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"THE BATTLE NARRATIVE OF DAVID AND SAUL"

A Literary Study of 1 Sam 13 – 2 Sam 8 and its Genre in the Ancient Near East

Extract of the Dissertation

for the Consignment of the Doctorate in Sacred Scripture

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Preface

This is an extract of the dissertation begun under the direction of Fr. Dennis McCarthy, SJ. When he died in 1983, Fr. Luis Alonso Schökel kindly assumed the direction of the dissertation which was defended in June of 1986. However, administrative responsibilities took me in a different direction, and I was not able to return to it until recently.

During the spring of 2013, I spent a sabbatical at Catholic University and reworked three chapters which correspond to the original Chapters II-IV. As I began my studies at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, scholarly concerns were turning from history to the text and its literary art. Fr. McCarthy, a Renaissance man with a large sense of Western civilization, pointed the way, and Fr. Alonso Schökel showed how to combine a refined poetic sense with scholarship. It was an honor to study with them. I also want to thank Fr. Stephen Pisano, SJ for taking time to see this delayed project to completion.

The project also grew out of my study of ancient languages at the Pontifical Biblical Institute. Like many students at that time, I studied a semester of Ugaritic with Fr. Mitchell Dahood, SJ. However I was more captured by Akkadian which I studied for five semesters with Fr. Werner Meyer, SJ. For two years I had the honor of being the last Egyptian student of Fr. Adhémar Massart, SJ. Both Fr. Meyer and Fr. Massart taught me something of how a master works even though I did not become a master of their languages.

There are many others to thank. I want to acknowledge Fr. Denis Robinson, OSB, President- Rector of Saint Meinrad Seminary and School of Theology who approved and facilitated the sabbatical, as well as my colleague Fr. Damian Dietlein OSB who picked up extra work during my absence.

Studies such as this do not exist without librarians whose work goes mostly unseen. Dr. Dan Kolb, Director of the Saint Meinrad Archabbey Library, and Mrs. Mary Ellen Seifrig have gone the extra mile to find whatever I needed. While at Catholic University, Dr. Monica Blanchard, head of the Semitics Library, and her assistant Ms. Michelle Dalites provided invaluable help and hospitality. Also, at Catholic University, my confrere Fr. Raymond Studzinsky, OSB was the soul of hospitality along with the other members of Curley Hall. I am also grateful to my confrere, Fr. Paul Nord, OSB, who has been a trusty messenger in the midst of his own studies at the Pontifical Biblical Institute. Fr. Colman Grabert, OSB and Br. William Sprauer, OSB, also confreres, have helped with the proofreading although any remaining mistakes are mine.

My family has always supported my decisions along the way. I count them a great blessing. While in Rome, the community at Sant' Anselmo made a comfortable place for my work, and my confrere there at the time, Fr. Aelred Cody, OSB, was particularly an inspiration. My monastic community has given me so many opportunities over the years to understand and communicate the Scriptures. They too have been and remain a blessing.

Harry Hagan, OSB
Feast of the Holy Cross
14 September 2013

Summary of the Original Dissertation

This is an extract of a dissertation for the Doctorate in Sacred Scripture at the Pontifical Biblical Institute. The dissertation was defended in June of 1986 with Fr. Luis Alonso Schökel, SJ as the director, and Fr. Stephen Pisano, SJ as the second reader. This extract contains an updating of Chapters 2-4 which deal specifically with the classic (heroic) and royal battle pattern in the ancient Near East.

This dissertation evolved from reading stories of Egyptian and Akkadian battles and recognizing similarities in the telling which eventually I found even in Homer. The dissertation explored this genre within the ancient Near East in order to understand better how the story of David and Saul in particular fits into and also transforms that genre.

The first chapter lays out the different concerns of the historical and literary approaches. While some have sought to create a conflict between the two methods, they should in fact support each other. History, in general, seeks to know what lies behind the text while literary studies are concerned with the text as it stands and relates to other texts. Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg have argued that the traditional story teller is faithful to the traditional way of telling the story until some new allegiance arises, such as the allegiance to history. By understanding the traditional pattern of the battle story, one is better able to identify where it deviates from the traditional pattern and where history is asserting itself. Scholars have divided the story of David and Saul in various ways, for this study, I set 1 Samuel 13 to 2 Sam 8 as the limits.

Part I explores the genre of the battle narrative first in the ancient Near East and then in the Bible. After laying out the methodology for a comparative study of genre in Chapter II, the dissertation surveyed those texts which were more than battle reports and possessed the basic narrative hallmarks of tension and resolution. The texts were furthered into two groups representing the two basic patterns of the ANE battle pattern.

Chapter III deals with the first group: the classic or heroic pattern. They tell the story of an enemy threat appearing with "our" side reacting in fear. The "our" leader begin to seek out a hero. Sometimes false heroes appear and fail, but ultimately a hero is found. The leader or leaders call and commission him and then arm him. He may muster his troops before making the journey (as needed) to meet the enemy hero in a single-handed combat. After the two fighters verbally confront each other, they engage in battle. Sometimes the enemy hero seems on the verge of winning, but ultimately the hero finds a way to kill the enemy. The enemy army, recognizing defeat turn and flee. The hero's troops pursue and destroy the enemy. The reward of the battle is plunder, and the hero receives his special share along with renown due him and perhaps also land and the hand of the princess if not kingship itself.

Chapter IV examines the royal pattern in which a king goes out and defeats the enemy. Here the king by virtue of his kingship takes the roles of both leader and hero. Typically he is distant from the initial conflict for the sake of tension. Though the king does not need to be called and commissioned, he typically seeks the favor and approbation of the deity for this particular battle, and often the deity joins the king in the battle thereby revealing the unity of king and deity. Often there is an exchange between the king and the enemy through messengers, and this verbal exchange makes clear the major themes of the battle narrative. The king with the help of his deity quickly defeats the enemy forces who often recognize the unequal battle and flee. They may be reported as completely destroyed and still appear in the recognition of the king as hero. In any case, the final moments of the royal pattern recognize both the deity and the king as heroes who have reestablished the order of the world.

Chapter V summarizes the basic ways in which these two patterns are used and transformed in the Bible. A major difference is the appearance of the unlikely or weak hero such as we find in the Book of Judges and in the Book of Judith. These heroes are unexpected because they lack the physical power, whether in themselves or in their army, to defeat the enemy. Typically they must rely on deception which reveals their

intellectual and moral acuity. The motifs of weakness and deception also point to another unseen force—the Lord as Hero. The royal pattern in the Bible is further complicated in the Books of Kings by the introduction of the prophet as a major character in conflict with the king of Israel.

Part II of the dissertation offers a literary study of 1 Samuel 13 to 2 Samuel 8. Chapter VI considers the rejection of Saul from two perspectives. In 1 Samuel 13-14, Jonathan shows himself a traditional hero while Saul frets over what he should do. Being afraid, the king imposes an imprudent fast, and, when Jonathan is found to have broken it, Saul is ready to kill his son, the hero. However, the people step in and cause common sense to reign. In 1 Samuel 15, Saul caves into the people's desire for plunder and fails to carry out the ban commanded by the Lord. For this disobedience he is rejected.

Chapter VII examines the three different stories that made David the hero. In the first, Samuel anoints David secretly (16:1-13). In the second, Saul's servants bring David to the king so that his music may drive away the evil spirit afflicting him, and so David becomes Saul's personal hero (16:14-23). The story in 1 Sam 17:1–18:4 follows the traditional heroic battle pattern with David defeating Goliath in single-handed combat. The salient difference is the biblical motif of the weak hero indicating that the Lord is also at work.

Chapter VIII deals with two traditional motifs: the hero's marriage to the princess and the heroic friend. This takes place in the context of Saul's changing attitude toward David. Though the king initially played the traditional role of recognizing the hero and even offering him the hand of his daughter, Saul becomes more suspicious, more jealous and irrational. He withdraws the hand of his daughter and establishes a new test hoping that David will die in his attempt, but David, ever the hero, passes test and forces Saul to give him the hand of his daughter Michal. Still Saul turns more and more again the hero David. Though the story lacks the strategies of psychological portrayal used by modern novelist, the biblical story-teller creates through juxtaposition a complex

character of Saul. Though the king rejects the hero for complex reasons, Jonathan accepts David as hero even though it means he must give up his claim to the throne. Instead takes the traditional role of the heroic friend, yet this role creates its own complication and ultimately leads to tragedy because Jonathan must also remain faith to his father and king.

Chapter IX surveys 1 Sam 21-26 as an example of the traditional motif of journey—here begun as a journey without a goal. The journey typically includes trials and temptations for the hero. Twice David has an opportunity to kill his lord and king, and both times he passes the test. Between the two, David is tempted to kill the fool Nabal, but he is brought to his senses by the wise Abigail who becomes his wife after Nabal's sudden death.

Chapter X explores the triumph and tragedy in 1 Sam 27–2 Sam 1 with its shifts back and forth between the fortunes of David and Saul. Unable to trust Saul's oath that he will no longer pursue him, David swears allegiance to Achish King of Gath, but as the story makes clear, David is deceptive in his allegiance. When the Philistines turn against Saul, the king seeks approbation from God for the fight, but none is forthcoming. As a result, he has the medium of Endor bring up Samuel from the dead. The story has parallels with other journeys to the dead, including the famous catabasis in the Odyssey where Odysseus meets Achilles. Here Saul learns of the defeat to come which is balanced by the care of the medium who feeds him. Meanwhile the other Philistine princes refuses to let David join their fight against Saul, and returning he finds that the Amalekites have plundered his camp and carried off the women and children. With David seeing to recapture his own, Saul faces the Philistines without the Lord's designated hero.

Saul's death on Mount Gilboa is a tragedy—one of the earliest recorded scenes in western literature. The other would be the death of Hector. Their deaths are not comic as is Goliath's death and the traditional death of the enemy hero and warriors. Comic death invites the audience to celebrate because the forces of destruction and oppression have been conquered. Hector's death is tragic because he is not a traditional enemy

champion; arguably he is the finest person in the *Iliad*—loyal to his father and king Priam, faithful to his loving wife Andromache. His death is a moment of great sadness though it does not immediately touch the heart of the angry Achilles. Saul's death is tragic because he is haunted by both rational and irrational forces which cannot be reduced to just being evil. A complicated human being, he evokes our empathy. The tragedy is heightened first by the death of his sons, particularly that of Jonathan. Then Saul asks his armor-bearer to kill him lest the Philistines capture him and make him die a slow death, but the armor-bearer refuses to lay his hand against his lord and king. Saul falls on his own sword. Though morally acceptable, his self-destructive death is emblematic of his own self-destructive behavior since the defeat of Goliath. The armor-bearer then takes his own life. We should remember that in 16:21 Saul had made David his own armor-bearer, and here the armor-bearer stands in for David. Finally the true heroism of Saul is recalled by the men of Jabesh who take the body of Saul and his sons for mourning and burial. In the traditional battle narrative, the enemy is without and not within. In this story, Saul becomes the enemy within and so creates a more mimetic story. When an Amalekite, a tradition enemy of Israel, announces that he has killed Saul, David has him slain because he set his hand against the king. David then celebrates Saul and Jonathan in his justly famous lament.

Chapter XI looks at the traditional recognition and reward of the hero in 2 Sam 2-8. David becomes king of Judah and then of Israel as is due the traditional hero. As king, he also takes a mountain-city of Jerusalem for his residence in 2 Samuel 5. David recognizes his deity as do the kings in the royal battle narratives—here by bringing up the ark and establishing a sanctuary for it in the royal city. Finally, the Lord grants the hero the traditional rewards: a name (renown), a house (dynasty), and the kingdom *ʿad ʿôlām.* The story concludes in 2 Samuel 8 with an announcement of the defeat of the Philistines and of all David's enemies.

The dissertation showed that the Story of David and Saul (1 Samuel 13 to 2 Samuel 8) used and transformed the classic (heroic) and royal battle pattern found in the ancient Near East to tell its particular story.

Chapter 1.

Genre: Traditional Motifs and Patterns

Story and Traditional Genre

Storytellers do not create their stories from nothing. As Paul Ricoeur observes, they stand within a tradition which they reshape and transform in order to create new works.[1] Their audience likewise depends upon the tradition to provide the context for understanding a new work. Because the tradition is a recurring phenomenon, it belongs neither to the storyteller nor the audience. This autonomy also functions for later audiences because the a-historical and a-cultural dimension of "the 'form' secures the survival of meaning after the disappearance" of its historical context (*Sitz im Leben)* and thereby "opens the message to fresh interpretation according to new contexts of discourse and life."[2] Ricoeur's remarks help to explain why people have continued to enjoy the stories whose immediate historical context is largely unknown or irrelevant.

Studies of oral literature by Milman Parry and Alfred B. Lord and of folklore by Vladimir Propp have described the ways in which an oral storyteller re-creates a traditional story in performance from the traditional motifs of plot, characters, and details and their traditional patterns.[3] Heda Jason, building on the work of Lord and Propp, describes the tradition as "a set of rules of compositions and a lexicon of content units." From the tradition which is an unconscious possession of the performer, the storyteller recreates the story in performance for the

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[1] Cf. Paul Ricoeur, "Biblical Hermeneutics," *Semeia* 4 (1975) 29-148, esp. 63-75.

[2] Ibid. 71.

[3] A.B. Lord, *Singer of Tales* (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature 24; Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1964). Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale* (Austin TX: University of Texas Press, [2]1968). For a good overview, see Susan Niditch, *Folklore and the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

audience.[4] While some of these conventions transcend cultures, others are bound up with their culture or have a specific cultural form that must be recovered.

The use of generic patterns is not just a strategy of oral literature. As Robert Alter argues, our ability to grasp an art work, "whatever the medium, requires some detailed awareness of the grid of conventions upon which and against which, the individual work operates." He discusses the importance of "type-scenes" which allow us to "pick up directional clues in a narrative work, see what is innovative and what is deliberately traditional at each nexus of the artistic creation."[5] Christopher Booker has recently argued that there are seven basic plots that shape all narrative, and he explores their meaning at both a literal and a psychological level.[6] H. Porter Abbott calls these skeletal stories "masterplots" which "play a powerful role in questions of identity, values, and the understanding of life."[7]

This study will explore key literary texts from the ancient Near East and the Bible. It does not argue that there is an organic, historical connection between these texts.[8] Rather it proposes that these narratives reflect the

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[4]Heda Jason, *Ethnopoetry: Form, Content, and Function* (Forum Theologicae Linguisticae 11; Bonn: Linguistica Biblica, 1977) 1,1. Cf. also by Jason, *Ethnopoetics: A Multilingual Terminology* (Israel Ethnological Society Studies 3; Jerusalem: Israel Ethnological Society, 1975) and "About 'Motifs', 'Motives', 'Motuses', '-Etic/s', '-Emic/s', and 'Allo/s-', and How They Fit Together," *Fabula* 48. 1/2 (2007): 85-99.

[5] Robert Alter, *Art of Biblical Narrative* (NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1981) 47-62.

[6] Christopher Booker, *The Seven Basic Plots: Why We Tell Stories* (New York: Continuum, 2004). He lists: overcoming the monster, rags to riches, the quest, voyage and return, comedy, tragedy and rebirth. The battle narrative fits under his category of overcoming the monster.

[7] H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 46-49, 236.

[8] Serge Frolov and Allen Wright have taken up the question of whether 1 Sam 17 reflects a closer relationship to Homer or the texts of the ancient Near East and conclude "that the putative ancient Near Eastern parallels of 1 Samuel 17 are substantially closer than the Greek ones" according to their careful criteria;

same basic masterplot, and so it seeks to discover the typical motifs which make up the generic pattern of the traditional battle story as well as the ways in which each telling follows and transforms that tradition. While each story reflects the genre, no story is definitive; rather the tradition is continually changing and renewing itself.

Some Basics about Narrative: Tension and Resolution

The last fifty years and more have seen many studies of narrative—its techniques and complexity. Both H. Porter Abbott and Jerome Walsh provide an overview of the basic insights.[9] For this study, I have also depended on The Nature of Narrative by Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, expanded by James Phelan, because they carefully consider traditional literature. [10]

In his *Poetics* (Ch. 7), Aristotle brilliantly observes that a story has a beginning, middle and end.[11] The beginning of story sets the context and most importantly introduces the tension or problem without which there is no story.[12] The middle typically heightens the tension as it puts in place the means for resolving the problem. The end resolves the tension and ties up whatever details the storyteller deems good in order to bring closure. Typically the final resolution depends on the resolution

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"Homeric and Ancient Near Eastern Intertextuality in 1 Samuel 17," *JBL* 130 (2011) 451-471, esp. 470. While this diachronic approach is certainly legitimate, the battle narratives of both Homer and the ancient Near East reflect the masterplot and its transformation whether they are "genetically linked" or not.

[9] Jerome T. Walsh, *Old Testament* Narrative: *A Guide to Interpretation* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009.

[10] Robert Scholes, James Phelan and Robert Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative: Fortieth anniversary Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, rev. ed. 2006).

[11] Aristotle, *Poetics,* Ch. 7.

[12] Abbott uses a broader definition than found here in order to embrace a larger phenomenon represented particularly by modern literature. For this study of ancient, traditional literature, the hallmarks of tension and resolution are more helpful; *Narrative*, 13-15.

of smaller tensions in the course of the story. The hero must be identified, or various tests must be passed before the final resolution. The resolution of one problem may give rise to a new tension, and a larger story links together smaller stories within its overarching tension and resolution.

Typically a story is said to have three basic elements: plot, characters and details.[13] The plot, of course, is the chain of actions. Generally these ancient narratives tell the actions in chronological sequence, sometimes with repetition and occasionally with flashbacks or flash-forwards, as in dreams or prophetic predictions. The characters populate the story and carry out its actions. Traditional characters are stereotypes who illustrate an idea rather than portraying the complex and conflicting motivations of a realistic character. This is essentially E.M. Forster's distinction between "flat" and "round" characters, but rather than being two different categories, they are better understood as either end of a continuum. The details include all the other pieces of a story: its objects, such as the hero's weapon or clothing, along with time, place and context. Though these details serve a literal function in the story, they may also have a larger significance as also may the actions and characters. All three create the narrative world of the story which can be divided minimally into this world of human experience and a world beyond whether real or imaginary to the storyteller and/or audience.

Omniscient storytellers typically tell traditional stories. Authoritative and reliable, they stand outside the story. However, they do not tell everything, but only what they deem important. Repetition and the relative amount of 'narrative time' given to this or that element alert us to emphases in the story.[14] Still the audience finds gaps in the story, sometimes significant gaps, which they must fill in as best they can.[15]

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[13] Abbott, *Narrative*, 19.

[14] For narrative time, see Gerard Genette's *Narrative Discourse* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980); he discusses in depth narrative time from three perspectives: order, duration, and frequency.

[15] Abbott, *Narrative*, 90-92.

Meier Sternberg notes that we must answer a series of questions about the characters, the plot and their values for us "to reconstruct the field of reality devised by the text, to make sense of the represented world."[16] While we fill in some of these gaps automatically out of our experience of the tradition as listeners and readers, a gap may become a problematic "crux" upon which the interpretation of the story turns.[17]

Tradition and Mimesis

Scholes and Kellogg argue that the traditional story-teller is primarily committed to "re-creating" the tradition. Therefore, the story-teller's "primary allegiance is not to fact, not to truth, not to entertainment, but to the *mythos* itself, i.e. the story as preserved in the tradition…," for the story carries "a culture's cherished religious, political, and ethical values."[18] Likewise Abbott notes that the stories which "we tell in myriad forms" are those stories which "connect vitally with our deepest values, wishes, and fears."[19] In the traditional battle story, therefore, the hero and the victory represent more than a single, literal event; they celebrate the triumph of a culture's values and self-understanding over the forces of chaos and futility. Moreover, our experience of these stories confronts us with these larger issues.

According to Scholes and Kellogg, traditional narrative is "stylized and stipulative, highly dependent on artistic tradition and convention."[20] Its allegiance to the tradition gives way to new allegiances: to truth in the form of mimesis (realism) or history, to goodness in the form of didacticism (with propaganda being one type) or to beauty which would

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[16] Meier Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1985) 186-229.

[17] Abbott, *Narrative*, 92-95.

[18] Scholes and Kellogg, *Nature of Narrative*, 12.

[19] Abbott, *Narrative*, 46.

[20] Scholes and Kellogg, *Nature of Narrative*, 84.

to be art itself.[21] Though the hero ultimately triumphs in traditional narrative, such is not always the case in life, and the mimesis of Greek tragedy or the history of Thucydides recognizes this reality. Realistic narrative, whether as history or mimesis, "seeks continually to reshape and revitalize ways of apprehending the actual, subjecting conventions to an empirical review of its validity as a means of reproducing reality."[22] Erich Auerbach produced the classic study of the development of realism in the west, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*.[23] As heirs of Greece and Rome and their Renaissance, we value this world view and the ability of art to reproduce it,

Scholes and Kellogg want to identify the movement from traditional narrative to realism with the movement from oral to written literature, but the situation is not so neat. Susan Niditch discusses the question of orality and literacy in ancient Israel not as a question of either/or but of both/and. She shows an "interplay" between the two which form an "ongoing continuum."[24] Heda Jason points out that much of popular literature is generated by the canons of a tradition and cites a number of modern examples of the traditional battle story: "the detective story, television plays, wild west movies." As in oral literature, they are highly dependent upon the audience which assiduously guards and demands the tradition.[25]

The Changing Tradition

Some form-critical studies have failed to allow for the flexibility and creativity of the generic patterns. Therefore, a mechanical approach

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[21] Scholes and Kellogg, *Nature of Narrative,* 12-14, 29-31.

[22] Ibid. 84.

[23] Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. by Willard Trask (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1953).

[24] Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature*, Library of Ancient Israel, D.A. Knight, editor (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 99.

[25] Jason, *Ethnopoetry*, 1.1.

must be avoided. These patterns are not mathematical formulae which yield the correct answer only when they contain all of the elements in the correct order. Robert Alter has criticized "professional Biblical scholars" of form criticism "which is set on finding recurrent regularities or pattern rather than the manifold variation upon a pattern that any system of literary convention elicits."[26] Dorothy Irvin has also insisted on this point: 1) the order of the motifs in a pattern may differ, 2) the motifs may be repeated or left out, 3) a pattern may be presented in an elaborate form and serve as the skeletal plot of a whole narrative, 4) the pattern may be reduced to serve as only an episode or reduced even further to a mere mention in the narrative.[27] The reasons for this can be viewed from the perspective of both audience and story-teller.

For the audience, knowledge of the tradition provides the common understanding which allows them to follow the story and recognize the import of its form. On the other hand, there is no suspense for the traditional audience. They know that the hero will ultimately triumph. They know that Achilles will slay Hector even before Homer begins to sing. Therefore, the storyteller must "defamiliarize," a term coined by the Russian Formalist Victor Shklovsky. He saw perception as a fundamental goal of art; thus "the technique of art is to make objects 'unfamiliar,' to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception."[28] In this way, a storyteller forces the audience to confront the material as if for the first time.[29]

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[26] Robert Alter has characterized form criticism as being "set on finding recurrent regularities of pattern rather than the manifold variations upon a pattern that any system of literary convention elicits"; *Art of Biblical Narrative,* 47.

[27] Dorothy Irvin, *Mytharion: The Comparison of Tales from the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East* (AOAT 32; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978) 11.

[28] Viktor Shklovsky, "Art as Technique," in *Russian Formal Criticism,* trans. and intro. by L. Lemon and M.J. Reis (Lincoln NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1965) 3-24, esp. 12

[29] Ibid. 19-22.

Elaboration and repetition and complication help to achieve this.[30] Elaboration expands the time of confrontation so that the impact may be absorbed. Repetition creates the same by continual return. And complication retards the inevitable thereby increasing the tension of the story and the expectation of the audience. This may happen in two ways. First, the storyteller may complicate motifs and patterns by creating new configurations or displacing an expected motif with the unexpected. Second, the storyteller may also break a pattern by denying its fulfillment in order to retard the action; thus the hero may fail in his first attempt to conquer the enemy. In a traditional story, however, the pattern is ultimately fulfilled. The failure of the story to fulfill the traditional expectation marks the shift of allegiance away from the tradition.

For the author, familiarity brings a mastery of both the generic pattern and specific story traditions. The mastery of technique bestows the powers of elaboration, repetition, and complication. To this technical mastery, some storytellers bring a creative power which allows them to transform the tradition, to explore the potential complexity of the tradition.[31] Homer, like others before and after him, tells the story of the Trojan War, but his achievement is more than technical mastery. As the opening line of the *Iliad* states, he tells the story of the anger of Achilles. The hero's anger is a traditional motif which characterizes his response to the enemy's aggression, but Homer moves beyond the traditional confines of the motif and brings the anger to such a pitch that the hero is almost consumed by his own rage. Unlike the traditional battle narrative which reaches its climax with the single-combat between hero and foe, the tension of the *Iliad* is not resolved by the death of Hector, for Achilles' anger is not spent. The resolution comes only with the return of the body to Priam, Hector's father and king, for in Priam Achilles

[30] L. Alonso Schökel, "Poésie Hebraïque," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supplément (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1972) v. 8, col. 47-90, esp. 72-73.

[31] A.B. Lord, *Singer of Tales*, 100, 102. Cf. also Scholes and Kellogg, *Nature of Narrative*, 22-23.

recognizes his own father and finds again his compassion. Homer uses the battle story to tell a larger story of human emotions and relationships. The battle tradition serves as the frame and grammar which allows Homer to transform and reshape the tradition.

A final force of change and creativity has already been discussed above: the shift of allegiance from the tradition to history or mimesis, to art or to instruction.[32] When this occurs, traditional motifs and patterns are reshaped and even broken indicating other forces at work. As Scholes and Kellogg argue, history plays a major role in the breakdown of the tradition in early western literature. By understanding the traditional movement of a story, the historian can identify the replacement of traditional elements with unique events.[33] This judgment is seldom simple because the tradition is not mechanical, but flexible and creative. Also, where the historical facts fit the tradition as in a victorious battle, the traditional storyteller can retell the history with the motifs and patterns of the tradition. Therefore, a story's traditional pattern does not necessarily mean that the basic facts of the story are not true. Still the shift of allegiance provides a valuable clue.

Conclusion

This study will explore the traditional motifs and patterns used by storytellers for their battle narrative. The creative power of the storyteller and the desire of their audiences for a good story bring about an ongoing transformation of the tradition. Still the traditional motifs and patterns continually appear.

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[32] Scholes and Kellogg, *Nature of Narrative*, 12-14, 29-31.

[33] Ibid. 40-41.

Chapter 2.

The Heroic Battle Pattern in the ancient Near East

The heroic battle pattern shapes the story of a hero, commissioned by a helpless leader, to fight an enemy champion in single-combat. The foundation for this study was laid by Heda Jason drawing on the work both of A. Skaftymov[34] and the model of V. Propp's for the heroic fairy tale.[35] Using Skaftymov's episodes as a basis, the plot can be summarized as follows:

Beginning: Tension

A description of the hero and his impediment

The enemy threatens "our" side (ruler and people).

"Our" side reacts with fear.

Middle: Development

The enemy threat increases.

"Our" side calls and commissions the hero.

End: Resolution

The hero defeats the enemy hero in single-handed combat.

The enemy army reacts with fear and flees.

"Our" side pursues and destroys the enemy.

"Our" side takes its plunder.

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[34] H. Jason describes A. Skaftymov's work, *Poetika I genesis bylin* [Poetics and origin of Russian epic songs] (1924) in "Precursors of Propp: Formalist Theories in Early Russian Ethnopoetics," *Journal of Poetics and Theory of Literature* 3 (1977) 471-516. For V. Propp's work, cf. his *Morphology of the Folktale*.

[35] H. Jason, "David and Goliath: A Folk Epic"? *Biblica* 60 (1979) 36-70. Also her "ilja of Muron and Tzar Kalin: A Proposal for a Model for the Narrative Structure of an Epic Struggle," *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 5-6 (1981) 47-55.

"Our" side recognizes the hero.

As noted above, Jason cites a number of modern examples of the traditional battle story ("the detective story, television plays, wild west movies"). Each would have its own conventions but would fit nonetheless under this larger umbrella. Joseph Campbell's famous book *A Hero with a Thousand Faces* likewise points to the pervasive use of this generic plot which he sees as a monomyth with many manifestations.[36] He has placed the emphasis on the similarity. Without denying the common elements of the genre, I want to argue that each retelling must be respected for its difference and that the generic allows us to discover and appreciate the uniqueness of each narrative.

The tradition then is not represented fully by any highly creative story. Therefore, in order to discover the generic story in the ancient Near East, I want to look at six important battle narratives to explore the ways in which they use and expand upon the basic scenes outlined above.

Six Heroic Battle Narratives from the ancient Near East and Homer

1. Marduk and Tiamat in the Enūma eliš = Ee [37]

The *Enūma eliš,* the creation story of ancient Mesopotamia, begins with the first father Apsu (fresh water) and the first mother Tiamat (salt water) giving birth to the first generation of deities. These young deities

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[36] Joseph Campbell, *A Hero with a Thousand Faces,* Bollingen Series 17 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949, 1968)

[37] There are many translations of this famous epic. For this study, I am following the numbering of the translation of Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, 2 vol. (Bethesda MD: CDL Press, 1996), I 350-409. Other translations include that of E.A. Speiser and A.K. Grayson in *ANET*[3] 60-72 = *Ancient Near Eastern Texts,* ed. James B. Pritchard (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 3rd edition,1978). Stephanie Dalley has another in "The Epic of Creation" in *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, revised edition, 2000), 228-277. On Marduk as a divine warrior, cf. Sa-Moon Kang, *Divine War in the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), pp. 37-38.

disturb Apsu who decides to kill them, but Ea, son of Anshar and one of the good gods, kills Apsu causing Tiamat to fly into an emotional rage. She gives the Tablet of Destinies to Qingu, one of the bad gods, and looks to kill the good gods. After failed attempts to find a hero, Anshar asks the young Marduk, son of Ea, to fight Tiamat. He agrees on the condition that they make him king before the battle which they do. Marduk then meets Tiamat in single-combat and shoots an arrow into her heart (emotion). Splitting her in two, he creates heaven and earth, and from the blood of Qingu makes humanity. The story ends with the fifty names of Marduk which show him holding together both reason and emotion.

2. Ninurta fights Anzu in the *Anzu Myth*[38]

The bird-like Anzu steals the Tablet of Destinies from Anu and flees thereby disrupting the kingship and its ability to order all things. Anu calls three deities to be the hero, but each refuses. Ea asks the goddess Mami to send her son Ninurta. She agrees and commissions him. After mustering an army, he meets Anzu. Though the battle initially does not go well, Ea sends counsel, and Ninurta shoots an arrow into Anzu's heart. When the wind brings Anzu's feather, the gods realize what has happened and send a messenger to recognize the victory and bestow and some fifteen names upon him including "Bel" or "lord" in the later version.

3. Gilgamesh and Ḫumbaba in the *Gilgamesh Epic* = *Gilg*.

The Gilgamesh Epic began as a series of stories during the earlier Sumerian culture and was handed on in the Akkadian language,

[38] There are two texts of the *Anzu Myth*: a partial Old Babylonian (OB) text which calls the hero Ningirsu, and a more complete Standard Babylonian or Later Version (LV) in four tablets from Middle and Late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian manuscripts. The citations here follow Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses,* I, 458-481 with both an Old Babylonian (OB) text and a Later Version (LV). See also Stephanie Dalley's translation in *Myths from Mesopotamia,* the SB text (203-221), and the OB text (222-227). For Tablet I of the LV, see W.W. Hallo and W. L. Moran, "The First Tablet of the SB Recension of the *Anzu Myth*," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 31(1979) 65-115.

particularly in an Old Babylonian form from the eighteenth century and a later standard version attributed to Sîn-liqe-unnini in the late second millennium. Andrew George provides a translation and lucid introduction to the various manuscripts which make up this evolving corpus. This study will follow his presentations.[39] Because of the epic's fragmentary condition, the whole must be constructed by adding to the standard version tablets with the Old Babylonian version (OB) especially the Yale (Y) and Pennsylvania (P) tablets. The standard version is indicated by tablet in Roman numerals followed by lines.

The standard version opens with a description of the young Gilgamesh, king of Uruk, who divides himself between contests with the young men and chasing the young women. To counteract this, the goddess Aruru creates a wild primitive man, Enkidu, at the edge of civilization who will become the heroic friend. He is civilized by his sexual encounter with the woman Shamhat who tells him of the hero. Enkidu, now the equal of Gilgamesh, goes to fight him, and their wrestling match makes them fast friends.

To win glory, Gilgamesh proposes that they go and take trees from the forest of Ḫumbaba whose "breath is death" (Y 111). Enkidu objects because of Ḫumbaba's invincibility, but Gilgamesh persists because only the deities are immortal; therefore, he disdains death" If I should fall, let me make my name" (Y149). After forging weapons, Gilgamesh asks permission of the elders of Uruk. Enkidu again objects, and the elders counsel him: "You are young, borne along by emotion, / all that you talk of you don't understand" (II 289-290), but Gilgamesh persists. The elders counsel him "Do not rely, O Gilgamesh, on your own strength alone" (III 2) and then entrust him to Enkidu. The hero then applies to his mother who prays to Shamash to protect her son; she then adopts

[39] *The Epic of Gilgamesh: The Babylonian Epic Poem and Other Texts in Akkadian and Sumerian*, introduction and trans. by Andrew George (London: Penguin Books, 1999), esp. xxi-xxx. He has also produced a critical edition: *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*, 2 Volumes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). There are many other translations including Dalley's in *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 39-153.

Enkidu and entrusts her son to him. Then the young men of Uruk offer a final commission, again bidding Gilgamesh not to trust in his "own strength alone" (III 216), entrusting him to Enkidu and offering a final blessing "Go, Gilgamesh, let ..... / May your god go [before you!] / May [Shamash] let you attain [your goal!]" (Y 284-286).

After a long journey and a number of favorable dreams, they arrive at Ḫumbaba' forest (IV). Though Tablet IV is rather fragmentary at this point, Enkidu encourages the hero; then Shamash both encourages him and tells him not to let Ḫumbaba enter his forest. The tablet ends with Gilgamesh encouraging his friend: "Take my hand, friend, and we shall go [on] together, / let your thoughts dwell on combat! / Forget death and [seek] life (IV 253-255)!

The hero meets with Ḫumbaba who accuses Enkidu of treachery and with false confidence tells the hero that he will slit his throat. Gilgamesh finally feels his fear, but Enkidu encourages him. The sun god Shamash also comes to the hero's aid with thirteen winds to immobilize Ḫumbaba so that Gilgamesh's weapons can reach the enemy. Ḫumbaba then pleads for his life, but Enkidu tells him to press on and kill the enemy. Ḫumbaba then curses both with the wish that they not come to old age. Gilgamesh then strikes the neck of Ḫumbaba and kills him. The heroic pair takes trees from the forest as spoils.

On his return, the goddess Ištar desires Gilgamesh, but he rejects her. After the heroic pair kill the Bull of Heaven, the spurned Ištar stirs up the assembly of deities against them, and they demand the life of one as recompense. So the heroic friend Enkidu dies leaving Gilgamesh alone. His earlier desire for fame is now turned to a desire for immortality which takes him on a long journey to Utnapishtim who, like Noah, survived the great flood, but unlike the biblical figure, he is granted eternal life. After a test, Gilgamesh is given a miraculous plant that will keep him young, but a snake steals it on the return journey, and so he must die like all mortals. This study will confine itself to the story of the fight of Gilgamesh and Enkidu against Ḫumbaba.

4. Baal and Yamm[40]

During a banquet held by El, the weak and old head of the Canaanite pantheon, the god Yamm, whose name means "sea," demands that Baal, whose name means "lord," become his vassal. The impotent El acquiesces, but Baal refuses. Unlike the other narratives in which the weak leader commissions the hero, here El commissions the "enemy champion" who claims the kingship. When the text becomes clear again, Baal and Yamm are engaged in single combat, and Baal seems to be going down to defeat, but the blacksmith deity fashions two clubs for him and with them Baal triumphs over Yamm, who represents the chaotic waters. His victory is recognized by Athtart who announces that "Baal shall be king."

5. Sinuhe and the Strong Man of Rethenu in *Sinuhe*[41]

The Story of Sinuhe is generally recognized as a masterpiece of Middle Egyptian literature.[42] Unlike the other stories which are told by omniscient storytellers who know all and present themselves as authoritative and reliable narrators, Sinuhe tells his own story and so

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[40] The fight between *Baal and Yamm* is found in KTU 1.2.I and 1.2.IV as given by Mark S. Smith in *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle: Introduction with the Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1-2,* Vetus Testamentum Supplement 55 (Leiden: Brill, 1994). Cf. J.C.L. Gibson's *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: Clark, [2]1978) *CTA* 2 i and iv. Cf. also the translation of Dennis Pardee, "Ugaritic Myths" in *Context of Scripture*, edited by William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, vol. 1, pp. 241-282, esp. 245-249. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

[41] See W.K. Simpson's translation in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed. W.K. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 3rd edition, 2003) 54-66. He includes an extensive bibliography and for the standard text points to Roland Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe* (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1990). Also the translation by Miriam Lichtheim, "Sinuhe" in *Context of Scripture*, edited by William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, vol. 1, pp. 77-82. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

[42] See, for instance, the literary interpretation of Vincent A. Tobin, "The Secret of Sinuhe," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 32 (1995) 161-178.

creates a more mimetic text and establishes a more intimate bond with the reader.

Sinuhe begins telling his story at the accession of Sesostris I to the throne in 1961 B.C. For some reason, he flees at the news of the new king, and his flight makes him seem a rebel. He continues his journey into Lebanon eventually settling in Upper Rethenu, a part of Palestine and Syria. There he becomes part of the king's court and marries the eldest daughter and takes his place as a "chief of a tribe of the finest in his land."

After some years, "a strong man of Rethenu…without equal" challenges Sinuhe in order to take his wealth. Sinuhe meets the challenger and in the course of the battle shoots him in the neck with an arrow. As a result, Sinuhe takes the strong man's possession as spoils and is renowned in the capital. Even so, Sinuhe is unhappy because he is an exile from Egypt. A report of his situation reaches the pharaoh who issues a decree for his return. Though torn by his loyalty to the king of Rethenu, Sinuhe hands over his property to his children and returns to Egypt.

6. Achilles and Hector in the *Iliad* [43]

Homer opens the Iliad by singing of the anger of Achilles. The woman Briseis, whom Achilles had taken as a captive with the idea of giving her to his friend Patroclus, has been taken from him by Agamemnon much as Paris had taken Helen—the reason for the war against Troy. In anger, Achilles has withdrawn from the battle. He knows that he can return home and have a happy but hidden life with a wife and family, or he can stay and fight. The battle will bring him enduring glory, but he will also lose his life. With nothing worthwhile to die for, he has sworn not to fight because of this crime. As a result, Hector, the Trojan hero, is able to rally his countrymen and threaten the Greek ships with fire. Though

[43] My considerations are confined mainly to the last books of the *Iliad* beginning with Apollo's call and commission of Hector in XV 237. For the text and translation of the *Iliad*, I have used that of A.T. Murray (Loeb Classical Library 170, 171; Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1924, 1971).

Achilles refuses to join the battle, his friend Patroclus returns to the battle in Achilles' armor. Though warned, Hector kills Patroclus, and Achilles, now with something worthwhile to fight for, returns to avenge his friend. The Greek and Trojan heroes meet in single combat, and Hector, the paragon of civil and familial virtue is killed. Achilles' anger is not assuaged. He drags the body around the city of Troy and refuses to return the body for burial. Finally in the last book of the *Iliad*, Hermes casts a great sleep over all the forces and leads Priam, king and father, through the lines to beg for the body of his son. Though Achilles anger still rages, he sees in Priam his own father who will one day weep of him. With this insight, he recovers his humanity, and he returns the body of Hector to Priam bringing the epic to an end.

Characters

The central character is, of course, the hero who defeats the enemy and rescues the helpless people and the helpless leader (s) of "our" side. The helpless leader, unable to meet the enemy threat himself, may first call and commission false heroes who either refuse the commission or are unable to carry it out. This failing, the helpless leader, perhaps with the help of counselors, calls and commissions the hero; the hero's parent may also play some role in this. Likewise the parent and/or the leader often help the hero prepare for battle. This last function may also be assumed by the hero's friend who may also assist in the battle along with the hero's army.[44] In the stories of human heroes, deities may assume the roles of divine leader, divine parent, and divine friend.

The enemy side consists basically of the enemy leader, the enemy champion and the enemy army; the roles of leader and champion may be combined in the enemy king.

[44] By hero's friend, I mean anyone, human or divine, who helps the hero carry out his mission by serving as a messenger, supplying weapons, etc.

The Beginning: Threat and Helplessness

The story may open with a description of the hero as in the *Anzu Myth* which opens with a celebration its hero, Ninurta.[45] Marduk, the hero of the *Enūma eliš*, makes his appearance in a traditional birth episode at the end of the first story in which Ea slays Apsu.[46] The birth makes Marduk the youngest of the gods, and this fact serves in the story as the hero's impediment, that is, the reason which keeps the hero from undertaking the fight immediately. Because of Marduk's youth, the gods do not immediately think of him as the hero. In other stories, the hero's impediment may be as simple as his absence from the place of encounter or as complex as Achilles' anger which is announced in the opening line of the epic. In the *Gilgamesh Epic*, the hero's disdain of death reveals his lack of maturity, but here the flaw spurs the hero to seek out the battle with Ḫumbaba.[47] Sinuhe in a momentary act of cowardice fled from Egypt during the accession of Sesostris I (B 1-45); this act of cowardice colors the whole of the man's story. However developed, the motif serves first of all to increase the dramatic tension while developing significant themes in the narrative.

The tension of the story arises with the enemy's threat and display of great power. The threat may take the form of "attack," but in general the motif is handled in such a way that the threat, though imminent, is also

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[45] *Anzu Myth,* LV I 1-14.

[46] *Ee* I 79-104. The Samson tradition also begins with a birth episode (Judg 13). A further example can be found in the Hittite battle narrative *The Song of Ullikummis*, *ANET*[3], 121-125; however in this story the episode is transferred to the enemy champion; because of its fragmentary condition, I have not used it as a primary reference point. The "traditional birth episode" is not a unique feature of the battle narrative; it has been studied in depth by D. Irvin in *Mytharion*, Traditional Episode Tablet, Sheet 1. The episode includes eight motifs; only three are found in the *Enūma eliš*: the conception, the birth and the father's reaction; Irvin does not list it in her examples presumably because of this brevity.

[47] Compare Gilgamesh's approach to death in *Gilg.* Y 140-150, 189-192 to that found in Tablets VIII-X, Gilgamesh embarks on a journey in search of eternal life.

held in abeyance so that "our" side may have time to react. The siege of a city or the encampment of the enemy provides a simple solution; likewise the appearance of a messenger with outrageous demands, a challenge to fight, or the timely discovery of the enemy's plan may serve the purpose.[48]

The enemy's power is always overwhelming whether in quantity, quality or both. The greater the power, then the greater the fall, and, therefore, the greater the hero who achieves the victory. Finally the enemy must have a motive, even a bad motive, for taking such drastic actions. The more complex the motive, the greater its importance for ascertaining the central themes of a specific story. Traditionally the enemy represents the antithesis of order, the threat of chaos; but this theme may be explored in many ways. The theme is embodied in the enemy champion as the concrete expression of the foreboding chaos, as opposed to the hero who represents the summary expression of the ideals of "our" side.[49]

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[48] *Iliad* XV: the Trojan threat takes the form of a direct attack. *Ee* I 108 - II 3: Tiamat, the bad gods push Tiamat into action, and she gives birth to a demonic army. KTU 1.2.I.11-19, 31-35: Yamm sends messengers with the outrageous demand that Baal be handed over as a slave. Typically this motif is followed by a provisional capitulation; here the helpless El agrees to the demand (i 36-38). Often these two motifs accompany the siege of a city. See example of the siege in the following: the Sumerian narrative *Gilgamesh and Agga* also with outrageous demands in *ANET*[3], 44-47 and in W. Römer's *Das sumerische Kurzepos* "*Bilgameš und Akka*" (AOAT 209/1; Neukirchen: Butzon & Bereker, 1980); Josh 10:5; 1 Sam 11:1-3 with outrageous demands; 1 Kgs 20:1-12 with outrageous demands; 2 Kgs 6:24; 16:5; 18:13-37 (outrageous demands); Jdt 7:16-32 (provisional capitulation). The most famous siege is that of the Greeks against Troy, i.e. by "our" side against the enemy; the reversal here is perhaps one indication of the ambiguity of this war. In *Sinuhe* B 110, the Strong Man of Rethenu, "a champion without equal" delivers a challenge, here directly to the hero; cf. also 1 Sam 17:8-10. In the *Anzu Myth* LV I 58-85, the motif is cast in cultural terms; the mythic bird Anzu steals the Tablets of Destiny which control the order and fate of the "world," and then he flees to his mountain.

[49] The fight between Baal and Yamm for kingship takes fertility as its major theme which is expressed in the identity of the two gods: the god of the storm against the god of the sea. *Enūma eliš*, though similar, contrasts the emotional

After the presentation of the enemy threat and prowess, the story is complicated with the reaction of helplessness by "our" side, both by the people and the leader (s). This helplessness provides the rationale for the middle section of the story in which a hero is sought and commissioned. The motif of helplessness may be expressed by the image of fear, but other imagery, such as weeping, drooping heads, retreat, or the like, may be used to convey the sense of powerlessness.[50] In the *Enūma eliš* and the *Anzu Myth*, silence is used as a major motif of helplessness in order to create a contrast with the enemy's power of speech derived from the possession of the Tablets of Destiny.[51] Here the motif of helplessness is shaped by larger thematic concerns. While underlining the need for a hero, the motif of helplessness also has negative implications for the leadership of "our" side and may foreshadow a change of leadership with the hero becoming the leader. Finally, both the motifs of the enemy's threat and the reaction of helplessness are not limited to a single appearance in the story; on the

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and erratic Tiamat with the rational and measured Marduk, thus a contrast between anarchy and law. In *Sinuhe* the Strong Man is motivated by greed and jealousy, the latter touching on the hero's alien origin; but enemy's motive is related only tangentially to the major theme of the story. Mindless greed for power motivates the mythic bird in the *Anzu Myth* which is thematically less complex than the other stories, the most complex being the *Iliad*. Homer presents a war in which right and wrong are not divided into two opposing camps, and the enemy champion, Hector, far from being the symbol of evil, is in many ways the most sympathetic character in the story. To this extent, Homer moves beyond the tradition.

[50] In *KTU* 1.2.I 23-24, the gods lower their heads to their knees when they see the messengers of Yamm. The *Iliad* includes a number of images to convey a sense of helplessness and to punctuate the mounting Trojan attack: fear in XV 279-305; a desperate prayer in XV 367-378; the continual retreat of the Greek forces; and finally the weeping of Patroclus XV 390-404, XVI 1-4.

[51] *Ee* II 4-6, 49-52, 121-122; *Anzu Myth* LV I 83-84: "Awful silence spread; deadly stillness reigned. / Their father and counselor Enlil was speechless"; also OB II 1-5.

contrary, they tend to reappear in order to renew and heighten the tension.[52]

To summarize, the opening section of the battle narrative may introduce the hero and give some reason for his inability to undertake the fight immediately. In any case, the opening section presents the major tension of the story, the enemy's threat which is magnified by its great power. The reaction of helplessness by "our" side further complicates the story since it appears that there is no way to meet the enemy threat.

The Middle: The Call and Commission of the Hero

The middle of the story, while typically raising the threat and reaction of fear, puts into place the means for resolving the tension. Basically "our" side must find, recognize and commission a hero to meet the enemy. Since the traditional audience knows that the hero will arrive and resolve the threat, the storyteller must create obstacles to retard the story and increase both the tension and the interest.

Traditionally the storyteller complicates the story by means of two factors: the anonymity of the hero, and some impediment to the hero's entering the fray, the latter already discussed above. These two factors are capable of much variation depending upon the characterization of the hero and leader(s); still it is possible to establish some clear traditional patterns which admit traditional options. Broadly speaking, the middle section may be divided into four parts:

general call for a hero;

call and commission of false heroes;

call and commission of the hero;

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[52] The description of Tiamat giving birth to the demonic army is repeated word for word four times in *Ee* I 129-161; II 11-48; III 15-52, 73-110; a reaction of helplessness follows. Homer, rather than repeat the same description, builds the enemy attack so that it reaches higher pitches as the story progresses.

preparation for battle.

In the stories of human heroes, a divine commission may be added, i.e. the commission of human hero by a deity.

1. General call

If the hero is unknown or at least not apparent to the leader (s), the middle section may open with the council of leaders and a general call followed by the offer of a reward. In the *Anzu Myth*, the motifs of threat and helplessness are followed by a council of the gods in which Anu asks:

> [A]nu made ready to speak
> Saying to the gods his children:

general call: "[Which] one would slay Anzu?

reward: He shall make for himself the greatest name in [eve]ry habitation.[53]

The general call designates no specific person but calls for volunteers or suggestions. The story of Jephthah provides a parallel; there the elders of Gilead ask:

general call: "Who will begin the fight against the Ammonites?

reward: He shall be head over all the inhabitants of Gilead" (Judg 10:18).

The general call is a stock motif used to open a scene of commission for non-warriors as well. In 1 Kgs 22: 20 the general call is found without the offer of a reward: "The LORD said, 'Who will entice Ahab that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead'"; so also in Isa 6:8. The hero's reward, of course, is a traditional motif and need not be tied to the general call. The

[53] Anzu I 87-90. Dalley reads "our name" in her Standard Babylonian text but "his name" in the OB II 7-10. Foster as well as Hallo and Moran read "his name" which would be more traditional: Hallo and Moran, "The First Tablet of the SB *Anzu Myth*," 82-83.

two most common rewards are found in the *Anzu Myth* and Judg 10:18: a great name and leadership, or more specifically kingship.

2. Call, commission, and failure of the false heroes

The call and commission of the false heroes is constructed from the same patterns and motifs used for the hero, but they either refuse the commission or fail in the attempt.[54] Though good and worthy warriors, the false heroes reveal by their failure in these narratives the extraordinary qualities which the hero must possess. More pragmatically, their failure also removes any of the hero's potential rivals, an important point in the *Enūma eliš* where the hero emerges as the head of the pantheon. Finally the episode carries the fortunes of "our" side still lower and ends with a returning motif of helplessness.

3. The call and commission of the hero

Episodes of call and commission are not confined to battle narratives and have been widely discussed by biblical scholars under the title of "call narrative."[55] With the exception of the warrior Gideon, the studies

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[54] In *Ee* II 49-119, Anshar calls first Ea and then Anu to deal with the threat of Tiamat. Ea is unsuccessful though the broken text makes it difficult to ascertain whether he refuses or is unable to complete the task. Anu accepts but is unable to approach Tiamat. In the *Anzu Myth* LV I 91-158 || OB II 11-30, three false heroes are called and commissioned; but the false heroes object that the task is impossible, and the leader withdraws the commission. In the *Iliad*, Patroclus calls for the commission to drive the Trojans from the Greek camp, and Achilles grants the commission. Although Patroclus carries out this commission, he continues the battle and takes it to the walls of Troy against the command of Achilles; there the false hero dies—typically the fate of the heroic friend.

[55] Old Testament scholarship has dealt with this genre primarily in terms of the prophetic call narrative with Norman Habel providing the foundation: "The Form and Significance of the Call Narrative," *ZAW* 77 (1965) 297-323. Much scholarship has flowed from this down through at least Hava Shalom-Guy, "The Call Narratives of Gideon and Moses: Literary Convention or More?" *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 11 (2011) 1-19. This line of scholarship tends to see the "call narrative" as an isolated biblical genre rather than a standard scene with various possibilities depending on the characters. What biblical scholars designate as the "call narrative," I would classify as "a divine call and

have concentrated upon material related to prophets in which an objection is raised to the call and commission by the Lord. The narrow focus of biblical scholarship has caused it to overlook the wider application of the form. The four patterns below apply equally to prophets, warrior-heroes, servants, messengers—in short, to anyone commissioned to carry out a specific task. Even so, I shall cast my terminology in the terms of the battle narrative, i.e. hero and leader.

In this study, the call refers to the element of request, and it may be initiated either by the leader or the hero; i.e. the leader may call the hero to receive the commission, or the hero may call for the commission from the leader. The commission, as N. Habel defines it, "is regularly couched in terms of a direct personal imperative which embraces the essential goal of the assigned task."[56] The central call and commission of the heroic tradition takes place between the hero and the leader of "our" side, the latter usually being a helpless leader. This central scene may be attended by other calls and commissions, especially by the hero's parent. Finally, in the stories of human heroes, a divine leader (i.e. deity) may call and commission a hero; I shall refer to this as a divine call and commission. The type of leader especially has ramifications for the content of the commission which I shall take up shortly. There are four logical patterns.

1. The leader calls and commissions the hero,
   and the hero accepts.[57]

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commission," i.e. by a deity to a human character. As a result these important biblical examples are a mixture of the call pattern with elements from the pattern of theophany as B.O. Long has observed; "Prophetic Call Traditions and Reports of Visions," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 494-500. The sign, considered a special feature of the biblical tradition, often corresponds to the preparation for battle which includes the arming of the hero. Thus Moses is given tricks, and the Lord puts his words into Jeremiah's mouth. These biblical "call narratives" thus fit into a much larger genre.

[56] Habel, "Call Narrative," 318.

[57] *Anzu Myth* OB II 31-73; LV I 161- SB I iii 99 – iv 13, II 1-28: Ea first asks the mother of the hero, Mami, for permission to send her son, and then she calls her

2. The hero calls for the commission,
and the leader commissions him.[58]

These two patterns are differentiated by the initiative taken in the call. Neither holds much dramatic tension; as a result, an objection or, less dramatically, a question may be raised by one and answered by the other. This further complication yields two derivative patterns:

3. The leader calls and commissions the hero;
the hero raises an objection or question;
the leader answers this;
and the hero accepts.

4. The hero calls for the commission;
the leader raises an objection or question;
the hero answers this;
and the leader commissions the hero.

The third pattern corresponds to what biblical scholars have termed the "call narrative." A further example may be seen in the *Iliad* which contains both question and objection (XVIII 170-216). Iris commands Achilles to rouse himself and help recover the body of the dead Patroclus (call and commission). Achilles questions the source of this commission, and Iris answers that Hera has sent her. Achilles then objects that he cannot carry out the commission because he has promised his mother Thetis not to enter the battle until she has brought

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son before the assembled deities and commissions him. His response is recorded in just one line: "The warrior heeded his mother's word" (OB II 73; LV II 28). *Ee* II 130-162: Ea's call and commission of Marduk to go to the leader Anshar and the hero's response. The *Iliad* XV 254-263 relates the divine call and commission of the disheartened Hector by Apollo to fight against the Greeks.

[58] A pattern little used in the heroic narratives, but it is common for the king to call for a commission from the deity in the royal tradition discussed below. Still the pattern is found in *Iliad* XVI 5-274: Patroclus calls on Achilles to send him against the Trojans, and the friend's request is granted without objection although Patroclus expected Achilles to object.

new armor. Iris answers the objection by telling the hero that he need only mount the battlement, and with that Achilles accepts and rouses himself. The pattern is also found in the commission of Jephthah (Judg 11:7-8) and that of the false heroes in the *Anzu Myth* where the leader withdraws the call from each false hero after he objects.[59] Within the larger story of the *Iliad*, the leaders call, commission and beg Achilles to fight, but because of his anger, he refuses.

In the fourth pattern, the hero's initiative is paramount, and the leader's circumspection affords the hero a second speech in which he can reveal with greater resolve his determination to fight. The leader's objection deserves special notice, for typically it touches the hero's impediment and therefore an important theme in the story. Such is the case in the *Gilgamesh Epic* where the elders of Uruk object twice that the hero's youthful heart "is bourne along by emotion."[60]

In addition to the call and commission, other traditional motifs appear in the speeches of these scenes. The leader's call may be accompanied by an exhortation to duty.[61] Counsel, especially in the form of a battle plan, may be given to the hero.[62] If the leader is human, he may invoke a

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[59] *Anzu Myth* OB II 11-30; SB I 91-160.

[60] *Gilg.* Y 172-215, esp., 192-193 and Y245-271, esp. 249-250. The pattern also shapes the scene in which Enkidu objects to the hero's proposed fight against Ḫuwawa: Y 104-160. In the *Iliad*, the pattern shapes the meeting between Achilles and his mother (XVI 5-274). In 1 Kgs 22:19-22 the grand pattern is condensed into four verses: general call (22:19-20a); false heroes (22:20b); call for commission (22:21); leader's question (22:22a); answer (22:22b); commission (22:22c). Cf. also 1 Sam 17:32-37. In *Baal and Yamm*, the hero calls for the commission, but the leader ignores the call *(*KTU 1.2.I 24-28).

[61] The hero's parent in both the *Enūma eliš* and the *Anzu Myth* adds the exhortation to duty to their call and commission of the hero; *Ee* II 130-134; *Anzu Myth* OB II 44-72; LV I 198-210; II 1-28. After meeting with the elders, Gilgamesh goes to him mother, the goddess Ninsun, who adopts Enkidu, entrusts her son to him and prayers to Shamash for a safe journey; *Gilg.* III 19-106.

[62] A battle plan is given in the *Anzu Myth* OB II 43-72, LV II 5-25; cf. Josh 6:2-5; 8:1-2,3-8 (ambush). The elders of Uruk bless Gilgamesh and give him advice;

blessing and call for divine presence and aid.[63] In the case of divine commission, the content of the blessing becomes a statement, an assurance of divine presence and aid, as in the phrase, "I am with you."[64] To this is commonly linked some form of encouragement, expressed most often by the phrase, "Do not fear." This particular phrase has been studied especially by P.E. Dion who argues that the phrase is not necessarily part of an oracle or limited to divine characters.[65] In this I concur; still it is mainly a deity who can offer the assurance necessary to make the encouragement meaningful. The encouragement motif however is not limited to the negative "Do not fear" but may be expressed positively as in the scene where Apollo commissions the disheartened Hector to re-enter the battle (*Iliad* XV254-261); the whole speech is a fine example of the divine call and commission:

Gilg. Y 247-271.

[63] A blessing by the elders is found in *Gilg.* Y 213-215 and by the young men in Y247-260, and 285-286 which reads: "May your God go [before you] / May [Shamash] permit you to win [your victory!]" Cf. also 1 Sam 17:37b. Ninsun also prays for Gilgamesh and Enkidu; III 63-75, 88-106.

[64] The major example of the divine commission, delivered directly by a god, is found in *Iliad* XV 254-261; discussed below. The divine commission with these assurances is a typical feature of the royal battle narratives discussed below. For the biblical tradition, cf. for example Josh 1:5,9; Judg 6:16; 2 Kgs 6:16. The motif of the blessing or the assurance is not confined to the battle narrative; cf. H.D. Preuss, "... ich werde mit dir sein," *ZAW* 80 (1968) 139-173.

[65] M. Nissinen, "Fear Not: A Study on an Ancient Near Eastern Phrase," in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century,* ed. M.A. Sweeney and E.B. Zvi (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003) 122-61.P.E. Dion, "The 'Fear Not' Formula and Holy War," *CBQ* 32 (1970) 565-570, esp. 566; also H.M. (=P.E.) Dion, "The Patriarchal Traditions and Literary Form of the 'Oracles of Salvation,'" *CBQ* 29 (1967) 198-206. Also M. Weippert, "'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien: Kritische Anmerkung zu Gerhard von Rads Konzept des 'Heiligen Krieges im alten Israel,'" *ZAW* 84 (1972) 460-493, esp. 472-473, n. 53; he cites J.G. Heintz, "Oracles prophétiques et 'Guerre Sainte' selon les archives royales de Mari et de l'Ancien Testament," SVT 17 (1969) 112-138, esp. 121-125. Also G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, trans. Marva J. Dawn (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1991) 45-47. In the heroic narratives, cf. *Iliad* XV 254-261; SB II 110; Enkidu to Gilgamesh: "Let your heart have no fear, keep your eyes on me!" *Gilg.* Y 274.

encouragement:	Take courage,
assurance:	a helper hath the son of Cronos sent … to stand by thy side and succor them, even me, Phoebus Apollo.
call & commission:	But come now, bid thy many charioteers drive against the hollow ships their swift horses.
assurance:	and I will go before and make smooth all the way for the chariots, and will turn in flight the Achaean warriors.

The hero's initiative in these scenes is typically triggered by his reaction of righteous indignation when informed of the enemy's threat. This contrasts with the reaction of helpless by the others and is often characterized by anger. The righteous indignation may carry into his call for the commission or color his response to the leader's call.[66] Where the hero seizes the initiative, his call for the commission is more often an assertion that he will fight; still he cannot do this without the leader's official assent. In his call for the commission, the hero may also take over the encouragement motif and bid the helpless not to fear.[67]

4. Preparation for battle: the arming of the hero and muster of the army

Once the hero has received and accepted the commission to fight the enemy, the preparation for battle follows with the hero arming himself

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[66] *KTU* 1.2.I 38,43: Baal reacts with anger when El capitulates (helplessness) to the outrageous demand of Yamm (threat). The *Iliad*, of course, is constructed around the motif of righteous indignation, and specifically the image of anger which is the opening line of the *Iliad*. *Ullikummis* II-a: the storm god becomes angry when told of the enemy champion, but strangely weeps (helplessness) when he sees the foe. Cf. 1 Sam 11:6 for Saul's anger. *Sinuhe* 113-127: the text does not refer to anger, but the hero's speech is characterized by his righteous indignation; also 1 Sam 17:26. In both cases the rhetorical question helps convey the hero's indignation. Cf. also Judg 10:16; then, perhaps, Exod 3:7.

[67] *Ee* II 106-115; *KTU* 1.2.I 24-28; 1 Sam 17:32.

and mustering the army. The hero's weapons and armor, perhaps made especially for the occasion, reflect his greatness—Achilles' shield being the most famous.[68] Others, such as a leader, parent or friend may assist him.[69] Sinuhe, for instance, spends the night preparing his bow, sharpening his dagger and polishing his weapons.[70]

The army may be considered as a collective hero. If necessary, it is mustered with as its own call and commission.[71] The mounting of the

[68] *Iliad* 18.478-608. In *Baal and Yamm*, Kothar wa-Ḫasis fabricates clubs during the fight with the first named Yagarrish and the second Ayyamarri; KTU I.2.IV 11-20. Cf. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, 149-154.

[69] *Ee* IV 30, 35-58: both hero and leaders take part in the preparation which includes the weapons, armor, chariot and muster of the army. *Iliad* XVI 130-220,257-271: after Patroclus has received the commission from Achilles, the preparation of all four elements follows; XVIII 127-137: after Achilles answers his mother's objection, Thetis agrees to her son's going to battle but makes him promise not to enter the fight until she returns with new armor; XVIII 203-218: in the next scene Achilles is commissioned to mount the battlement in order to turn the Trojans back; Athena clothes the hero with the sun set in place of armor, and she adds her voice to his so that his shouting becomes a weapon and turns the Trojans back; XIX 357-424: Achilles' meeting with the Greek leaders ends with a preparation which contains all four major elements; in addition the gods strengthen the fasting hero with ambrosia and nectar while the Greek forces eat (XIX 338-356). See also Kang, *Divine War*, 28-29.

[70] *Sinuhe* 127-129. Hans Goedicke reads *Sinuhe* B 134 (R 159) to B139 (R 166) to mean that "his opponent came with the full battle gear customary in the Levant at the time. Sinuhe, however, mindful of his 'Egyptian' upbringing, opts for bow and dagger as weapons to carry out the fateful duel. Thus he rejects the Rethenu-hero's battle gear and insists that it be taken away. Only after it is laid down is Sinuhe ready to commence the actual duel"; "Sinuhe's Duel," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 21 (1984) 197-201, esp. 199. This would emphasize Sinuhe's Egyptian heritage which is a major theme in the story.

[71] Cf. the call of the Myrmidons in *Iliad* XVI 200-209, 269-274; Ramesses tries to call his army back into battle, but they do not come but leave him to fight the enemy army single-handedly; *Battle of Kadesh* P 115.

chariot, drawn perhaps by named horses, leads to the transition from "our" camp to the place of battle.[72]

5. Journey

Though often abbreviated, the journey may be elaborated where the distance is great as in the story of Gilgamesh,[73] for, along with the battle pattern it serves one of the major traditional patterns as seen in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Scholes and Kellogg delineate three types of journeys in terms of movement: "the journey to a distant goal (e.g. the *Aeneid*), and the return journey (e.g. the *Odyssey*), and the quest (e.g. the *Argonautica*)."[74] The journey confronts the hero with situations beyond the normal fare of sedentary life (as if Penelope did not have her own problems). Like the battle narrative, the journey may become a complex narrative embracing the whole of traditional literature with episodes of hardship and hospitality, hostility and victory, and more. The journey may even take the hero into the fantastic world of the dream or into the unknown world of death. Thus the journey may travel the length of human experience in order to try the hero's physical prowess, his intellectual acumen, and his moral strength.

As a compendium of human experience, the great journeys are symbols of passage: from youth to maturity (Telemachus), ignorance to wisdom

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[72] Though the hero's mother harnesses the seven whirl winds in the *Anzu Myth*, OB II 75-78, Ninurta does these things for himself in LV II 30-34.

[73] *Gilg*. IV & V: the journey is broken into days and extended by dreams.

[74] Scholes and Kellogg, *Nature of Narrative*, 228. Other examples of the journey from the ancient Near East may be found in the *Gilgamesh Epic*, Tablets IV-V, IX-XI, XII; also the journeys in the Sumerian stories of Lugalbanda; cf. C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbanda Epos* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969). Cf. also A.B. Lord, *Singer of Tales*, 162; also A.B. Lord, "A.B. Lord, "Tradition and the Oral Poet: Homer, Huso, and Avdo Medjedovic," *Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: Poesia epica e la sua formazione* (Problemi Attuali di scienza e di Cultura 139; Rome: Academia Nazionale dei Licei 1970)," 13-30, esp. 24-28. Also Merrit Moseley's "The Epic of Gilgamesh and the Hero's Journey" in *The Hero's Journey*, ed. Harold Bloom and Blake Hobby (NY: Blooms Literary Criticism, 2009) 63-74.

and realism (Gilgamesh), alienation to reconciliation (Sinuhe), chaos to order (Aeneas), temptation and trial to victory (Odysseus), bondage to promise (the Exodus), punishment to forgiveness (the Exile and Return of Judah). The complexity of these great journeys cannot be reduced simply to the themes outlined above. Still the traditional movement of all these journeys is an attempt to reverse the most fundamental human transition: the movement from life to death. Each story solves this basic human problem differently. For Gilgamesh, the triumph comes in the acceptance of mortality as his lot. For Sinuhe, the reconciliation with the pharaoh brings the return to Egypt where he can prepare a tomb for the voyage of death. Aeneas carries the *penates* from the defeated Troy to The Eternal City, Rome. And, as Northrop Frye points out, the fundamental biblical journey begins with the expulsion from the Garden which brings death. Abraham makes a journey to the promised land; his progeny journey to Egypt and return in the Exodus and later to Babylon and back. The New Testament tells of the journey to Jerusalem and then to Rome with the final journey ending with the entrance into the New Jerusalem where "death will be no more" (Rev 21:4).[75]

6. Variations on a single motif or pattern

To summarize: The major motifs of the middle section are the call and commission, but they may be used in a variety of ways. The story may open with a general call for a hero which names no specific person. False heroes may then be called and commissioned only to fail. The hero's call and commission by the leader of "our" side may be preceded or followed by a similar scene with the hero's parent.[76] Where the hero is human, he typically calls for a divine commission from his deity.[77] Motifs from the

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[75] Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, 319-320.

[76] *Ee* II 130-134: Ea and Marduk. *Anzu Myth* OB II 43-72; LV I 198-210; II 1-27: the hero's mother commissions the hero in the name of the community. *Iliad* XVIII 36-147: Achilles and Thetis. *Gilg*. III 15-133+: Gilgamesh and his mother Ninsun.

[77] *Iliad* XVI 221-256: Achilles pours out a libation for Patroclus, but the prayer is only partly answered by Zeus. *Gilg*. Y214-235: Gilgamesh prays to his god Shamash and promises to build a house for him on his return.

opening section of the story may be included, not once but several times to raise the tension. The preparation for battle likewise may be divided into several scenes. These motifs therefore are a series of interchangeable parts which may be joined together to form many configurations depending upon character, theme, and the storyteller's genius.

In the *Enūma eliš*, the initial reactions of helplessness give way to the call and commission of Ea and Anu. Their failure provokes a renewed reaction of helplessness which in this story is characterized especially by sitting still and silence (II 53-87). The Annuki join the triumvirate to form a new council in which Ea breaks the silence and names Marduk as the hero (II 88-95). The hero's father, then calls, exhorts, and commissions Marduk to present himself to the leader Anshar (II 96-102). In the scene with the leader, Marduk seizes the initiative; he encourages the leader not to be "muted" and calls for the commission which Anshar grants (*Ee* 139). Marduk then demands a reward of kingship *before* the battle has even begun. The hero's initiative with regard to the reward demonstrates his total command of the situation but is not a part of the normal course of events. Anshar accepts this demand happily and convokes a larger council by means of a traditional messenger episode.[78] The messenger reports the enemy's threat which brings a further reaction of helplessness (III 1-128). The new council takes place within the context of a banquet, another traditional

[78] The traditional messenger episode in the ancient Near East has been studied by D. Irvin, *Mytharion*, Traditional Episode Table, Sheet 2. The biblical material has been subjected to an exhaustive examination by Ann M. Vater, "Narrative Patterns for the Story of Commissioned Communications in the Old Testament," *JBL* 99 (1980) 365-382. Basically the episode has three basic elements: 1) call and commission of a messenger in which the message is delivered verbatim; 2) journey; 3) the delivery of the message verbatim. Such is the case in *Ee* III 1-128. The pattern may now be reversed with a return message. Furthermore the pattern is open to much abbreviation; cf. especially Vater on this point. The messenger episode is a functional pattern which transfers information; in general, the pattern itself is much less important than the information conveyed and the larger context in which it is set.

episode.[79] After the gods make Marduk king, they renew the commission and prepare him for battle with a gift of "matchless weapons" (III 129 - IV 34). The hero then prepares for battle himself: he constructs a bow and net, then gathers meteorological forces treated ambiguously as weapons and army; finally, "wrapped in an armor of terror," Marduk mounts his chariot, drawn by named winds with the other deities remaining worried/helpless until the end (IV 35-62).

The *Enūma eliš* has a special twist in the hero's demand for the reward of kingship before the battle; still the movement of the whole is constructed from traditional motifs and pattern, and these could be pursued in greater detail. The same is true of the other stories; even the lengthy middle section of the *Iliad* (XVI-XIX) deals with a false hero, calls and commissions, preparation for battle, mixed with other traditional elements such as the reconciliation of hero and leader[80] as well as the

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[79] Cf. D. Irvin, *Mytharion*, Traditional Episode Table, Sheet 1. She lists five motifs, the last four being found in the *Enūma eliš*: 1) orders to prepare a feast (missing): 2) invitations (III 1-124): 3) the arrival of the guest (III 129-133); 4) eating and drinking (III 134-137); 5) problem (III 138-IV 34). In *Baal and Yamm* only motifs 4 and 5 appear: *KTU* 1.2.I 20-21, 22-38. Cf. also Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, 179-183.

[80] For the reconciliation of hero and leader, see the story of Bellerophon in the *Iliad* (VI 155-197) in which the queen falsely accuses the hero of attempting to seduce her. The motif is found also in the Egyptian "The Story of the Two Brothers," § iii; *ANET*[3] p.24. Also Joseph and Potphar's wife in Gen 39:7-20; the Greek story of Phaedra, Theseus, and Hippolytus told by Euripides among others. The story of Bellerophon, as Gunkel noted, also includes the motif of a hero bearing a letter calling for his death; *The Folktale in the Old Testament,* trans. Michael D. Rutter (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1987) 145.

Motifs of alienation and reconciliation also shape the Egyptian "Story of Sinuhe" where the hero because of his fear or cowardice flees Egypt at the accession of Sesostris I who invites the hero after his victory over the Strong Man of Rethenu to return. The *Odyssey* provides another variation in which the alienation between god and hero creates the basic tension of the story; under pressure from Zeus (*Od* XVIII), Poseidon relents so that the hero may return, defeat the suitors, reunite with his family and take possession of his kingship and kingdom. The alienation of hero and deities also shapes Tablets VI and VIII of the *Gilgamesh Epic*.

lament over a dead hero.[81] Whatever the obstacles or complications, the hero emerges in the end with a commission confirmed by the whole society, represented by the leader. The hero's parent may be involved in this as the representative of the family, and where the hero is human, the deity may grant a divine commission to mark the assent of the religious realm.

The Resolution: Victory, Plunder and Recognition

The major tension of the story is resolved by the hero's victory over the enemy champion which allows "our" side to defeat and destroy the enemy army. The taking of plunder leads to the recognition of the hero which rounds out the story and brings it to a close.

1. Single-combat

The single combat is made up of a number of constant elements for the scene of single-combat:

In the Bible, the story of Jacob and Esau (Gen 25; 27; 32-33) and that of Joseph and his brother (Gen 37,39-50) recount the alienation and reconciliation of brothers. In the story of David and Saul, the pattern of alienation is introduced first between deity and king in 1 Sam 13-15 and then between king and hero in 1 Sam 19-31.

[81] Violent death brings in its wake a series of traditional responses from those who are bound to the dead person by family or covenant ties. The traditional mechanism can be seen at work several times in the *Iliad* (Glaucus' response to Sarpedon's death in *Iliad* XVI 508-867, Achilles' response to Patroclus' death in XVII-XXIII, and Priam's response to Hector's death in XXIV), and the duties demanded by others toward the dead carry the *Iliad* forward from Book XV to the conclusion. To the Homeric examples can be added Anat's response to the death of Baal (*CTA* 5 vi, 6 ii), the response of Daniel and Pughat to Aqhat's death (*CTA* 19), and David's response to Absolom's death (2 Sam 18:18-19:11). Typical motifs are the following: 1) messenger report of the death to an absent hero and/or family; 2) reactions of grief; 3) formal lament by the hero, family and/or others; 4) retrieval of the body; 5) burial of the dead with mourning; 6) avenging of the death by the hero/family; B. Fenik notes that it is common for a man to avenge his slain "friend"/"brother"; *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad*, 139, 162.

meeting of the warriors;

verbal exchange between the two warriors:

enemy's false confidence;

enemy's insults;

hero's indictment of the foe and enemy.

hero's initial failure

help from other helpers

enemy's failure

hero's mortal blow with a missile

enemy's fall to the ground

hero's triumphal stance over the body

mutilation of the corpse with a hand weapon

The meeting of the warriors is a prosaic but necessary element; this may be filled out with the introduction of motifs from the earlier section such as the description of the enemy's great power. The verbal exchange, especially the hero's speech, is important for understanding the major themes of the narrative which are articulated in the hero's indictment of the enemy.[82] The enemy's speech with its insults raises the contempt of

[82] Verbal exchange: *Ee* IV 71-86: Marduk accuses Tiamat of hating those whom she bore and challenges her to single-combat. *Anzu Myth* LV II 39-47; *Gilg.* V 85-94; *Iliad* XXII 249-272. The text of KTU 1.2.I 45+ breaks off before the content of Baal's message to Yamm becomes clear, but there has already been an exchange between Baal and the messengers of Yamm at the banquet. Verbal exchanges by messenger, rather than face to face, become the norm in the royal texts. For biblical examples, see Judg 11:12-28; 1 Sam 17:42-47; 2 Kgs 14:8-11. Susan Niditch, citing Quincy Wright's *A Study of War*, says that "the goal in taunting is, in fact, to preserve prestige and avoid physical combat: the taunt is often accompanied by bluffing, counter-taunting, and more bluffing." Niditch, *War in the Hebrew Bible: A Study in the Ethics of Violence* (Oxford: Oxford University

the audience and also manifests the moral emptiness of the enemy.[83] The introduction of the enemy's false confidence, a motif also found elsewhere, adds dramatic irony to the story.[84] The hero's initial failure creates a new tension and retards the climax.[85] Furthermore it shows his dependence upon outside help, and brings a return to motifs of the middle section: new strategies for battle or new weapons, and perhaps new assurances or encouragement.[86] The enemy's failure likewise

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Press, 1995) 92-93; Q. Wright, *A Study of* War, 2 vol. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1942) 1401-1415.

[83] *Gilg*. V 85-94: Ḫumbaba mocks Enkidu and promises to slit Gilgamesh's throat. *Iliad* XXII 260-272. In the latter, the insults are all on the hero's side, a twist of the motif. Also 1 Sam 17:42-44.

[84] In addition to the false confidence manifested by the insults, see *Anzu Myth* LV II 39-42 where Anzu brags about stealing the Tablets of Destiny and demands to know who has come to fight him. *Iliad* XXII 278-311: after Achilles has failed with his first shot, Hector, already deceived by Athena, believes falsely that he will be the victor. See also below p.

[85] *Anzu Myth* LV II 48-Assy. II 57-147: Ninurta's attempt to hit Anzu with an arrow fails because the mythic bird is able to turn the arrow back with his powerful word; Ninurta sends a messenger to announce the failure to the leader who sends back a commission, essentially the same as the first, but with the addition of a new stratagem for the battle plan and with the promise of winning the name "Mighty One" (II 147). KTU 1.2.IV 1-18: As the column begins, Baal is recoiling (seemingly) from an initial(?) failure in the fight with Yamm. Kothar-and-Ḫasis offers encouragement to the hero and gives him a flying club which also fails to bring down the enemy champion in the first attempt. *Iliad* XXII 273-277: Achilles hurls his spear at Hector who avoids this initial attempt, but Athena, unseen by the Trojan hero, retrieves the spear for the hero. Here the initial failure allows Hector's false confidence to build the dramatic irony of the story. In each case, the initial failure is followed by a return to motifs from the middle section whether from the scene of call and commission or from the preparation for battle (gifts of weapons).

[86] Even while Ninurta is engaged with Anzu in battle, the messenger Sharur goes back and forth between the hero and Ea to bring counsel to direct the battle; *Anzu Myth* SB II 103-147. In *Gilg*. V 137-140, Hittite recension, Shamash appears to the hero after the foe has made his presence felt, and rouses the mighty gale-winds against Ḫumbaba. *KTU* 1.2.IV 18-23: Kothar wa-Ḫasis provides two flying clubs. In *Iliad* XXII 214-225, Athena appears to Achilles and assures him that Hector will not escape now.

retards the climax.[87] Beyond this functional dimension, both motifs of failure may have thematic significance since both are options for the storyteller.

The hero's mortal blow to the enemy is accomplished by some sort of missile: spear, arrow, stone, flying club.[88] The enemy then falls to the ground,[89] and the hero takes a triumphal stance over the body to visually the outcome of the fight.[90] Finally the mutilation of the corpse with a hand weapon provides a final symbolic gesture illustrating the complete destruction of the enemy champion.[91]

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[87] *Iliad* XXII 289-293: Hector's spear hits Achilles' shield but does no damage. *Sinuhe* 134-137: The Strong Man of Rethenu discharges a whole arsenal of weapons at the hero who avoids them all. The emphasis laid upon the sheer number of the enemy's arms must not be overlooked in the interpretation.

[88] *Ee* IV 87-103: Marduk engages the manic Tiamat in single-combat and when she opens her mouth to consume him, he drives in the Evil Wind to hold open her body and shoots her with an arrow. *Anzu Myth* LV III 1-21: Ninurta uses two weapons to strike repeatedly until Anzu drops his wings; he then with arrow and dart pierces Anzu's heart, lungs and wings. Ḫumbaba pleads for his life twice, but Enkidu encourages the hero to finish the battle causing the enemy to curse them; finally Gilgamesh strikes at Ḫumbaba's neck: V 85-265. Baal subdues Yamm with two flying clubs provided by Kothar wa-Ḫasis: *KTU* 1.2.IV 18-23. *Iliad* XXII 312-329: Achilles hits Hector with the spear, retrieved by Athena and originally given to him by Peleus his father. *Sinuhe* 138: The hero hits the Strong Man with a single arrow.

[89] *Ee* IV 104a; KTU 1.2.IV 25-26; *Iliad* XXII 330a; *Sinuhe* 139.

[90] *Ee* IV 104b; *Iliad* XXII 330b-366; *Sinuhe* 140-141.

[91] *Ee* IV 129-132, 136-138: Marduk crushes Tiamat's skull and tramples her legs, but the severing of the body is reserved for the first act of creation. In the *Anzu Myth* LV III 10-20, Ninurta cuts off the wings and shoots an arrow into his heart. In KTU 1.2.IV 27, *yqṯ b'l wyšt.ym.ykly tpt.nhr* is translated by Gibson: "Baal dragged out Yamm and laid him down, he made an end of Judge Nahar." Smith translates it: "Baal drags and dismembered(?) Yamm, / He destroys Judge River (p. 323). The difficulties of translation are discussed by Smith in the *Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, 351-356. In *Gilg.* V 264-265: Gilgamesh strikes Ḫumbaba's neck "and the ravines did run with his blood" (Ish 25'), and on their journey back, "Gilgamesh [*carried*] the head of Ḫumbaba"; V 302. *Iliad* XXII 371-404: The young men stab Hector's body as they view it, and Achilles drags the corpse

2. Defeat of the enemy army

After the defeat of the enemy hero, "our" side recognizes the hero's victory and carries it through by defeating the enemy army. With this the, opening motifs of the story are reversed: "our" side now poses the threat, and the enemy reacts with helplessness. The section can be outlined as follows:

enemy's recognition of defeat:

enemy's reaction of helplessness;

enemy's flight.

recognition of victory by "our" side:

a shout[92]

pursuit of the enemy

great or total destruction of the enemy.

The scene is a stable feature of the royal battle narratives,[93] but in these six stories of single-combat, the enemy army appears only in only in the *Enūma eliš* and the *Iliad*. Homer tells the destruction of Troy only in the

around Troy; however, the hero does not carry out his threat to mutilate the body but gives the body back to Priam, Hector's father. The breaking of this motif in the *Iliad* becomes the climax of the story. In *Sinuhe* 140, the hero finishes off the Strong Man with the foe's own ax. See also the similar analysis of Frolov and Wright, "Homeric and Ancient Near Eastern Intertextuality in 1 Samuel 17," 466.

[92] *Sinuhe* 141; 1 Sam 17:52. Cf. also von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel,* 48; he cites war cries also in Judg 7:20 and similarly in Josh 6:5; 1 Sam 17:20; 2 Chr 20:21-22. See also the note on the victory cry below.

[93] Cf. the discussion in Chapter 3 on the enemy's recognition of defeat and their destruction or capture.

Odyssey. In the *Enūma eliš*, Marduk himself defeats Tiamat's army and takes the Tablet of Destinies from Qingu.[94]

3. Plunder

Once the victory has been carried through, the plunder of the enemy takes place, for the spoils of war are also the trophies of victory. The hero typically receives a choice portion of the plunder, the weapons and armor of the slain being highly valued.[95]

4. Recognition and reward of the hero

There follows the recognition of the hero by the leader and then by others which includes: • announcement of the defeat to "our" side if at a distance:

reaction of joy and celebration

recognition of the hero with reward and renown (name)

victory hymn

If the main body of "our" side is distant from the battle, as in the *Myth of Anzu*, news must be sent.[96] Recognition may take the form of gesture, speeches, and this exaltation of the hero reaches its fullness in an imperishable renown and the great name.

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[94] *Ee* IV 106-122. Similarly in the *Battle of Kadesh*, Ramesses II defeats the Hittite army single-handedly. Samson also defeats the Philistine forces alone in Judg 15.

[95] *Ee* IV 121-122: Marduk takes the Tablet of Destiny from Qingu, Tiamat's consort. At the end of *Gilg*. V, Gilgamesh and Enkidu take plunder from the cedar forest which is better preserved in two Old Babylonian fragments; George, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 46-47. *Iliad* XXII 367-368: Achilles takes the armor which Hector had taken from Patroclus. *Sinuhe* 143-147: Sinuhe plunders the Strong Man's camp.

[96] *Anzu Myth* LV III 22-23: "The wind bore Anzu's wing feathers / As a sign of his glad tidings. / Dagan rejoiced when he saw his sign." He then invites the gods to reward the hero, and they send a messenger to that effect.

Kingship is the great reward for the hero, and it is typically attended by other motifs: royal insignia, dynasty (wife and progeny), kingdom, a dwelling (temple or palace) in the capital (city or mountain) of the kingdom. These motifs can be correlated with those for hero who do not become kings but still receive rewards, especially some part of the plunder symbolic of the battle. Finally, the human hero may give recognition to the part played by his deity in the victory, as in *Sinuhe,*[97] a motif more common motif in the royal battle narratives treated in the next chapter.

Victory brings renown, yet the goal is not the fleeting fame of the moment, but enduring renown. As Gregory Nagy argues, imperishable renown and glory, κλέος—*kleos* in Greek, serves as a primary motivating force in the *Iliad*;[98] however, the pursuit of glory and immortality is inextricably bound up with death. Patroclus dies in the pursuit of glory (XVI 87-90), and Achilles knows in a revelation from his mother that if he fights, he will die young, but his "*kleos* shall be imperishable" (IX 410-416). When Odysseus meets the dead Achilles in Hades, he confirms the validity of the dead hero's choice: "Thus not even in death have you lost your name, but ever shall you have fair *kleos* among all men, Achilles" (*Od*. XXIV 93-94).

Noteworthy in Odysseus' statement is the parallel between *kleos/"*glory*"* and the "name," for, in the ancient Near East, the theme of renown is often expressed by the motif of the name, especially as the greatest or an everlasting/enduring name. [99] Significantly, the *Enūma eliš* ends with the

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[97] *Sinuhe* 141-142: the hero gives praise to Montu; cf. the discussion in Chapter 3 on "Plunder, Recognition and Reward of the Deity and King."

[98] G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1981) Ch. 5.

[99] *Ee* IV 133-134; V-VII: after the initial scene of recognition, the creation of the world and the establishment of Babylon alternate with more gifts and speeches ending with the proclamation of Marduk's fifty names. KTU 1.2.IV 32: Athtart, seemingly, proclaims "Baal is/shall be king." *Iliad* XXIII 35: Achilles is brought to Agamemnon, but the scene is still dominated by Patroclus' death; in a sense, the real scene of recognition comes in Book XXIV between Achilles and Priam,

fifty names of Marduk which describe his exalted power and responsibilities (VI 99 – VII 144). Likewise the Myth of Anzu ends with the names of Ninurta.[100] One of the earliest references from Mesopotamia can be found in a hymn for Šulgi, a Sumerian king, who is called "hero, lord, mighty one of the foreign lands, the 'champion' of Sumer": "Like Anshar, may your name be placed in the 'mouths' of all the lands!"[101] The endurance of the tradition can be seen in 1 Macc 6:44 where Eleazar "gave up his life to save his people and to win for himself an everlasting name."[102] Likewise Judith, before her battle, she proclaims that her victory "will go down through all generations of our descendants" (Jdt 8:32). By winning this name, the hero is able to

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the enemy king. *Sinuhe* 142-143: the hero is embraced by his prince, but the more important recognition comes from the pharaoh later in the story. In the *Anzu Myth*, LV I 90 and OB II 10, the hero is promised the reward of a great name and also to the false heroes (I 97, 119, 140. Also in LV II 27 and 103, Ninurta is told that his name will be "Mighty One." The end of SB III contains a number of names given to Ninurta including Ningirsu, Lugalbanda and other names pointing to the Sumerian background. *Gilg*. Y 188: Gilgamesh undertakes the fight against Ḫuwawa in order to "establish for ever a name eternal." In *Gilg.* V 244-245, Enkidu encourages Gilgamesh to finish the fight: "Establish for ever [*a fame*] that endures / how Gilgamesh *slew* [*ferocious*] Ḫumbaba!" Likewise for David; he "had more success than all the servants of Saul; so that his name was highly esteemed" (1 Sam 18:30); cf. also 2 Sam 7:9,23, 26; 8:13. The gift of the name in Phil 2:9-10 belongs to this tradition. Cf. also Eph 1:21; 2 Thes 1:12.

[100] *Anzu Myth* LV III; the end of the tablet which in its fragmentary condition still records some fifteen names of the hero.

[101] J. Klein, "Šulgi X" in *Three Šulgi Hymns* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar Ilan University Press, 1981) 133, 138. Cf. also F.R. Kraus, "Altemesopotamische Lebensfuhl," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19 (1960) 117-132, esp. 127-131.

[102] The analysis here supports Cross' argument against S. Herrmann who would trace the "making of a great name" (*ʿśh šm gdwl*) to an Egyptian source (*ỉrí rn* , etc.). As Cross says, "the notion of 'making a great name' is a common Hamito-Semitic concept, forming parallel idioms in many daughter languages. F.M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973) 248-249. S. Herrmann, *Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und Israel*, (Leipzig: Karl-Marx-Universitat, 1954) 41.

establish for himself or herself a kind of immortality which is sometimes symbolized also by the raising of stele as a permanent monument.[103]

The multiplication of names in the *Enūma eliš* and the *Myth of Anzu,* therefore, forms a fitting close to the epic and serves as a kind of victory hymn. Likewise the response of Athtart to Baal's victory over Yamm has a similar function.[104] P.D Miller has identified a "victory cry" in a number of texts,[105] and the victory hymn proper appears in Exodus 15, Judges 5 and Judith 16:1-17 to celebrate the battle, the hero, and, where appropriate, the hero's kingship. Motifs drawn from the battle narrative are used to expand the hymn but not necessarily in sequence because the audience knows or knew the story. Rather the plot is subordinated to the exaltation and joy of the hymn. Again, every extant story of a victorious hero is a celebration of the hero's glory and fame, and so of the hero's "name." Where the story remains extant, the hero's glorious name remains imperishable.

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[103] M. Weinfeld cites the line, from a stele: "I inscribed my stele and established my name forever"; *Deuteronomy* 193, n. 4; KAH II 26:10. Weinfeld also points to the word pair of "name" and "stele" in Isa 56:5. Similarly in the *Enūma eliš*, Marduk turns the enemy gods into statues and says, "Let this be a token that this may never be forgotten" (V 71-76). The establishment of a name is also related to the founding of a house (= dynasty) whereby the hero's name is carried on through the generations as with Abraham in Gen 12:2. The winning of a name is also connected with building projects; the tower of Babylon is begun in order to "make a name" (Gen 11:4). Even so, battle is the typical arena in which glory is won. For Ramesses II who wins "a name" at the Battle of Kadesh, see below in Chapter 3 under "Fight and the victory by the Deity, King and Army ." Also Kang, *Divine War*, 71-72.

[104] *Baal and Yamm*, KTU I.2.IV 28-41.

[105] Exod 15:21; Josh 10:12b-13; 1 Sam 18:7; 21:11; 29:5. Miller makes a distinction between the "battle song" and "victory cry"; *Divine Warrior*, 29-30, 94, 103-105, 112, 116. While the terminology helps to indicate the length of the piece, the two should be seen in relationship to each other.

Conclusion

While the battle narrative may provide the frame for the whole story as in the *Anzu Myth*, the pattern may be repeated to form a larger story, or it may be joined with other motifs and patterns. In the *Enūma eliš,* the fight between Marduk and Tiamat is preceded by a theogony and by a smaller battle between Ea and Apsu; after the battle, the scene of recognition alternates with a cosmogony. The whole of the *Iliad* could be analyzed as a constant return of battle motifs and patterns. Still in both of these stories, the single-combat stands at the heart of the story. In the *Gilgamesh Epic* and *Sinuhe* , the battle narrative combines with other traditional elements and patterns. *The* fight against Ḫumbaba belongs to Gilgamesh's youthful adventures before the reality of death confronts the hero; the battle is used ironically to underline the hero's immature understanding of death. This epic ends not with a battle but with a journey in search of immortal life. In *Sinuhe,* the fight forces the hero who once fled to "decide once more whether to flee or to stay and confront his personal difficulty."[106] As such, the battle marks the transition from alienation to reconciliation, and the battle plays an important role in this transition as a demonstration of the hero's courage, as opposed to his youthful cowardice which brought about his exile.

The larger context must be considered in assessing the significance of these stories as well as the internal factors: narrative world, characterization, particular thematic concerns. All of these factors contribute to the unique shape of each story. In short, there is a reciprocal relationship between form and content. Often this relationship is traditional, but the tradition does not account for everything, especially where the storyteller is of Homer's caliber. Homer creates new horizons for the tradition, especially in his treatment of Hector. The *Enūma eliš* may be taken as a clear presentation of the tradition, for there the lines between good and evil, hero and enemy, are

[106] Anthony Spalinger, "Orientations on Sinuhe," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 25 (1998) 311-339, esp. 332.

clearly drawn, for the battle narrative is a story of triumph, the triumph of the hero over the enemy, and therefore the triumph of good over evil.

Chapter 3

The Royal Battle Pattern in the Ancient Near East

As seen in the last chapter, characters and theme are responsible for modifications in the battle pattern, and this chapter considers a standard variation, the royal battle narrative. Here the roles of hero and leader are combined on both the human and divine levels. On the human level, the king is both hero and leader; as such, he need not turn to any other human character for a commission. The official approbation and command to undertake the fight comes from the king's deity who plays the role of the divine leader and also may fight as the divine hero. The fusion of the roles of hero and leader on both the human and divine levels identifies the king with the deity, and the identification is not gratuitous, but rather the point of the story.

Gerhard von Rad in his famous work, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, considered "holy war" only as an Israelite institution without reference to the large ANE context.[107] However, Manfred Weippert in his study "'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien" has shown that the literatures of Israel and Assyria reflect the same practices and ideologies of war.[108] Instead of practices and ideology, I shall be dealing with motifs and patterns used in storytelling. Again we are faced with the differences between a historical and a literary approach. The two are not contradictory; rather they should complement one another.

Weippert confines his study to Assyria, but I wish to extend the boundaries both in terms of time and space. Much of this material can be characterized as "royal battle reports," for little or no attention is paid to the development of narrative tension or to the retardation of the story. The enemy's threat is quickly succeeded by the announcement of the king's victory, and the bulk of the report is concerned most often with

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[107] Except for a passing reference to the Assyrian use of mercenaries, von Rad does not point to the larger ANE context; *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, 124, n. 12.

[108] M. Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg," 460-493.

the extent of the destruction, the plunder taken, and the tribute offered by defeated or neighboring kings. As such, the battle report emphasizes the magnitude of the victory and the recognition paid to the king.[109]

In his meticulous study, K. Lawson Younger, Jr. has analyzed these conquest accounts of ancient Near East and used the information as a lens to view Joshua 9-12. For this, he generated a set of motifs corresponding to those generated in the previous chapter,[110] and he uses these "syntagms" to analyze in great detail the Assyrian, Hittite and

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[109] W. Richter's work focused particularly on vocabulary; *Traditionsgeschtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch* (Bonner Biblishe Beiträge 18; Bonn: P. Hastein, [2]1966) 262-266. For Assyrian other examples of the battle report, cf. the annalistic reports of Shalmaneser III in *ANET*[3], 276-280. Cf. also Manfred Weippert, "Die Kämpfe des assyrischen Königs Assurbanipal gegen die Araber: Redaktionskritische Untersuchung des Berichts in Prisma A," *Die Welt des Orients*, 7.1 (1973) 39-85. This longer report offers a good example of a historical report with its many details and people. It makes clear that Ashurbanipal acts at the command of his many deities and that Umwaite' receives the curses of the oath he has violated, but the text is not interested in narrative tension and resolution. Michael G. Hasel has also produced a descriptive survey of siege tactics and the destruction of life support systems in the ancient Near East; *Military Practice and Polemic: Israel's Laws of Warfare in Near Eastern Perspective* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2005).

[110] K. Lawson Younger, Jr. *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing*, JSOT Supplement Series, 98 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 72-79. His "syntagms" with correlation to this study in brackets are as follows: A. spatio-temperal coordinates; B. disorder [tension]; C. divine aid [divine commission]; D. gathering of the troops [muster]; E. move from place to place [journey]; F. presence of the deity [deity as hero]; G. flight; H. pursuit; I. combat; L. outcome of the combat [destruction of the enemy and plunder]; M. submission; N. exemplary punishment; O. consequences; P. acts of celebration [recognition of deity and king]; Q. return [journey]; R. supplemental royal activities on the campaign [recognition]; S. summary statement; T. geographic note. What I find interesting about Younger's motifs is the occurrence of flight and pursuit after the appearance of the deity and before the battle. As outlined in the heroic pattern, the enemy's flight is a reaction to the recognition of helplessness after defeat of the enemy hero. The "combat" comes here only after the pursuit of the enemy. This alteration of the pattern underlines the power of the deity and of the king.

Egyptian "conquest accounts," and further refines these basic categories both in terms of actions and vocabulary. In the end, Younger uses his analysis to show that Josh 9-12 belongs to a literary genre and must be appreciated as such. His remarks are aimed particularly at historical critics who do not recognize "the figurative nature" or "the use of hyperbole in the narrative." Therefore, "once one admits this element into the interpretive process, there is no reason to maintain that the account in Josh 9-12 portrays a *complete* conquest."[111]

The Literary Texts of Royal Battle Narratives

The royal battle narrative, as defined here, exploits the traditional possibilities for tension and retardation in order to tell a story and not merely to report the king's greatness. Even so these texts vary in literary quality; not all are of great length and some are very fragmentary, yet all are something more than a battle report.

1. *The Sargon King of Battle Epic* which is found in an Old Babylonian version and a Tel el-Amarna version.[112]

2. The Cuthean Legend of Naram.[113]

3. The "Apology of Ḫattušili."[114]

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[111] Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts,* 243.

[112] Joan Goodnick Westenholz, surveys the various fragments along with Amarna Recension in Text 9B: "King of Battle." in her *Legends of the Kings of Akkad* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), pp. 102-140. Also cf. Foster, *Before the Muses*, vol. I, 103-108.

[113] *Cuthean Legend of Naram Sin:* Joan Goodnick Westenholz has published the various Babylonian texts related to this narrative which she renames "Naram-Sin and the Enemy Hordes": The "Cuthean Legend," in her *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, Texts 20-22, pp. 263-368; Text 2: The Standard Babylonian Recension, pp. 294-331. Cf. also Peter Machinist's comparison of the historian's perspective in this text with that of the Deuteronomistic History in "The Voice of the Historian in the Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean World," *Interpretation* 57. 2 (2003) 117-137. Westenholz has also gathered a number of literary texts recounting the heroic deeds of Sargon and Naram Sin. All are rather fragmentary; still a few references are included below.

4. Pharaoh Ramesses II's "Literary Record" of the Battle of Kadesh.[115]

5. Pharaoh Merneptah's defeat of the Libyans in the Great Karnak Inscription.[116]

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[114] "The Apology of Ḫattušili" translated by Th. P. J. van den Hout, in *Context of Scripture*, ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2003) vol. 1, pp. 199-203. J. Randall Short comments extensively on the relationship of this text to the History of the Rise of David (1 Samuel 16 – 2 Samuel 5) in his *The Surprising Election and Confirmation of King David*, Harvard Theological Studies 63 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). As he shows, the text is a justification by Ḫattušili for his rebellion. It is more of a historical document than a literary document. Still he emphasizes his devotion and reliance particularly on Ištar which fits with the typical call and commission in the royal pattern.

[115] *Battle of Kadesh*: A. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscription of Ramesses II* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1960) 7-14. Gardiner refers to the text in question by the letter "P" which stands for "poetic text" although he notes that the text is not in verse. I have quoted the newer translation by K. A. Kitchen, "Ramesses II (2.5): The Battle of Qadesh: The Poem, or Literary Record," in *Context of Scripture*, edited by William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2003) vol. 2, pp. 32-38.

[116] *Merneptah Inscription*: Colleen Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah: Grand Strategy in the 13th Century B.C.* Yale Egyptological Studies (New Haven, CT: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 2003). Originally in J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906-1907) III, §572-592. Manassa divides the narratives into sixteen sections that correspond closely to the pattern of the battle narrative:

1. List of enemies (1 with some text lost here and elsewhere) [= threat], 2. Merneptah as a warrior (2-6); [= description of the warrior], 3. vanguard of the enemy (7); [= threat], 4. the beloved land without a champion (8-9) [= reaction of helplessness], 5. Merneptah: Champion of Egypt (10-12) [= hero], 6. One came to say: "The Libyans attack." (133-15a) [= threat], 7. Merneptah's address: Pharaoh rages (15b-19) [= The king describes the threat], 8. Conclusion of Merneptah's address and oath (21-25) [= He claims his role as hero.], 9. The oracle and preparation for battle (26-28a) [= divine commission], 10. Message of Ptah: the divine dream (28-30a) [= divine commission], 11. The victory of the battle of Perire (30b-40a) [= the victory; the Egyptian army destroys the enemy "without a remnant amongst them" and the enemy leader flees], 12. Frontier report and speech of the captives (40b-44) [reports are unable to confirm the death of the enemy king], 13. Aftermath of the Battle:

6. *Kurigalzu*: King Kurigalzu's two battles with the King of Elam.[117]

7. *Ashur-uballiṭ:* King Ashur-uballiṭ's fight with the Kassites.[118]

8. *Adad-narari Epic*: The triumph of King Adad-narari I over the Nazi-Maruttash the Kassite king of Babylon.[119]

9. *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic*: the battles of King Tukulti-Ninurta I against Kashtiliash.[120]

Egypt rejoices (45-48a) [= army bearing plunder and recognition by "the entire land rejoicing"], 14. The plunder list 48b-61) [= plunder including the other enemy chiefs brought alive before the hero-king], 15. Royal appearance and speeches of Merneptah (62-73a) [= recognition of the hero-king who appears and gives a speech announcing the death of the enemy king by his tribe and recognizing his deities], 16. Speech of the Council of Thirty and concluding praise (73b-79) [= recognition of the hero-king by others].

Manassa classifies this text as a "Königsnovelle" (107) because it "serves functionally as royal propaganda, specifically focused upon actions performed by the king in order to preserve cosmic order" (109). Still from the standpoint of plot, the text belongs to the genre of the battle narrative.

[117] *Kurigalzu*: A fragment telling of the battle, the flight and capture of the enemy king is known: A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts* (Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies 3; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975) Ch. 5, esp. p. 52-55. As he says, "The main source for the Kurigalzu epic is oddly enough, Chronicle P. This chronicle quotes extensively from an epic in its description of two battles fought by Kurigalzu. It is possible that the fragment in chapter 5 in which the hostilities with Elam are narrated is part of the same epic" (42). Chronicle P is found as "Chronicle 22" in A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5 (Locust City, NY: J.J. Austin, 1975) 170-177. The same text is also translated as ""45. Chronicles of the Kassite Kings" in Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, ed. Benjamin R. Foster (Leiden: Brill, 2005) 278-281.

[118] *Ashur-uballiṭ*: For the text see R.C. Thompson, "VII. The Excavations on Nabû at Nineveh," *Archaeologia* 79 (1929) 103-148, esp. 131-132, and the commentary in Thompson, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 20 (1933) 116-117. This fragment tells of the army calling Ashur-uballiṭ II (c. 1386-1369) to battle against the king of the Kassites.

[119] *Adad-narari Epic*: E. Weidner, "Assyrische Epen über die Kassiten Kämpfe," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 20 (1963) 113-116. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 57, n. 65.

10. *Shalmaneser in Ararat*: The campaign of King Shalmaneser III against Urartu.[121]

11. *Esarhaddon*: King Esarhaddon's fight for the throne.[122]

12. The Moabite Stone: King Mesha's victory over the "son of Omri."[123]

Characters

Whereas the hero and helpless leader take the major roles in the heroic pattern, the king and his god are central in the royal pattern. Their relationship is that of hero and leader, yet the king is also the human leader, and the deity may take the role of divine hero; neither is helpless.

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[120] *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic* is translated by Foster in *Before the Muses*, vol. I, pp. 211-230 with information on the various text on p. 230, and for the citations, I have followed his indications. For the recent discussions dealing with the relation of this text to the Bible, cf. P. Machinist, "Literature as Politics: The Tukulti Ninurta Epic and the Bible," *CBQ* 36 (1976) 455-482, and P.C. Craigie, "The Song of Deborah and the Epic of Tukulti Ninurta," *JBL* 88 (1969) 253-265. On Ninurta as a divine warrior, cf. Kang, *Divine War*, 24-31.

[121] *Shalmaneser in Ararat*: W.G. Lambert, "The Sultantepe Tablets: VIII. Shalmaneser in Ararat," *Anatolian Studies* 11 (1961) 143-158. Lambert includes both a prose account and a poetic account which "unlike the hundreds of other Assyrian royal inscriptions containing annalistic material this one is—uniquely, so far as the present writer knows—poetry" (143). The prose account contains several battle reports (147-149). The poetic text contains only some sixty lines (149-153).

[122] *Esarhaddon*: R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Assarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (*Archiv für Orientforschung,* Beiheft 9; Graz: 1956; Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1967) §27; English translation in *ANET*[3], 289-290; Weippert also discusses the text; "Heiliger Krieg," 466-468.

[123] *Moabite Stone*: Kent P. Jackson and J. Andrew Dearman, "The Text of the Meshaʿ Inscription," and Kent P. Jackson, "The Language of the Meshaʿ Inscription" in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab*, ed. Andrew Dearman (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989) 93-95, 96-130. Aarnoud van der Deijl, *Protest or Propaganda: War in the Old Testament Book of Kings and in Contemporaneous Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) 304-339.

Kang in his study of *Divine War in the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East* has analyzed the role of the deity in "the ancient Near Eastern historical sources" and has emphasized the deity as "a warrior who fights against the enemy." Therefore the war is understood "as originating from divine command," and the core of these divine wars "is the divine intervention in battle by miracles of natural phenomena such as flood or rain-storms, or historical events of revolt amongst the enemies, or as the terror of the divine warriors themselves." Since the divine warrior is the true victor, the spoils of battle belong to him or her, and the king erects steles or monuments or builds temples to commemorate the victory of the divine warriors."[124] The literary texts considered here certainly carry out these themes and exalt the human king as well with the exception of the Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin. "Initially he is depicted as a self-willed individual, putting himself above the gods. Since Naram-Sin defies the will of the gods, he must be punished. He must realize and acknowledge his tragic error before he can receive assistance from the gods."[125]

Helpless characters make only an occasional appearance when the king for some reason or other is absent from the scene of the enemy threat. The other major character, the royal army, forms an extension of the king but has little personality otherwise. Counselors and religious personnel may play minor roles to carry out their functions.

Characters on the enemy side generally include only the enemy king and army who play their traditional roles as the representatives of chaos and destruction.

In the *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic*, an elaborate exchange of letters creates a larger and more mimetic sense of the enemy king, Kashtiliash. With the ring of history, Tukulti-Ninurta reminds the enemy king of the long history of their relationship and accuses him of violating their treaty, perhaps, as Foster notes, with the possibility of reconciliation.

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[124] Kang, *Divine War*, 108-110.

[125] Westenholz, *Legeneds,* 264.

Kashtiliash, however, replies with insults and refuses to let the Assyrian messengers return. Tukulti-Ninurta sends further indictments and calls upon the deity Shamash to vindicate him for keeping the treaty. Filled with fear at the impending trial by battle, Kashtiliash "offers a soliloquy on his impending doom."[126] Despite the realism, Kashtiliash plays the traditional role of the enemy king.

The Beginning: Description of the King, Threat and Helplessness

1. Description of the king

Since the royal battle narrative is recounted to exalt the king, a description of the king may open the story. The only impediment which might keep a king from immediately resolving the enemy threat is his absence from the scene;[127] otherwise the king is presented as the complete hero.

2. Enemy's threat and power

In the *Legend of Naram Sin* (lines 31-62), a monstrous enemy arrives to wreak great devastation. The threat, created both by the enemy's proximity and their terrible power, is found also in the *Battle of Kadesh* where the Hittite troops arrayed before the Egyptians are compared in numbers with the sands of the sea (P 66). In general, however, the enemy's strength is attenuated in these royal stories. This shift may well reflect the actual historical facts behind these narratives, but it also reflects a movement away from elements which would denigrate the magnificence of the king who is typically presented as the most powerful figure in the story. Still something of the initial tension is lost in the exchange.

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[126] Foster, *Before the Muses*, 216-221.

[127] *Battle of Kadesh*, P 1-24; *Legend of Naram Sin*, 1-30; *Esarhaddon*, I 1-9. Except in the *Legend of Naram Sin*, the king's absence from the scene of conflict is the only impediment to his dissolving the enemy's threat immediately.

The enemy's threat may be divided into four different types of wars which account for variations in the opening of the story:

a. wars against outside aggressors who usually attack some outpost of the kingdom;

b. wars against rebels within the kingdom;[128]

c. wars of redress, i.e. wars waged to redress past atrocities by the enemy before the king's accession;[129]

d. wars of conquest.[130]

The first two types are similar to the threat posed by the enemy in the heroic pattern. The wars of redress begin with a history of the suffering and defeat endured in the past at the hands of the enemy. The wars of conquest are waged to expand the kingdom in the name of his deity; as a result, the pattern begins with a scene of commission and preparation.

3. Reaction of helplessness

In the heroic battle narrative, the leader is the central character in the reaction of helplessness, but the motif is inappropriate for the kings because they are the battle heroes as well as the human leaders. Therefore, if the reaction of helplessness is introduced, the king must be excluded, typically by his absence from the scene of conflict.[131]

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[128] Cf. *Esarhaddon*, in which the hero's brother kills the old king and father, Sennacherib.

[129] *Moabite Stone*, 1-9; *Merneptah Inscription*, 1, 7, 18-23.

[130] Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg," 469, 487-488, 492; cf. *Shalmaneser in Ararat* where the Assyrian king wages a fierce war of conquests which causes others to come with tribute; poetic text, 56-57. Weippert points out that the wars of conquest are undertaken at the will of the god; there is no qualm of conscience about undertaking an offensive war. Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts, passim.*

[131] *Merneptah's Inscription*, 8-9: the narrator describes the situation before the pharaoh's appearance.

Furthermore, since the narrative is told from the king's point of view, often in the first person, the reaction of helplessness, where it appears, is not developed with the vigor seen in the heroic battle narratives; indeed it may only be implicit in the need to call for the king.

The Middle: Call and Commission with the Preparation for Battle

1. Call and commission of the king by the helpless

Since the king is hero by virtue of his kingship, the search for a hero becomes inappropriate, and likewise there are no false heroes.[132] Where helpless inhabitants appear, their call for help is sent immediately to the king by a messenger, as in the case of a vassal besieged by an enemy.[133]

2. King's reaction of righteous indignation

As seen in the previous chapter, the hero's stock response to the news of the enemy's threat is one of righteous indignation, and both Merneptah and Esarhaddon display their anger at the report of the enemy's villainy.[134]

3. Divine call and commission of the king

Kingship brings a duty to wage war. Technically speaking then, the king's primary call and commission come with his accession to the throne, and Merneptah's accession is incorporated into the battle narrative in this way.[135] In view of this, the call dimension of the

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[132] The retreating Egyptian army in the *Battle of Kadesh*, (P 74-75) can be analyzed as a false hero whose failure brings the hero into the battle.

[133] *Merneptah Inscription* 15b: "raged like a lion"; also Josh 10:6. The *King of Battle Epic* (Tel el-Amarna edition), merchants call upon King Sargon to defeat the oppressive king, and they offer to pay for the campaign, a very businesslike reward (ll. 13-21); Westenholz, *Legends*, 114-117.

[134] *Esarhaddon*, I 53-59; *Merneptah Inscription* 15b.

[135] *Merneptah Inscription* 10-12. *Esarhaddon*, I 8-22: The hero is designated as heir to the throne by his father, the gods, and the people; this likewise functions as a primary call and commission which allows Esarhaddon to act like a king even though his enthronement comes after the battle. Note also the "Apology of

narrative is attenuated; still a divine commission for each battle is a regular feature.

The patterns for the call and commission conform almost exclusively to the first two patterns found in the heroic narratives:

> a. The divine leader (calls and) commissions the king; and the king accepts.[136]
>
> b. The king calls for the divine commission; and the divine leader grants the divine commission.[137]

Normally any objection by either king or deity is excluded because the scene serves to underline the unanimity between the human and the divine.[138]

Ḫattušili" §11 = 4:7-40; for most of this story, the hero is not a king in his own right and thus receives commissions to wage war from his brother the king; cf. §5 = 1:66; §6 = 2:20; §7 = 2:35.

[136] *Merneptah Inscription* 26-28a contains an oracle announcing that "Amun has assented," and in 28b-30a, Ptah appears in a dream saying "Seize it here" while giving Merneptah "the scimitar." A dream is found in *Shalmaneser in Ararat*, poetic text, 25-30; "Apology of Ḫattušili" §11 = 4:7-15; Moabite Stone, 14.

[137] *Battle of Kadesh*, P 92-123. *Legend of Naram Sin*, 72-83, 99-114+; *Esarhaddon*, I 60-62. In Text 13: "Erra and Naram-Sin" 1-15, Ištar commissions the hero and grants him weapons; Westenholz, Legends, 192-195, ll. 1-15.

[138] An exception is found in the *Legend of Naram Sin*. The king calls and gathers his seers to seek an oracle, but the gods refuse to grant the commission. Against their will, Naram-Sin goes out against the enemy and meets with defeat, followed by a reaction of helplessness (72-83, 84-87, 88-98). In the fourth year, the gods at the behest of Ea (seemingly) grant the king an oracle of commission (99-114+). The importance of seeking an oracle of commission is stressed again toward the end when the king is faced with deciding the fate of his prisoners. In the *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic*, iii (A obv.) 41'-46', the enemy king Kashtiliash complains that he is unable to obtain a divine commission by oracle or dream—an indication of rejection by the gods; see also 1 Sam 28 where Saul has Samuel conjured up without effect.

As Kang says, "There was a profound conviction that no military action could succeed unless its plan had the prior approval of the gods."[139] The king typically calls for the divine commission in one of four ways:

1) direct personal prayer,[140]

2) *sacrificia consultoria*[141]

3) sacrifices entreating the favor of the gods,[142]

4) a vow which promises something in return for victory.[143]

The divine oracle of commission, whether initiated by the god(s) or in answer to the king's call, is communicated in the following ways:

1) to the king himself

   a) by direct address,[144]

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[139] Kang, *Divine War*, 42.

[140] Tukulti-Ninurta, ii (=A obv.) 11'-24': prayer to Shamash; *Esarhaddon*, I 59-60; *Battle of Kadesh*, P 91-125; *Ashur-uballiṭ*, ii 2-18. The first two kings receive a direct reply. Scholes and Kellogg note: "Prayer, in particular, was designed in ancient literature to reveal thought and character with unquestionable validity, and this attitude persists right up through Shakespeare"; *Nature of Narrative*, 200-201.

[141] Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg," 470-472. *Sacrificia consultoria* are found in the *Legend of Naram Sin* and in the *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic* iii 41-46, the enemy king is denied omens and dreams. Cf. also *Esarhaddon*, I 61. Kang discusses these sacrifices in some detail; *Divine War,* 42-45, 56-65, 98-101.

[142] *Shalmaneser in Ararat*, poetic text, 41: sacrifices are offered even though the king has received a divine commission in a dream.

[143] There are no vows in this selection of royal narratives, but Weippert treats vows in "Heiliger Krieg," 476, n. 74. Alice Logan also discusses the vow during biblical warfare found in Num 21:23; Josh 6-7; Judg 8:4-21; Judg 11:30 and 1 Sam 14; she notes that "all underscore the seriousness of wartime pledges and the encumbrances that deals with the deity placed on those who made them"; "Rehabilitating Jephthah," *JBL* 128.4 (2009) 665-685. Younger does not list it as a motif in his *Ancient Conquest Accounts.*

b) by a dream;[145]

2) a spontaneous oracle to a third person, that is not a cultic person, for example, a person who reports a dream;[146]

3) an answer to *sacrificia consultoria,* as interpreted by the proper cultic personnel.[147]

These three orders represent a descending scale of dramatic intimacy in which direct personal contact is sacrificed more and more to the constrictions of ordinary experience. The sacrifices entreating favor and especially the vows do not envision either a direct or indirect response; likewise the king's prayer in some narratives receives no reply which is simply presumed to be affirmative.[148]

The divine commission may appear without further elaboration as in the *Moabite Stone* where the deity Chemosh says to King Mesha: "Go, take Nebo from Israel" (line 14). The assurance of divine presence and aid is added to Amon's commission of Ramesses II: "Straight on! Forward! I am with thee; I am thy father! My hand is with thee, for I am

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[144] *Battle of Kadesh*, P 125-127: Amun says: "Forward! I am with you. I am your father, my hand is with you! I am more useful to you than hundred-thousands of men, I am the Lord of Victory, who loves bravery." *Moabite Stone*, 14. Kang in *Divine War* discusses oracles and signs in Mesopotamia (42-43), Anatolia (56-62), in Syro-Palestine (79-80) and Egypt (98-99).

[145] *Merneptah Inscription*, 28b-30a; Manassa also discusses dreams in Egyptian texts, 117-119; *Shalmaneser in Ararat*, poetic text, 25-30 according to Lambert's text: "Aššur inspired me with confidence and [showed me a dream,]" (25). Dreams play an important role in the "Apology of Ḫattušili," §3 = 1:9-21; §9 = 3:1-13; in §11 = 4:7-40, the goddess appears to his generals and to his wife saying: ""I will march ahead of your husband and all of Hattusa will turn to (the side) of your husband."

[146] Weippert has used the term "*spontane Orakel*"; "Heiliger Krieg" 471. He cites an example of a dream to a third person in the *Prism of Ashurbanipal* A, III 118-127.

[147] Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg," 470-471.

[148] *Ashur-uballiṭ*, ii 2-18.

worth more to thee than hundreds of thousands, and I am the strong lord who loves valor."[149] The commission to Esarhaddon is shorter but similar: "Go (ahead), do not tarry! We will march with you and kill your enemies."[150]

The encouragement motif ("Do not fear") does not fit well with the vision of the king as the great and mighty warrior.[151] Merneptah is commissioned both by an oracle from Amun and in a dream by Ptah along with the gifts of a sword (preparation for battle): "Then his majesty saw in a dream, as if a [statue] of Ptah were standing near Pharaoh, l.p.h. He was high […] He was saying to him: "Seize (it) here!" As he was giving the scimitar to him: "And expel the foul heart from yourself."[152]

To these motifs may be added the "hand-formula," a formula in which the divine leader announces that the enemy has been given into the hand of the king: "to give X into your hand."[153] From my perspective, the

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[149] *Battle of Kadesh*, P 125-130.

[150] *Esarhaddon*, I 61-62. *Shalmaneser in Ararat*, poetic text, 25-30: "Aššur inspired me with confidence and [showed me a dream], the rest is largely obliterated except for the assurance of divine presence and aid, "May Ninurta go before you, may Girru follow at your rear."

[151] For the motifs of assurance and encouragement in a different context, cf. "Apology of Ḫattušili" §4 = 1:37-38.

[152] *Merneptah Inscription*, 28b-29. According to Manassa, the command to "expel the foul heart from yourself" refers to the "foul heart" of the enemy king; *Great Karnak Inscription* 118. Breasted, however, translated it: "and banish thou the fearful heart from thee" (§ 582) which would be more traditional. While Manassa tries to exclude this reading on the basis of grammar (the preposition *ỉm* can imply both "within" and "from") and also the lack of other indications that "Merneptah's heart ever possessed the quality of *ḥwꜣ*," the tradition does not always follow logic.

[153] Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg," 472-473, n. 54. The biblical tradition is surveyed by von Rad in *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, 42-44; also C. Westermann, *Prophetic Oracles of Salvation in the Old Testament,* trans. Keith Crim (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991) 24-25 where "Übergabeformel" is translated as the "conveyance formula"; in this text I have referred to it as the

formula is an extension of the assurance of divine presence and aid; with its introduction into a narrative, all pretense of dramatic tension disappears.

Within the heroic tradition, the divine commission of the hero represents the approbation of the ultimate dimension within the hero's society. While this is a factor in the royal tradition, the divine commission also establishes a primary theme of the story: the identification of the king and deity in both person and action; for the deity, particularly the head of the pantheon, is responsible for the protection and defense of the community, as is the king who is the human manifestation of the divine king.

4. Preparation for battle: arming of the leader and muster of the army

The arming of the hero with weapons, armor, and chariot are found for Ramesses II in the *Battle of Kadesh*.[154] The muster of the army is the major motif of preparation in these narratives.[155] The army may also be

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"hand-formula." Kang discusses the formula in a Mari letter; *Divine War*, 43-45, 67. Also van der Deijl, *Protest or Propaganda,* 289-290.

[154] Ramesses, informed of his army's retreat, girds for battle and mounts his chariot drawn by "Victory of Thebes," he being "like his father Mont...like Baʿal…"; *Battle of Kadesh*, P 76-80. Note also the sword given to the pharaoh in *Merneptah Inscription* 29. Manassa notes that "the image of the god handing the khepesh scimitar to the king is a ubiquitous motif in the New Kingdom reliefs and inscriptions" and "is accompanied by statements proclaiming the inevitable victory of the king over the enemies to be smitten with the divinely given weapons; *Great Karnak Inscription,* 117-118.

[155] Cf. *Iliad* XVI 155-220; also *Battle of Kadesh*, P 25-28 following the initial description of Ramesses. In Weippert's pattern of motifs The muster of the troops follows immediately after the report of the enemy threat; "Heiliger Krieg," 269. In the *Merneptah Inscription* 15b-25, 30, the pharaoh gives his army or people a speech to lay out the enemy threat and encourage them who "are trembling like birds," and at the beginning of the battle the army gathers in rank. In Cf. also *Shalmaneser in Ararat,* poetic text 17-19. In *Ashur-uballiṭ* and *Esarhaddon*, the muster follows the divine commission as in the heroic pattern. The army may also be called and commissioned; typically an exhortation is

called and commissioned; typically an exhortation is included.[156] Interestingly in the story of Ashur-uballiṭ, the army delivers a speech and calls on the king lead them into battle.[157]

5. Journey

Since the enemy is generally at some distance, the journey continually appears in these narratives, but the motif is not developed except in *Shalmaneser in Ararat* in which the journey serves as the frame for the battle narratives.

The Resolution: Victory, Plunder and Recognition

1. Verbal exchange between king and enemy by messengers with the enemy's false confidence

The king and enemy may carry out a verbal exchange, similar to that found in the heroic tradition, but typically the exchange takes place through messengers rather than face to face on the battlefield as in the heroic pattern.

The most interesting example is found in *Tukulti-Ninurta* where the exchange of messengers creates the main drama of the story.[158] The

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included. For the muster see also Kang, *Divine War*, in Egypt, 100-101.

[156] *King of Battle Epic* (OB edition) 1-9; *Battle of Kadesh*, P 167-195, 250-277; *Shalmaneser in Ararat*, poetic text 17-24. In Text 13: "Erra and Naram-Sin" 1-15, the hero receives weapons from Ištar; Westenholz, *Legends*, 195, l. 16. Kang notes the ritual of the soldier's oath in Anatolia; *Divine War*, 63.

[157] *Ashur-uballiṭ*, ii 2-22: This speech ends with the prayer (ii 22): "And may the Sun-god cause our lord [i.e. Ashur-uballiṭ] to attain in the revolt a glorious name o'er the king of the Kassites!"

[158] *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic*, ii (=A obv.) 26ff; ii (= F col. "x") 10'; iii (=A obv.) 1'-20'; iv (A rev.) 11'-33'. In *Adad-narari Epic*, the verbal exchange is the only extant part of the story. See also in Westenholz, *Legends*, Text 12: "Naram-Sin and the Lord of Apišal," col v and vi, pp. 182-187; Text 13: "Erra and Naram-Sin," ll. 19-23, p. 95.

enemy king may display his false confidence in this exchange or elsewhere to add dramatic irony.[159]

2. Fight and the victory by the Deity, King and Army

The fight scene of the royal pattern generally ends almost as soon as it begins, sometimes being reduced to a simple statement of victory.[160] The royal narratives typically recount the meeting of faceless armies whose diffuse and simultaneous actions do not lend themselves easily to the storyteller's art.[161] This poverty, however, seems due less to the lack of imagination, and more to the significance of a speedy victory.

First of all, the speed underlines the divine aid promised the king. This promise may be fulfilled concretely in the story with the deity or deities taking part in the battle as the divine hero who leads the king into battle, marches at his side, and fights.[162] Kang, in particular, has demonstrated that "from the pre-Sargonic period…, the gods began to intervene in wars." Though Amun-Re was primarily the Egyptian divine warrior, various gods in the Hittite and Mesopotamian texts take this role though in Mesopotamia, "the major divine warriors were rain-storm gods."[163]

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[159] *King of Battle Epic* (Tel el-Amarna edition), ll. rev. 3-7; Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg," 478, n. 84.

[160] An exception would be *Ashur-uballiṭ* ii 23-45 which describes the deities leading the hero into battle as he cries: "I am Ashur-uballiṭ, the destroying giant"—with his army "eager for the fray" like lions and whirlwinds.

[161] In the *Legend of Naram Sin*, three initial failures by the king extend the battle scene. The ambush would also seem to be a conventional way of drawing out a battle; cf. *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic* iv (=A rev.) 36'-40 where the enemy tries to ambush the Assyrians but fail; Josh 8; Judg 9:34-45; 20:29-48.

[162] *Ashur-uballiṭ*, 25-32 lists Ashur, Bel, Anu, the Crescent Moon, Adad, the Sun-god, Ninurta and Ištar leading the king at the forefront of his army; *Esarhaddon*, I 72; "Apology of Ḫattušili" §6 = 2:24; §7 = 2:37; §11 = 4:8: "My Lady, marched ahead of me." In the "Deeds of Šuppiluliuma" translated by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., the Hittite text repeats thirteen times the phrase: "The gods (of my father) marched before PN"; in *Context of Scripture*, vol. 1, pp. 185-191. Cf. also von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, 48-49. Rowlett, *Joshua*, 54-65.

[163] Kang, *Divine War*, 23. 45-46, 101-105, and his summary 108-109.

Therefore, the storm and other meteorological images, where they accompany a battle, point to the divine hand in the action since they recall the victories of the storm or weather god.[164] Manassa points out that this is also true of Egypt "from the earliest depiction of warfare," and the *Merneptah Inscription* (42) proclaims, "All the gods have felled him [the enemy king] on account of Egypt.[165] She goes on to point out that war in Egypt is a "cosmic struggle" with "the equation of foreigners to chaotic elements," and Merneptah "as the earthly embodiment of Re" and therefore the representative of the divine hero.[166] Ramesses II too rushes into battle "like Mont … like Baʿal ," that is, like a god (P 77, 155), and Tukulti-Ninurta I is described in vestiges of the storm god as "the raging, pitiless storm."[167]

Secondly, G. Furlani has shown that every battle in Babylonia and Assyria was conceived in some sense as a trial in which the righteous party necessarily wins the battle.[168] From this perspective, a speedy victory represents a speedy verdict against the enemy and for the king.

Finally, the speed is a sign of the king's own magnificent power. Unlike the heroic narratives in which great power is attributed to the enemy, the royal narratives exalt the king's power which may be so great that it pre-empts the fight and leads directly to the enemy's recognition of

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[164] Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg," 479; cf. *King of Battle Epic* (OB edition), 59-63. Both the heroes of *Baal and Yamm* and Ullikummis are storm gods; note also Marduk's army of meteorological forces.

[165] Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription*, 119.

[166] Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription*, 122-124.

[167] Tulukti Ninurta, iv (=A rev.) 41'.

[168] G. Furlani, "Le guerre quali guidizi di dio presso i Babilonesi e Assiri," *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati* (Fontes Ambrosiani 27; Milan: U. Hoepli, 1951) III, 39-47, esp. 47. Also R.M. Good, "The Just War in Ancient Israel," *JBL* 104.3 (1985) 385-400; Kang, *Divine War,* 14-15 and 108 where he notes that the "lawsuit chiefly appears in the Hittite and Mesopotamian historical sources , but not in the Egyptian historical sources"; Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 236-237.

defeat.[169] The Hittite king, Ḫattušili, after acknowledging Ištar going before him, claims the heroic motif for himself: "I personally conquered the enemy. When I killed the man who was in command, the enemy fled."[170]

The poetic text of Ramesses II at Kadesh breaks the traditional royal pattern by having his army retreat leaving only the king surrounded by 2,500 Hittites chariots (P 83-87). He prays to Amun (P 92-127) and sends the enemy fleeing (P 128-165). He then rebukes his cowardly army and attributes his victory Amun and retells his victory (P166-204). In a flashback, his shield-bearer begs him to stop but he refuses (P 205-234). The army now recognizes the hero of the battle, and the king rebukes them again, saying: "Fair indeed is fame ("name") won in battle, over and over."[171] The break with the royal battle pattern in this story brings it closer to the heroic pattern and the hero of single-handed combat and so magnifies Ramesses greatness.

3. The enemy's recognition of defeat and their destruction or capture

As in the heroic narrative, the victory brings about the enemy's recognition of defeat and leads to a reaction of helplessness: fear and flight. The royal army, already responsible for the victory, pursues and inflicts great total destruction upon the enemy.[172] Even so, the enemy

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[169] *King of Battle Epic* (OB edition), 65-68; *Esarhaddon*, I 72-73; Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg" 477.

[170] "Apology of Ḫattušili" §7 – 2:31-47. See also Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., "A Hittite Analogue to the David and Goliath Combat of Champions?" *CBQ*, 30 (1968) 220-225. He translates the short Hittite text. Hoffner argues that this is a contest of champions parallel to the fight between David and Goliath in which a fighter from each side fight as a representative. Roland de Vaux who suggested this phenomenon existed in Greece and the ancient Near East in his "Les combats singuliers dans l'Ancien Testament," *Bib* 40 (1959) 495-508; translated as "Single Combat in the Old Testament" in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East,* trans. Damian McHugh (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971) 122-135.

[171] P257: Kitchen's translation.

[172] Younger notes that the outcome of the battle results in either destruction or

king does not necessarily die in the conflict, unlike his counterpart in the narratives of single-combat. The enemy king may escape,[173] or he may be captured[174] and thereby become part of the scene of recognition.[175] These events rob the climax of its utter decisiveness but reflect a more realistic or even historical portrayal of the battle.

In the battle of Merneptah against the Libyans, the storyteller states that "there was none that escaped among them" (the Libyans), yet he contradicts this by reporting that the Libyan king fled, "his heart fearing." The news of the escape is brought to the pharaoh along with information about the choice of a new Libyan king who had opposed the old (§583-586). The specific details of the escape and new appointment have the marks of unique historical fact, yet this is mixed blithely with the traditional statement that no one escaped. In the royal tradition,

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acquisition. In the Assyrian texts and Hittite text the destruction is massive; war in the ancient Near East brought slaves, and so total destruction was against the interests of the victor. Under hyperbole Younger cites the common phrase in Egyptian military accounts: 'who makes them non-existent"; *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 75-76, 190-192. In Text 13: "Erra and Naram Sin," ll. 33-45: Erra and Naram-Sin join forces in battle against Enlil and in the "attack (on) the cities of the enemies […]. Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, 197-199. *Kurigalzu*, Grayson, in Chronicle P ii 4-6: "did not leave a soul"; even so another battle takes place in column iii.

[173] *Merneptah Inscription* 40b-44; *Esarhaddon* I 82-84. In the "Apology of Ḫattušili," the Hittite king spares the life of Urḫitešub, but when the enemy king "plotted another plot against me, and wanted to ride to Babylon—when I heard the matter, I seized him and sent him alongside the sea"; §11 = 4:7-40. The passage shows the marks of being shaped by historical rather than traditional forces.

[174] In Kurigalzu obv.(?) ii (?) 17-19, the enemy king "retreated, he headed toward the mountains" … but "they *overtook/captured* him."

[175] *King of Battle Epic* (Tel el-Amarna edition), ll. rev 19-23. Similarly in the *Battle of Kadesh*, (P 295-332), the Hittite king sues for peace, and Ramesses graciously accedes; in the Hittite version (*ANET*[3], 319), the Egyptians are defeated. In each case, the historical reality is subordinated to a traditional ending of the battle narrative. In Text 13: "Erra and Naram Sin," the victory ends with the building of a temple and the blessing of Naram-Sin and the giving to King Naram Sin, "the might weapon, the scimitar"; ll. 46-67, pp. 197-199.

however, the storyteller's fidelity to the tradition and even to history more often gives way to a more basic loyalty, the storyteller's loyalty to the king and the king's glory.

4. Plunder, Recognition and Reward of the Deity and King

Plunder figures prominently in the royal narrative along with the recognition of the divine and human heroes. As Kang points out, "it is natural that the spoils belong to the gods, for a war is the war of gods,"[176] Kang links this to the Moabite Stone where Mesha "killed every one of [it]—seven thousand native men, foreign men, native women, for[eign] / women, concubines—for I devoted (*ḥrm*) it to ʿAshtar-Kemosh."[177] Kang relates this to the *ḥērem* or "ban" which plays an important role in biblical texts, but it has not been found elsewhere in the ancient Near East beyond the Moabite Stone.[178] The ban has, of course, received great attention from biblical scholars and theologians, but, for this study, the biblical *ḥērem* or ban belongs to the gifts of recognition for the divine hero whatever it may have meant historically or may mean for us today. [179] In *Shalmaneser in Ararat*, the king carries out a festival and "with joy in Aššur the lordliness of a lion […] with all his lands pronounced Aššur [blessed]," and in the prose account the king says: "I made for myself a large royal stele, [inscribed] on it the praise of Aššur my lord and the power of my might of which I had given evidence in the land of Urartu."[180]

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[176] Kang, *Divine War*, 46.

[177] Jackson, "The Language of the Mesha Inscription," 98.

[178] Kang, *Divine War*, 80-82. For the exclusion of the *ḥērem* elsewhere in the ancient Near East, he cites C.H.W Brekelmans, *De Ḥerem in het Oude Testament* (Nijmegen: Centrale Drukkerij, 1959) 128-145.

[179] So also Kang, *Divine War*, 224.

[180] *Shalmaneser in Ararat*, poetic text, 61-62; prose text, 55. *Merneptah Inscription* 48b-61: a long plunder list with some enemy chiefs brought alive before the pharaoh.

The recognition of the human victory undergoes some alteration since a king cannot easily recognize himself as hero though Merneptah does it.[181] Most logically, perhaps, the divine leader (s) should recognize the hero-king, as in the *Battle of Kadesh* on Ramesses' return to Egypt.[182] A captured enemy king, accompanied by appropriate tribute, may be impressed for this duty,[183] or a neighboring king may offer the conquering king tribute whether under duress or of their own accord.[184] Finally, the army or even the enemy army in *Kurigalzu* may also fulfill this function.[185]

The scene of recognition is of special importance for Esarhaddon. Though he has been appointed crown prince by his father, Esarhaddon has not yet become king when his rebel brothers assassinate their father. Esarhaddon pre-empts the fight with a brilliant show of power, interpreted in the imagery of divine heroes, and this causes the rebel army to defect and proclaim, "This is our king." The Assyrian people come next to kiss the feet of their king, and then, as hero of the battle,

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[181] *Merneptah Inscription*, 62-73a.

[182] *Battle of Kadesh*, P 339-345: the gods receive Ramesses on his return. "Apology of Ḫattušili" §6 = 2:30: Ištar proclaims the hero's name after the battle in § 12a = IV 47-48: "And my Lady Ištar gave me the kingship of the land of Hatti also, and I became a great king. / My Lady Ištar took (as a) prince and placed me on the throne." In *Ashur-uballiṭ* ii 22, the army prays before the battle the Sun-god grant the king "a glorious name" for victory over the enemy.

[183] *King of Battle Epic* (Tel el-Amarna edition), ll. rev 19-23.

[184] In *Battle of Kadesh*, P 335-345: The gods of the land <come> to him in greeting saying: "Welcome, our beloved Son, King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Usima[re] Setepenre, Son of Re , Ramesses II, given life! – according as they have granted him a million jubilees and eternity upon the throne of Re, all lands and all foreign lands being overthrown and slain beneath his sandals, eternally and forever." *Shalmaneser in Ararat*, poetic text, 55-57. Kurigalzu in Chronicle P, iii 17-19: Hurbatila, king of Elam, recognizes Kurigalzu.

[185] *Merneptah Inscription*, 73b-79: the Council of Thirty recognize Merneptah as the hero; *Battle of Kadesh*, P 235-250: Ramesses army praises him for saving them single-handedly. *Kurigalzu* Chronicle P, ii 9-14: the enemy army recognizes Kurigalzu.

Esarhaddon takes possession of the royal city and the throne of his father. The scene of recognition ends with the gods registering their acknowledgment through portents, omens, and oracles.[186] This narrative preserves the traditional tie between the victorious hero and the reward of kingship in order to justify Esarhaddon's accession.

The king may also set up a monument to mark the victory. As Weinfeld points out, this is connected with the establishment of a "name forever."[187] In several instances below, the erection of a stele is connected with the king's recognition of the god(s) as divine hero, a motif which may be expressed by sacrifice, etc.[188] Weippert lists the return journey and the disbanding of the army as other concluding motifs.[189]

Conclusion

This all too brief survey is by no means exhaustive, nor does it attempt to isolate the peculiarities of specific cultures. Rather I have tried to show that the royal pattern is a variation of the heroic pattern which results from the combination of human hero and leader into a single

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[186] *Esarhaddon*, I 77 - II 10.

[187] M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 193, n.4.

[188] Shalmaneser III says in the "Monolith Inscriptions" (*ANET*[3], 277): "At that time, I paid homage to the greatness of (all) the great gods (and) extolled for posterity the heroic achievements of Ashur and Shamash by fashioning a (sculptured) stela with myself as king ... ." For a larger discussion of Aššur, cf. Kang, *Divine War*, 40-42. Cf. also Esarhaddon's "Sinjirli Stela" in *ANET*[3], 293. In the "Apology of Ḫattušili" §12B = 4:48-80, Ḫattušili makes peace with the previous allies and with those who had been enemies of his father and grandfather; then he gives "Ištar, My Lady, the property of Armatarḫunta" and sees to the erection of her statue and the worship of her as "Ištar the High." For a fuller discussion of Ištar as a warrior, see Kang, *Divine War*, 31-36.

[189] Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg," 486; here Weippert also gives a schema for the royal battle narrative which focuses on the praxis of war in the ancient Near East; as such, it is more restrictive than my own proposal for the traditional pattern.

character—the king. A list of the motifs is given in Appendix 2. Again I want to state that this pattern is a theoretical model, a distillation of the tradition, as is the heroic pattern. Both are descriptive rather than prescriptive. The intimate relationship between the two patterns is seen most clearly in the *Battle of Kadesh* where the lone king defeats a great army. The royal pattern, therefore, must not be divorced from the heroic pattern. The royal storytellers, however, are less interested in the drama of the story than are their heroic counterparts. Narrative tension and retardation give way to the exaltation of the king and his identification with the deity. In short, the battle narrative has become a tool of royal propaganda.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Motifs and Patterns of the Heroic Pattern

Characters

"our" side
- leaders
  - helpless leader (s)
  - strong leader (s)
  - parent
  - divine leader (deity)
- leader's court
  - helpless people
  - counselors
  - religious officials
  - messengers
- heroes
  - false heroes
  - the hero
- hero's helpers
  - hero's army
  - hero's friend

enemy side
- enemy leader
- enemy people
- enemy champion
- enemy army

The Beginning: Tension

1. description of the Hero: hero's impediment
2. enemy's threat and great power
   a. muster of enemy army,
   b. challenge, attack, siege, outrageous demands
3. reaction of helplessness by "our" side: fear, weeping, retreat, provisional capitulation

The Middle: Development

1. Search for a hero
   a. council
      1) general call
      2) offer of a reward
   b. call, commission, and failure of false hero
   c. call and commission of the hero by parent or leader or deity
      1) leader initiated pattern
         leader calls and commissions the hero
            hero raises an objection or question
            leader answers
         hero accepts
      2) hero initiated pattern
         hero calls for commission
            leader raises an objection or question
            hero answers
         leader commissions hero
2. motifs connected with the call and commission
   a. hero's reaction of righteous indignation (anger)
   b. exhortation to duty
   c. blessing of human hero by human leader
   d. assurance of divine presence and aid from deity
   e. encouragement
   f. counsel, especially battle plan

3. preparation for battle by leaders and/or the hero
4. hero's weapons, armor, and chariot
5. call and commission of hero's army
6. journey

The Resolution

1. single-combat between the Hero and the Enemy Champion
   a. meeting of warriors
   b. verbal exchange
      1) enemy's false confidence
      2) insults
      3) hero's indictment of the enemy
   c. hero's initial failure
   d. hero’s victory
      1) hero's mortal blow to the enemy with a missile
      2) enemy's fall to the ground
      3) hero's triumphal stance
      4) mutilation of the enemy with a hand weapon (decapitation)
2. the enemy’s recognition of defeat and reaction of helplessness
   a. fear
   b. flight
3. recognition of victory by "our" side
   a. pursuit
   b. destruction of the enemy army
   c. plunder of the enemy with the hero receiving a prize share
4. return journey
5. recognition of the hero by the leader and others
   a. by means of acclamation or loyalty oaths
   b. by means of reward:
      1) a great name
      2) rank/kingship

3) symbols of victory
4) symbols of kingship
5) wife and progeny/dynasty,
6) dwelling, city (mountain), land/kingdom

c. victory hymn or shout with dance
d. banquet

6. recognition of deity and loyal servants by human hero
7. restoration of order, fertility, and peace

Appendix 2: The Royal Battle Narrative

Characters

"our" side
- king as human hero and leader
- deity as divine hero and leader
- king's army
- divine army or meteorological elements

enemy side
- enemy king
- enemy king's army
- other characters found in the classic pattern

The Beginning

1. description of the king: in general, his only possible impediment being his absence from the initial place of the enemy's threat
2. enemy's threat: aggression from outside the kingdom whether past or present
3. reaction of helplessness by those other than the king

The Middle

1. call and commission of the king by the helpless
2. king's reaction of righteous indignation
3. divine call and commission of the king
   a. initiated either by the king or by the deity
   b. call by the king
      1) direct personal prayer
      2) sacrificia consultoria
      3) sacrifices entreating divine favor
      4) king's vow
   c. deity's oracle of (call and) commission

1) to the king by direct address or dream
2) spontaneously to a third person
3) through cultic means

4. preparation for battle by the king
   a. arming of the king
   b. call and commission of the army
5. journey

Resolution

1. verbal exchange between king and enemy by messengers with the enemy king's false confidence
2. battle and victory
   a. divine warriors precede and fight with the king and his army
   b. king's great power alone brings about the victory
3. the enemy's recognition of defeat and reaction of helplessness:
   a. fear
   b. flight
4. recognition by "our" side:
   a. pursuit
   b. great/total destruction of the enemy army
   c. fate of the enemy king: death, escape, capture
5. Plunder, recognition and reward
   a. recognition of the divine warrior by the king
      1) gifts: sacrifices
      2) renown: speeches, building of a temple
   b. recognition of the king by the enemy king, other kings, the army, the people
      1) gifts: tribute
      2) renown: speeches, "name," erection of a stele

Appendix 3: Battle Narratives in the Historical Books of the Bible

Gen 14. The rescue of Lot by Abraham.

Gen 32:22-32. Jacob wrestles at Penuel.

Gen 34. The Rape of Dinah.

Exod 14-15. The defeat of the Egyptians at the Red Sea.

Exod 17:8-16. Israel over Amalek.

Num 21:1-3. Israel over Arad.

Num 21:21-31 (||Deut 2:16-37; Judg 11:16-23). Israel over Sihon.

Num 21:33-35 (||Deut 3:1-11). Israel over Og.

Num 31:1-54. Israel over Midian.

Josh 6. The conquest of Jericho.

Josh 7-8. The initial defeat and conquest of Ai.

Josh 10. Joshua over the five Amorite kings.

Josh 11. Joshua over Jabin, king of Hazor.

Judg 3:7-11. Othniel over Cushan-rishathaim, a Dtr narrative.

Judg 3:15-30. Ehud over Eglon and the Moabites.

Judg 4-5. Deborah, Barak, and Jael over Sisera.

Judg 6-8. Gideon over the Midianites.

Judg 9. The story of Abimelech, the bad king.

Judg 10-11. Jephthah over the Ammonites.

Judg 12:1-6. Jephthah over Ephraim.

Judg 15:1-17. Samson over the Philistines with the jawbone of a donkey.

Judg 16:23-31. Samson pulls down the temple for his greatest victory over the Philistines.

Judg 19-20. Israel over Benjamin.

Judg 21:1-12. Israel over Jabesh-gilead.

1 Sam 4:1b-11 (5:1–7:2). The Philistines defeat Israel and capture the ark.

1 Sam 7:3-14. The Lord over the Philistines.

1 Sam 11. Saul over Nahash the Ammonite.

1 Sam 13-14. Jonathan over the Philistines.

1 Sam 15. Saul over the Amalekites.

1 Sam 17:1--18:4. David over Goliath.

1 Sam 18:13-29. David over the Philistines for the princess.

1 Sam 23:1-5. David over the Philistines at Keilah.

1 Sam 28-29, 31 (||1 Chr 10:1-14). The Philistines defeat Saul.

1 Sam 30. David over the Amalekites.

2 Sam 2:12-32. The indecisive battle between Joab and Abner.

2 Sam 5:6-10 (||1 Chr 11:4-9). David takes Jerusalem.

2 Sam 5:17-21, 22-25 (||1 Chr 14:8-12, 13-17). David over the Philistines.

2 Sam 10 (||1 Chr 19:1-19). David defeats the Ammonites and Syrians.

2 Sam 11-12. David's campaign against Rabbah.

2 Sam 15-19. The rebellion of Absolom.

2 Sam 20. The rebellion of Sheba.

2 Chr 13 cf. 1 Kgs 15:1-8. Abijah over Jeroboam.

2 Chr 14:9-15. Asa over Zerah the Ethiopian.

1 Kgs 20:1-21, 22-43. Ahab over Ben-hadad.

1 Kgs 22 (||2 Chr 18:1-34). The kings of Israel and Judah against the Syrians.

2 Kgs 3. The kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom over Moab.

2 Chr 20. Jehoshaphat watches the enemies ambush themselves as prophesied.

2 Kgs 6:8-23. Elisha strikes the Syrians blind.

2 Kgs 6:24-7:20. Benhadad is turned away from Samaria by the sound of a great army.

2 Kgs 9. Jehu, anointed king, overthrows Joram.

2 Kgs 14:8-14 (||2 Chr 25:17-24). Jehoash of Israel defeats Amaziah of Judah.

2 Kgs 16:5-9. The king of Assyria defeats Rezin at the call of Ahaz.

2 Kgs 18:13--19:37 (||2 Chr 32:1-33; Isa 36-37). The angel of the Lord destroys the army of Sennacherib.

2 Kgs 23:29-30||2 Chr 35:20-26. Josiah dies in Battle against the Egyptians

Jdt 1-16. Judith over Holofernes.

1 Macc 1-7 (||2 Macc 8-15). The victories of Judas Maccabeus.

2 Macc 3:1-40. The Lord, at the call of the people, defeats Heliodorus.

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Abbreviations

AnBib Analecta Biblica

AnOr Analecta Orientalia

AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament

ANET[3] *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, edited by James B. Pritchard. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 3rd edition, 1969.

Bib *Biblica*

CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*

CTA *Corpus tablettes alphabétiques* (Ugarit): Gibson, John C.L. *Canaanite Myths and Legends.* Edinburgh: Clark, [2]1978.

Ee *Enūma eliš*

Gilg. *Gilgamesh*

HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual

JBL Journal of Biblical Literature

JSOTS Journal for the Study of Old Testament, Supplement Series

KTU *Keilschrift Texte aus Ugarit*: Smith, Mark S. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle: Introduction with the Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1-2*. VTS 55. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

VT *Vetus Testamentum*

VTS Vetus Testamentum Supplement

ZAW *Zeitschrift für altentestamentlichen Wissenschaft*

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