign dignitaries, discover and exploit the correct appeals to national identity and civic pride, and, once the rhetorical finesse was mastered, to pour it on very thick. In i 18-25 this redactor, by revealing the fact that Šulgi of the Ur III Dynasty had earlier effected repairs on É.an.na, favorably situates Sargon II within the 2000-year old tradition of royal solicitude for the temples of Uruk.¹² I 30-31a dilates on Sargon II's cultic good-will by stating that he repaired ruined temples throughout Akkad, the ancient name for southern Mesopotamia. II 28-38 adds a vital datum to Sargon II's quest for legitimacy as a ruler of Babylonia: he restored the privileges (that is, civic exemptions) of the citizens. Exemption from royal corvée projects and various forms of taxation was a fiercely-coveted perquisite traditionally demanded by and granted to the full citizens of the major Babylonian cities. The ideology held that the gods decreed such exemptions, and the rulers abrogated them at cost of rebellion.¹³ Sargon relentlessly advertised himself as one who restored and honored the ancient exemptions of Babylonia: "I concerned myself unceasingly with the provisioning of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon and Borsippa; I set to rights the evils suffered by every exempt citizen. I reestablished the exemption of Dēr, Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kullab, Kissik and Nēmed-

¹² On the reign of Šulgi and the most up-to-date edition of his inscriptions, see Douglas Frayne, *Ur III Period* (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods 3/2; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 91-234.

¹³ On the nature of these exemptions and Assyrian responses, see J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Series Maior Studia Pohl 3; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974) 238-44; John A. Brinkman, "Babylonia Under the Assyrian Empire, 745-627 B.C.," in *Power and Propaganda*, 228 and nn. 38-41; Cogan, "Omens and Ideology," 80-85; Hanoeh Reviv, "Kidinnu: Observations on Privileges of Mesopotamian Cities," *JESHO* 31 (1988) 286-98.

Laguda, and soothed their people”¹⁴ Versions of this narrative occur in all of the major inscriptions of this king.¹⁵

The Priestly Court Theologian, or P, doubtlessly one of the *ummānu*, or master scribe, scholar and counselor privileged with direct access to the king’s person,¹⁶ represents the end redaction source. This court official was competent to enhance his sources with detailed information about foreign, that is, non-Assyrian deities. The damaged state of 1-13 permits us to conclude no more than P demonstrated a knowledgeable grasp of attributes suitable to a Babylonian Ištar. I 26-29 is a familiar genre, a “call” narrative, in which Sargon is summoned by the head of the Babylonian pantheon, Marduk, Asari is a learned variant name for the same god¹⁷ I 31b-11 6, an outline of the building program itself, communicates the gist of the foundation inscription in staid, traditional language virtually interchangeable with the building inscription of any other Neo-Assyrian king. Since ancient foundation inscriptions, like modern cornerstones, had to be laid down at the initial stage of construction, the glories of the finished edifice apostrophized by the P source are propagandistic visions of a temple superstructure that did not yet exist at the time of his composition. The passage begins by harping on the fact that the É an na temple was rehabbed in honor of “the goddess Ištar, mistress of the lands, my lady”, thereby identifying Sargon as a fellow worshiper of the local goddess. In 11 7-27 P diplomatically calls Sargon king (*šarru*) of Assyria, but viceroy (*šakkanakku*, GÌR NITA) of Babylon, an archaic military title that hearkens back to the inscriptions of Sargon’s 3rd-millennium namesake, appearing in most of the Assyrian king’s major

¹⁴ Fuchs, *Inschriften Sargons II*, Prunk 3 5

¹⁵ Fuchs, *Inschriften Sargons II*, Ann 331, 376 78, Prunk 5 9, 136 37, XIV 3 4, S4 5 9, S5 4 9, Suer 5 8, R 2 4, Bro 7 9, Zyl 4 (Khorsābād), C J Gadd, “Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud,” *Iraq* 16 (1954) 186 v1 75 78 (ND 2601+3401+3403+3417, ND 3400+3402+3408+3409) (Nimrūd), Leopold Messerschmidt and Arthur Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaler der Königl. Museen zu Berlin* 1 (Leipzig J C Hinrich, 1907) no 71, right side 11 13 17 (VA 968) (Cyprus), Vera Chamza, “Sargon II’s Ascent to the Throne,” 42 43 (K 1349) (Assur)

¹⁶ On the duties and privileges of the Late Assyrian *ummānu*, see Simo Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal Part 2 Commentaries and Appendices* (AOAT 5/2, Kevelaer/Neukirchen Vluyn Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener, 1983) xiv xx1 and passim, idem, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (State Archives of Assyria 10, Helsinki Helsinki University Press, 1993) xxv xxvii

¹⁷ Regarding the Mesopotamian god Marduk, see the serviceable works by Walter Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks Die Stellung Marduks in der babylonischen Religion des zweiten Jahrtausends v Chr* (AOAT 213, Kevelaer/ Neukirchen Vluyn Verlag Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), idem, “Marduk A. Philologische I In Mesopotamien,” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7 360a-70a, and D Rittig, ‘Marduk B Archaisch,’ *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7 372a 74b

inscriptions.¹⁸ The grateful goddess Ištar of É.an.na shall smile upon the Assyrian king for his pious deed by extending his life, solidifying his sovereignty and annihilating his foes, all stock idioms in the *vive le roi!* repertoire.

And finally, the brief but severely consistent work of the Assyrian Seneschal, i 14-17. Assyrian royal inscriptions are replete with fulsome descriptions of their creators, the self-styled kings of the universe. Royal titularies changed over time, reflecting the actual state of the empire; for instance, Sargon did not call himself viceroy of Babylon until 710, when he had actual control of the territory.¹⁹ The consistency with which his titles are rendered in his display and foundation texts scattered across Assyria and Babylonia argues for a single authorial source who, like any good reference librarian, was dedicated to terminological order and precision in the face of a perpetually shifting political environment.

Section 2

A crime has been committed. With malice aforethought, the reader has been led down the primrose path by means of a legitimate historical tool used to manufacture bogus redactors. I hasten to point out that the text of Sargon is authentic in every particular, but there are excellent grounds for dismissing as fantasy those plausible and industrious employees of the king, the Diplomatic Redactor, the Priestly Court Theologian and the Assyrian Seneschal. There is both precedent and pedagogical justification for the use of such a brutal *ruse de combat*. To tip my hat at the outset, we are in possession of the actual text from which Sargon's master scribes composed his inscription for É.an.na of Uruk, and from which we can trace many of the genuine redactional concerns that culminated in Sargon's Uruk foundation text.

¹⁸ Marie-Joseph Seux, *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1967) 276-80; CAD 17/1, s.v. *šakkanakku*.

¹⁹ Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire*, 53.

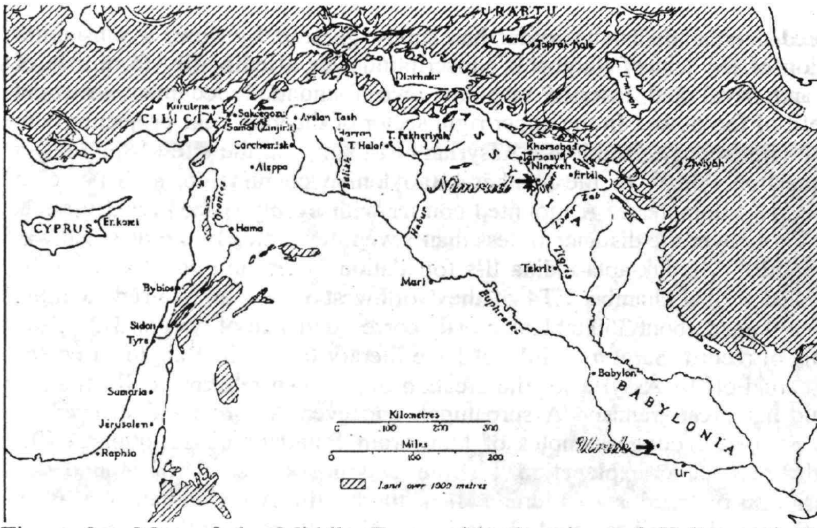


Figure 3. Map of the Middle East, with the sites of Kalhu and Uruk emphasized. Adapted from Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains*, 1.22. Used with permission.

In 1953, during the final season of the British excavations at the Assyrian capital Kalhu, biblical Calah, modern Nimrūd, a clay cylinder inscribed by Marduk-apla-iddina II was unearthed. It was a significant find, for the text corpus of that Babylonian ruler is quite small, and its discovery thrilled the biblical archaeologists, hoping for late-breaking news of Hezekiah or Judah, for Marduk-apla-iddina II is, as previously noted, the biblical Merodach-baladan. No such luck; Marduk-apla-iddina II's text, ND 2090, is a foundation inscription that describes the Babylonian king's restoration of the temple of É.an.na of Uruk.²⁰ Yes, it was the same temple that Sargon

²⁰ Both M. E. L. Mallowan, *Illustrated London News*, August 23 1952, 294-96, and C. J. Gadd, "Inscribed Barrel Cylinder of Marduk-apla-iddina II," *Iraq* 15 (1953) 123-34, recognized from the start that the authors of YBC 2181 borrowed heavily from ND 2090. The combination of striking similarities in form, content and vocabulary, and the highly suspect findspot of ND 2090 in an active scribal chamber of Sargon II, is quite persuasive. This point has never been challenged; see, for example, Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 146; Hayim Tadmor, "Propaganda, Literature, Historiography: Cracking the Code of the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," in *Assyria 1995* (ed. Simo Parpola and Robert M. Whiting; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997) 333-34. René Follet, "Une nouvelle inscription de Merodach-Baladan II," *Biblica* 35 (1954) 413-28 compared the two texts, observing that both combine traditional foundation-text phraseology with specifically "Urukian" motifs, as seen in the Uruk inscriptions of later Sargonid kings. H. Lenzen, "The Ningišzida Temple Built by Marduk-apla-iddina II at Uruk (Warka)," *Iraq* 19 (1957) 146-50 explores the

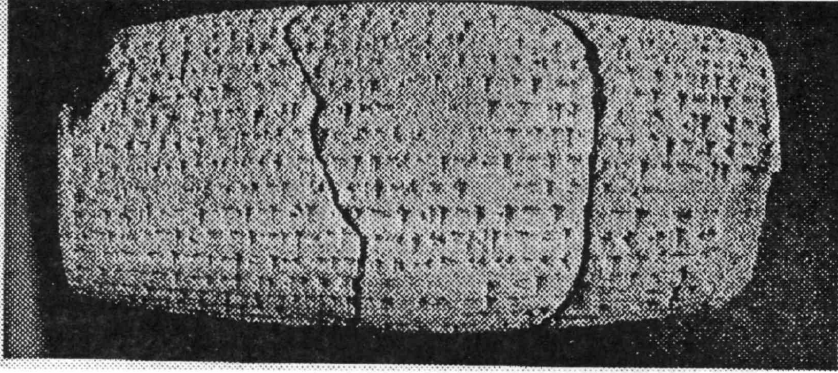
labored over, and, as the reader has surely guessed by now, a substantial portion of the text of Sargon II's inscription was lifted bodily from that of his arch rival and inserted into his own foundation document—without benefit of footnotes. In the upper right sector of the map I am projecting you see the findspot Nimrūd in the Assyrian heartland, and the site of the temple in question, Uruk, in the southern Babylonian countryside, a distance of some 510 kilometers. A mounted courier with evenly spaced relief mounts could not cover the distance in less than seven days; clearly the distance was not small. Marduk-apla-iddina II's foundation inscription was found in the so-called scribal chamber ZT4 of the Northwest Palace at Nimrūd, a room that contained about 350 tablets, mostly correspondence of Sargon II.² As a matter of record, Sargon II did not have literary tablets in Babylonia copied and carted off to Assyria for the creation of his own reference collection, as would his great-grandson Assurbanipal, and even Assurbanipal evinced no interest in collecting examples of hum-drum foundation inscriptions. The single reasonable explanation for the presence of an Uruk foundation inscription of Marduk-apla-iddina II in the hostile Assyrian capital was so that Sargon II's scribes could plagiarize it. Now, there is nothing remarkable about a later Mesopotamian king appropriating the inscriptional content of an earlier one. For instance, numerous examples of inscribed bricks commemorating Assurbanipal's restoration of É.kur, Enlil's temple in Nippur in southern Babylonia, are patterned on an inscription by the earlier Babylonian king Adad-šum-ušur found on several bricks at the same city.²

archaeological evidence for the contributions made by Sargon II and Marduk-apla-iddina II to the É.an.na temple complex. A useful general discussion of Mesopotamian temple types and building techniques is Jean-Claude Margueron, "Temples: Mesopotamian Temples," in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (ed. Eric M. Meyers; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 5.165a-169b; a more detailed study, though now somewhat dated, is Ernst Heinrich, *Die Tempel und Heiligtümer im Alten Mesopotamien* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut: Denkmäler antiker Architektur 14; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1982).

² M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* (2 vols.; New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1966) 1.173-75. This palace was originally constructed by Aššur-nāšir-apli II (883-859 BCE) and utilized by later Assyrian emperors, including Sargon II. The correspondence and administrative documents of kings other than Sargon II found in ZT4 and nearby rooms in the Northwest Palace indicate that the 9th-century palace maintained a bureaucratic afterlife until the fall of Assyria.

² Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 2, B.6.32.16, restoration of É.kur, Enlil's temple: BM 90807 [51-10-9,78R], BM 114299 [1919-10-11,4743], Ash 1922.181, Ash 1924.627, Bristol H 5097, CBS 1632a, CBS 8632, CBS 8633, CBS 8654, UM 84-26-8, UM 84-26-9, UM 84-26-10, UM 84-26-11 [bis], 6 examples in EŠ, number unknown, YBC 2372, R. F. Harper Collection, number unknown, 5 NT 703, HS 2981, McGill Ethnological Collections ML 1.18. Maximilian Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Nineveh's. Bd. 2: Texte* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 7; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1916) lxiv,

The scribes of the Assyrian king's successor, Aššur-etel-ilāni, also imitated Assurbanipal in copying the popular bricks of Adad-šum-ušur.² What is out of the ordinary is our ability to identify a unique document, ND 2090, as the redactional basis of YBC 2181.



ND 2090 – Marduk-apla-iddina II

Figure 4. Photograph of ND 2090, the Uruk foundation text of Marduk-apla-iddina II found in room ZT4 of the Northwest Palace at Nimrūd. Adapted from Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains*, 1.175, fig. 107. Used with permission.

This is not a typical case of textual transmission through the agency of unknown intermediate manuscripts. The evidence is extremely good that ND 2090, the Uruk foundation text of Marduk-apla-iddina II found at Nimrūd, was the very text held up to the light and read by the eyes of the scribe or scribes who prepared the original document of which YBC 2181, the Uruk foundation text of Sargon II reportedly found at Uruk, is, according to the colophon, an exact copy. The textual origins and path of transmission are thus: Marduk-apla-iddina II's foundation inscription is discovered in Uruk during repair work commissioned by Sargon II. The text, ND 2090, was brought to the Assyrian capital Kalḫu and there was edited into a foundation text suitable for use by the Assyrian king. Its purpose achieved, the cylinder lay forgotten in the ruins of the Assyrian palace archives until its recovery by

was the first to note that the text later published in Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, B.6.32.16, which lacks Assyrian royal titulary and deities, is modeled on an Adad-šum-ušur inscription found on several inscribed bricks at Nippur.

² D. O. Edzard, "Eine Inschrift Aššuretillilānis aus Nippur," *AfO* 19 (1959-60) 143 = Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, B.6.35.4 (Sumerian brick inscription, HS 1958, formerly HS 42). Lacking any mention of Assyrian deities or royal titulary, it is probable that Aššur-etel-ilāni's scribe(s) in preparing the text copied an inscription of Adad-šum-ušur's which has been found on several Nippur bricks (observation by Edzard).

archaeologists in the 20th century. At some point between 710 and 705 BCE, a master copy of Sargon II's foundation inscription was brought to Uruk itself where, in all probability, Babylonian scribes writing in contemporary Babylonian script prepared several duplicates, since it was customary for Mesopotamian rulers to bury numerous copies of their foundation texts in the bowels of the temples and palaces they rehabilitated. YBC 2181, the Sargon II foundation inscription clandestinely excavated at the site of Uruk in modern times, was, as the colophon indicates, one of the duplicates of the original text prepared in Assyria. Apart from rupestal inscriptions, I know of no clearer example from high antiquity of two surviving inscriptions, one of which provided the basic form and most of the content of the latter.

Below is a synoptic translation of the two Uruk foundation inscriptions: the column on the left is that of Marduk-apla-iddina II (ND 2090), while that on the right belongs to Sargon II (YBC 2181); the double underscore indicates word-for-word imitation in the original Akkadian. Now let's do some serious redaction criticism on the Sargon text.

ND 2090, Uruk text of Marduk-apla-iddina II:

1-2) For the goddess Ištar, mistress of the lands, supreme (among) the gods, valiant, the goddess Nineanna (“Lady of Eanna”), who dwells in Uruk, who has gathered to herself all the divine offices:

3-7) (With regard to) Eanna, which Šulgi, a previous king, had had built and which had become old, and (with regard to) the shrine of the god Ningizzida, which Anam, an earlier king, had had constructed inside it, (5) (with regard to) this temple, whose walls had buckled and whose bondings had disintegrated, whose [para]pet had collapsed and which had become unrecognizable, (and) whose reconstruction had not [occ]urred to

YBC 2181, Uruk text of Sargon II:

i 1-13) [For] the goddess Ištar, mistress of the lands, (most) eminent of the gods, [(most) valiant] of the goddesses, [...] fierce, terrifying flood, [(...) who] is endowed with [...] (i 5) [...] ... majestic, [...] awe, [...] ... the firmament (of the heavens), [...] ... [...] humble, (i 10) [... who give]s judgment and decision, [...] purification rites, [...] which is inside Uruk, [...], his lady:

i 14-15) [Sargon (II), king of Assy]ria, king of the world, viceroy of Babylon, [king of (the land of) Sume]r and Akkad, prince who provides for her, (i 16-17) [In order to ensure] his [good health], to prolong his days, to lengthen his reign, [to...] his [...], (and) to overthrow his enemy, (i 18-25) [(With regard to) É.an.]na, which Šulgi, a previous king, had had built and which had become old, (i 20) (with regard to) this temple, whose walls had buckled, whose bondings had disintegrated, whose parapet had become ruined, whose foundation had collapsed, (and) whose reconstruction had not occurred to (any of) the

¹ Restoration based on the combined seven-year reign of Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V as kings of Babylonia. The surviving traces, however, do not rule out the possibility that other numerals could have originally filled the lacuna.

the kings, (his) predecessors,
 8-11) [At that] time, the great lord,
the god Marduk, had turned away in
 divine wrath from the land of Akkad,
 and the evil enemy, the Subarian,
 exercised the rule over the land of
 Akkad for [seve]n¹ [years, (10) unt]il
 the days had elapsed, the appointed
 time had arrived, (and) the great
 [lord], the god Marduk, became
 reconciled with the land of Akkad,
 with which he had become angry.
 12-15) He (Marduk) looked (with
 favor) upon Marduk-apla-iddina (II),
 king of Babylon, prince who reveres
 him, to whom he (Marduk) stretched
 out his hand, legitimate eldest son of
 Erība-Marduk, king of Babylon, who
 has made firm the foundation(s) of
 the land. The king of the gods, the
god Asari, duly named him [to] the
 shepherdship of the land of Sumer
 and Akkad (and) personally [sa]id:
 “This is indeed the shepherd who will
 gather the scattered (people).”
 16-18) [With] the power of the great
 lord, the god Marduk, and of the hero
 of the gods, the god Utulu, he
 defeated the widespread army of
 Subartu and shattered their weapons.
 He brought about their overthrow and
 prevented them from treading on the
 territory of the land of Akkad.
 19-22) With the excellent judgment
 which the god Ea, the creator, maker

kings, (his) predecessors —
 i 26-29) At that time, the great
lord, the god Marduk, gave
excellent judgment² to Sargon
 (II), king of Assyria, king of the
 world, viceroy of Babylon, one
 who was chosen by the god Asari,
 and increased his wisdom.

² YBC 2181 i 28: GEŠTU¹¹ *šir-ti (šarāku)*; ND 2090 19: *uz-na šir-ti (qāšu)*.

³ The ideological changes introduced into ND 2090 by the scribes of Sargon II denote that the Babylonian cult centers and sanctuaries were abandoned (*nadūtu*), unsobly implying that the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina II was characterized by an impious neglect of his cultic duties (a slander falsified by the recovery of ND 2090). And precisely which Babylonian temples did the egregiously pious Sargon II repair? “All” (*kalū*) belonging to the Babylonian pantheon. Otherwise, YBC 2181 i 30-36 reproduces verbatim the text of ND 2090 23-26, omitting any reference to the temple of Ningizzida, with the minor orthographic variants customary in Akkadian copywork.

of all things, had bestowed upon him, (20) (and with) the extensive wisdom which the god Ninši[ku] had granted him, he directed his attention to performing the rites, *to administering correctly* the rituals, and to renovating the cult centers and sanctuaries of the divine residences of the great gods of the land of Akkad. 23-26) He was assiduous toward the sanctuaries of Eanna, the abode of the goddess Ištar, mistress of the lands, his lady. (With regard to) the outer enclosure wall of Eanna in the lower courtyard (25) and (with regard to) the temple of the god Ningizzida, which had been constructed inside it *to one side*, he tore down its parapet and laid bare [its] foundation.

27-29) With fervent entreaties, prayers, and expression(s) of humility, he laid its foundations (anew) and made (them) as firm as a mountain. He raised its top with (ritually) pure bricks and made (it) as bright as daylight. He made (it) larger than before and fashioned (its) structure artfully.

i 30-31a) He (Sargon) directed his attention [to] renovating the abandoned cult centers and sanctuaries of all the gods of the land of Akkad.³

i 31b -36) He was assiduous toward the sanctuaries of É.an.na, the abode of the goddess Ištar, mistress of the lands, his lady. (With regard to) the outer enclosure wall of É.an.na in the lower courtyard, he tore down its parapet and laid bare its foundation.

i 37-ii 6) With fervent entreaties, prayers, and expressions of humility he (Sargon) laid its foundations (anew) and he fixed its foundation on the breast of the netherworld (as secure) as a mountain. (ii 1) With the work of the god Kulla, the chief builder, and (with the help of) artisans who know (their) craft, he raised its top with (ritually) pure bricks and completed its construction. He made (it) larger than before and carried out the plans accordingly.

30-36) On account of this, when the goddess Ištar, mistress of the lands, looks upon this work with pleasure, may she bestow a (long) life on Marduk-apla-iddina (II), king of Babylon! May she increase his years and may he experience the fullness of old age! By her august command, which cannot be changed, may he subjugate at his feet all of his enemies and may the kings, his enemies, drag their weighty [trib]ute — the [abun]dance of the four quarters (of the world), the yield of mountain and sea — into Šuanna (Babylon)! (35) May he receive their [pres]ent and may he bring (them) into Esagila. before the lord of lords! May his reign be established in Babylon for all time!

37-40) I saw the royal inscription of a king who had preceded me (and) who had built that temple. I did not alter his royal inscription, but (rather) I placed (it) with my own royal inscription. Anyone in the future — whether king, or son of a king, or commissioner, or [govern]or, or chief administrator (of a temple), or mayor — who, appointed by the great lord, the god Marduk, decides to (re)build Eanna, let him see this royal inscription and let him place (it) with his own royal inscription for the future!

ii 7-15) On account of this, may the goddess Ištar, mistress of the lands, look upon this work with pleasure and may she bestow a (long) life on Sargon, king of Assyria, (ii 10) king of the world, viceroy of Babylon, the king who provides for her! May she say good things about him before the god Marduk, king of the gods! May she go (with him) as his helper in strife and battle!

ii 16-27) May he shatter the weapons of his enemies and may he achieve whatever he wants! May he subjugate at his feet all the rulers who are not submissive to him! (ii 20) By the command of the goddess Ištar, beloved of the lord of the gods, may he increase (his) good fortune! May long life, happiness, and gladness be bestowed on him and may his reign be long! May he make the foundation of his throne secure for future days and may he control (all) regions (of the world)!

ii 28-38) May he exercise the rule over the people who are of privileged status (and) freed from taxation by the great gods! (ii 30) During his reign may those ones freed from taxation not be in disorder! May he take away their negligence and may he remove their sin! Let turmoil be unknown to them (ii 35) (and) may he make their heart(s) rejoice! Like the foundations of Uruk and Eanna, may their foundations be firm!

ii 39-41) Copy of the inscription, dispatched from the palace of Assyria; copied and collated.

Unfortunately for our pedagogical purposes, the dating of both texts is regrettably secure: the Marduk-apla-iddina II text was composed between 721 and 710, the span of his kingship over Babylonia, while that of Sargon II could not have fallen outside the years 710 to 705, the years covering the Assyrian conquest of Babylonia until his death in battle. Although I could propound arguments on the basis of military history that Sargon II's work on Uruk occurred closer to 705 than 710, these arguments are tenuous at best, impossible to prove or refute, a limitation that constrains few enough authors of redaction-critical studies.

The titularial invocation of Ištar in Sargon's introduction, i 1-13, is noticeably fuller than that of the Marduk-apla-iddina II text; little more can be said in light of the fragmentary state of the text. In general, Assyrian comprehension of Babylonian mythology appears to have been thoroughgoing, since it was esteemed as the acknowledged root of Assyria's own cultic self-construction, so there is little need to invent a special redactional agency—such as the Priestly Court Theologian—to deal with what was common knowledge among the educated elite.²⁷ Sargon II's bald insertion of his own royal titulary immediately after the divine invocation

Shalmaneser V as kings of Babylonia. The surviving traces, however, do not rule out the possibility that other numerals could have originally filled the lacuna.

²⁵ YBC 2181 i 28: GEŠTU^{III} *sir-ti* (*šarāku*); ND 2090 19. *uz-na sir-ti* (*qāšu*)

²⁶ The ideological changes introduced into ND 2090 by the scribes of Sargon II denote that the Babylonian cult centers and sanctuaries were abandoned (*nadūtu*), unsuitably implying that the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina II was characterized by an impious neglect of his cultic duties (a slander falsified by the recovery of ND 2090). And precisely which Babylonian temples did the egregiously pious Sargon II repair? "All" (*kalū*) belonging to the Babylonian pantheon. Otherwise, YBC 2181 i 30-36 reproduces verbatim the text of ND 2090 23-26, omitting any reference to the temple of Ningizzida, with the minor orthographic variants customary in Akkadian copywork.

²⁷ On this issue see the discussion in Barbara Nevling Porter, "What the Assyrians Thought the Babylonians Thought about the Relative Status of Nabû and Marduk in the Late Assyrian Period," in *Assyria 1995* (ed. Simo Parpola and Robert M. Whiting, Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997) 253-60, who observes that, while Nabû figures prominently in the Assyrian inscriptions and Kirsābād temple program of Sargon II, Marduk stood at the head of the Babylonian pantheon in all the Babylonian inscriptions of this king. Beyond a general knowledge of prominent Babylonian mythologies and civic religious traditions, it is entirely possible that the expansion of Ištar's epithets in the YBC 2181 was a self-conscious attempt to link the Neo-Assyrian king with the legendary 3rd millennium empire of Akkad, whose tutelary deity was Ištar. A deliberate merging of the image of the 8th-century ruler from Assyria with the memory of Sargon of Akkad, whose deeds survived in numerous public inscriptions and epic plots, was in keeping with the efforts of Sargon's scribes, whose archaizing diction and choice of imagery attempt to breathe an air of dynastic continuity into the reign of their patently usurping king.

contrasts noticeably with that of Marduk-apla-iddina II, who situates himself in a historical progression beginning with the Ur-III ruler Šulgi and directly following the Assyrian interregnum, “the evil enemy, the Subarian” (line 9). Marduk as head of the Babylonian pantheon and king-maker naturally stood behind the actions of both kings, but differently. In the text of Marduk-apla-iddina II, the classic motif of divine abandonment is invoked: Marduk’s wrath against his own people caused him to “turn away” from his land and allow invasion by the “Subarian”, an archaic and possibly pejorative expression for the inhabitants of Northern Mesopotamia, here, a veiled reference to the subjugation of Babylonia during the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V, 728-721.²⁸ Marduk-apla-iddina II seized the kingship upon the assassination of Shalmaneser V, and defeated Sargon himself in 720, thus maintaining control of Babylonia for the next decade. Naturally enough, the chancellery scribes of Sargon II pass over in profound silence a stinging reference to their employer’s personal defeat! Marduk-apla-iddina II reconquered Babylonia through the graces of Marduk, but inspiration for his pious attention to the temples throughout Babylonia, including Uruk, came from Ea and Ninšiku, two names for the same deity, an intellectual god known to share his wisdom and technical expertise with deserving mortals.²⁹ Sargon, on the contrary, is inspired solely by Marduk, chosen by Asari, another name for Marduk.

In i 30-36 Sargon’s scribes virtually reproduced the temple renovation section verbatim from the text of his predecessor, possibly omitting any reference to the shrine of the underworld deity Ningizzida in Uruk because the Assyrian king ignored it. In i 37-ii 6, Sargon has added a reference to Kulla, the brick god, a deity rarely mentioned in Old- or Middle-Babylonian building inscriptions but one that occurs several times in the inscriptions of Sargon himself and his grandson and great-grandson, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.³⁰

In the final synoptic passage, ii 7-15, the statutory string of precatives expressing the king’s anticipated reward from the goddess for his industrious piety, the differences between the text of Sargon II and Marduk-apla-iddina II are more cosmetic than substantive. In the corresponding passage, Marduk-apla-iddina II emphasizes Babylon as the seat of his rulership, a patriotic claim that Sargon, whose new capital lay over 500 km to the north in

²⁸ The expression “to defeat the widespread army of x” (BAD₅BAD₅ ÉRIN DAGAL *maḥāšu*), line 17, was a common trope in Assyrian annalistic texts, here used in a bitter reversal of roles by the victorious Babylonian.

²⁹ See Hannes D. Galter, *Der Gott Ea/Enki in der akkadische Überlieferung: Eine Bestandsaufnahme des vorhandenen Materials* (Dissertationen der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz 58; Graz: Verlag für die Technische Universität Graz, 1983); Samuel Noah Kramer and John Maier, *Myths of Enki, the Crafty God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); M. E. Vogelzang, “The Cunning of Ea and the Threat to Order,” *JEOL* 31 (1989-1990) 66-76.

³⁰ W. G. Lambert, “Kulla,” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6.305a-b.

Assyria, could scarcely emulate. The commonplace image of shattering the weapons of one's enemies in the Sargon text column two line 16 may harken back to Marduk-apla-iddina II's boast of having done just that to the invading Assyrians in line 17.

Sargon's scribes elected to ignore the final section of the Marduk-apla-iddina II text altogether. Voicing his pious and thoroughly correct conservatism, Marduk-apla-iddina II succeeds in lines 37-40 not only in reinforcing his respect for the work of earlier kings, but strengthens his claims to the Babylonian throne by firmly wedging himself into a centuries-old pattern of royal patronage for Babylonian temples. Sargon's professional image-makers harbored no such illusions in ii 28-38: as the newest ruler of Babylonia, Sargon extends the divine precatives of the preceding section into the sphere of his earthly subjects: in return for receiving the exemptions from corvée and taxation coveted from time immemorial by the "privileged" citizens of the prestigious Mesopotamian temple cities, the conqueror reminds a defeated populace that good conduct is expected, since their "negligence and sin" have been excused. This last section has a curiously sermonic ring to it that suggests that this text, or one patterned on it, was read aloud to the formerly negligent and sinful Urukian citizenry before sealing it up in the silent foundations of the temple É.an.na.

As a form-critical note, those familiar with the rigid formulae of steles and foundations inscriptions of Neo-Assyrian kings will be struck by the anomalous lack of a concluding blessing and curse-clause aimed at that future prince, who either respects the pious wishes of the dead ruler or callously defaces his memorial inscription. A typical example, taken from a text of Sargon himself found at his capital Khorsābād:

Let some future prince who restores its ruins (and) inscribes his memorial inscription deposit it together with my memorial inscription, for then the god Aššur will hear his prayers. As for whoever destroys the work of my hands, blots out my fateful deeds, may the great lord Aššur liquidate his name (and) his seed from the land!³¹

Sargon's foundation text from Uruk lacks any such friendly reminder for posterity; it appears to be the only well-preserved foundation text of that king to omit this formula. Why? Sargon II's grandson and great-grandson, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, were never loathe to include such passages in the foundation inscriptions they deposited in Babylonian temples, including that of É.an.na of Uruk³²—clearly *their* Priestly Court Theologians found

³¹ Fuchs, *Inschriften Sargons II.*, 50:44b-51 (the silver foundation tablet AO 21371).

³² Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, Esarhaddon: B.6.31.15.36-41 (BM 45793, NBC 2510, NBC 6055); B.6.31.16.20-25 (YBC 2147, NBC 2509, W 856); B.6.31.17.20-25 (AO 6772, BM 113204, W 4098); B.6.31.18.21-23 (YBC 2146); Assurbanipal: B.6.32.19.28-32 (YBC 2180, UCLM 9-1793, NBC 2507 +(?)) W

nothing amiss. Is it possible that the scribe responsible for Sargon's Uruk inscription, knowing all too well that the pious wishes of Marduk-apla-iddina II regarding the re-interment of his foundation inscription would not be honored by the Assyrian king, refrained from adding sacrilege to injury by clamoring for curses to fall upon rulers yet unborn for precisely the crime committed by Sargon himself? We will never know, but it is a tenable explanation for a striking departure from formulaic protocol.

Inclusion of a colophon in a Sargonid foundation inscription is not unique, but is sufficiently unusual to merit comment. The colophon in our text, ii 39-41, undoubtedly added by the Babylonian scribe responsible for duplicating the text in cylinder format, establishes that, although it is a copy, it is an accurate and royally licensed duplicate of a text archived in an Assyrian royal palace. If this insertion represents anything more than the scholar's inveterate habit of footnoting his sources, the colophon serves notice that the entire operation of rehabbing this Babylonian temple was an Assyrian colonial enterprise, orchestrated by an Assyrian king and his scribal army, even down to the minutiae of drafting a narrative account of the venture in the Assyrian heartland, a contractual claim of ownership as blatantly possessive as the brass dog-tags issued to members of the American armed services. Even as the colophon focuses the readers' mind on the Assyrian-ness of the whole enterprise, it diverts attention away from the fact that Sargon's architectural patronage imitated his hated Babylonian rival, just as it conceals the fact that the true source of Sargon's building inscription in the remote Assyrian capital was not an arsenal of savvy scribal bureaucrats, but ND 2090, a legitimate Babylonian text extolling a more or less legitimate Babylonian king.

Section Three

Within the discipline of biblical studies, source criticism attempts to isolate the individual documents behind the received text and date them. Form criticism, with its remarkable historical hostility to written documents, attempts to describe the text-*Gattung* together with the community for whom the text was composed. Redaction criticism, building on these two, endeavors to describe the theological or ideological *Tendenz* revealed by the redactors' use of their source material in the creation of the final or received form of the text in question. Whereas the fancy tag "redaction criticism" is modern, the attempt to describe authorial bias according to the fashion by which sources are manipulated is as old as Herodotus and the birth of explicit historiography. In the environment of multiple authorship and rampant intertextuality presented by the biblical texts, redaction criticism plays an enormously valuable role in Biblical hermeneutics, ranging from historically-oriented analyses of the Qumran *peshtarim* to current *Ideologiekritik*-readings

4444, W 20942); Aššur-etel-ilāni: B.6.35.1.21-22 (PTS 2253); B.6.35.2.19 (VAT 13142).

that utilize interpretative strategies reflecting the dominant assumptions of the interpreters', rather than the authors', society. The caveat behind this essay reflects a growing conviction that redaction criticism, as a fine-honed analytical tool designed to account for how one text historically builds upon another, is most reliable in the environment of a synoptic problem (Kings/Chronicles, the synoptic gospels themselves, synoptic Akkadian inscriptions), and is least reliable in the analysis of hypothetical documents generated *ex hypothesi* by hypothetical redactors. Putting it another way, redaction criticism works in the presence of identifiable and causally-conditioned discontinuity; a fully harmonized final text is virtually proof against the prying fingers of the modern redaction critic.³³

As evidence of this last point I summon to the witness stand the Uruk foundation inscriptions of Marduk-apla-iddina II and Sargon II. The Chaldean king's veiled boast of defeating the earth-shattering might of Assyria in lines 16-18 finds no echo in the text of his adversary. None. Zero. Zilch. Zip. Speaking in computer jargon, while there is an *identifiable* upgrade path taken by the scribes of Sargon II, that is, to strike the offensive material completely from the plagiarism process, there is no *predictable* upgrade path from the standpoint of a modern Assyriologist striving to re-create the Ur-text behind Sargon's temple propaganda. No one, studying YBC 2181, Sargon's Uruk foundation text, in blissful ignorance of ND 2090 could possibly surmise that a vicious dig at Assyrian military vulnerability had been excised.³⁴

Now, let us take this verifiable redactional observation that Sargon's scribes censored objectionable matter found in their source, ND 2090, and develop it by using the "dark side" of redaction criticism, that is, extrapolating from an extant document the contents of a hypothetical one, and then reversing the argument in classic circular fashion, explaining the

³³ The point has been made repeatedly in expositions of redaction critical methodology, perhaps most cogently by John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study* (Revised ed.; Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1996) 45-60.

³⁴ It is stipulated that any scholarly effort to reconstruct a *Vorlage* of YBC 2181 would miss the anti-Assyrian aspersion in the original, and would thereby seriously distort the rhetorical message encoded into the entire text, that is, Marduk-apla-iddina II is the legitimate temple-building king who *liberated* Babylonia from Assyrian oppression. The constant possibility of this kind of irretrievable omission should caution us against making sweeping generalizations about the nature of such hypothetical documents as Dtr¹ or Q. If Dtr¹ has been reworked by at least one editorial hand, what has been excised? If a single Q every existed as a stable document or fixed oral tradition, who is to say what that original Q once might have contained that the Gospel tradents have jettisoned? And in light of such historical uncertainty, how can we presume to make global pronouncements on the pristine rhetorical, ideological or theological essence of these Ur-texts?

contents of the known document from the hypothetical one. There are several Babylonian foundation texts composed by Sargon II's royal descendants, none of which allude to failures of Assyrian armed prowess. Save for shame and a sense of self-preservation, there is nothing to prevent me from writing an article for the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* claiming that the Uruk foundation inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal were also modeled on other as-of-yet unknown inscriptions of Marduk-apla-iddina II, replete with stirring anti-Assyrian sentiments, and that the Assyrian kings dutifully edited these passages out of existence. Fortunately, the *JNES* editor Bob Biggs has better sense than to publish such rank speculation in a respectable periodical, and would draft a collegial note of rejection couched in civil language informing me that the idea is balderdash. It certainly could be true, just as Sargon's Uruk inscription may after all be a product of the same plausible redactional hands that I invented from whole cloth in the first section of this paper, but it is perilous rank speculation, with no hope of verification until new old texts are excavated, and there are simply too many genuine, productive contributions to scholarship to waste paper and ink over such musings. I do not have the same confidence that the editors of *JBL*, *ZAW*, *NTS*, and the other premier organs of biblical scholarship are as squeamish about publishing "perilous rank speculation" of the same ilk, like the claim made by Steven McKenzie that positive references to Manasseh in Chronicles demonstrate that Dtr² had access to the same pre-Dtr source but chose instead to vilify the king by passing over his merits in silence.³⁵ It is the same argument from silence, the same il-logic, the same impossibility of positive verification or falsification, since the hypothetical sources of the Chronicler, Dtr², as well as the sources used by the Uruk scribes of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal do not exist as accessible, discrete documents, if indeed they ever existed as documents at all. Invidious examples could and do fill hefty volumes; again, the point is not that redaction criticism is a hoax or that its promulgators are hardened mountebanks, but that there is an increasingly favorable climate in respectable peer-reviewed periodicals and prestigious monograph series that supports virtually any and every minor reworking of a speculative textual chronology or ostentatiously-footnoted redactional micro-adjustment.

Although the cuneiform texts that we examined frustrated us by their un-biblical-like narrow chronological spread, we all pay lip service to the truism that coherent redactional pericopes in the Old Testament are all too often treated as if they were diagnostic potsherds yielding securely dated strata within an archaeological dig, thus permitting the intrepid scholar to pivot noiselessly between narrative images, historical constructs and archaeological

³⁵ Steven L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 191-93.

survivals.³⁶ Since we know, runs the old formula, that King Josiah drastically modified the Judahite cult late in the life span of Assyria, that all manifestations of Assyro-Babylonian astral religion would have been targeted for destruction by the reformer king, and that sovereign freedom from Assyrian overlordship was uppermost in Josiah's secularist policy, then it follows that, in spite of patent fallacies in historical as well as archaeological deduction, (a) condemnation of astral religion in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history, whatever that was, must date to the age of Josiah;³⁷

³⁶ "Ever since Herodotus (7.152.3), it was a commonplace of historical writing to annotate certain items with the plea that 'I'm reporting what I was told, I don't necessarily believe it,' *fides penes auctores*: e.g. Sallust, *Jugurthine War* 17.7 (on Africa), Valerius Maximus 1.8.7 (on the migrating Penates), Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 17.93 (on olive yields). Cf. Curtius Rufus 9.1.3 ('I report more than I believe'). But according to Seneca, historians make this virtuous declaration at random, to give the illusion that the rest of what they say is guaranteed." Timothy Peter Wiseman, "Lying Historians: Seven Types of Mendacity," in *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World* (ed. Christopher Gill and Timothy Peter Wiseman; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993) 135.

³⁷ The hazard of bandying about an expression like "Assyro-Babylonian astral religion" is that the concept is nebulous and undefined, with the result that scholars can and do read into it what they will, often at the cost of translating the cult polemics of the likes of Isaiah, Daniel, and interested Greco-Roman parties into "objective" fact. Horoscopic (genethliological) astrology is not attested in cuneiform sources until late Persian or Seleucid times. Catarchic astrology, the belief that the stars were responsible for favorable and unfavorable times for initiating actions, in the guise of menological and hemerological series, was widespread, judging from the appearance of these texts in most sizable cuneiform archives in Western Asia from the Late Bronze Age through the Neo-Babylonian period. The stars were capable of imparting special properties to herbs and were instrumental in many medical procedures, particularly of an apotropaic nature. A variety of divinatory techniques, including haruspicy, entailed prayers to the "gods of the night", together with sacrifices performed under the night sky. The ominous repercussions of solar and lunar eclipses were most felt by heads of state, hence the extraordinary patronage of celestial divination in the Sargonid period and multiple attestations of the grim substitute king ritual. Sorcerers, ubiquitous in the Mesopotamian landscape according to popular thought, manipulated the celestial powers for evil ends; the sorcerers' machinations were in turn exposed and brought to nought through apotropaic and prophylactic rites orchestrated by the beneficent guidance of the stars. Regarding state rituals, the gods were addressed in their astral manifestations during the Babylonian New Year's ritual. When divine images were ready for installation in their temples, the *mīs pī* and *pīt pī* rituals, meaning "washing of the mouth" and "opening of the mouth", respectively, vivified the inanimate objects as the god was coaxed into entering his/her earthly image. The balance of the rituals took place under the night sky, where the major gods of the pantheon in their astral forms and the stars received prayers and sacrifices. Many of the texts detailing these procedures are little studied, even by Assyriologists; the most reliable modern monographic treatment is Erica Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Transactions of the

(b) terra-cotta cult figurines found in Jerusalem, some of which display astral iconography, must have been manufactured under Assyrian inspiration, probably in the days of the *Unheilsherrscher* Manassch,³ and (c) in his

American Philosophical Society 85/4, Philadelphia American Philosophical Society, 1995)

Having acknowledged the abiding faith in the stellar powers by the peoples of Mesopotamia, some limiting remarks are in order. The Neo-Assyrian onomasticon, judging from entries in Knut L Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 43/1, Helsingfors Societas Orientis Fennica, 1914) *passim*, and Johann Jakob Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung* (MVAG 44, Darmstadt Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968) *passim*, did not favor the compounding of personal names from astral deities other than Šamaš (the sun), Sîn (the moon), Ištar (Venus) and the Sebetti (the Pleiades). One searches in vain for use of Jupiter (MUL SAG ME GAR, Akkadian uncertain, meaning uncertain, also MUL UD ALTAR = *dapinu*, “heroic”), Venus in her planetary aspect (*delebat*), Saturn (MUL UDU IDIM SAG UŠ = *kayamanu*, “the steady one”), Mercury (MUL UDU IDIM GUD UD = *šihitu*, “the leaper”) Mars (*salbatanu* meaning unknown, also *makrû*, “red one” and *nakru*, “enemy”), “planet” (UDU BAD = *bibbu*) Ursa Major (MUL.MAR GID DA = *ereqqu*, “wagon”), Orion (MUL SIPAZI AN NA = *šutadallu*), or Sirius (MUL GAG SI SA = *šukudu*) as theophores in the text corpus of Assyria and Babylonia. Assyro-Babylonian temples were the chief locus of the gods’ theophany in the form of the divine images, which were housed, fed, clothed, bathed, praised, perfumed, entertained, and bedded in their dark cellas, with the occasional festival outing to visit other temples. Worship, at least by the elite citizens, for whom we have documentation, routinely took place before the images of the celestial gods in their temples, not under the night sky.

³ Kathleen M Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem* (London & Tonbridge Ernest Benn, 1974), 141 43, who recognized from the outset that the intact nature of most of these objects argues against their being the products of Josiah’s institutional demolition work, T C Mitchell, “Judah until the Fall of Jerusalem (c 700 586 B C),” in CAH 3/2 374.

The horse is one of the most commonly encountered terra cotta theriomorphic forms in first millennium Palestine. Holland counted 328 examples in all, 121 of which were excavated in Jerusalem, T A Holland, “A Study of Palestinian Iron Age Baked Clay Figurines, with Special Reference to Jerusalem Cave 1,” *Levant* 9 (1977) 121 55. Some of these terra cottas found at Jerusalem, Tell ed Duweir and Hazor appear to have solar disks mounted on the forehead between the ears, a feature anciently shared with many animals in Egyptian religious iconography, this is probably evidence for a local Palestinian solar cult that involved horses in some fashion. From Hazor, what is probably a horse’s head with a cross between the ears has been interpreted as a solar symbol, it is from Stratum IXb, ca 9th century, entirely too early to be blamed on Assyrian influence, Yigael Yadin, “Excavations at Hazor, 1957 Preliminary Communiqué,” *IEJ* 8 (1958) 3, pl 2c. Ahlstrom views these Jerusalemite figures as artifacts from indigenous cults, Gosta W Ahlstrom, *A History of Ancient Palestine, from the Palaeolithic Period to Alexander’s Conquest* (JSOTSup 146, Sheffield Sheffield Academic Press 1993) 735 37. Taylor does not believe that the six known

attempt to extirpate the Assyrian overlords from Palestine, Josiah installed Hebrew-literate colonists in his expanding empire, as witness a single ostrakon from Mesad Hašavyahu.³⁹ This is a severely bowdlerized version of Cross' Dtr¹ and its impact on American biblical studies; the so-called Smend or Göttingen School posits an even finer Balkanization of the Kings narratives, seductively encouraging yet closer-datings of the redactional levels.⁴⁰ As J. J. M. Roberts trenchantly noted in a discussion of Hermann Spieckermann's atomization of selected passages in Kings, even if the sources were as many and as nicely distinguished in time of composition and theme as Spieckermann maintains, it staggers belief that scholars in the 20th century Common Era, working in the profound absence of these putative sources, could reconstruct precisely the meandering trail that leads to the canonical book of Kings.⁴¹ If you absolutely must use redaction-critical methods in

Palestinian horse figurines with "sun disks" are related to the "horses of the sun" removed from the Jerusalem temple in 2 Kgs 23:11, James Glen Taylor, "Solar Worship in the Bible and Its World" (Ph D, Yale University, 1989) 73-87, 132

³⁹ Joseph Naveh, "The Excavations at Mesad Hashavyahu Preliminary Report," *IEJ* 12 (1962) 89-113, who proposed that the fortress was constructed in the last quarter of the seventh century, that the first settlers, and perhaps the builders, were Greek, and that the fortress was conquered by Josiah shortly before 609, and was abandoned in 609 after the passage of Necho's army, for bibliography on the famous Hebrew ostrakon recovered at the site, see Manfred Weippert, "Die Petition eines Erntearbeiters aus Mesad Hašavyāhū und die Syntax althebraischer erzählender Prosa," in *Die Hebraische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65 Geburtstag* (ed Erhard Blum, Christian Macholz, and Ekkehard W Stegemann, Neukirchen-Vluyn Neukirchener Verlag, 1990) 458 n 19

⁴⁰ A recent rehearsal of the positions of Cross, Smend and their disciples can be found in Erik Eynikel, *The Reform of King Josiah and the Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* (Oudtestamentische Studien 33, Leiden E J Brill, 1996) 14-30

⁴¹ J J M Roberts, "Review of *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit*, by Hermann Spieckermann," *CBQ* 46 (1984) 329 "As things stand now, there is no consensus (or anything even approaching it) as to the literary stratification of the text [2 Kgs 22-23], no consensus as to the historical setting of the oldest stratum, whatever portions of the text are assigned to it, no consensus about the origins of the Deuteronomistic History (a question which both conditions, and depends on the analysis of 2 Kgs 22-23), no consensus about the relevance of archaeological and inscriptional data for a better understanding of the text, and, in consequence, no consensus about a host of particular problems posed by various sections of the text," Charles Conroy, "Reflections on the Exegetical Task: Apropos of Recent Studies on 2 Kgs 22-23," in *Pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic Studies Papers Read at the XIIIth IOSOT Congress, Leuven, 1989* (ed Christian Brekelmans and Johan Lust, BETL 94, Louvain Leuven University Press and Uitgeverij Peeters, 1990) 256-57 What factors account for this prodigious lack of consensus among seasoned specialists? "[A] tendency to push conclusions beyond the effective control of premises and arguments, and a tendency to seek at all costs precise

your circular reconstructions of biblical textual chronology, then embrace truth in advertising and be forthright about it in the refreshing manner of Jacques Vermeylen who, in an article dealing with the Golden Calf narrative, invented Dtr585, Dtr575, Dtr560, and Dtr525 to peg securely the *Sitz-im-Leben* that compelled the biblical authors to create their allegory-like meditations on current events

Among my friends the Assyriologists who dip occasionally into the biblical field, there is a widespread conviction that, for example, what the members of the Jesus Seminar do with colored marbles is no different in kind than what John Van Seters does with the Old Testament or Hans Dieter Betz does with the New Rational appeals for sympathy—"hey, you have texts but we've got only one text"—are met with the hard-core historians' disdain for the optimistic model-building of the social sciences and the time-honored analysis of invented pre-biblical texts. The admirable work that David Aune does with the manuscript tradition behind the Book of Revelation in his new commentary⁴² is a salutary reminder to the field that, despite the notable stress-reduction experienced by those who rely upon Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia and Nestle-Aland, biblical specialists have in fact a far more verdant crop of textual resources to harvest than do the Assyriologists, who are fortunate indeed when they can marshal 10 fragmentary exemplars of the same text. Published reconstructed texts and cozily familiar scholarly plausibility structures do not an original document make. While it is a fact that since 1908 it has been possible to purchase fluent reconstructions of the hypothetical Q-source in English translation,⁴³ it is equally factual that since 1955 it has been possible to purchase detailed topographical maps of J. R. R. Tolkien's Middle Earth, with the distance between Hobbiton and Mordor neatly scaled in miles,⁴⁴ the Library of Congress cataloguing subject heading

answers to questions for which the data at our disposal are insufficient" (266). We are no closer to a consensus in 1998 than we were in 1990, despite a meteoric shower of Josianic studies in the interim, and the alarming readiness on the part of increasing numbers of biblical specialists "to push conclusions beyond the effective control of premises and arguments" is why this essay was drafted.

⁴² David E. Aune, *Revelation 1-5* (Word Biblical Commentary 52, Dallas: Word Books, 1997) cxxxvi-clx.

⁴³ Adolf von Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus: the Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke* (trans. J. R. Wilkinson, London/New York: Williams & Norgate/Putnam's, 1908). Among the most recent editions of Q (in boldface) is Burton L. Mack, *The Lost Gospel: the Book of Q & Christian Origins* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1993) 71-102. Mack's confidence in the outcome of the restoration process is touching: "When this critical text appears [the edition of Q under preparation by the International Q Project and the Q Project of the Society of Biblical Literature], the story of Q's retrieval from the layers of textual history that effectively buried it for so long a time will finally come to an end" (p. 27).

⁴⁴ J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Return of the King* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1955), and more accessibly, *idem*, *The Fellowship of the Ring* (Second ed., Boston

in the frontmatter of one labels it “imaginary”.⁴⁵ As the curtain rings down on a century of unprecedented reliance on the suite of historical-critical methodologies in the study of the Bible, I invite you to ponder whether our successors a century hence (and the Assyriologists) will look upon our legacy of redaction critical studies with the same superior amusement with which we contemplate the more expansively unrestrained efforts of the source- and form-critical arts of the Roaring Nineties.⁴⁶

Excavation and Museum Sigla

AO	Département des Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre, Paris
Ash	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
BM	British Museum, London
CBS	Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
ESÇ	Esçki Şark Eserleri Muzesi, Arkeoloji Muzeleri, Istanbul

Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987) 2-3, and Karen Wynn Fonstad, *The Atlas of Middle Earth* (Revised ed; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991) 70-93.

⁴⁵ Fonstad, *The Atlas* “Middle Earth (imaginary place)--maps”.

⁴⁶ I have in mind Hastings’s influential *Dictionary of the Bible* (1901), with an international body of contributors that included Ira Maurice Price, Professor in the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures of the University of Chicago and active member of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research. Section iv of Ryle’s exposition of Genesis, “The Component Sources of the Narrative,” occupies pp 144a-46b, exactly one-half of the entire essay; Herbert Edward Ryle, “Genesis,” in *A Dictionary of the Bible, Dealing with Its Language, Literature, and Contents Including the Biblical Theology* (ed. James Hastings; New York/Edinburgh Charles Scribners’s Sons/T. & T Clark, 1901) 2.143a-48b The Exodus essay is a showcase of atomistic Hexateuchal source criticism, with J-E-P diagrams preceding the three divisions of the book; G Harford-Battersby, “Exodus,” *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 1 806a-11b, and he repeats this performance for Leviticus and its P^l, P^g, P^h, P^s P^{s’} and P^{s1} constituents, idem, “Leviticus,” *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 3 102b-109a, and for Numbers as well, idem, “Numbers,” *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 3.567b-73a. The essay that provides the theoretical underpinnings of the Pentateuchal source criticism is substantially longer than any actually devoted to a Pentateuchal book; see Francis Henry Woods, “Hexateuch,” *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 2.363a-76a.

H	City of Bristol Museum Art Gallery
HS	Hilprecht-Sammlung, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena
K	Kouyunjik Collection, British Museum
ML	McLennan Library, McGill University
NBC	Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library
ND	Nimrūd excavation number (British excavations)
NT	Nippur excavation number (American excavations)
PTS	Princeton Theological Seminary
UCLM	Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley
UM	University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
VA	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin
VAT	Vorderasiatische Abteilung Tontafel, Staatliche Museen, Berlin
W	Warka excavation number (German excavations)
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library



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