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ARAM AND ISRAEL DURING THE JEHUITE DYNASTY



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Abstract

The subject of the present study is the political history of the Kingdom of Israel in the time of the Jehuite Dynasty (*ca.* 841-747 BCE) and its relations with Aram-Damascus and Assyria. The Jehuite Dynasty was established by Jehu in 841 BCE, ruled Israel for five generations, and came to an end with the murder of Zachariah, its last king, in the mid-eighth century BCE. In Damascus, Hazael, Bar-Hadad, Hadiānu, and Rezin ruled during this period. With the rise of Shalmaneser III, Assyria played a significant role in the relations between Aram-Damascus and Israel. Following Assyria's withdrawal from the region in the 830s BCE, Damascus subjugated Israel and the subjugation continued until Adad-nērāri III's campaigns to Syria in the years 805-802 BCE.

A number of studies have already discussed the history of the Jehuite Dynasty. However, most of these studies did not deal critically with the biblical text and did not discuss all the available sources. Hence the importance of this study, which examines all the available sources in light of recent developments of Biblical scholarship, the newly discovered texts, and the results of the recent archaeological surveys and excavations.

Three types of sources are available for reconstructing the history of the Jehuites: (a) the Hebrew Bible; (b) the extra-Biblical texts; and (c) the archaeological data. The Book of Kings (2 Kgs 9-15) describes in short the Jehuite kings and the major events that took place during their reigns. The Jehu Narrative (2 Kgs 9-10) is a detailed source that describes his rebellion. Other passages in 2 Kgs 10-15 provide basic information on the Jehuites. Prophetic stories in the Book of Kings, especially the Elisha Cycle stories, contain historical nuclei that might be ascribed to the time of the Jehuites. The Books of Amos and Hosea provide additional information on the historical

background of this period. Assyrian royal inscriptions mention tributes received from Jehu and Joash, the two campaigns the Assyrian conducted against Hazael, and the subjugation of his heirs, Mari' and Hadiānu. Assyrian inscriptions also illuminate the historical background for the events in the Syro-Palestinian region in these years. Aramaic, Moabite, and Hebrew inscriptions contribute to the understanding of the history of this region. Archaeological data attests to Hazael's destructive military campaigns in the late ninth century BCE and the prosperity in the Northern Kingdom in the early eighth century BCE.

The following methodology for the reconstruction of the history of the Jehuite Dynasty is adopted in this study. First, each source will be separately analysed, then be compared with all other available sources, and finally be synthesised to achieve a comprehensive historical picture. Each source has been written from certain viewpoint and thus requires critical reading for isolating its possible historical information. For instance, the story of Jehu's coup was composed at the Jehuite court in order to legitimise the rebellion. The author's intention is reflected in various passages in the story. Prophetic stories were composed to explain the divine intervention in the history through prophets, and their genre does not require the exact presentation of the chain of events. Some stories in the Book of Kings were written in later period and cannot serve for historical reconstruction. For example, the story of the wars against the Aramaeans in 1 Kgs 20, ascribed to Ahab's time, does not conform to the historical reality of that time. Multiple redactions in the Book of Kings must be taken into account, as some passages were inserted either by the Deuteronomist who edited/composed the Book or by later editors and should be eliminated from the historical discussion. Assyrian royal inscriptions include annals and summary inscriptions, and they are characterised by

their ideological and propagandistic tendency. For example, the Tell al-Rimah Stela describes the subjugation of the kings of Amurru and Hatti by Adad-nirari III “in one year”. Yet, the expression “in one year” is a literary formula aggrandising the king’s achievements, which cannot be considered chronologically accurate.

There is a controversy about the dates of archaeological strata at the major sites of the Northern Kingdom. These dates were initially established based on stratigraphical and historical considerations. However, scholars recently employ radiocarbon dating to establish dates of settlement, and hence the chronology of the Iron Age sites does not depend on historical consideration alone.

By means of cautious examination of all the available textual sources and archaeological findings and by synthesising the results, we can try to reconstruct – even if only partially – the history of the period under discussion in the present study.

In Chapter 1, the chronology of the Jehuite kings is discussed. There are two types of chronological information in the Book of Kings: (a) the synchronisms of the kings of Israel and Judah; (b) the length of each king’s reign. However, they sometimes contradict each other. The Assyrian annalistic inscriptions fix some of the dates of events in the history of Israel and are crucial for establishing the absolute chronology. After reviewing the Biblical chronological information and its problems, the chronology of the Jehuites is established by combining the Biblical chronological data with the data extracted from the Assyrian inscriptions. The chronological framework established in this chapter is adopted in the rest of the present study.

In Chapter 2, the rise of Jehu is examined. The story of Jehu’s coup in 2 Kgs 9-10 (“the Jehu Narrative”) is the main source that describes the coup in great detail. Yet, the narrative must have received multiple redactions and the original story should be

extracted out of the present story. In light of the literary analysis of the narrative, three redactional layers are discerned: (a) the oldest layer that describes the events; (b) the Deuteronomistic additions; and (c) later interpolations. The oldest layer (a) is defined as the original Jehu Narrative. The salient character of the layer is the legitimation of Jehu's coup. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the original narrative was composed at the royal court of the Jehuite Dynasty in order to justify the coup of the Dynasty's founder. This rebellion is mentioned only in the Book of Kings. Yet, Hos 1:4 refers to the "blood of Jezreel" which possibly mentions the coup and its aftermath. The Mesha Inscription attests to the fall of the Omrides in Mesha's time. In light of the aforementioned evidence, we may conclude that there is a historical event behind the Jehu Narrative. But not all details of the narrative can serve for the historical reconstruction. The Tel Dan Inscription mentions Hazael's killing of Joram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah. There is an outstanding contradiction between the descriptions of the Jehu Narrative and the Tel Dan Inscription, and preference is given to the Aramaic description that was composed not long after the event. Hazael killed Joram and Ahaziah, and Jehu took advantage of the situation, killed the rest of the Omrides, and usurped the throne. Shortly thereafter, in 841 BCE, Jehu brought tribute to Shalmaneser III and his rule was authorised by the Assyrian Empire.

The rise of Hazael is discussed in Chapter 3. According to an Assyrian inscription, Hazael was not the nominated heir of Adad-idri (Hadadezer), the previous king of Damascus. Hazael ascended the Damascene throne in *ca.* 843 BCE and adopted the anti-Assyrian policy of his predecessor. Shalmaneser III fought against him, but his campaigns against Damascus in the years 841, 838-837 BCE ended in failure. Following the Assyrian withdrawal from the region in the 830s BCE, Hazael established

political hegemony over the Anatolian and Syro-Palestinian kingdoms. He expanded the borders of his kingdom both northward and southward, and once even crossed the Euphrates eastward (after 829 BCE). Hazael's hegemony is reflected both in the Aramaic inscriptions from the period and in a series of passages in the Book of Kings. Destruction layers unearthed at various sites within the territory of the Northern Kingdom attest to Hazael's destructive campaign to the Kingdom of Israel. A few sites such as Hazor and Dan were built as Aramaic cities after the conquest, whereas sites as Jezreel and Tell eṣ-Šāfi (Gath) were left in ruins. The Zakkur Inscription indicates that Hazael bequeathed his hegemonic position to his son Bar-Hadad most probably in the last decade of the ninth century BCE. Hazael remained thus a strong ruler in the region until his death.

In Chapter 4, the reigns of Jehu and Joahaz are assessed. Several passages in 2 Kgs 10 and 13 indicate the territorial loss of the Kingdom of Israel in this period, especially in Transjordan and in northern Palestine. Assyria did not launch military campaigns to the west in this period, and Hazael took advantage of the situation and subjugated the Kingdom of Israel to his yoke.

The reign of Joash, son of Joahaz, is discussed in Chapter 5. The Biblical story of Joash's victory over Aram-Damascus and his recovery of the lost Israelite cities reflects the new rise of the Northern Kingdom. Following his victories in battle Joash released Israel from the Aramaic yoke. Following Adad-nērāri III's military campaigns to Syria-Palestine (805-802 BCE), the power balance between the kingdoms in this region has changed. Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, submitted to Adad-nērāri and paid the tribute of surrender (796 BCE). The story about the siege of Samaria in 2 Kgs 6:24-7:20 reflects the time when the Kingdom of Israel recovered its power and defeated

Aram-Damascus. Joash brought tribute to Assyria and took advantage of the opportunity to expand his territory both in Transjordan and in the north.

In Chapter 6, the reign of Jeroboam II is discussed. 2 Kgs 14:25-28 relates his territorial achievements. According to v. 25, Jeroboam “restored the boundaries of Israel from Lebo-hamath to the Sea of Arabah”, and according to v. 28, he “restored Damascus and Hamath for Judah in Israel”, an unclear description in terms of text and history. Some verses in the Books of Hosea and Amos mention toponyms in Transjordan, which corroborates the assumption that Israel ruled the Gilead in Jeroboam’s time. The economic prosperity of the Kingdom of Israel under Jeroboam is indicated by prestigious imported and local artefacts. Large scale building activity in the period also suggests economic prosperity of the Kingdom of Israel. Šamšī-ilu, the Assyrian *turtānu*, dominated the regions on the both sides of the Euphrates. He launched a campaign against Damascus in 773 BCE and subjugated Mari’, king of Damascus. His power and sovereignty in the region are reflected in the Antakya and Pazarcık Inscriptions, in which he is described as mediator between the Syro-Anatolian kingdoms. Jeroboam possibly conquered the Gilead and cities in the territories of Damascus with the approval of Šamšī-ilu. The inscriptions from Kuntillet ‘Ajrūd in Sinai attest to the international commercial activities in the eighth century BCE, probably initiated by the Kingdom of Israel.

In Chapter 7, the end of the Jehuite Dynasty is discussed. 2 Kgs 15 describes the murder of Zechariah, son of Jeroboam, by Shallum (747 BCE), a murder that brought an end to the Dynasty.

In conclusion, the Jehuite Dynasty ruled the Northern Kingdom for about ninety years, from the late ninth to the early eighth century BCE. The decline and rise of

the Kingdom in this period were influenced by the events in the Syro-Palestinian arena, in which Assyria and Aram-Damascus played major roles. Thus the history of this period can be discussed only through comprehensive and critical analysis of all the available sources. Such analysis allows reconstruction of a more accurate picture of the history of the Jehuite Dynasty, which – side by side with the Omride Dynasty – played a major role in the history Israel of the First Temple Period.

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Abbreviations

ABD = Freedman, D.N. Ed. 1992. *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. 6 vols. New York

ADAJ = *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*

ADP = *Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästinavereins*

AfO = *Archiv für Orientforschung*

AfOB = *Archiv für Orientforschung: Beiheft*

AHw = von Soden, W. 1965-1981. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 Vols. Wiesbaden

AION = *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*

AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*

AJBI = *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute*

AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*

ANESS = *Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series*

AnOr = *Analecta orientalia*

AnSt = *Anatolian Studies*

AOAT = *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*

AoFi = *Altorientalische Forschung*

ARM = *Archives royales de Mari*

ARRIM = *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project*

ASOR = *American Schools of Oriental Research*

ATD = *Das Alte Testament Deutsch*

ATHANT = *Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*

BA = *Biblical Archaeologist*

BARev = *Biblical Archaeology Review*

BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

BCSMS = Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies, Bulletin

BHT = Beiträge zur historischen Theologie

BiOr = Bibliotheca orientalis

BJS = Brown Judaic Studies

BN = Biblische Notizen (NF)

BWANT = Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament

BZAW = Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

*CAD = 1956-. The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of
Chicago. Chicago*

CB = Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series

CBQ = Catholic Biblical Quarterly

CBQMS = Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series

CHANE = Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

CRAIBL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres

CTN = Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud

DMOA = Documenta et monumenta Orientis antiqui

EI = Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies

FRLANT = Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments

GAG = von Soden, W. 1995. Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik. 3rd edition. Rome

GTA = Göttinger theologischer Arbeiten

HA-ESI = Hadashot Arkheologiyot: Excavations and Surveys in Israel

*HAL = Koehler, L. and Baumgartner, W. 1967-1996. Hebräisches und aramäisches
Lexikon zum Alten Testament. 5 vols. 3rd Ed. Leiden.*

HO = Handbuch der Orientalistik

HSM = Harvard Semitic Monographs

HSS = Harvard Semitic Studies

HUCA = Hebrew Union College Annual

IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal

JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society

JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature

JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies

JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies

JSOT = Journal for the Study of the Old Testament

JSOTS = Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series

JSS = Journal of Semitic Studies

*KAI 1-3 = Donner, H. and Röllig, W. 1962-64. Kanaanäische und aramäische
Inschriften. Wiesbaden.*

KAT = Kommentar zum Alten Testament

*KLG I-III = Alt, A. 1953. Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Band I-III.
München*

LAPO = Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient

LHBOTS = Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies

MSIATU = Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University

NABU = Nouvelles assyriologiques breves et utilitaires

*NEAEHL = Stern, E. Ed. 1993-2008. The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological
Excavations in the Holy Land, 5 vols. Jerusalem.*

OBO = Orbis biblicus et orientalis

OIC = Oriental Institute Communications

OIP = Oriental Institute Publications

OLA = Orientalia lovaniensia analecta

OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung

Or = Orientalia (NS)

OTE = Old Testament Essays

OtSt = Oudtestamentische Studiën

PEQ = Palestine Exploration Quarterly

IR = Rawlinson, H.C. and Norris, E. 1861. The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, I: A Selection from the Historical Inscriptions of Chaldaea, Assyrian and Babylonia. London.

III R = Rawlinson, H.C. and Smith, G. 1870. The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, III: A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria. London.

RA = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale

RB = Revue Biblique

RHPR = Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses

RIMA = The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods. 3 vols. Toronto.

RIA = 1928-. Reallexikon der Assyriologie. Berlin/Leipzig/New York

SAA = State Archives of Assyria

SAAB = State Archives of Assyria Bulletin

SAAS = State Archives of Assyria Studies

SBLDS = Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series

ScrHier = Scripta Hierosolymitana

SEL = Studi epigrafici e linguistici

SHANE = Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East

SJOT = Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament

TA = Tel Aviv: Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University

TLZ = Theologische Literaturzeitung

TThSt = Trierer theologische Studien

TUAAU = Kaiser, O. 1984-. Ed. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Gütersloh.

UF = Ugarit-Forschungen

VT = Vetus Testamentum

VTS = Supplements to Vetus Testamentum

WBC = World Biblical Commentary

WO = Die Welt des Orients

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

ZAW = Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

ZDPV = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins

ZKTh = Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie

Introduction

Subject of the Research

The dynasty of Jehu ruled the Northern Kingdom of Israel for about ninety years, from the late forties of the ninth to the middle of the eighth century BCE. Five kings of this dynasty are known from the Biblical text: Jehu, Jehoahaz, Joash, Jeroboam II, and Zechariah. Two of them, Jehu and Joash, are mentioned in the Assyrian royal inscriptions, and Jeroboam is mentioned on a stamp of his official (Shema‘).

Since the time of Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE), Assyria had been a dominant power in Syria-Palestine. Following the Assyrian withdrawal in the 830s, Aram-Damascus under Hazael and his son Bar-Hadad became dominant in the Syro-Palestinian arena for some forty years, until Adad-nērāri III resumed military campaigns to that region.

According to the Bible, Jehu, formerly a high officer, rebelled against Joram, king of Israel of the Omride Dynasty, when the latter fought against the Aramaeans at Ramoth-Gilead, and afterwards usurped the throne (841 BCE). Shortly after Jehu's rebellion, Israel was subjugated by Hazael, king of Aram-Damascus, and an Aramaean hegemony lasted for about thirty to forty years. Only in the early eighth century BCE did Israel overthrow the yoke of Damascus.

It is thus evident that Aram and Assyria had great influence on the history of Israel from the mid-ninth century BCE onward. To investigate the history of the Jehuite Dynasty, one should first discuss, in detail, the relations between these three states.

Sources for the Research

Three kinds of sources are available for the history of the Jehuites: the Biblical texts, the

extra-Biblical texts, and the archaeological data. The Biblical texts include (1) 2 Kgs 9-15, which relates the reign of each Israelite and Judahite king; (2) 1 Kgs 20 and the Elisha narrative cycle in 2 Kgs 5-8, which are dated to the time of the Omrides in the Book of Kings; (3) some parts of the Books of Hosea and Amos. The extra-Biblical texts comprise Assyrian, Aramaic, Moabite, and Hebrew inscriptions. Most of the Assyrian inscriptions discussed in this study are royal inscriptions written during the reigns of Shalmaneser III, Adad-nērāri III, and Shalmaneser IV (*RIMA* 3). The Assyrian Eponym Chronicles form the basis for the Assyrian chronology and the Assyrian campaigns to the west (Millard 1994). The Aramaic inscriptions, such as the Tel Dan (Biran and Naveh 1993; 1995), Zakkur (Gibson 1975:6-17), Samos (Röllig 1988), Eretria (Charbonnet 1986), and Arslan Tash Inscriptions (Gibson 1975:4-5), attest to the Damascene hegemony over the Syro-Palestinian kingdoms from the late ninth to the beginning of the eighth century BCE. The Mesha Inscription (Gibson 1971:71-83) describes relations between the Moabite Kingdom and the Northern Kingdom in the second half of the ninth century BCE. Some other inscriptions (i.e., the Tell Deir ‘Alla Inscription) may also shed light on the Kingdom of Israel in the first half of the eighth century BCE (Lemaire 1977; Hoftijzer and Van der Kooij 1976).

Due to archaeological excavations carried out over the years, more information about the time of the Jehuite Dynasty is available. In this study, I will discuss archaeological information acquired from relevant strata in the excavated sites. The investigated sites include the major cities of the Northern Kingdom, such as Samaria (Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924), Tell el-Far‘ah (North) (Chambon 1984), Tel Jezreel (Ussishkin and Woodhead 1992; 1994; 1997), Tel Megiddo (Lamon and Shipton 1939; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2000; 2006a), Tel Yokne‘am (Ben-Tor and

Rosenthal 1978; 1979; 1983), Tel Beth-shean (James 1966; Mazar 1993; 2006), Tel Rehov (Mazar 1999), Tel Hazor (Yadin *et al.* 1958; 1960; 1961; Ben-Tor 1989; Ben-Tor and Bonfil 1997) and Tel Dan (Biran 1994; Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996; Biran and Ben-Dov 2002); also some small sites and border sites such as Tel eş-Şafi (Boas and Maeir 1998; Maeir 2001), Tel 'En-Gev (Tsukimoto, Hasegawa, and Onozuka 2009), Tel Kinrot (Fritz 1990; 1993; Fritz and Münger 2002; Pakkala, Münger, and Zangenberg 2004), and Bethsaida (et-Tell) (Arav 1995; 1999; 2004; 2009).

Aims of the Research

In the late nineteenth century, a new critical approach to the Bible, based on documentary and literary criticism, was adopted in the academic world of Biblical research. Wellhausen (1885) hypothesised that what we read in different parts of the Hebrew Bible might have been a projection of the reality that prevailed at the time the text was written. In other words, the Biblical narrative about ancient Israel is not an accurate contemporaneous history, but rather a historiography. His view was gradually accepted by the academic world, inevitably giving rise to a form-critical perspective of the Hebrew Bible. With the advance of this line of research since the 1970s, the historicity of the Patriarchal narratives has basically been discounted and attributed to a later period (Thompson 1974; Van Seters 1975). Accumulating archaeological data soon refuted even the historicity of the “conquest of the land” story in the Book of Joshua (Finkelstein 1988; Finkelstein and Na’aman 1994). By the 1990s, the reliability of the Biblical descriptions of the United Monarchy was being heatedly debated (see for example, Fritz and Davies 1996; Handy 1997). Due to these problems involved with the historical credibility of the Biblical text, it is generally accepted today that

extra-Biblical texts and archaeological data are essential for reconstructing the history of ancient Israel. For some periods, they carry even more weight than the Biblical texts.

Critical approach has also developed in the study of Biblical sources for the Jehu dynasty. This approach contributes to elucidating the genre, origin, and date of the Biblical texts relating to this period. Biblical history contains some episodes attributed to the time of the Omride and the Jehu dynasties, in which the historical credibility was challenged. Gunkel (1906) pointed out that these stories contain both historical and legendary elements, and it is the historian who must differentiate between them. The date of integrating these narratives into the Book of Kings is also essential. The integration of the entire Elijah-Elisha narratives into the Book of Kings was ascribed to the Deuteronomist(s) (henceforth Dtr) by some scholars (Šanda 1911; Fohrer 1957; Noth 1967; Hentschel 1977; Campbell 1986). Gradually, the problems of this theory have been recognised, and a number of scholars attributed parts of the stories to the post-Dtr stage (Hölscher 1923; Miller 1966; Schmitt 1972; Van Seters 1983). The extent of the integrated stories at each stage is, however, in debate. For example, some scholars attributed only 1 Kings 20 and part of the Elisha stories to the post-Dtr stage (Rofé 1988; 2001; Na'aman 1997a; 2002a; 2006; 2008; Sroka 2006), and others ascribed the majority to the post-Dtr stage (Stipp 1987; McKenzie 1991; Otto 2001). In addition, since these narratives are supposed to have orally been handed down to the author and were woven into the composition long after the related events, one should take a cautious attitude when discussing the historical credibility of these narratives. As early as the 1940s, Jepsen (1941-44) pointed out that the Elisha narratives reflected the historical reality of the Jehu dynasty (see Schmitt 1972); he also dated 1 Kgs 20 to the time of the Jehu dynasty (see Whitely 1952; Miller 1966; 1967). The dates of these

prophetic stories will be investigated in detail in the course of this research.

The Books of Hosea and Amos also contain historical information relating the Northern Kingdom, which reflects different perspectives from that of the Book of Kings. Scholars agreed that some parts of the Book of Hosea originated in the Northern Kingdom in the late eighth century and were later edited by a Judahite scribe (Wolff 1956). The analysis of the Book is limited only to several passages (Hos 1:4; 5:1-2; 6:7-8; 10:14; 12:12), for the contents give little information about political events. Some passages of the Book of Amos (Am 1:3-5; 6:13-14) provide us with clues for understanding the territorial extent of the Northern Kingdom in the mid-eighth century BCE. Due to the literary genre of the Books of Hosea and Amos, their historical reliability will also be carefully re-evaluated (Koch 1976; Schmidt 1965; Wolff 1964).

Throughout the years, many works have been published that discuss the history of the Jehuities and their relations with their neighbours. Nevertheless, some of these works are not critical enough. Many Biblical texts are still open to different interpretations. Moreover, new texts have recently come to light, new archaeological excavations and surveys have been conducted, and recent discussions of the archaeological data raised new questions that have not been taken into consideration in previous historical works. In the light of all this recently available data, a new historical study becomes desirable. It is the aim of this research to re-evaluate the Biblical and extra-Biblical texts, and the archaeological data, in order to write a comprehensive history of Israel's relations with Aram and Assyria in the time of the Jehuitic kings.

Hypothesis and Methods

In the early 1990s, scholars began to question the reliability of using Biblical texts as

sources for writing a history of Israel. Some scholars even suggested that the authors of the Biblical history lived either in the Persian or the Hellenistic period, hundreds of years after the events described. Their motives in writing the history were mainly religious and ideological. Hence, large portions of the Biblical history are products of an imagination coloured by a heavily biased perspective (Davies 1992; Thompson 1992; 1999; Lemche 1998). The reliability of Biblical sources and their contribution to the study of the history of Israel continue to be debated amongst scholars, and doubts have been expressed about the legitimacy of Biblical history from the late tenth to eighth century BCE.

In this research, I wish to demonstrate that the Biblical texts in fact do include reliable historical information concerning the political relations of the Jehuite Dynasty with its neighbours. This hypothesis depends on another hypothesis, namely, that some early sources were available to the author of the Book of Kings (Dtr), which he used in his composition, and that these sources were, in part, written shortly after the events they described. A detailed analysis of the texts thus enables us to identify those sources, and to use them in the historical reconstruction (Smelik 1992; Na'aman 2001a).

The Biblical texts concerning the Jehuite Dynasty are of three types, classified as follows: (1) an account of each king, written in a formalised style, possibly derived from the chronicles of the kings of Israel; (2) the narratives of Elijah-Elisha; (3) the texts written by the author (Dtr), by which he filled in the gaps in the account and overlaid it with his own theological and ideological view. The texts of the first type demonstrate high reliability; the second type are less reliable, due to their literary genre; and those of the third type rather reflect the reality and intellectual thinking of the author during that time.

To differentiate these textual types and evaluate their historical reliability, I will follow the method presented by Smelik (1992:22-25). He suggested the following three-stage-analysis: (1) analysis of the relevant Biblical texts from a literary, theological, and historical perspective; (2) establishment of the general situation in the period, based on the extra-Biblical sources; (3) a combination of the results of this analysis in order to reconstruct the historical reality.

At the first stage, each relevant text will be analysed: its context, literary genre, theological and ideological tendencies, and historical reliability. Since a major problem in this study is the analysis of the Elisha narratives, I discuss this corpus in great detail. For instance, the prophetic story in 1 Kgs 20, ascribed to Ahab's days, needs thorough analysis. The image of Ahab here as a weak king, conforms to his image neither in other Biblical descriptions nor in the Assyrian royal inscriptions. The Aramaean hegemony as related in 1 Kgs 20 does not harmonise with the historical situation. The many discrepancies may indicate that either the story is fictional or originally describes events in the time of another king.

Like the Bible, extra-Biblical texts were also written in order to convey various messages to the audience. Assyrian royal inscriptions are subjective and propagandistic, and must be analysed with great caution (Garelli 1982; Oded 1992; Tadmor 1983; 1997). To give one example: Adad-nērāri III described his campaigns to the Syro-Palestinian region in several inscriptions. In three different inscriptions he mentioned the tribute paid by the king of Damascus, but details of the tribute are different in each inscription. To understand this difference, it is necessary to take into account the schematic and exaggerated use of numbers in the Assyrian royal inscriptions (De Odorico 1995).

Material culture reflects the external conditions in the land and is sensitive to

periods of rise and decline. Destruction layers of sites might illustrate the disastrous results of a conquest, whereas construction of a series of fortified cities and large public and private buildings, or the discovery of prestige artefacts of local and foreign origin, indicate a period of upheaval. Hence, the results of archaeological research are essential for evaluating the results of the political and military conditions during this period.

Above all, the dates of archaeological strata are important for this research. There is a controversy among archaeologists about the dates of strata at the major sites of the Northern Kingdom. Finkelstein (1996; 1999; 2000; 2005) suggested a low chronology for strata formerly dated to the time of the United Monarchy and the Omride Dynasty. Other scholars rejected his re-dating and continued dating these strata to the tenth and ninth centuries BCE (Ben-Tor 2000; Bunimovitz and Faust 2001).

The chronological debate over the date of the archaeological strata was initially influenced by historical considerations. Recently, radiocarbon dating is becoming critically important for establishing the chronology of the Iron Age (Sharon *et al.* 2007). It supplies data that is independent of historical considerations. In this research, I will take into account all these considerations and integrate them into the historical discussion.

A Review of Previous Research on the Subject

No textual sources about the Aramaeans in this period other than the Hebrew Bible had been known before the discovery of the ancient Near Eastern documents. For many years since the beginning of Assyriology, however, the study of Aramaean history has attracted scholars' interest. The elucidation of their language, history, religion, and culture has grown along with the great advance made in the Assyriological research

(e.g., Schiffer 1911; Kraeling 1918; Dupont-Sommer 1949). In general, scholars have dealt with the origin of the Aramaeans and their history from the second millennium BCE until the Assyrian annexation of the Aramaean kingdoms in the first millennium. In those studies, the scope of investigation varied according to the available sources. No less than five monographs about the Aramaeans have recently appeared. Sader (1987) analysed the Assyrian and Aramaic inscriptions and reconstructed the political and economic history of the Aramaean kingdoms. Pitard (1987) analysed the Biblical texts and to some extent the archaeological data, and reconstructed the history of Aram-Damascus. Dion (1997), based on the analysis of both textual and archaeological data, discussed the political, social, and cultural history of the Aramaean states in the Iron Age. Lipiński (2000) studied the history and geography of the Aramaean states, in which he also discussed their society, economy, law, and religion. Finally, Hafthorsson (2006) thoroughly examined the historical and archaeological sources for reconstructing the history of Aram-Damascus in the late ninth century BCE.

Research of the relationship between Aram-Damascus and the kingdoms of Israel and Judah has its own history. The first monograph on this subject was written by Kraeling (1918). He described the history of the Aramaeans in Syria and Mesopotamia from their rise to fall, and also their relations with Israel. Jepsen (1941-44) significantly contributed to this subject, especially by the ascription of some Elisha narratives to the Jehuite Dynasty. His suggestion has widely been accepted, occasionally with some modifications (Whitley 1952; Miller 1966; 1967; 1968). Unger (1957) wrote the first monograph on the history of Aram-Damascus. Reinhold (1989) published a monograph, in which he discussed the relationship between the Aramaean states and Israel-Judah, particularly emphasising their economic and political relations. Analysing Biblical and

extra-Biblical sources, Galil (2001a) discussed the relations between Assyria, Israel, Judah, and Aram from the ninth to the seventh century BCE. Stith (2008) collected and analysed Biblical and extra-Biblical sources for reconstructing the coups of Hazael and Jehu.

Only a few works discuss the Jehuite Dynasty in detail. This is due to the paucity of extra-Biblical texts from that period (mid-ninth to mid-eighth century BCE), when Assyria temporarily withdrew from the Syro-Palestinian arena. Another reason for this dearth of works is the complicated Biblical texts relating to the Jehuites, in particular the prophetic narratives (see above). Some scholars discussed the history of these narratives by using form-critical and literary critical methods. Campbell (1986), Minokami (1989), and White (1997) suggested that the Dtr had used ancient sources, composed originally in the Northern Kingdom, for his account of Jehu's rebellion. Würthwein (1984) analysed the Elijah-Elisha narratives, suggesting that they were integrated only at the post-Dtr stage. Other scholars attributed some stories to the Dtr history and others to the post-Dtr stage (e.g., Stipp 1987; McKenzie 1991; Otto 2001; 2003). Mulzer (1992) conducted a literary and structural analysis of Jehu's coup narrative in 2 Kgs 8:25-10:36. Lamb (2007) examined the Dtr's view on the dynastic succession reflected in the narratives relating Jehu and his successors. Wray Beal (2007) analysed the story of Jehu's coup in 2 Kgs 9-10 in the framework of the Dtr History.

Knott (1971) studied the history of the Jehuite Dynasty in his doctoral dissertation. He described the history of this period, using the Biblical and extra-Biblical texts, and to a lesser degree, also the archaeological data. Haran (1967) wrote the history of the Jehuite Dynasty in the time of Jeroboam II, using the Biblical text and the Assyrian inscriptions.

Missing in all these works is a detailed updated study, focusing on the time of the Jehuite Dynasty and examining all the available written sources and the results of the archaeological excavations and surveys. The present research is aimed at drawing on current methods of historical research to ensure a more accurate picture.

1. Chronology of the Jehuite Kings

Two chronological anchor points are available for dating the reigns of the Jehuites. The first is Jehu's tribute to Shalmaneser III in 841 BCE and the second is the fall of Samaria in 722 BCE. Jehu brought tribute to Shalmaneser III when the Assyrian army conducted a campaign to Syria in 841 BCE.¹ Hoshea, the last king of the Northern Kingdom, paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III at Sarrabānu, a major city of the Chaldaean tribe of Bit-Shilani, besieged and destroyed in 731 BCE.² Pekah, who was murdered by Hoshea, was still on the throne in the years 733-732 BCE, when Tiglath-pileser conducted campaigns against the Syro-Ephraimite coalition.³ Hence, Hoshea's coup against Pekah and his subsequent enthronement (2 Kgs 15:30) were dated to 731 BCE. This date is confirmed by subtracting the nine years assigned by the Biblical chronology to the duration of Hoshea's reign (2 Kgs 17:1) from 722 BCE, the date of Samaria's fall.⁴

The years 841 and 731 BCE could thus serve as safe chronological anchor points. The reigns of all the Jehuite kings and their four successors (Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah) must be dated in between these dates.

The Book of Kings provides chronological data for each of the Jehuite kings and their successors. The data includes the duration of each king's reign, and his accession year is synchronised with the regnal year of a Judahite king. The

¹ This campaign took place in the eighteenth *palû* of Shalmaneser III (*RIMA* III, A.0.102.8, lines 1"-27"; A.0.102.10, Col. iii, line 45b – iv, line 15a; A.0.102.12, lines 21-30a; A.0.102.16, lines 122'b-137'a).

² Tiglath-pileser's Summ. 9, Rev. lines 9-12 (Tadmor's numbering of Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions [Tadmor 1994] is applied in this study). Borger and Tadmor 1982:244-249; Tadmor 1979:54; 1994:277-278. For Sarrabānu, see Brinkman 1968:230.

³ This event is described in the first parts in the descriptions of *Bīt-Humri* in three summary inscriptions (Summ. 4, lines 15'-17'; Summ. 9, Rev. lines 9-11; Summ. 13, lines 18') and in two parallel recensions of an annalistic inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (Ann. 18, line 3'; Ann. 24, line 3').

⁴ The date of the fall of Samaria has widely been dated to 723/722 BCE, the last year of Shalmaneser IV. See, Olmstead 1904-1905:179-182; Tadmor 1958:33-40; Thiele 1983:163-172; Becking 1992:21-56.

chronological data of the Israelite kings are shown in the following table (Table 1).

Table 1. Biblical Chronological Data for the Israelite Kings from Jehu to Pekah

King	Duration of Reign	Synchronism	Source
Jehu	28 years	No synchronism	2 Kgs 10:36
Joahaz	17 years	23rd year of Jehoash	2 Kgs 13:1
Joash	16 years	37th year of Jehoash	2 Kgs 13:10
Jeroboam II	41 years	15th year of Amaziah	2 Kgs 14:23
Zechariah	6 months	38th year of Azariah	2 Kgs 15:8
Shallum	1 month	39th year of Azariah	2 Kgs 15:13
Menahem	10 years	39th year of Azariah	2 Kgs 15:17
Pekahiah	2 years	50th year of Azariah	2 Kgs 15:23
Pekah	20 years	52nd year of Azariah	2 Kgs 15:27

Two major difficulties exist in the above chronology. First, the sum of the years of the ten kings amounts to 134 years and seven months, whereas the time-span between the years 841 and 731 amounts to only 111 years. The gap of twenty-three years and seven months can be reduced by subtracting one year for each king, since it overlaps with the last year of the previous king (except for Jehu, Zechariah, and Shallum). Six years can accordingly be subtracted, but there is still a gap of seventeen years.

The second problem is the inconsistencies in the synchronisms. (1) Jehoahaz ascended the throne in the twenty-third year of Joash and reigned for seventeen years. The accession of Jehoash, son of Jehoahaz, should thus fall in the thirty-ninth year of Joash, but the synchronism dates it to the thirty-seventh year of Joash. (2) Amaziah ascended the throne in the second year of Jehoash (2 Kgs 14:1) and Jeroboam II was enthroned in the fifteenth year of Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:23). Azariah son of Amaziah ascended the throne in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II (2 Kgs 15:1). But then

thirteen years of interregnum lie between the death of Amaziah and the enthronement of Azariah.

Various solutions to these problems have been offered by scholars. The assumption behind some proposed solutions is that the Biblical chronology is based on authentic sources. The existence of internal contradictions in synchronisms and in the length of kings' reigns may indicate that the Biblical chronographer(s) used diverse kinds of sources without changing the data to achieve a chronological harmony. The present study adopts this assumption and thus avoids suggesting corruptions in the numbers.

The excess of the total years of the reigns can be explained only by co-regencies, although not all the cases are described in the Book of Kings.⁵ The "year" counting system must also be considered: (1) when to count the first regnal year; (2) when to count the first calendar year; (3) how to count the length of reigns; and (4) how to count the synchronistic year. The following principles will be applied in the present study.

(1) There were two systems of counting the first regnal year in the ancient Near East: post-date and ante-date system. In the post-date system, the last regnal year of the previous king is counted as the accession year of the new king and the new king's regnal year is counted from the following year. In the ante-date system, the last regnal year of the previous king is counted as the first regnal year of the new king. Judah apparently adopted the post-date system, and Israel possibly employed the ante-date system.⁶

⁵ David and Solomon (1 Kgs 1); Jehoshaphat and Jehoram (2 Kgs 8:16); Uzziah and Jotham (2 Kgs 15:5).

⁶ Thiele 1983:47-50; Hughes 1990:179-181.

(2) Judah probably used a Tishri calendar⁷ and Israel might have followed a Nisan calendar.⁸ This calendar system will be, with all due reservation, adopted in the following calculation.

(3) Length of reign was generally counted according to the following principle. Reign covering two calendar years was counted as two years of reign (Pekahiah); yet, if the total length of the actual reign did not reach six months, the number of month was specified (Zechariah: six months; Shallum: one month).⁹ The accession year (Judah) was counted as a full year. A period of co-regency is usually included in the period of reign.

(4) Each of the two kingdoms counted its neighbour king's reign by using the partner's year/calendar system.¹⁰ There are three types of synchronisation: (1) the beginning of the sole reign with the neighbour king's regnal year, counted from the beginning of the latter's sole reign (Jehoash); (2) the beginning of the sole reign with the neighbour king's regnal year, counted from the beginning of the co-regency (Jeroboam II, Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, Pekah, and Hoshea); (3) the beginning of the co-regency with the neighbour king's regnal year, counted from the beginning of the sole reign (Joash and Amaziah).

Based on these assumptions, the following dates are calculated. Jehu captured the throne in 841 and ruled until 814 BCE (twenty eight years), and Joahaz ruled from 814 to 798 BCE (seventeen years). The inconsistency in the synchronisms between Joash's accession and Jehoash's thirty-seventh year can be explained by co-regency.

⁷ Thiele 1983:51-53. For the view that the calendar system in Judah changed sometime from the end of the eighth century BCE to the reign of Jehoiakim, see Begrich 1929:70-72; Hughes 1990:165-174; Galil 1996:9-10.

⁸ Thiele 1983:53-54.

⁹ Cf. 7 days for Zimri (1 Kgs 16:15).

¹⁰ An exception is the synchronisms of Azariah's regnal year with the first regnal years of Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah.

Joash ascended the throne as co-regent in 799/798 BCE, a year before his father died, and ruled until 784 BCE (sixteen years). Jeroboam II must have begun his reign as a co-regent, possibly in 788/787 BCE, with his reign ending in 748 BCE (forty one years). Zechariah ruled from 748 to 747 BCE (six months) and Shallum's reign was in 747 BCE (one month). Menahem ascended the throne in 747 BCE and died in 738 BCE (ten years). Pekahiah succeeded to his father's throne in 738 BCE and was killed in 737 BCE (two years). Pekah seized the throne in 737 BCE and ruled until 731/730 BCE (eight years). The twenty years ascribed to Pekah's reign remain problematic; the chronographer(s) seems to have dated Pekah's enthronement to 750 BCE for unknown reasons.¹¹ Hoshea was the king of Israel from 731/730 to 723/722 BCE (nine years).

The above chronology leaves some problems with the Judahite kings' synchronisms after Azariah.¹² At any event, the range of error should remain marginal within the chronological anchor points and thus it suffices for dating events in the time of the Jehuite Dynasty (Table 2).

Table 2. Chronology of the Jehuite Kings

King	Year (BCE)	Length of Reign
Jehu	841-814	28 years
Joahaz	814-798	17 years

¹¹ Various solutions have been suggested for the twenty years ascribed to Pekah. For the earlier literature, see Na'aman 1986:75, nn. 9-10. Na'aman (*op. cit.*, 74-82) suggested that Pekah considered himself as a legitimate successor of the Jehuite Dynasty and hence counted the beginning of his rule from the end of the Jehuite Dynasty.

¹² Using synchronistic data, the reigns of the Judahite kings will be dated as follows: Athaliah: 841-835 (seven years); Jehoash: 835-797 (forty years); Amaziah: 797-769 (twenty-nine years, including one year of co-regency with Jehoash); Azariah: 785-734/733 (fifty-two years, including sixteen years of co-regency with Amaziah and eight years co-regency with Jotham); Jotham: 751/750-732/731 (sixteen years, including sixteen years co-regency with Azariah and excluding four years of co-regency with Ahaz); Ahaz: 735/734-717/716 (sixteen years, excluding four years co-regency with Jotham); and Hezekiah: 728/727-688/687 (twenty-nine years, including twelve years co-regency with Ahaz). This calculation results in a double co-regency in 735/734-733/732 BCE between Azariah, Jotham, and Ahaz. It also means that Jotham never ruled alone but always had a co-regent or two.

Joash	799/798-784	16 years
Jeroboam II	788/787-748	41 years
Zechariah	748-747	6 months

2. The Rise of Jehu (841 BCE)

Four types of textual sources are available for Jehu's rise: (1) the Biblical text; (2) Shalmaneser III's inscriptions; (3) the Mesha Inscription; and (4) the Tel Dan Inscription. The Biblical text describes in detail Jehu's coup d'état and his extermination of the Baal cult. Shalmaneser III's texts describe the Assyrian western campaigns and Jehu's tribute in 841 BCE. The Mesha Inscription mentions the fall of the Omride Dynasty and the Tel Dan Inscription refers to the author's killing of Joram. These sources were composed from different perspectives and for different purposes. The Bible stresses Jehu's religious devotion to YHWH, which is reflected in his expulsion of the Baal cult in the Northern Kingdom. The Assyrian texts mention Jehu as a tributary king of Shalmaneser III. The Mesha Inscription emphasises Mesha's deeds in contrast to his predecessor's. The Tel Dan Inscription aggrandises the Aramaean victory over Israel and Judah. Due to these differences, each source must first be examined individually and then carefully compared in order to illuminate the historical background for Jehu's rise to power.

2.1. The Jehu Narrative (2 Kgs 9-10)

The rise of Jehu as described in 2 Kgs 9-10 may be presented in five parts: (1) the anointment of Jehu (9:1-13); (2) the conspiracy of Jehu against Joram (vv. 14-16); (3) the murders of Joram (vv. 17-26), Ahaziah of Judah (vv. 27-29), and Jezebel (vv. 30-37); (4) the massacre of the Omride descendants by Jehu (10:1-17); and (5) the extermination of the Baal cult (vv. 18-28). The narrative will be called "Jehu Narrative" (henceforth JN) in the present study.

Omitting the last part (10:29-36), these two chapters, often including 8:28-29,

have been widely included in a story complex – the Elisha Cycle stories (1 Kgs 19:19-21; 2 Kgs 2-13).¹³ The Elisha Cycle stories relate the deeds of Elisha, a major prophet in the Northern Kingdom. This categorisation is based on the mention of Elisha in 9:1-3, the scene where Elisha orders his disciple to anoint Jehu as the king of Israel. However, this narrative (8:28-10:28) cannot be classified with the other stories as Elisha Cycle stories, where Elisha plays a major role.¹⁴ Elisha appears only at the beginning of the story and his role is marginal. Hence, the JN will be regarded as an independent story, detached from the Elisha Cycle stories.

Reconstruction of the original story, which was available to the Dtr, is indispensable for the historical analysis of the narrative. The JN can be divided into three redaction layers: (1) text available to the Dtr (henceforth as a layer, pre-Dtr Layer, and as an independent story, OJN = Original Jehu Narrative); (2) text that the Dtr wrote and inserted into his source (henceforth Dtr Layer or Dtr Redaction); (3) later insertions possibly dated either to the Exilic or post-Exilic period.¹⁵

It is assumed that the pre-Dtr Layer bears more authentic information of Jehu's rise. As suggested below (2.1.2.1.), the OJN was probably composed, at the latest, in the early eighth century BCE, still under the Jehu dynasty. The assumed time of composition was thus more than 100 years earlier than the Dtr's time.

2.1.1. The OJN and Dtr's Redaction

I will open the discussion by reconstructing the OJN, which the Dtr integrated into his

¹³ Benzinger 1899:129; Eissfeldt 1965:292.

¹⁴ Šanda 1912:122-123; Montgomery 1951:399-400; Rofé 1988:82.

¹⁵ Possible layers within the OJN are beyond the scope of the present study. It is difficult to establish such multiple layers in the OJN as some scholars, such as Mulzer (1992), did. Otto's suggestion (2001:55-64, 113, 119-141; 2003:493-494) that a pre-Dtr editing (called the "Naboth Edition" = 9:21b, 25-27) can be discerned in the OJN is a possibility, but this editing does not affect the aim of the present study.

composition. Literary-critical approach helps in discerning different redaction layers in a text. Phrases that employ Dtr's style, language, and theology should be isolated within the JN.¹⁶ Since similar linguistic features alone cannot be decisive factors for grouping a text into multiple layers, the division of the text into redactional layers will be conducted with caution. Redaction layers will be determined only when the underlying coherent theology is distinctly perceived. The following reconstruction may sometimes appear arbitrary, and there admittedly may be different ways in isolating the OJN, yet the emerged OJN shows coherence in literary theme and tendencies (2.1.1.17., 2.1.2.1.).

2.1.1.1. Dtr's Redaction of the Scene of Jehu's Anointment (9:6b-10a)

The passage in vv. 6b-10a is included within the words of Elisha's disciple when he anoints Jehu. The disciple does not follow Elisha's instructions (9:1b-3aab), which require him to "flee" and not to "linger" after anointing Jehu (v. 3). This incongruence suggests Dtr's insertions of the two phrases, "God of Israel" and "over the people of YHWH" in v. 6b. Vv. 7-10a, prophesying annihilation of the House of Ahab and Jezebel's end, and should likewise be excluded from the pre-Dtr Layer.¹⁷ Vv. 7b and 10a are denunciations of Jezebel, while vv. 7a, 8-9 are condemnations of the entire House of Ahab. Due to the repeated changes both in subject and of target of the disaster, most scholars regarded vv. 7b and 10a as later interpolations, independent of vv. 6b-10 by the Dtr.¹⁸ However, v. 10a can be ascribed to the Dtr redaction together with vv. 7a, 8-9, for they are all based on the story of Naboth's vineyard (1 Kgs 21). V. 7b alone

¹⁶ For example, see Burney 1903:xiii-xiv.

¹⁷ Barré 1988:9, n. 27; Minokami 1989:53-55; Otto 2001:41, n. 50 with earlier literature. Noth (1967:104) suggested that vv. 8b, 9, and 10a are repetitions of 1 Kgs 21:21-22a and 2 Kgs 9:36.

¹⁸ Würthwein 1984:325; Campbell 1986:36-41; Barré 1988:11; Minokami 1989:53-55; Otto 2001:42, n. 58 with earlier literature.

may be a later interpolation, which connects the JN to the story of the extermination of prophets in 1 Kgs 18-19 (Otto 2001:42-43).¹⁹ By the exclusion of v. 7b, vv. 6b-10a become equivalent to 1 Kgs 21:21-23. The Dtr interpolated these verses in order to connect Jehu's coup to the Elijah Cycle story in 1 Kgs 21, and also to juxtapose the denunciations of Ahab, Jeroboam, and Baasha.

2.1.1.2. The Original Introduction of the JN (8:28-29 vs. 9:14-16)

There are verbatim correspondences between 2 Kgs 8:29a and 2 Kgs 9:15a, and between 8:29b and 9:16b. This fact has led scholars to discuss the original introduction of the JN. Although it is unanimously agreed that at least one of the passages is a secondary insertion to the OJN, the dating of each passage (8:28-29 and 9:14-16) is a matter of controversy.²⁰ In what follows, the dates of each passage and the literary relations between the two will be examined. First, the two passages are presented.

2 Kgs 8:28-29

וילך את־יורם בן־אחאב למלחמה עם־חזהאל מלך־ארם ברמת גלעד ויכו ארמים
את־יורם: וישב יורם המלך להתרפא ביזרעאל מן־המכים אשר יכהו ארמים ברמה
בהלחמו את־חזהאל מלך ארם ואחזיהו בן־יהורם מלך יהודה ירד לראות את־יורם
בן־אחאב ביזרעאל כִּי־חלה הוא:

2 Kgs 9:14b, 15a, 16aβb

יורם היה שמר ברמת גלעד הוא וכל־ישראל מפני חזאל מלך־ארם: וישב יהורם המלך

¹⁹ There is a close similarity between 2 Kgs 9:16a and 1 Kgs 18:45b. These two passages are the same except for the subject (Ben-Ruven 2004). 2 Kgs 9:16a: וירכב יהוא וילך יזרעאלה; 1 Kgs 18:45b: וירכב אחאב וילך יזרעאלה. Na'aman (2008:205) ascribed the latter to an editorial statement.

²⁰ A brief history of the discussion is found in Barré 1988:11-13; Long 1991:114-117.

להתרפא ביזרעאל מן־המכים אשר יכהו ארמים בהלחמו את־חזאל מלך ארם כי יורם

שכב שמה ואחזיה מלך יהודה ירד לראות את־יורם:

Some scholars suggested that the OJN begins at 2 Kgs 8:28 (not at 9:1), and that vv. 14-16 is secondary for the following two reasons.²¹ (1) 9:14-15a interrupts the flow of the story between vv. 13 and 15b. (2) The literary style of 9:14-15a is different from the rest of the JN (Schmitt 1972:23).²²

Minokami (1989:23-29) and Otto (2001:48), on the contrary, regarded 2 Kgs 8:28b-29 as secondary and suggested that they were composed by the Dtr based on 2 Kgs 9:15a, 16aβb.²³ In a close comparison of the two passages, Otto (*op. cit.*, 47-50) noted the following observations. (1) The spellings of the two kings' names, Joram (יורם) of Israel and Jehoram (יהורם) of Judah, are clearly differentiated in 8:28-29, whereas Joram of Israel is spelled in both forms (יהורם/יורם) in 9:15-16. (2) The filiations of the two kings (Joram and Ahaziah) are precisely mentioned in 8:28-29, in contrast in 9:15-16. (3) The phrase "כי־חולה הוא" in 8:29 has no equivalence in 9:15-16, which probably shows Dtr's tendency to exactness in the former passage. (4) Information of

²¹ Würthwein 1984:328; Mulzer 1992:215-222. Minokami 1989:26-29, 69; Long 1991:114; Mulzer 1992:219, n. 22; Otto 2001:47, n. 90; 66; Lehnart 2003:402, n. 135 with earlier literature. Mulzer (*op. cit.*, 218-222) and Schmitt (1972:23-24) suggested that 2 Kgs 9:14b-15a, 16aβb are secondary, because the style of vv. 14-15a does not agree with the rest of the JN.

²² Otto (2001:47) rejected this assumption for the following two reasons. (1) A verb without היה rarely begins a Biblical narrative (8:28), especially pre-Exilic narratives from the Northern Kingdom (Gross 1981:135, n. 13). (2) 8:28-29 concerns neither the theme of the JN nor Jehu, but Joram (Otto, *op. cit.*, 47 with n. 98).

²³ Benzinger 1899:149; Šanda 1912:95, 121; Montgomery 1951:396, 400; Noth 1967:83-84; Steck 1968:32-33, nn. 1-2; Gray 1977:543-544; Timm 1982:138; Campbell 1986:22, n. 8. Minokami (1989:26-29) ascribed 2 Kgs 9:14b, 15a, and 15aβ to later insertions. Kittel (1900:231) suggested that 2 Kgs 9:14a is a redactional insertion. Treballe Barrera (1984:122-125, 185-189), comparing the text with the Lucianic recension and Old Latin text, identified v. 14b as Dtr's insertion and suggested that v. 15a was moved from 9:16a (see McKenzie 1991:71-73). For earlier literature of this theory, see Mulzer 1992:219, n. 22.

the Aramaean strike of Joram is repeated in 8:28-29,²⁴ which possibly indicates that the two verses derived from the same source (9:15). It is therefore suggested that 8:28-29, which is a verbatim repetition of 9:15, was composed by the Dtr.²⁵

It is notable that 8:28-29 is written in a style similar to that of the so-called “short report” (1 Kgs 16:24; 2 Kgs 8:20-22; 15:10, 14, 19-20, 25; 16:5-18; 17:3-8; 21:23-24; 23:33-35; 24:1-2, 10-17).²⁶ The short report adds historical information on kings to the schematic introductory and closing formulae. These reports are considered to be based on historical sources that were available to the Dtr.²⁷ This hypothesis is supported by the following fact. 8:28 describes Ahaziah’s participation in the battle against Aramaeans. On the other hand, 9:14-16, referring only to Ahaziah’s visit to Jezreel, creates an impression that Ahaziah did not participate in the battle (2.1.2.2.1). It seems, therefore, that 8:28 is not a complete invention of the Dtr, but rather based on a historical source, most likely a Judahite Chronicle (Otto 2001:50). By using such a source, the Dtr composed 8:28-29 in order to connect the royal formula of Ahaziah (2 Kgs 8:25-27) to the beginning of the JN (9:1).

The origin of 9:14a has also been discussed. Some scholars regarded the verse as a later interpolation (Kittel 1900:227-278; Schmitt 1972:22-23).²⁸ Long (1991:117),

²⁴ יוכו ארמים את־יורם in v. 28 and יכהו ארמים in v. 29.

²⁵ The reference to רמה in 8:29, in contrast to רמה גלעד in 9:14, is exceptional for Dtr’s tendency to precisely relate geographical information. This might show the possibility that the Dtr used another source besides 9:14-16 (Otto 2001:49-50). The situations between 8:28a and 9:14b are also different. In the former, Ahaziah went to Ramoth-Gilead to fight against Hazael king of Aram, whereas in the latter, Joram had been on guard at Ramoth-Gilead against Hazael. Otto (*op. cit.*, 50) suggested that this difference reflects two distinct sources for both verses: 8:28a on the basis of the Judahite Chronicle and 9:14b on the basis of the JN. She (*op. cit.*, 50, n. 116) assumed that the situation, in which Ramoth-Gilead belongs to Israel, possibly reflects the territorial situation under Jeroboam II.

²⁶ Hoffman 1980:33-38; Otto 2001:48, n. 107.

²⁷ Montgomery (1934; 1951:33-37) suggested that these reports derived from certain archival sources. Yet, his assumption (1951:34) that time-expressions, such as אז, בימי, etc. go back to the archival source cannot be supported. Cf. Na’aman 2002a:88-90.

²⁸ Schmitt (1972:23-24), pointing to the stylistic similarity of v. 14a to the other revolution reports of the Northern Kingdom, ascribed these verses to the annalistic redaction, which is later than the Dtr redaction.

on the other hand, interpreted v. 14a as “a conventional introduction to the report of conspiracy which follows”. He cited the following passages as parallels: 1 Kgs 15:27-30; 16:9-13; 2 Kgs 15:10, 14, 25, 30; and 21:23.²⁹ However, there are two stylistic differences between 2 Kgs 9:14a and the cited verses. (1) 2 Kgs 9:14a, unlike in the cited verses, employs the hithpa‘el form of the verb קשר. (2) 2 Kgs 9:14a, in contrast with the other reports (1 Kgs 15:27b; 16:9b, and 15b), employs היה to describe the circumstances of the coup (Schmitt, *op. cit.*, 23-24). These differences may indicate that v. 14a was a later interpolation.³⁰

It was suggested above that both 2 Kgs 9:14b-15a and 16aβ describe the background for Jehu’s coup and were a possible source for 8:28-29. The date of these verses and their function in the OJN will be investigated in the following paragraphs.³¹ The integrality of vv. 14b-15a and 16aβ to the OJN is self-evident,³² and vv. 14-15a was widely thought to be the original introduction of the OJN,³³ which was initially located before 9:1.³⁴ Although vv. 14-15a interrupt the course of narrative between vv. 13 and 15b,³⁵ they do not fit well in the position before 9:1 either.³⁶ It is thus assumed

Be that as it may, his ascription of the phrase כל-ישראל to the same redaction (*op. cit.*, 23, n. 38) should be rejected. This expression also appears in other verses (1 Kgs 12:1, 16, 18; 2 Kgs 3:6), which are not formulated in annalistic style. Gray (1977:541) and Hentschel (1985:39) regarded v. 14a as a concluding verse of the 9:1-13, derived from a “prophetic source”.

²⁹ Otto (2001:66-67), likewise pointing to the common conspiracy motif in 9:14a and 10:9, rejected Dtr’s authorship of v. 14a. Although her ascription of v. 14a to a pre-Dtr source is legitimised, only one single common word (verb קשר), which appears in a different form in each verse (in hithpa‘el in 9:14a and in qal in 10:9), is a weak ground for attributing the two verses to the same redactor. Minokami (1989:26-29, 69) and Mulzer (1992:215-219) ascribed even v. 16aβ (together with 14b and 15a) to a secondary interpolation; yet, this theory cannot explain the reason for the addition of the verse. See Otto, *op. cit.*, 67, n. 241.

³⁰ Otto 2001:66-67.

³¹ Minokami (1989:67-95) attributed 9:15b, 16b, 21ba^{1*}, 23b, 27; 10:4-6, 13-14ba to a Judahite editing. However, this editing cannot be clearly perceived. Cf. Otto 2001:70-71.

³² Otto 2001:67; Lehnart 2003:403-404.

³³ Otto 2001:66, n. 229.

³⁴ *Contra* Steck 1968:32-33, n. 2.

³⁵ Benzinger 1899:149; Kittel 1900:230-231; Šanda 1912:94, 121; Gunkel 1913:290; Montgomery 1951:400; Gray 1977:543-544; Barré 1988:12.

³⁶ Some scholars suggested that these verses stemmed from a much longer version of the OJN and

that 9:14b-15a and 16aβb were based on another unknown source and were integrated by the Dtr to explain the reason for Jehu's advance toward Jezreel.

2.1.1.3. The Anointment of Jehu as Integral Part of the OJN (9:1-13)

The entire passage of 2 Kgs 9:1-13 is usually regarded as secondary, for the passage interrupts the course of the narrative between 8:28-29 and 9:14a.³⁷ However, the verses employ common stylistic and thematic elements with the rest of the narrative.³⁸ Hence, most of 9:1-13 (9:1-6a, 7b, and 10b-13) constitutes an integral part of the OJN. Only 9:6b-7a and 8-10a can be safely ascribed to the Dtr Redaction.³⁹ This conclusion conforms well to the hypothetical provenance of the OJN in the court of the Jehuite Dynasty (2.1.2.1.).

2.1.1.4. Naboth's Murder as Legitimation of Joram's Murder in the OJN (9:21b and 25-26)

The verses, legitimising Joram's murder by Jehu as retribution for Naboth's bloody murder by Ahab, have usually been regarded as part of the OJN.⁴⁰ On the other hand, some scholars excluded these verses from the OJN, since 9:25-26 interrupt the flow of the narrative between Joram's murder (v. 24) and Ahaziah's flight (v. 27).⁴¹ In addition

afterwards the Dtr moved/incorporated them here to explain the reason behind Jehu's advance to Jezreel (Noth 1967:84; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:108-109; Otto 2001:66-68).

³⁷ Würthwein 1984:328-330; Benzinger 1899:149; Gray 1977:537. See Otto 2001:64, n. 215 with further literature. Cf. Dietrich 1972:103-109.

³⁸ Olyan (1984:653) pointed to a "*Leitwort*" – defined as the intentional and multiple rendering of a word in order to accentuate a motif within a text – of the JN – שלום. The word also appears in v. 11. Otto (2001:64) pointed to another possible *Leitwort* גנע of the JN in vv. 11 and 20. Furthermore, she (*op. cit.*, 65, with n. 227) pointed to the same inversed style of verbal clause (9:11, 30b; 10:13), which begins new episodes. According to Eskhult (1990:50-55), this style appears in the pre-Exilic narratives originating in the Northern Kingdom.

³⁹ McKenzie (1991:70-71) ascribed vv. 7a, 8-9 to the Dtr and 7b, 10a to a later editor.

⁴⁰ Noth 1967:84; Montgomery 1951:402; Dietrich 1972:50; Olyan 1984:657-659; Lehnart 2003:404-405.

⁴¹ Schmitt 1972:25-27; Minokami 1989:34-43; McKenzie 1991:73-74; Mulzer 1992:233-236.

to vv. 25-26, v. 21b “they met him at the property of Naboth the Jezreelite”, which sets the background for this event in vv. 25-26, has likewise been excluded from the OJN.⁴² However, there is no consensus among scholars in terms of division and dating of these verses.⁴³

Naboth’s murder by Ahab is described in detail in 1 Kgs 21, which is probably a pre-deuteronomistic composition (Otto 2001: 138-143; Pruin 2007:212; Na’aman 2008:199-204).⁴⁴ This story and the mention of Naboth’s murder in 2 Kgs 9:21b, 25-26, despite their similarities, seem to reflect two distinct traditions of the same event (Na’aman 2008:212-213). Thus, knowledge on the story in 1 Kgs 21 need not be presupposed for the composition of 2 Kgs 9:21b, 25-26.⁴⁵ The function of the verses is to legitimise Jehu’s killing of his lord. It conforms well to the fundamental characters and the *raison d’être* of the OJN to justify Jehu’s rebellion (2.1.2.1.). Therefore, I suggest ascribing vv. 21b, 25-26 to the pre-Dtr author.⁴⁶

2.1.1.5. Dtr’s Interpolation of the Description of Ahaziah’s Burial into the OJN (9:27bβ-29)

V. 28 describes the transfer of Ahaziah’s corpse from Megiddo to Jerusalem and its

⁴² The double mentioning of “kings’ sortie” in v. 21 seems redundant. The verb יצא appears twice here: ויצאו לקראת יהוא והוא מלך־ישראל ואחזיהו מלך־יהודה איש ברכבו ויצאו לקראת יהוא. Cf. Würthwein 1984:332-333; Minokami 1989:39; Otto 2001:56.

⁴³ There are three major views as to the dating of these verses: (1) pre-Dtr (Steck 1968:33-34; 44-46; Schmitt 1972:25-27; Bohlen 1978:282-284; Otto 2001:55-64); (2) Dtr (Whitley 1952:148-149; Miller 1967:314-317; Timm 1982:141; Na’aman 1997a:167); and (3) post-Dtr (Würthwein 1984:332-333; Minokami 1989:34-42; Mulzer 1992:302). Olyan (1984:657-659) regarded v. 26 as an integral part of the OJN because it explains the reason for Joram’s death. On the other hand, Otto (*op. cit.*, 56) regarded it as an unnecessary explanation because Jehu is the king anointed by YHWH (9:3, 6, and 12) and thus it is clear that disqualified Joram must die before Jehu, the newly anointed king.

⁴⁴ Some scholars, on the contrary, suggested that the narrative was a later composition (Rofé 1988:97-100; Blum 2000:114-123). For the criticism of this theory, see Na’aman 2008:200-203.

⁴⁵ These similarities are enumerated in Na’aman 2008:212.

⁴⁶ Whether these verses were integrated into the OJN by a pre-Dtr editor (or editors) is not my concern here. Cf. Otto 2001:55-64, 113, 119-141; 2003:493-494.

subsequent burial there.⁴⁷ The verse has been ascribed to the Dtr, who connects the JN to the reign of Ahaziah of Judah.⁴⁸ V. 29 synchronises Ahaziah's reign to Joram's eleventh year.⁴⁹ As such, 9:28-29 mention the events in Judah and thus seem to be unnecessary in the OJN which mainly concerns incidents in the Northern Kingdom.

The expression, "they buried him in his tomb with his ancestors in the city of David" (v. 28), is a typical Dtr formula employed for concluding passages of the Judahite kings, and can thus safely be ascribed to the Dtr.

According to the Book of Kings, the Judahite kings were commonly buried in Jerusalem. Even the bodies of kings who died outside Jerusalem were carried back to the city for burial.⁵⁰ Hence, burying the king's corpse in Jerusalem must have been important for the author.

The linguistic and stylistic similarity between the three verses (vv. 27b β -29) is hardly a coincidence. The Dtr, who worked in the late seventh century BCE, was familiar with Josiah's death at Megiddo and the transfer of his corpse to Jerusalem, but not with the murder of Ahaziah, which happened more than 200 years earlier.⁵¹ It is therefore assumed that 2 Kgs 9:28 was composed by the Dtr inspired by 2 Kgs 23:30a; or alternatively, that both 2 Kgs 9:28 and 2 Kgs 23:30a were the Dtr's composition.⁵²

⁴⁷ The plot of a Judahite king dying in Megiddo, being transported to Jerusalem, and then buried there shows striking resemblance to that of Josiah's death (2 Kgs 23:30). For this reason, Barré (1988:15) suggested that vv. 27b β and 28 were dependent on the account of Josiah's death, and that they were inserted by a post-Dtr editor.

⁴⁸ Barré 1988:15, n. 51; Otto 2001:50-51, n.121 with earlier literature. On the other hand, Schmitt (1972:24) regarded this verse as a post-Dtr addition. See also Barré 1988:15, 31. McKenzie (1991:74-75) ascribed vv. 27b-29 to a post-Dtr editor.

⁴⁹ It contradicts 8:26, which dates it to Joram's twelfth year (Noth 1967:84, n. 2).

⁵⁰ Examples include Jehoash (2 Kgs 12:21-22, although the verses do not contain a description of transferring the body), Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:19-20), and Josiah (2 Kgs 23:29-30).

⁵¹ The hypothesis of the double redaction of the Dtr History, which was suggested by Cross (1973), is adopted in the present study. According to the theory, the Dtr History was first redacted in Josiah's reign and then, in the Exilic period.

⁵² The difference between the two verses is the forms of verbs. In 2 Kgs 9:28, the verbs accompany with direct object marker נֶאֱמַר , while in 2 Kgs 23:30a, the verbs are with object suffix of third person masculine

Likewise, the mention of Megiddo in v. 27b β is probably a Dtr's interpolation, who might have felt necessary to insert here an appropriate city, where loyal Judahite servants were present to transfer Ahaziah's corpse to Jerusalem. The selection of Megiddo could have been inspired by the description of Josiah's death at Megiddo (2 Kgs 23:29-30) and by its geographical proximity to the place of the event.⁵³

V. 29, on the other hand, cannot be ascribed to the Dtr. This verse lacks typical formulaic elements, such as the mention of source and the king's successor.⁵⁴ Contradictory information on Ahaziah's reign in 2 Kgs 8:25 and in 9:29 indicates that 9:29 was inserted after the Dtr's framing of the JN.⁵⁵

2.1.1.6. Jezebel's Death as Fulfilment of Elijah's Prophecy (9:36, 37)

The passage 9:36, 37 is Jehu's speech to announce that Elijah's prophecy concerning Jezebel's death (1 Kgs 21:23b) has been fulfilled. The passage interrupts the course of the story (Minokami 1989:59-60; Mulzer 1992:238-243; Otto 2001:44-45). Despite small differences, 2 Kgs 9:36 and 1 Kgs 21:23b evidently refer to the same prophecy.⁵⁶ Considering the Dtr's intention to connect the JN with the prophecy of the annihilation of the House of Ahab (2.1.1.1.), it seems that v. 36 was a Dtr's interpolation.⁵⁷ This

singular זהו.

⁵³ Otto 2001:76, n. 296. It is worth noting that Amaziah's flight to Lachish is also described with the same verb in the same form "וַיִּנָּס" (2 Kgs 14:19). This similarity between 2 Kgs 9:27 and 14:19 may suggest that "וַיִּנָּס" in 9:27 is also a Dtr's interpolation.

⁵⁴ In a schematic frame, synchronism is generally positioned in the opening formula and not in the concluding. For earlier literature, see Otto 2001:51-52, nn. 127, 129.

⁵⁵ The synchronistic data in 8:25 is corrected here based on the following calculation. Joram died in his twelfth year of reign (2 Kgs 3:1) and Ahaziah died at the same time. Since Ahaziah reigned for one year (2 Kgs 8:26), Ahaziah's enthronement was dated to Joram's eleventh year. Otto 2001:52, n. 131 with earlier literature.

⁵⁶ 2 Kgs 9:36 reads: וישבו ויגידו לו ויאמר דברייהוה הוא אשר דבר ביד-עבדו אליהו התשבי לאמר בחלק זרעאל יאכלו הכלבים וגם-לאיזבל דבר יהוה לאמר הכלבים יאכלו את-איזבל בחל זרעאל. 1 Kgs 21:23 reads: וישבו ויגידו לו ויאמר דברייהוה הוא אשר דבר ביד-עבדו אליהו התשבי לאמר בחלק זרעאל יאכלו הכלבים וגם-לאיזבל דבר יהוה לאמר הכלבים יאכלו את-איזבל בחל זרעאל.

⁵⁷ Dietrich 1972:60; Schmitt 1972:21-23; Timm 1982:137-138. See Otto 2001:44, n. 74 for earlier literature. McKenzie (1991:75-76) ascribed vv. 36a, 37 to the Dtr but vv. 36a β and 36b to a post-Dtr editor.

assumption is supported by a close similarity between v. 36 and 9:10, which is ascribed to the Dtr.⁵⁸

V. 37 is the continuance of Jehu's speech citing another prophecy concerning Jezebel's corpse. Yet, the cited prophecy is missing in the Book of Kings. Some scholars ascribed v. 37, which is an explanation of v. 36, also to the Dtr,⁵⁹ while others regarded it as a later interpolation.⁶⁰ Due to its lexical similarity to Jer 8:2; 9:21; 16:4; 25:33, the latter view seems to be more plausible.

2.1.1.7. Overlapped Information on the Rearers of Ahab's Sons in Samaria (10:1a, 6b)

Both verses refer to the people in Samaria who reared the seventy sons of Ahab. A repetition of information was recognised by early scholars,⁶¹ and some excluded the verses from the OJN.⁶² However, v. 1a is consistent with the following story, and it is thus unnecessary to delete it from the OJN (Otto 2001:68).

V. 6b, on the other hand, is possibly a gloss because it is a repetition of the information in 10:1, 2. Additionally, there is inconsistency between v. 1 and v. 6b: in v. 1, the "sons of Ahab" stayed at the "guardians of Ahab" (האמנים אחאב), whereas in v. 6b, they stayed with the "elders of the city" (גדלי-העיר).⁶³

⁵⁸ 2 Kgs 9:10 reads: ואת־איובל יאכלו הכלבים בחלק יזרעאל ואין קבר.

⁵⁹ Steck 1968:36-38, 40; Schmitt 1972:21-23. Minokami 1989:59-62 ascribed v. 36a to the Dtr, and vv. 36b-37 to a later editor.

⁶⁰ Würthwein 1984:334; Mulzer 1992:240-242; Otto 2001:45. Barré (1988:16) attributed only v. 36 to a later redactor.

⁶¹ Benzinger 1899:152. For earlier literature, see Barré 1988:17, n. 63.

⁶² Most scholars regarded v. 1a as a later gloss due to the mention of Ahab instead of Joram (Montgomery 1951:413; Schmitt 1972:230, n. 210; Würthwein 1984:335; Barré 1988:17). On the other hand, Minokami (1989:55-56) and McKenzie (1991:76) ascribed it to the Dtr.

⁶³ See Otto 2001:68 with n. 249 for earlier literature.

2.1.1.8. Dtr's Interpolation to Jehu's Speech (10:10)

Jehu's proclamation of the fulfilment of YHWH's word (10:10) is an interpolation conveying a theological message to the reader.⁶⁴ The lexical similarity of the phrase לֹא יִפְלֵא מִדְּבַר ה' אֶרְצָה to the typical Dtr phrase in 1 Kgs 8:56; Jos 21:43; 23:14 suggests its Dtr's authorship.⁶⁵

2.1.1.9. Jehu's Extermination of Ahab's House (10:11)

The verse, describing Jehu's massacre of the House of Ahab in Jezreel, can also be ascribed to the Dtr. The characteristic Dtr phrase עַד־בְּלֹתֵי הַשְּׂאִירֵי־לּוֹ שְׂרִיד supports its Dtr origin.⁶⁶

2.1.1.10. The Murder of Ahaziah's Brothers and Jehu's Encounter with Jehonadab (10:12a β *-16)

The passage can be divided into two parts. The first part (vv. 12a β *-14) describes the massacre of Ahaziah's relatives. The second part (vv. 15-16) relates Jehu's encounter with Jehonadab, the Rechabite. Most scholars have regarded the passage as secondary.⁶⁷ However, Otto (2001:69) pointed out a thematic coherence in the passage, which may show that vv. 12a β *-16 is an integral part of the OJN.⁶⁸ Since no substantial ground for

⁶⁴ Steck 1968:40; Schmitt 1972:22; Timm 1982:137-138; Würthwein 1984:338; Hentschel 1985:46; Barré 1988:17-18; Minokami 1989:62-64. For earlier literature, see Otto 2001:45, n. 81. Mulzer (1992:246) suggested that v. 10 consists of two chronologically different parts: vv. 10a and 10b.

⁶⁵ Burney 1903:126; Schmitt 1972:22, n. 30; Weinfeld 1972:21-23, 350; Otto 2001:45-46.

⁶⁶ Schmitt 1972:23; Sekine 1975:55; Timm 1982:135; Würthwein 1984:337; Barré 1988:17; Otto 2001:46, n. 86. See Otto, *op. cit.*, 46-47, n. 89 for earlier literature.

⁶⁷ Stade 1885:276-278; Schmitt 1972:25; Würthwein 1984:338-339; Barré 1988:18-20; Minokami 1989:67-95; McKenzie 1991:76-78.

⁶⁸ The coherence can be found in the following three points. (1) In v. 13, the *Leitwort* שלם and a reference to Jezebel appear, as in 9:22, 31. (2) In vv. 15-16, Jehu is described as a rebel looking for an ally, as in 9:15b, 32, and 10:6a. (3) Vv. 15-16 is thematically connected with 10:17a α , 18-28, where the "eradication of Baal cult" is the main theme. Schmitt (1972:28-29) also reached the same conclusion. Mulzer (1992:253-261), on the other hand, distinguished only ויבא in v. 12 and v. 14b β as gloss.

regarding the passage as a later interpolation has been provided, I would like to follow Otto's view and ascribe the passage to the OJN.⁶⁹

2.1.1.11. Jehu's March to Samaria (10:12aα*, 17aα)

Excluding 10:12aβ*-16 from the OJN, the story relates Jehu's advance toward Samaria (10:12aα*, 17aα), immediately after his annihilation of Ahab's descendants in Jezreel. Hence, some of the scholars who regarded 10:12aβ*-16 as secondary, suggested that 10:12aα*, 17aα are the conclusion of the OJN.⁷⁰ However, the following points attest that the OJN does not end with 10:12aα*, 17aα. (1) The end of the story must include the scene of the extermination of the Baal cult (10:18-28), for this is one of the primary themes of the OJN.⁷¹ (2) A Biblical narrative does not end with the expression "and he went/came toward ..." (ויבא) (10:12aα*, 17aα). Hence, this phrase is used as a binder of the two individual scenes.⁷²

2.1.1.12. The Annihilation of Ahab's Descendants (10:17aβb)

The verse describes Jehu's annihilation of Ahab's descendants. Its thematic resemblance to 9:7-10 and formulaic similarity to v. 11a attest to its Dtr's authorship.⁷³

2.1.1.13. Jehu's Cunning to Destroy Baal Worshipers (10:19b)

⁶⁹ Šanda 1911:110; Steck 1968:61. Barré (1988:20) suggested that vv. 15-16 was inserted by the Dtr.

⁷⁰ Würthwein 1984:338; Minokami 1989:96-97, 130. McKenzie ascribed vv. 18-28 to the Dtr.

⁷¹ Mulzer 1992:271-273; Otto 2001:71-72

⁷² Otto 2001:72.

⁷³ Schmitt 1972:22; Timm 1982:137-138; Würthwein 1984:338; Hentschel 1985:48; Barré 1988:20, 33; Minokami 1989:56-57; Otto 2001:46. The following three points attest that v. 17aβb does not belong to the OJN: (1) repetitious reference to Samaria in 17aα and 17aβ; (2) a Dtr's theme "extermination of the House of Ahab (cf. 1 Kgs 15:29; 16:11)"; and (3) the second reference to the extermination of Ahab's family (already in 10:1-11). In contrast, Dietrich (1972:24, 61) regarded v. 17aβ as part of the OJN and ascribed only v. 17b to the Dtr.

The passage explains Jehu's concealed intention to destroy the worshippers of Baal, and interrupts the story related in 10:17-25a. The phrase, "in order to destroy the worshippers of Baal", indicates its Dtr origin.⁷⁴ This part was possibly inserted to defend Jehu from reproach, for he declares his intention to serve the Baal more than Ahab (v. 18).⁷⁵

2.1.1.14. Jehu's Invitation to the Baal Cult Sent throughout Israel (10:21aα)

The part, "then Jehu sent throughout Israel", an invitation to the worshippers of Baal, can be ascribed to the Dtr, whose intention was to stress that Jehu's cult reform was not limited to Samaria but was carried out all over Israel. This statement is consistent with v. 28, which can also be ascribed to the Dtr.⁷⁶

2.1.1.15. The Eradication of Baal's Cult (10:25b-27)

The passage describes Jehu's eradication of Baal's Cult. An etiological note in 10:27b – "and made it (the house of Baal) a latrine to this day" – does not seem to be the original end of the OJN. A close similarity between the verses 10:18-25a and 2 Kgs 23 has been pointed out (Hoffmann 1980:97-104).⁷⁷ The former describes Jehu's cult reform and the latter describes that of Josiah of Judah. The verbs used in 10:26, 27 are typical Dtr

⁷⁴ Barré 1988:20-21; Otto 2001:55. For the Dtr phraseology of the verse, see Weinfeld 1972:346-347. Some scholars regarded v. 19b as a later gloss (Schmitt 1972:24-27; Sekine 1975:56; Mulzer 1992:262-267). Minokami (1989:113-114, 116-117) regarded it as part of the OJN.

⁷⁵ Otto 2001:55. Schmitt (1972:24-27) ascribed it to the apologetic editing that pre-dates the Dtr. See also, Sekine 1975:56; Würthwein 1984:340. Mulzer (1992:261-267), on the other hand, regarded 10:19b, 20, 21aα as secondary gloss.

⁷⁶ Otto 2001:55. For the view that regards v. 21aα as secondary, see Otto, *op. cit.*, 55, n. 159 with earlier literature. Minokami (1989:114) included it in the OJN. For the ascription of 10:28 to the Dtr, see 2.1.1.16.

⁷⁷ In both stories, cult objects are taken out of the temples and then burnt, and cult places are defiled and made useless (2 Kgs 23:8, 10, 13, 14, 20). The subject of vv. 25b-27 is plural, showing that Jehu is not the main figure of the passage. It is notable that the action depicted in the passage does not form verbatim repetitions of Jehu's order (vv. 18-25a), but it still preserves this structure in terms of vocabulary. See Otto 2001:54.

vocabulary, employed for describing destruction of cult places and cult objects: שרף in v. 26 and נתק in v. 27.⁷⁸ Therefore, vv. 10:25b-27 can be ascribed to the Dtr.⁷⁹

2.1.1.16. The Conclusion of the OJN (Kgs 10:28)

The verse, “thus Jehu eradicated Baal out of Israel”, was ascribed by some scholars to the Dtr,⁸⁰ while by others to the OJN.⁸¹ I follow the second view, since no other verse in the text concludes the OJN.

2.1.1.17. Three Compilation Stages of the JN

Based on the above observations, the text of JN (2 Kgs 9:1-10:28) can be divided into three main redactional layers: (1) pre-Dtr Layer;⁸² (2) Dtr Layer; and (3) later additions.⁸³ The first two layers have distinct themes. The primary theme of the pre-Dtr Layer is the justification of Jehu’s coup d’état, and the Dtr Layer connects the OJN to the fulfilment of the prophet’s words concerning the House of Ahab and the death of Jezebel. The three layers are presented as follows:

(1) 2 Kgs 9:1-6a, 10b-27abα*, 30-35; 10:1-6a, 7-9, 12-17aα, 18-19a, 20, 21aβb-25a, 28.

(2) 2 Kgs 9:6b*-7a, 8-10a, 27bβ*, 28, 36; 10:10-11, 17aβb, 19b, 21aα, 25b-27.

⁷⁸ נתק “to destroy” is used forty-two times in the Hebrew Bible, twenty-one times of which are used with religious objects such as altar and temple (Ex 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3; Jgs 2:2; 6:28, 30, 31, 32; 8:17; 2 Kgs 10:27 [twice]; 11:18; 23:7, 8, 12, 15; 2 Chr 23:17; 31:1; 33:3; 34:4, 7). However, נתק מצבה appears only here. שרף “to burn” is used with cultic objects in Ex 33:20; Deut 7:5, 25; 9:21; 1 Kgs 15:13; 2 Kgs 23:4, 6, 11, 15.

⁷⁹ Also Barré 1988:21.

⁸⁰ Schmitt 1972:19, n. 2; Montgomery 1951:411; Barré 1988:22; Otto 2001:52. For the following reasons, they ascribed v. 28 to the same level as the following judgment of Jehu’s religious policy (vv. 29-31). (1) The Dtr summarises the preceding story of the extermination of Baal’s cult (vv. 18-27) and connects between the story and the judgment. (2) The following judgment (vv. 28-31a) has a typical Dtr style, describing a “good” king. It is noteworthy that this expression is otherwise used only for the Judahite kings: 1 Kgs 15:11 (Asa); 22:43 (Jehoshaphat); 2 Kgs 12:3 (Jehoash); 14:3 (Amaziah); 15:3 (Azariah/Uzziah), 34 (Jotham); 18:3 (Hezekiah); 22:2 (Josiah).

⁸¹ Campbell 1986:103; Mulzer 1992:271.

⁸² It includes the possible pre-Dtr editing (9:21b, 25-26).

⁸³ It includes the secondary Dtr editing (9:29, 37).

(3) 2 Kgs 9:7b, 29, 37; 10:6b.

The Redactional Layers in 2 Kgs 9-10

Original .1

Dtr Editing .2

Later Additions .3

2 Kgs 9

¹ וַאֲלִישֶׁעַ הַנְּבִיאַ קָרָא לְאַחַד מִבְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ חַגְר מִתְּנִידָךְ וְקַח פֶּדָה הַשֶּׁמֶן הַזֶּה בְּיָדְךָ וְלֵךְ רִמַת גִּלְעָד: ²
בֹּאת שָׁמָּה וּרְאֵה-שָׁם יְהוּא בֶן-יְהוֹשָׁפָט בְּן-נַמְשִׁי וּבָאתְךָ וְהִקְמַתוּ מִתּוֹךְ אָחָיו וְהִבִּיאתְךָ אִתּוֹ תָּדַר בְּחֹדֶר: ³ וְלִקְחַתְךָ
פֶּדָה-הַשֶּׁמֶן וַיִּצְקֶתָ עַל-רֵאשׁוֹ וְאָמַרְתָּ כֹּה-אָמַר יְהוָה מְשַׁחְתִּיךָ לְמֹלֵךְ אֶל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפְתַחְתָּ הַדְּלֹת וְנִסְתָּה וְלֹא תִחַכְּהָ:
⁴ וַיֵּלֶךְ הַנַּעַר הַנַּעַר הַנְּבִיאַ רִמַת גִּלְעָד: ⁵ וַיָּבֵא וְהִנֵּה שָׂרֵי הַחַיִל יֹשְׁבִים וַיֹּאמֶר דַּבֵּר לִי אֲלֵיךְ הַשֵּׁר וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוּא
אֶל-מִי מִכֵּלְנוּ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיךְ הַשֵּׁר: ^{6a*} וַיִּקְּם וַיָּבֵא הַבַּיְתָה וַיִּצֶק הַשֶּׁמֶן אֶל-רֵאשׁוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ כֹּה-אָמַר יְהוָה

^{6b*} אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

^{6b*} מְשַׁחְתִּיךָ לְמֹלֵךְ

^{6b*} אֶל-עַם יְהוָה

^{6b*} אֶל-יִשְׂרָאֵל:

^{7a} וְהִכִּיתָהּ אֶת-בֵּית אַחֲזָב אֲדַגֵּיךָ

^{7b} וְנִקְמֹתִי דָמַי | עַבְדֵי הַנְּבִיאִים וְדָמַי כָּל-עַבְדֵי יְהוָה מִיַּד אֲזִיבָל:

⁸ וְאָבַד כָּל-בֵּית אַחֲזָב וְהִכְרַתִי לְאַחֲזָב מִשְׁתֵּין בְּקִיר וְעֶצוֹר וְעִזּוֹב בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל: ⁹ נָתַתִּי אֶת-בֵּית

אַחֲזָב כְּבֵית יָרְבֵּעַם בְּזִנְבֹט וּכְבֵית בַּעֲשָׂא בְּזִאחֲתָהּ: ^{10a} וְאֶת-אִיִּבָּל יֹאכְלוּ הַכְּלָבִים בְּחִלְקָה

יִזְרַעְאֵל וְאִין קִבְר

^{10b} ויפתח הדלת ויגס: ¹¹ יהוא יצא אל־עבדיו אֲדֹנָיו ויאמר לוֹ הַשְּׁלוֹם מְדוּעַ בָּא־הַמְשַׁנֵּעַ הַזֶּה אֵלַיךָ ויאמר אֲלֵיהֶם אַתֶּם יֹדְעֶתֶם אֶת־הָאִישׁ וְאֶת־שִׁיחוֹ: ¹² יֹאמְרוּ שֶׁקָר הֲגִדְנָא לָנוּ ויאמר כָּזָאת וְכֹזָאת אָמַר אֵלַי לֵאמֹר כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה מִשְׁחִיתֶיךָ לְמַלְךְ אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵל: ¹³ וימהרו ויקחו אִישׁ בְּגָדוֹ וישִׁימוּ תַחְתָּיו אֶל־גַּרְם הַמַּעֲלוֹת ויתקעו בְּשׁוֹפָר ויאמרו מֶלֶךְ יְהוּא:

^{14a} ויתקשר יהוא בן־הושפט בן־נמשי אל־יורם

^{14b} יורם הָיָה שֹׁמֵר בְּרִמָּת גִּלְעָד הוּא וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִפְּנֵי חֲזָאֵל מֶלֶךְ־אַרְם: ¹⁵ וישב יְהוֹרָם הַמֶּלֶךְ לַהֲתַרְפֵּא בִּזְרַעְאֵל מִן־הַמְּכִים אֲשֶׁר יִכּוּ אַרְמִים בְּהַלְחָמוֹ אֶת־חֲזָאֵל מֶלֶךְ אַרְם ויאמר יהוא אִם־יֵשׁ נַפְשְׁכֶם אֶל־יֵצֵא פְּלִיט מִן־הָעִיר לְלַכֵּת (לְהִגִּיד) בִּזְרַעְאֵל: ¹⁶ וירכב יהוא וילך יִזְרַעְאֵלָה כִּי יוֹרָם שָׁכַב שָׁמָּה וְאֶחָזִיָּה מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה יָרַד לְרֵאוֹת אֶת־יֹרָם: ¹⁷ והצפה עִמָּד עַל־הַמַּגֵּדֵל בִּזְרַעְאֵל ויאָרָא אֶת־שַׁפְעַת יְהוּא בְּבֹאוֹ ויאמר שַׁפְעַת אֲנִי רֵאָה ויאמר יְהוֹרָם קַח רֶכֶב וּשְׁלַח לְקַרְאֲתָם ויאמר הַשְּׁלוֹם: ¹⁸ וילך רֶכֶב הַסּוּס לְקַרְאֲתוֹ ויאמר כֹּה־אָמַר הַמֶּלֶךְ הַשְּׁלוֹם ויאמר יהוא מִה־לֶּךְ וּלְשָׁלוֹם סָב אֶל־אַחֲרָי ויגִד הַצֶּפֶה לֵאמֹר בָּא־הַמֶּלֶךְ עַד־הֵם וְלֹא־שָׁב: ¹⁹ וישלח רֶכֶב סוּס שְׁנֵי וַיָּבֵא אֲלֵיהֶם ויאמר כֹּה־אָמַר הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלוֹם ויאמר יהוא מִה־לֶּךְ וּלְשָׁלוֹם סָב אֶל־אַחֲרָי: ²⁰ ויגִד הַצֶּפֶה לֵאמֹר בָּא עַד־אֲלֵיהֶם וְלֹא־שָׁב וְהַמְנַהֵג כַּמְנַהֵג יְהוּא בֶן־נַמְשִׁי כִּי בִשְׁגָעוֹן יִנְהַג: ²¹ ויאמר יְהוֹרָם אֶסֶר ויאסר רֶכְבוֹ וַיֵּצֵא יְהוֹרָם מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶחָזִיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה אִישׁ בְּרֶכְבוֹ וַיֵּצְאוּ לְקַרְאֵת יְהוּא וַיַּמְצְאוּהוּ בְּחֻלְקַת נְבוֹת הַיִּזְרַעְאֵלִי: ²² ויהי כְּרֵאוֹת יְהוֹרָם אֶת־יְהוּא ויאמר הַשְּׁלוֹם יְהוּא ויאמר מָה הַשְּׁלוֹם עַד־זֶנְוִי אִיזָבֵל אִמְךָ וְכַשְׁפִּיָּה הַרְבִּים: ²³ ויהפך יְהוֹרָם יָדָיו וַיִּגַּס ויאמר אֶל־אֶחָזִיָּהוּ מִרְמָה אֶחָזִיָּה: ²⁴ ויהוּא מֵלֵא יָדוֹ בַקֶּשֶׁת וַיִּךְ אֶת־יְהוֹרָם בֵּין זְרָעָיו וַיֵּצֵא חֲצִי מִלְּבוֹ וַיִּכְרַע בְּרֶכְבוֹ: ²⁵ ויאמר אֶל־בְּדִקְרָא (שְׁלֶשָׁה) [שְׁלֹשׁוֹ] שָׂא הַשְּׁלֹכְהוּ בְּחֻלְקַת שְׂדֵה נְבוֹת הַיִּזְרַעְאֵלִי כִּי־זָכַר אֲנִי וְאֶתְּהָ אֵת רֶכְבִּים צְמָדִים אַחֲרָי אַחָב אָבִיו וַיְהוּה נֶשֶׂא עָלָיו אֶת־הַמִּשְׂאָה הַזֶּה: ²⁶ אִם־לֹא אֶת־דַּמִּי נְבוֹת וְאֶת־דַּמִּי בְּנִי רֵאִיתִי אֶמֶשׁ נֶאֱסִי־הוּה וְשַׁלְמָתִי לָךְ בְּחֻלְקָה הַזֹּאת נֶאֱסִי־הוּה וְעַתָּה שָׂא הַשְּׁלֹכְהוּ בְּחֻלְקָה כְּדָבָר יְהוּה: ^{27abα*} אֶחָזִיָּה מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה רָאָה וַיִּגַּס דְּרָךְ בֵּית הַגִּזְוִי וַיִּרְדֵּף אַחֲרָיו יְהוּא ויאמר

גַּם־אֲתוֹ הִכּוּהוּ אֶל־הַמְּרֻכְבָּה בְּמַעַלְה־גוֹר אֲשֶׁר אֶת־יְבִלְעֵם

^{27bβ*} ויגס מגדו

^{27bβ*} וימת שם:

²⁸ וירכבו אתו עבדיו וירושלמה ויקברו אתו בקברתו עם־אבתיו בעיר דוד: פ

²⁹ ובשנת אחת עשרה שנה ליוֹרם בן־אחאב מלך אחזיה על־יהודה:

³⁰ ויבוא יהוא זרעאלה ואיזבל שמעה ותשם בפוד עיניה ותיטב את־ראשה ותשקף בעד החלון: ³¹ ויהוא בא בשער ותאמר השלום זמרי הרג אֲדֹנָיו: ³² וישא פניו אל־החלון ויאמר מי אתי מי וישקיפו אליו שנים שלשה סריסים: ³³ יאמר (שמטהו) [שמטוה] וישמטוה ויו מדמה אל־הקיר ואל־הסוסים וירמסנה: ³⁴ יבא ויאכל וישת ויאמר פקדו־נָא את־הארוה הזאת וקברוה כי בת־מלך היא: ³⁵ וילכו לקברה ולא־מָצְאוּ בָהּ כִּי אִם־הַגְּלָגֶלֶת והרגלים וכפות הידים:

³⁶ וישבו ויגידו לוֹ ויאמר דבר־הנה הוא אשר דָּפַר בִּיד־עבְדוֹ אֵלֵיהֶוּ הַתְּשֻׁבִי לֵאמֹר בְּחֶלֶק

זרעאל יאכלו הכלבים את־בשר איזבל:

³⁷ (והית) [והיתה] נבלת איזבל כדמון על־פני השדה בחלק זרעאל אשר

לא־יאמרו זאת איזבל: פ

2 Kgs 10

¹ ולאחאב שבעים בגים בשמרון ויכתב יהוא ספרים וישלח שמרון אל־שרי זרעאל הזקנים ואל־האמנים אחאב לאמר: ² ועתה כבא הספר הזה אליכם ואתכם בגי אדניכם ואתכם הרקב והסוסים ועיר מבצר והנשק: ³ וראיתם הטוב והישל מִבְּנֵי אֲדֹנֵיכֶם ושמעתם על־כפסא אביו והלחמו על־בית אדניכם: ⁴ יראו מאד מאד ויאמרו הנה שני המלכים לא עמדו לפניו ואיך נעמד אנחנו: ⁵ וישלח אשר־על־הבית ואשר על־העיר והזקנים והאמנים אל־יהוא לאמר עבדיך אנחנו וכל אשר־תאמר אלינו נעשה לא־נמליך איש הטוב בעיניך עשה: ^{6a} ויכתב אליהם ספר שנית לאמר אם־לי אתם ולקלי אתם שמעים קחו את־ראשי אנשי בני־אדניכם ובאו אלי כעת מחר זרעאלה

^{6b} ובני המלך שבעים איש את־גדלי העיר מגדלים אותם:

⁷ ויהי כבא הספר אליהם ויקחו את־בני המלך וישחטו שבעים איש וישמו את־ראשיהם בדודים וישלחו אליו זרעאלה: ⁸ ויבא המלאך ויגדלו לאמר הביאו ראשי בני־המלך ויאמר שימו אתם שני צברים פתח השער עֲד־הַבָּקָר: ⁹ ויהי בבקר ויצא ויעמד ויאמר אל־כל־העם צדקים אתם הנה אני קשרתי על־אדני ואהרגו ומי

הכה את-כל-אלה:

¹⁰ עו אפוא כל לא יפל מדבר יהוה ארצה אשר-דבר יהוה על-בית אחאב ויהוה עשה את אשר

דבר ביד עבדו אליהו: ¹¹ ויך יהוה את כל-הנשארים לבית-אחאב ביזרעאל וכל-גדליו ומידעיו

וכהגיו עד-בלתי השאירו לו שריד:

¹² ויקם ויבא וילך שמרון הוא בית-עקד הרעים בדרך: ¹³ ויהוה מצא את-אחלי אחזיהו מלד-יהודה ויאמר מי

אתם ויאמרו אחי אחזיהו אנחנו ונרד לשלום בני-המלך ובני הגבירה: ¹⁴ ויאמר תפשו חיים ויתפשו חיים

וישחטום אל-בור בית-עקד ארבעים ושנים איש ולא-השאיר איש מהם: ס

¹⁵ וילך משם וימצא את-יהונדב בן-רכב לקראתו ויברכהו ויאמר אליו היש את-לבבך ישר כאשר לבבי

עם-לבבך ויאמר יהונדב יש ויש תנה את-ידך ויתן ידו ויעלהו אליו אל-המרכבה: ¹⁶ ויאמר לכה אתי וראה

בקנאתי ליהוה וירכבו אתו ברכבו: ^{17a} ויבא שמרון ויך את-כל-הנשארים לאחאב בשמרון

^{17a} עד-השמידו בדבר יהוה אשר דבר אל-אליהו: פ

¹⁸ ויקבץ יהוה את-כל-העם ויאמר אליהם אחאב עבד את-הבעל מעט יהוה יעבדנו הרבה: ^{19a} ועתה כל-נביאי

הבעל כל-עבדיו וכל-כהניו קראו אלי איש אל-יפקד כי זבח גדול לי לבעל כל אשר-יפקד לא יחיה

^{19b} יהוה עשה בעקבה למען האביד את-עבדי הבעל:

²⁰ ויאמר יהוה קדשו עצרה לבעל ויקראו:

^{21a} וישלח יהוה בכל-ישראל

^{21a} ויבאו כל-עבדי הבעל ולא-נשארו איש אשר לא-בא ויבאו בית הבעל וימלא בית-הבעל פה לפה: ²² ויאמר

לאשר על-המלתחה הוצא לבוש לכל עבדי הבעל ויצא להם המלבוש: ²³ ויבא יהוה ויהונדב בן-רכב בית הבעל

ויאמר לעבדי הבעל חפשו וראו פן-יש-פה עמכם מעבדי יהוה כי אם-עבדי הבעל לבדם: ²⁴ ויבאו לעשות

זבחים ועלות והוא שם-לו בחוץ שמנים איש ויאמר האיש אשר-ימלט מן-האנשים אשר אנל מביא על-ידיכם

נפשו תחת נפשו: ^{25a} והי ככלתו לעשות העלה ויאמר יהוה לרצים ולשלישים באו הכום איש אל-יצא ויכום

לפיתרב

^{25b} וישלכו הרצים והשלישים וילכו עד-עיר בית-הבעל: ²⁶ ויצאו את-מצבות בית-הבעל וישרפוה:

²⁷ ויתצו את מצבת הבעל ויתצו את-בית הבעל וישמהו (למחראות) [למוצאות] עד-היום:

2.1.1.18. Genre of the OJN

In view of the OJN reconstructed above, it is appropriate to discuss its literary genre. This account can be classified as a historical story, defined by Long (1984:6-7) as, “a self-contained narrative mainly concerned to recount what a particular event was and how it happened, but with more literary sophistication than is usually evident in simple reports”.⁸⁴

Although the present form of the JN is apparently a prophetic story, some elements in this narrative do not conform to those of prophetic stories.⁸⁵ Inappropriateness to fit the OJN into the Elisha Cycle stories was discussed above (2.1).⁸⁶

In sum, I designate the genre of the OJN as a royal historical story with apologetic nature, which is prophetically orientated. The main protagonist of the Narrative is Jehu and not a prophet. Its connection to the prophet Elisha is marginal, intending to legitimise Jehu’s rebellion. This definition is significant for the following historical analysis of the text.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Cf. Plein 1966:15-17; Steck 1968:32, n. 2; Schmitt 1972:29.

⁸⁵ Long (1991:123) correctly stated, “Since the writer-narrator has given such an important role to a prophet, and attached so much of the story’s religious and cultural outlook to prophetic oracles and their fulfilment, one might be justified in refining the designation to prophetic story, a special type of historical narrative”.

⁸⁶ Steck (1968:32-33, n. 2) suggested that the contemptuous attitude toward Elisha’s disciple, as reflected in the words of the generals (9:11), seems unsuitable to a prophetic story. Lehnart (*op. cit.*, 422, n. 192; 468-469), on the contrary, suggested that this contempt plays only a secondary role in the story and thus does not present the author’s view toward prophets as a group. Cf. Hentschel 1977:53-54, n. 190; Campbell 1986:22, n. 8; Mulzer 1992:223, 241, 341.

⁸⁷ Campbell (1986:105) defined the JN as: “theologically inspired history”; Rofé (1988:79-88): “prophetic historiography”. Gray (1977:535-536) suggested that the JN consists of two different sources which were collected and edited by a prophetic compiler.

2.1.2. Historical Consideration

In the following sections, the historical authenticity of Jehu's rebellion as described in the OJN will be evaluated.

2.1.2.1. Milieu and Date of the Composition of the OJN

To discuss the historicity of the OJN, its milieu/place and date of composition are essential. Three sorts of milieu for the composition of the OJN have been suggested: (1) the royal court of the Jehuite Dynasty;⁸⁸ (2) military or official circles around Jehu;⁸⁹ and (3) prophet circles.⁹⁰ A conspicuous tendency to legitimise Jehu's coup d'état in the text is the key in determining the milieu of composition.⁹¹ This tendency is reflected especially in the following two points. (1) Jehu is anointed by YHWH's order (9:3, 12). (2) Jehu's rebellion is supported by prophets (9:1-3), military captains (9:13), and pious worshippers of YHWH (= Jehonadab; 10:15-16). The mention of these supporters shows the propagandistic and apologetic nature of the OJN aiming to legitimise Jehu's rebellion. Hence, the author of the narrative must have been sympathetic to the coup. A person who could have held such a view would have been someone close to the royal court of the Jehuite kings, and/or someone who (retrospectively) saw Jehu's acts favourably from a religious perspective. The sophisticated style and structure of this narrative show that a well-educated author, probably a scribe in the royal court, composed, or at least, embellished the original story.⁹²

⁸⁸ Minokami 1989:154; Na'aman 1997b:125; Irvine 2001:106-112.

⁸⁹ Steck 1968:47; Schmitt 1972:31.

⁹⁰ Montgomery 1951:399; Campbell 1986:22-23, 99-101.

⁹¹ Šanda 1912:123; Steck 1968:32, n. 2; Schmitt 1972:31; Minokami 1989:154; Otto 2001:105. For another view, see Würthwein 1984:327, 329-330.

⁹² Otto (2001:75-96) pointed to a sophisticated construction of the JN. Wellhausen (1905:279) called the

In order to establish the date of the composition, two elements in the narrative must be taken into account. (1) Details of Jezebel's sins and the background of Jehonadab are not described in the narrative. It indicates that the original readers must have known the background of these characters.⁹³ (2) The narrative justifies Jehu's rebellion from a religious viewpoint. This justification is summarised in Jehu's words in 9:22: "what peace can there be, so long as the many whoredoms and sorceries of your mother Jezebel continue?" The "whoredoms" here clearly refer to Jezebel's religious "whoredoms" as denounced in 1 Kgs 16:31-33.⁹⁴ As such, the story claims that the Baal worship introduced by Jezebel was the major reason for Jehu's rebellion. That the revolution culminates in cultic reform (10:18-25a) also emphasises the religious aspect of Jehu's coup. The manifold justifications of Jehu's coup in the story indicate the necessity to justify Jehu's rebellion at the time of the composition of the OJN, possibly due to a counterargument. For this reason, most scholars dated the composition of the OJN to the time of the Jehuite Dynasty.

Some scholars dated the composition of the OJN to Jehu's or Joahaz's reign,⁹⁵ and some dated it to the reigns of the last Jehuites.⁹⁶ According to the formers' view, it was essential to justify Jehu's coup soon after the rebellion. And according to the latter's opinion, the issue of the legitimacy of the Jehuite Dynasty surfaced in the later years of the Dynasty.⁹⁷ Although an exact date cannot be obtained, an analogy may help to date the composition. Tadmor (1983) discussed similar legitimization of kingships

JN "a glittering jewel (= ein blitzendes Juwel)".

⁹³ Otto 2001:109-110.

⁹⁴ Cf. Nah 3:4.

⁹⁵ Šanda 1912:123; Minokami 1989:154. Cf. Montgomery 1951:399; Alt 1953:283; Steck 1968:32, n. 2; Schmitt 1972:29-30.

⁹⁶ Joash or Jeroboam II (Jepsen 1934:73-74); Jeroboam II (Miller 1967:321-322; Irvine 2001:106-112; Otto 2001:110-111).

⁹⁷ Vogelstein 1945:12; Tadmor 1961:248; Ottosson 1969:234.

in the Assyrian royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon (681-669 BCE) and Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE). They both fought against their brothers over the thrones. The legitimising compositions were not written at the beginning of their reigns, but much later, when they appointed their successors to the throne.⁹⁸ The apology of Hattušili III (mid-twelfth century BCE) who usurped the throne was also composed after nearly a decade of his accession to the throne.⁹⁹ In light of these analogies, I suggested dating the composition of the OJN to sometime in the early years of the Jehuite Dynasty, probably during the reigns of Jehu or Joahaz, when the Aramaeans oppressed Israel (Chapter 4). Yet, unlike the royal Assyrian inscriptions, the OJN had probably been revised after its composition, in order to conform to the historical reality of the later years of the Jehuite Dynasty.

2.1.2.2. Historicity of the Detailed Description

In the following sections, historicity of each scene in the OJN will be evaluated. It should be noted that the authenticity of most of the details cannot be verified. Therefore, attention will be directed to the historical information of each scene, which illuminates the background for Jehu's rise. The Tel Dan Inscription, which is the most important extra-Biblical source for comparison, will be minimally referred to, for the Inscription will be thoroughly examined in the next section (2.2.).

2.1.2.2.1. Historicity of 2 Kgs 9:1-13

The historicity of Jehu's anointment (9:1-13) cannot be evaluated. The story, possibly composed by a pro-Jehuite author(s), attempted to legitimise Jehu's kingship by

⁹⁸ Cf. Irvine 1995:500, n. 17.

⁹⁹ Tadmor 1983:54-55.

connecting his anointment to Elisha. The only reliable historical information here is the general situation of Jehu's rise. The conspiracy began among the Israelite army officials when they camped at Ramoth-Gilead.

2.1.2.2.2. Historical Setting of 2 Kgs 9:14-16

The passage seems to contain authentic information on the general background for Jehu's coup. The first piece of information is the patronym of Jehu (v. 14a): "Jehu, son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi".¹⁰⁰ The same patronym also appears in 9:2, which is possibly based on this information. Jehu's filiation is differently mentioned in 1 Kgs 19:16; 2 Kgs 9:20; only Nimshi is mentioned as Jehu's "father". It has been suggested that the name Nimshi may be either a clan name or the name of his real father or grandfather.¹⁰¹ Some scholars considered that Jehoshaphat mentioned in 9:14a might be a later addition because this name was not mentioned in the Syriac version and was put after Nimshi in the Lucianic recension.¹⁰² Yet, the name should be retained as the *lectio difficilior*, since no cogent reasons for inserting it could be found.¹⁰³ Thus, Jehu could have been a son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi. Inscriptions containing either the phrase נַמְשִׁי "of Nimshi", or the word including a component נַמְשִׁי, have been discovered at Tel 'Amal,¹⁰⁴ Samaria (an ostrakon),¹⁰⁵ Khirbet Tannin,¹⁰⁶ and Tel Rehov,¹⁰⁷ and they are dated to the tenth-ninth centuries BCE.¹⁰⁸ This suggests that the name Nimshi was a

¹⁰⁰ The name Jehu is also attested in Shalmaneser III's inscriptions as ^miu-ú-a DUMU ^mhu-um-ri-i.

¹⁰¹ Šanda 1912:93; Gray 1977:540; Na'aman 2008:213.

¹⁰² Šanda 1912:93; Thiel 1992:670.

¹⁰³ Mulzer 1992:43-46; Otto 2001:29, n. 2; Lamb 2007:27-29.

¹⁰⁴ Lemaire 1973:559.

¹⁰⁵ Lemaire 1977:37, 53.

¹⁰⁶ Lemaire 1985a:13-17, esp. 13-15.

¹⁰⁷ Mazar 2003a:178-181.

¹⁰⁸ Two seal impressions dating to later periods also bear the name Nimshi. See Avigad and Sass 1997:128 (no. 266); 218 (no. 574); Lemaire 1999:106*.

popular name in the Northern Kingdom at that time.

2.1.2.2.2.1. Did Ahaziah of Judah Take Part in the War at Ramoth-Gilead?

The time when Ahaziah, King of Judah, came to visit the wounded Joram in Jezreel is not mentioned. With only 2 Kgs 9:16, readers might assume that Ahaziah came from Jerusalem and that he did not participate in the battle of Ramoth-Gilead. This lack of specification about Ahaziah's initial location in the OJN shows that his place of departure was not important for the author. It raises the question whether Ahaziah participated in the battle of Ramoth-Gilead, as conveyed by 8:28.

The Tel Dan Inscription gives us a clue with respect to this issue. Hazael boasts in the inscription that he killed both Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah.¹⁰⁹ Even if this is an exaggerated expression, it is hard to believe that Hazael invented the deaths of these two kings if he had nothing to do with them. Therefore, we may safely assume that the two kings were indeed killed in a war against Hazael, or at least in the course of the subsequent events (for more detail, see 2.2.6.2.).

2.1.2.2.3. Literary Elements in the Description of Joram's Murder (2 Kgs 9:17-25)

The OJN relates that Jehu killed Joram at Jezreel; the Tel Dan Inscription, however, claims that the murder of Joram was accomplished by its author – Hazael. The discrepancy between these two accounts requires an extensive discussion on the Tel Dan Inscription (see 2.2.6.2 below).

The narrative of Joram's murder is formed in a highly sophisticated style. Its plot is similar to the story of 1 Sam 19:19-24, where Saul sent messengers to Naioth in

¹⁰⁹ Lines 7-8 of the Inscription.

Ramah to take David. In both stories, the King first sends two/three messengers, and finally must appear himself on the main stage. The plot is also similar to the story of 2 Kgs 1:9-14, where Ahaziah of Israel sent captains of fifty to Elijah three times; the first and the second captains did not return. This may well attest to a folkloristic character in the story. Such elements in a narrative should not be taken as evidence against the historicity of the described event as a whole, but caution is required when using its details for reconstructing the event.

2.1.2.2.4. Historicity of the Murder of Ahaziah (2 Kgs 9:27-29)

The verse relates the murder of Ahaziah, King of Judah. Three toponyms, Beth-haggan, the ascent of Gur, and Megiddo, are explicitly mentioned. Since Beth-haggan and the ascent of Gur appear only here, it is difficult to assume that these toponyms are pure inventions of the author(s). Hence, the story is possibly based on a historical event; yet, the historicity of Ahaziah's murder by Jehu cannot be verified.

V. 27 describes Ahaziah's flight from Jehu. Ahaziah's itinerary is puzzling: he fled by the way of Beth-haggan, was shot at the ascent of Gur, which is at Ibleam, and then fled to Megiddo to die there. Beth-haggan is often identified with modern Jenin, and Ibleam is identified with modern Khirbet Bel'ameh, two kilometres south of Jenin.¹¹⁰ The ascent of Gur cannot be located with certainty.¹¹¹ Given that these identifications of toponyms are correct, it is unclear why Ahaziah, after he was wounded near Ibleam, which is further southward to Beth-haggan, proceeded to

¹¹⁰ Smith 1894:356; Abel 1938:317; Montgomery 1951:402; Gray 1977:548; Würthwein 1984:332; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:111.

¹¹¹ On the basis of an incorrect reading of the Taanach Letter 2 (line 5) by Hrozný (1904), Montgomery (1951:402) suggested that modern Gurra, close to Taanach, might preserve the name. However, it is now clear that Gurra is actually not mentioned in the Taanach Letter. See Rainey 1999; Horowitz and Oshima 2006:132-134, for earlier literature.

Megiddo, far northwest of Ibleam. Scholars suggested different solutions for this incomprehensible itinerary. Gray (1977:548), for example, explained it by a geographical cause: the wounded Ahaziah gave up his journey toward Samaria, fearing that his pursuer would catch him on the ascending slope.¹¹² Na'aman (2006:163-164) suggested a conflation of sources. None of the suggested solutions can be substantiated, and this puzzling itinerary remains open.¹¹³

2.1.2.2.5. Historicity of the Murders of Jezebel, “Sons of Ahab”, and “Brothers of Ahaziah” (2 Kgs 9:30-35; 10:1-14)

All the murders described in 2 Kgs 9:30-35 and 10:1-14 may have really happened, but their historicity cannot be verified for the lack of sources. In what follows, I will briefly discuss the narrative's historical probability based on indirect evidence and conjectures.

It seems logical to assume that Jehu killed Jezebel the queen when he arrived in Jezreel. The murder is legitimised by referring to Jezebel's “whoredoms”, which is a major pretext for Jehu's coup d'état in the Narrative.

Historicity of the murder of the Samarian princes (10:1-11) is supported by Hos 1:4, which refers to “the blood in Jezreel” that was shed by the Jehuite Dynasty (2.1.3.). According to 10:8-9, the seventy princes' heads were brought to the gate of Jezreel and shown to the people (העם). This appalling scene accords well with the mention of the bloodguilt of the Jehuite Dynasty. It is likewise logical to assume that Jehu exterminated Ahaziah's brothers (10:12-14), who could eventually be potential

¹¹² See also Kittel 1900:233. Stade (1889:542) suggested that Jehu was blocked from travelling southward. Hentschel (1985:44) explained that Ahaziah headed to the closest big town.

¹¹³ Omitting Megiddo in 2 Kgs 9:27, the itinerary of Ahaziah's flight will be clear. Ahaziah fled southward from Jezreel, where Joram was slain; Ahaziah passed the Beth-haggan; and then at the “ascent of Gur”, the pursuer caught up to him and shot him.

avengers.

2.1.2.2.6. Historicity of the Rest of the Events in the OJN (2 Kgs 10:15-17α, 18-27)

Similar to the murders of the House of Ahab, there is no other source to verify the historicity of Jehu's encounter with Jehonadab (10:15-17α), nor the slaughters of the worshippers of Baal (10:18-27).¹¹⁴ These scenes show the propagandistic object of the OJN to legitimise Jehu's coup by emphasising his devotion to YHWH. However, since the latter part of the narrative consists of an important part of the Jehu Narrative, which justifies Jehu's coup d'état by emphasising on the side of religious reform. It is thus possible that Jehu exterminated the Baal worshippers (whoever they actually were) and destroyed the Baal temple. Although the place of this incident is not mentioned, the story might possibly refer to the Baal temple which Ahab built in Samaria (1 Kgs 16:32).

2.1.3. Hosea 1:4

The Book of Hosea is a collection of the words of the prophet dated by the editor of the Book to the time of Jeroboam II (1:1). Yet the contents of the prophecies are dated to the end of Jeroboam's reign, on the eve of Samaria's fall.¹¹⁵ The majority of the text in the Book could ascribe to Hosea himself, or to his followers, although the Book has been subjected to later redactions.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ 2 Kgs 10:15-17α, which describes the involvement of Jehonadab son of Rechab in Jehu's cult reform, is not directly related to the present research. With regard to Rechabites, see Cogan and Tadmor (1988:114); Charlesworth (1992:632-633) with earlier literature. They could be a fictional link between the extinction of the Baal cult and the involvement of the ascetic Rechabites in this event – “probably a gesture to rally all conservative elements in Israel and convince them that his coup d'état was more than the fulfilment of personal ambition” (Gray 1977:559).

¹¹⁵ Hos 1:4 dates Hosea's activity before the fall of the Jehuite Dynasty, and 13:1-14:1 before the fall of Samaria.

¹¹⁶ See for example, Emmerson 1984; Macintosh 1997:lxx-lxxii. For various theories on the composition

Hos 1:4 mentions the punishment of “the house of Jehu” (בית יהוא) for the “blood in Jezreel” (דמי יזרעאל). דמים is the bloodguilt of a murderer (Ex 22:1, 2; 2 Sam 16:7, 8), and possibly refers to Jehu’s extermination of the Omride descendants and the Judahite king (2 Kgs 10:7, 14).¹¹⁷ The verse condemns what is justified in the OJN, and regards it as a criminal and punishable (ופקדתי) deed.¹¹⁸ This accusation of the extermination of the Omrides contradicts YHWH’s command, spoken through Elisha’s disciple (2 Kgs 9:7a). Since the reference to the House of Ahab in 9:7a was a Dtr’s interpolation (2.1.1.1.), this denunciation of the Jehuite Dynasty in Hos 1:4 must have derived from an independent tradition, possibly from the prophetic circle of Hosea.

That another Biblical source gives negative assessment of the Jehuite Dynasty supports the historicity of Jehu’s rebellion and his extermination of the Omride descendants. Mention of Jezreel as the place of the bloodguilt indicates that the massacre of the members of the Omrides took place there, as described in 2 Kgs 10:11 (2.1.1.9.).

2.1.4. Historical Picture of Jehu’s Rise as Reflected in the OJN

The literary-critical analysis of the OJN shows its legendary character. The narrative is probably based on historical events, but the historical authenticity of the details cannot be verified. Caution is thus necessary when discussing the historicity of the main events, such as the murders of the two kings (2 Kgs 9:17-29), the murder of Jezebel (2 Kgs 9:30-35), the murder of the “sons of Ahab” (2 Kgs 10:1-11), and the extermination of

and redactions of the Book, see Yee 1987:1-25.

¹¹⁷ Caquot 1961:127-130; Wolff 1974:12, 17-19; Irvine 1995:497-498. For different views on the meaning of this expression, see Jeremias 1983:30-31.

¹¹⁸ On the meaning of פקד as “to punish”, see Wolff 1974:17-18; Irvine 1995:497-498. McComiskey (1993), rejecting this view, suggested that it is a prophetic irony.

the Baal cult (2 Kgs 10:18-27).

Bearing the aforementioned limits in mind, I would like to present a picture of Jehu's coup d'état according to the OJN. Jehu, from the family of Nimshi, was a high officer of Joram, king of Israel. He participated in the war against Hazael of Aram-Damascus at Ramoth-Gilead. Joram and Ahaziah, king of Judah, were killed by Hazael (2.2.6.2.) and Jehu took advantage of the situation, rebelled, and annihilated the descendants of the Omride Dynasty.

2.2. The Inscription from Tel Dan

The Tel Dan Inscription consists of three basalt fragments, which will be designated as Fragments A, B1, and B2 in the present study. All fragments were discovered outside the outer city-gate in Area A, located on the southern side of the site.

Scholars concluded that Hazael, King of Aram-Damascus, composed the stela in the second half of the ninth century BCE, in which he described his killing of two kings, Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah. This inscription helps to reconstruct a history of Aram and Israel at the time of its composition.

2.2.1. Archaeological Context of Fragment A

The date of the Tel Dan Inscription has been disputed because the fragmentary text does not relate its author's name. For this reason, it is significant to review the archaeological context of each fragment. Some of the ambiguity of the archaeological context of Fragment A, as described by the original publisher,¹¹⁹ has been removed by the excavator's recent publications (Biran 1999; 2002). According to Biran (2002:6), Fragment A was discovered in the foundation level of a wall (W5018), standing on the southeast corner of the city's piazza. He suggested that Structure A, which was superimposed by walls, including W5018, went out of use before the Assyrian conquest.¹²⁰ If so, the reuse of Fragment A in W5018 as building material can be dated between the first half of the eighth century BCE and 733/2 BCE.¹²¹ The composition of Fragment A can securely be dated before the first half of the eighth century BCE.

¹¹⁹ Halpern 1994:68-69; Cryer 1994:5; Thompson 1995:237; Noll 1998:4-8, 19-20; Athas 2003:6-13.

¹²⁰ In Biran's new plan (2002:12, Fig. 1.18), a line of small stones is depicted at the eastern side of W5018. The construction of the line, possibly a wall, resembles those of other walls of small stones in the same plan. The difference in stone size between W5018 and other walls in this plan possibly shows two distinct phases of construction after Structure A's use. Yet, the chronological relation between the two phases is not clear.

¹²¹ The pottery from Structure A is dated to the eighth century BCE. Cf. Arie 2008. Athas (2003:12) dated both the construction of Structure A and reuse of Fragment A to the early eighth century BCE.

2.2.2. Archaeological Context of Fragment B

In 1994, Fragment B1 was found “in the debris 0.80 m above the level of the pavement”.¹²² The debris is attributed to Tiglath-pileser III’s 733/732 BCE military campaign to northern Israel.

Ten days after the discovery of Fragment B1, Fragment B2 was discovered; it had been reused as a pavement stone. According to the published architectural plan (Biran 2002, Fig. 1.18 and 17, Fig. 1.24), this pavement (Pvmnt5201) seems more recent than the other pavement (Pvmnt5301) dated between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth centuries BCE (Biran and Naveh 1995:5). Hence, Fragment B2 is possibly contemporaneous with the construction of wall (W5108) and dated between the early eighth century and 733/732 BCE.

In light of the above observations, we may conclude that all three fragments of the Tel Dan Inscription were found in the same stratum. The inscription was possibly smashed in the early eighth century BCE, and two of its fragments were reused as building components immediately thereafter.

2.2.3. Physical Join of Fragments A and B

The physical join of Fragments B1 and B2 of the Tel Dan Inscription has been unanimously accepted. Most scholars also believe that Fragments A and B (B1+B2) are joinable below the surface of line 5, with Fragment A positioned to the right of Fragment B.¹²³ This potential connection, however, has caused controversy.¹²⁴

¹²² Biran and Naveh 1995:2. The exact locations of the Fragment B1 and B2 are marked in Biran 2002:12, Fig. 1.18. The location of Fragment B marked by Athas (2003:7, Fig. 2.2.) seems to be inaccurate.

¹²³ Biran and Naveh 1995:11.

¹²⁴ Cryer 1995:224-227; Thompson 1995:238-239; Schniedewind 1996:77; Galil 2001b. A short review of

The join of Fragments A and B was questioned mainly for physical reasons.¹²⁵ Athas (2003:175-82), examining the fragments first hand, supposed that Fragment A was located in the upper part of the original stela, while Fragment B was in the lower part, and that the locations of each fragment decided the shapes of, sizes of, and spaces between the letters in each fragment. His hypothesis is based on the following three pieces of evidence. (1) The alignment of letters in Fragment A slopes down to the left as the line goes down, while that in Fragment B is much more linear. (2) The letters in Fragment B are neater in shape. (3) The spaces between letters as well as lines in Fragment B are much smaller than those in Fragment A.

On the basis of his observations, Athas (2003:27-30, 74-77) explained that the scribe positioned himself at the bottom edge of the inscription when he chalked the inscription onto the stone, and that his arm was stretched forward in order to write the upper portions of the original text. In consequence, “with this posture and the lack of marked lines to keep the text level, the text naturally sloped downwards to the left” (Athas, *op. cit.*, 29). On the other hand, the scribe would not have had his arm outstretched very far and would have “had good control over his hand while writing” the lower part of the inscription (See Athas, *op. cit.*, 32, Fig. 3.5.). Thus, observing the slants of each stela and the neatness of letters in Fragment B, he concluded that Fragment A belongs to the upper part while Fragment B belongs to the lower part of the inscription.¹²⁶ This is confirmed by the fact, according to Athas (*op. cit.*, 77), that many of the letters in Fragment B “almost encroach on the letters of the next line as though there was only a short space still available on the written surface and the scribe needed

the objections against this join is found in Athas 2003:178-180.

¹²⁵ Biran and Naveh 1995:11; Lemaire 1998:3.

¹²⁶ As Athas himself admitted (*op. cit.*, 76), a weakness of this comparison is that the statistics it yields are not as significant as those of Fragment A, because Fragment B is much smaller.

to put as much writing as possible in the last few lines”.¹²⁷

Athas’s argument seems logical; yet, it is based on four highly conjectural hypotheses, which cannot be verified. (1) Two persons, i.e., scribe and engraver, made the inscription. (2) The scribe was right-handed. (3) The scribe did not correct his draft after he finished chalking. (4) The scribe did not move from the lower edge in order to write the upper section more comfortably.¹²⁸

On April 4, 2006, I had an opportunity to examine the Tel Dan Inscription at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.¹²⁹ After careful observation of the physical join of the Fragments, I arrived at the conclusion that Fragments A and B can and should be joined, as the publishers suggested. However, I found that the surfaces of Fragments A and B are not precisely flat, and that the two fragments were joined so that the upper side of Fragment A was somewhat more slanted forward than Fragment B. This slight “shear” might have happened either when the fragments were connected or later during the exhibition. This condition influenced the alignment of the joined Inscription’s lines, as well as Athas’s analysis of the physical join of the Fragments.

2.2.4. Restoration of Text

Restoration of letters of the Tel Dan Inscription is necessary due to the Inscription’s fragmentary nature. Letters will be first restored by epigraphical analysis of other letters in the same inscription.

The restoration of the text is as follows:

¹²⁷ Staszak (2009) accepted Athas’s reconstruction of Fragments.

¹²⁸ Cf. also Kottsieper 2007:106-107.

¹²⁹ I am indebted to Ms. Michal Dayagi-Mendels, the curator of the Israel Museum and Mr. Eran Arie, for providing me an opportunity to examine the Tel Dan Stela at first hand. They kindly removed the showcase that covered the Inscription so that I could examine the inscription closely.

[XXXXXX] תשר. ע[XXXXXXXXX] וגזר[XXXXXX]	.1
[XXXXXX]. אבי יסק[XXXXXX] תלחמה. בא[פק]?	.2
וישכב. אבי יהך. אל[XXXX] ה. ויעל. מלכי[ש]	.3
ראל. קדם. בארק. אבי[וי] המלך. הדד[.]. א[יתי].	.4
אנה. ויהך. הדד. קדמי[ו]. אפק. מן. שבע[XXX]	.5
י. מלכי. ואקתל. מל[כ]ן[.]. תק[פן]. אסרי. א[לפי.ר]	.6
כב. ואלפי. פרש. [וקתלת. אית. יו]רס. בר. [אחאב]	.7
מלך. ישראל. וקתל[ת. אית. אחז] יהו. בר[.רס]?	.8
ד. ביתדוד. ואשם. []	.9
ית. ארק. הם. ל[]	.10
אחרן. ולה[מ]	.11
לך. על. יש[ראל.]	.12
מצר. על[]	.13

2.2.4.1. Notes on the restoration

Line 1

Restoration of *taw* and *sin/šim* in the middle of the line, as suggested by some scholars, seems plausible.¹³⁰ No space for a word divider was found between these two characters.¹³¹

Line 2

The restoration of the letters before *aleph* in Line 2 of Fragment A has been disputed. Schniedewind (1996:77) originally read אַל before *aleph*, and later (Schniedewind and

¹³⁰ Tropper 1993:401; Schniedewind 1996:79; Wesselius 1999:173-174; Athas 2003:194-195. *mem* was restored in the *editio princeps* instead of *sin/šim*.

¹³¹ *Contra* Wesselius 1999:174-175.

Zuckerman 2001) restored ברקאל based on computer imaging. Athas (2003:44-45) suggested a scar there, which may have once been a letter. I could not find any letters restorable on that part of the line, although a vertical line was clearly seen, about 5 cm to the right of the *aleph* letter. This vertical line could be a part of *gimel*, *waw*, *samekh*, *qof*, or *resh*.

A remnant of a letter can be seen at the end of this line. Restoration of *beth*, *yodh*, *lamed*, or *šin* for the letter was suggested (Athas 2003:81-82). According to my observation, neither *yodh*, *lamed*, nor *šin* can be restored here, because there is a line extending upwards at the upper point of this broken letter. This line is not completely horizontal but leans slightly to the left. The letters which might fit this remnant are *beth* and *pe*. Comparing with the *beth* just two letters before, the curving point of this letter is located too high to form a *beth*. For this reason, I would restore *pe* for this broken character.¹³²

Line 4

There is a hole between *aleph* and *beth* in the middle of line 4 on the Fragment A. The publishers (Biran and Naveh 1993:87, n. 6) regarded it as natural, and believed it must have already existed at the time of the inscription of letters *aleph* and *beth*. In their opinion, the relatively large space between these two letters is due to this natural hole. In opposition to this, Athas (2003:57) regarded this hole to have been formed when the inscription was ruined, and restored *lamed* between *aleph* and *beth* in this line.¹³³

It seems that the damage on the *aleph* and *beth* letters, both next to the hole, supports Athas's view that the hole was made after the inscription of letters. However,

¹³² *Contra* Lemaire 1998:4; Irvine 2005:342, n. 8.

¹³³ Athas stated that *lamed* "fits perfectly" for the missing letter. In all other occurrences of *lamed* after *aleph* in Fragment A (Lines 3, 4, 7 and 8), however, the *lamed*'s left stroke protrudes upward above any strokes of *aleph*.

the line itself seems to be more a scar than a letter.

Line 6

Athas (2003:62-63), instead of *nun*, restored *waw* at the end of this line on Fragment A; yet, this restoration is improbable. If it is a *waw*, its right horizontal line must protrude higher up, to the same level as the left horizontal line.¹³⁴ *nun* seems fine, as noticed in *editio princeps*.

The first broken letter of the Fragment B is broken, and the publishers suggested restoring ‘*ayin*. Na’aman (1997c:118, n. 22) restored here *resh* but admitted that this restoration is based on a contextual assumption. According to my observation on the inscription, *resh* is less likely because the remnant of this character forms a curve. *pe* and *qof* are alternative candidates for this sign. I suggest restoring *pe*.

Line 7

With Schniedewind (1996:80) and Lemaire (1998:10), I restore יו instead of יהו, for the beginning of the name of the Israelite king in this line.

Line 8

It seems that there is no space for the publishers’ restoration of the name יהורם “Jehoram” in the end of line 8. Here, I follow Na’aman’s hypothetical restoration (1997c:114) of the name of the king רם “Ram” as a short form of “Jehoram”.

Line 11

Puech (1994:218-220) and Schniedewind (1996:81) read *pe* at the end of this line after *he*. As Schniedewind suggested, this letter can be a *beth*, *pe*, or *resh*. However, the angle formed by the two remaining lines possibly excludes *beth* and *pe*.

¹³⁴ Compare with *waw* in lines 1, 3, 5, 7, and 8.

2.2.5. Translation of the Text

1. [.....] you will rule over [.....] and cut [.....]
2. [.....] my father went up [.....] in his fighting at A[phek?..]
3. my father slept. He went to his [.....] And the king of Israel entered
4. formerly⁷ in the land of my father[. And] Hadad made me myself king.
5. And Hadad went before me, I went out from the seven [...]
6. of my kingdom, and I slew [migh]ty kin[g]s, who harnessed
thou[sands of cha-]
7. riots and thousands of horsemen. [I killed Jo]ram son of [Ahab]
8. king of Israel, and [I] killed [Ahaz]iahu son of [Ram kin-]
9. g of the House of David. And I set [.....]
10. their land into [.....]
11. other [.....ru]
12. led over Is[rael.....]
13. siege upon [.....]

2.2.5.1. Notes on the Translation

Line 1

The word תָּשַׁר is supposed to be a verb or a part of a verb (Athas 2003:194-195).¹³⁵ Its possible root is שָׂרַד (meaning “to rule, to reign”) or שָׂרַר (“to be firmly closed, to become firm”). The first option is preferred in the context of a commemorative text, which the king dedicated to a cult place. It would be the second person, masculine,

¹³⁵ *Contra* Kottsieper 2007:112, n. 30.

singular, and imperfect pe'al form of the verb שרר, and its meaning would be “you will rule over”. The following word might be restored as על (“over”), which will make sense with the preceding verb שרר.

Line 3

Kottsieper's translation (2007:110-111) of the word תלחמתה as “to ally” cannot be excluded, but I follow most scholars and translate it “in his fighting” on contextual ground.

Line 4

The interpretation of קדם in the beginning of line 4 is in dispute. Most scholars followed *editio princeps* and interpreted it as temporal adverb “formerly”.¹³⁶ However, קדם as an adverb does not fit the immediate context and it is odd that the author repeatedly mentions the Israelite aggression between his predecessor's death and his coronation (Lemaire 1994:88; 1998:5 and Na'aman 1995a:389; 2000:97).¹³⁷ Lemaire (*loc. cit.*) and Na'aman (*loc. cit.*) regarded קדם here as a verb that specifies the preceding verb ויעל, and translated it “to advance”. Although attractive, this interpretation is not well-established, since קדם as a verb does not occur in Old Aramaic inscriptions (Irvine 2005:343-344).¹³⁸ Irvine (*loc. cit.*) suggested identifying the enemy in line 2, not with a king of Israel, but with Shalmaneser III, who fought against Hadadezer during the 850s and 840s BCE. This proposal does not equally fit the context; the extant Tel Dan Inscription describes the Damascene conflict with Israel and Judah. Since no crucial solution for the interpretation of קדם in line 4 has been proposed, I would leave the translation of *editio princeps* with due caution.

¹³⁶ See also Naveh 1999:119.

¹³⁷ Kottsieper (2007:113-114) regarded this word as presenting a geographical name.

¹³⁸ Lipiński (2000:373-374, n. 152), from the grammatical point of view, rejected the view to see קדם as a verb.

Line 6

The publishers restored the text in the middle of line 6 as מל[בן.שב]ען “[seve]nty kin[gs]”.¹³⁹ The character *‘ayin* is not certain and therefore the restoration of the second word is in dispute. Lemaire (1998:4) and Lipiński (2000:378) restored *pe* instead of *‘ayin*, and read מל[בן.תק]פן “mighty/powerful kings”.¹⁴⁰ Dion (1999:148) restored *beth*, and read מל[בן.רברב]ן “great kings”; yet, the space is too narrow for this restoration.¹⁴¹ Lemaire and Lipiński’s restoration seems most reasonable for the following two reasons: (1) *pe* epigraphically fits here the best (2.2.4.1.); and (2) the context includes the author’s aggrandisement of his killing of the kings.

2.2.6. Historical Analysis

On the basis of the text restored above, two major issues for examining the historical picture of Jehu’s rise will be evaluated: (1) the author of the Tel Dan Inscription; and (2) the historical background for the killing of Joram and Ahaziah.

2.2.6.1. Author of the Tel Dan Inscription

The name of the author did not survive anywhere in the extant fragments of the Tel Dan Inscription. The publishers identified him with Hazael and many scholars have accepted this identification.¹⁴² This hypothetical identification is based primarily on the mention of two kings and their deaths. One is the king of Israel, whose name ends with “-ram”

¹³⁹ Suriano (2007:167) supported this restoration.

¹⁴⁰ This restoration is accepted also by Na’aman (2000:100) who, in his previous publications (1995a:389, n. 29; 1997:113, 118, n. 22), restored *resh* here and read מל[בן.אד]רן “mighty kings”.

¹⁴¹ Na’aman 2000:100, n. 26. The same terminology appears in the inscription of Bar-Rakib. See *KAI* 1:216, lines 10, 13-14.

¹⁴² Athas (2003:255-265) and Galil (2001b) proposed Barhadad II, son of Hazael. Wesselius (1999; 2001) identified the author with Jehu. Cf. Becking 1999; Hafthorsson 2006:62-63.

(רם), and the other is the king of the House of David, whose name ends with “-iahu” (יהו). According to the Biblical chronology, the only combination of kings’ names with those endings is Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah. Indeed, these two kings are mentioned in the Book of Kings as having fought against the Aramaeans (2 Kgs 8:28). The mention of Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah in the Tel Dan Inscription conforms well to the Biblical description.¹⁴³

The author’s identification with Hazael is supported by the archaeological context in which the fragments of the Tel Dan Inscription were unearthed, as well as the palaeography of the Inscription.¹⁴⁴

2.2.6.2. Historical Background of the Killing of Joram and Ahaziah

Identifying the author of the Tel Dan Inscription with Hazael incurs a contradiction between the texts of the Tel Dan Inscription and the Book of Kings. In 2 Kgs 9:24, 27, Jehu claims to have murdered the two kings Joram and Ahaziah. The author of the Tel Dan Inscription also boasts about the killing of the two kings. In what follows, various views on this contradiction will be outlined, and then a possible solution will be suggested.

Some scholars have endeavoured to reconcile the text of the Tel Dan

¹⁴³ Cf. 2.1.2.2.2.1.

¹⁴⁴ From the palaeographical point of view, the text of the Tel Dan Inscriptions is most comparable to the Zakkur inscription, which is dated to the end of the ninth or to the beginning of the eighth century BCE (3.2.5.). It must be noted, however, that the palaeography cannot provide any decisive clues to date the composition of the Inscription. The corpus of available Old Aramaic texts is quite small, and the characters on the texts are diverse in region and time (Kaufman 1986; Cryer 1994:6-7, n. 8). Cf. Puech 1994:230-233. Here is a list of dates of the Tel Dan Inscription on the palaeographical analysis. Halpern (1994:68): tenth-seventh centuries BCE; Knauf, de Pury, and Römer (1994:61): from the end of the tenth to the beginning of the eighth century BCE; Schniedewind (1996:78): 825 BCE \pm 75 years; Biran and Naveh (1993:87): the ninth century BCE; Noll (1998:7): 850 BCE \pm 50 years; Margalit (1994:20), Lemaire (1994:89-90), and Demsky (1995:30): the second half of the ninth century BCE; Tropper (1993:398-401; 1994:487-489): between 840 and 825 BCE; Dion (1999:146-148): 820-790 BCE; Cryer (1994:8-9; 1996): the eighth century BCE; Lemche and Thompson (1994:7) and (Lemche 1995:101): the end of the eighth century BCE; Athas (2003:94-174, esp. 136, 164) *ca.* 800 BCE \pm 20 years.

Inscription with the Biblical narrative in 2 Kgs 9. Biran and Naveh (1995:18) have suggested that Hazael may have regarded Jehu as his agent who killed the two kings. Likewise, Schniedewind (1996:83-85) regarded the text in 1 Kgs 19:15-18 as an implication of collusion between Jehu and Hazael,¹⁴⁵ and cited a parallel case in contemporary Assyrian inscriptions. Although it is well-known that Assyrian kings, in numerous texts, took credit for the military campaigns commanded by their officers and for achievements accomplished without their direct participation, Schniedewind's theory, based on an inaccurate reading of Shalmaneser III's inscription, is not well-established.¹⁴⁶ Yamada (1995:618-621) compared the verb קתל in lines 6, 8 (and probably also in line 7) with the Akkadian verb *dâku* in the Assyrian royal inscriptions and interpreted the former as "to strike, defeat", rather than "to kill". In his opinion, Hazael defeated Joram and Ahaziah at Ramoth-Gilead, and later Jehu killed the two kings.¹⁴⁷ However, this theory cannot be substantiated, because the Akkadian verb *dâku* is hardly a comparable example to determine the meaning of קתל in Aramaic (Na'aman 1997c:118, n. 21).

These approaches to harmonise the Biblical narrative and the Tel Dan Inscription were criticised by Na'aman (1997c:115-116; 2000:101-104; 2006:160-162). In his opinion, it is inconceivable that Hazael described in his inscription an event, in which he had not taken part. The aftermath of Jehu's coup also does not fit the hypothetical alliance between Hazael and Jehu. In the year 841 BCE, Hazael fought against Assyria, and despite the great devastation caused in his land, he did not submit. Jehu, on the other hand, submitted and paid taxes to Assyria in the same year. Hence,

¹⁴⁵ Also Kottsieper 1998:488-492; 2007:125-126; Dion 1999:152-153. For the criticism of using the passage for the historical reconstruction of the murders of Joram and Ahaziah, see 3.4.1.

¹⁴⁶ Na'aman 2006:160-162.

¹⁴⁷ See also Dion 1997:195.

Damascus and Israel had different attitudes toward Assyria, and this contradicts the assumption that Hazael and Jehu were allies. The rivalry prevailed between the two kingdoms is confirmed by Hazael's invasion and conquest of a large part of the Israelite territory (Chapters 3 and 4).¹⁴⁸

Since the harmonisation approaches are invalid, the historical authenticity of the two sources must be examined. The following two criteria will be applied for their evaluation: (1) the date of the source; (2) the genre and nature of the source. The Tel Dan Inscription was evidently composed during Hazael's reign, whereas the OJN originated in the early years of the Jehu dynasty, but was redacted later (2.1.2.1.). The prophetic stories in the Book of Kings are novelistic in character, and its genre does not require the exact presentation of the chain of events. Furthermore, these stories were transmitted for many years by oral tradition and assembled in writing only later. It must also be taken into account that considerable changes could occur when oral tradition is edited into written story, as has been ethnographically observed (Nielsen 1954; Lord 1960; Culley 1976; Long 1976). Therefore, the use of prophetic stories as historical sources requires critical and cautionary perusal, even more so when their descriptions contradict those of contemporary sources.

Na'aman (2000:101-104), placing priority on the description in the Tel Dan Inscription, suggested that it was Hazael who killed the two kings at Ramoth-Gilead, but Jehu extirpated the rest of the Omride Dynasty and then took power.

Lipiński (2000:379-380) likewise suggested that the description in 2 Kgs 9 is based on a prophetic tradition that attributes the extirpation of the House of Ahab to

¹⁴⁸ Ishida (1977:180-181) suggested that Hazael conquered the Israelite territory in revenge for Jehu's betrayal to Assyria.

Jehu.¹⁴⁹ He, ascribed 2 Kgs 8:28, which states that “the Aramaeans struck Jehoram (ויכו (ארמים את־יורם)”, to the “annals of the kings of Judah”. Hence, the hiph‘il form of the verb נכה in 8:28, which in the context of a battle means “to kill”, shows that Ahaziah was killed at Ramoth-Gilead.

The approach of Na’aman and Lipiński is methodologically correct. The Tel Dan Inscription is a primary source whereas the JN is a secondary source. Hence, the former is prioritised as a historical source. Based on the assumption that Hazael, as described in the Tel Dan Inscription, was the real slayer of the two kings, we can now conclude that the OJN distorts the historical picture. As an independent narrative, originated not long after the two kings were killed (2.1.2.1.), the OJN could have been composed to intentionally supplant Jehu as the real murderer. If so, why did the author of the narrative invent such a story and attribute the killing to Jehu?

It is well known that all the denunciations of the Omride kings¹⁵⁰ and the prophecies about the coming fall of the House of Ahab¹⁵¹ were written by the Dtr or later scribes. However, one can easily imagine that the prosperity of the Omride Dynasty was established, to some extent, at the expense of the people in the Northern Kingdom.¹⁵² The expense must have been increased by the repeated military conflicts with the Assyrians during Ahab’s reign. It is thus natural to postulate that there were people who were dissatisfied with the Omride Dynasty. One of the aims of the original Jehu Narrative was probably to appeal to such people. If this hypothesis is correct, one would expect an element in the OJN, which emphasises Jehu’s killing of Joram, to be in

¹⁴⁹ 1 Kgs 19:16-17; 2 Kgs 9:1-6, 10b-14a.

¹⁵⁰ 1 Kgs 16:25-26, 30-33; 18:18; 21:25.

¹⁵¹ 1 Kgs 20:42; 21:19-24, 29; 22:53-54; 2 Kgs 1:16; 3:2-3.

¹⁵² For the prosperous period of the Omride Dynasty, see Timm 1982. The prosperity during the Omrides is well-attested in archaeological findings (Finkelstein 2000).

line with the people's will. There are some elements in the OJN, which probably attests to the author's intention to present Jehu as a true murderer. (1) Jehu himself killed Joram with his bare hands (9:24). (2) Although wounded, Joram, the king of Israel himself, came out of Jezreel expressly to be killed (9:21-24). (3) Jehu heralded somewhat theatrically the murder in front of the people (10:9). Does this show the author's attempt to conceal that Joram never came back to Jezreel after the battle against Hazael at Ramoth-Gilead? As Lipiński suggested, 2 Kgs 9:15 (as well as 8:29) also looks like an attempt to conceal this. The fictional feature of the OJN thus comes to the foreground. The story apparently stresses Jehu's religious devotion to YHWH more than his legitimacy to the throne. The kings of the House of Ahab had devoted themselves to the Baal cult and therefore had to be killed. This assumption can explain why the author of the OJN emphasises that Jehu himself killed Joram.

2 Kgs 10:9 illuminates the hidden polemic which may have been one of the primary motivations to compose the OJN. It reads: "Then in the morning when he (Jehu) went out, he stood and said to all the people, 'You are innocent. It was I who conspired against my master and killed him; but who struck down all these (seventy princes of the House of Ahab)?' " Jehu, declaring the people innocent,¹⁵³ claimed before the people that he himself killed Joram, but not Ahab's descendants.¹⁵⁴ It seems to me that this passage well presents the author's two conflicting aims: (1) to lessen the bloodguilt of Jehu; (2) to depict Jehu as the true murderer of Joram. That the author made such an effort to put the two *prima facie* contradictory speeches into Jehu's mouth

¹⁵³ The excavations at Tel Jezreel revealed a small domestic area inside the enclosure (Ussishkin and Woodhead 1994; Na'aman 2008:207). "All the people (כל העם)" mentioned in the passage may be an author's exaggeration.

¹⁵⁴ It seems to me that Jehu's speech compares the gravity of each crime: the people = innocent < Jehu = usurper = minor crime < the representatives of Samaria = murderers of seventy princes = major crime.

may show the significance of the two issues in composing the OJN.

There may have been another reason to attribute the murders of Joram and Ahaziah to Jehu at the court of the Jehuite Dynasty. During the early years of the Dynasty, Israel was under the Aramaean hegemony (Cf. 2 Kgs 10:32-33; 13:3; Chapters 3 and 4). Jehu's successors would have had hostile feelings toward the Aramaeans even after it was delivered from their yoke. Therefore, neither Jehu nor his descendants would have attributed the murder of the apostatised kings of the House of Ahab to Hazael. Hence, in the OJN, Jehu was depicted as a hero who killed the apostatised king and swept the Baal cult from Israel.

In sum, the historical information derived from the Tel Dan Inscription brings to light the relation between the deaths of Joram and Ahaziah and Jehu's rise to power. After Hazael's army killed Joram and Ahaziah at Ramoth-Gilead, Jehu launched a coup d'état and killed the rest of the House of Ahab at Jezreel.

2.3. Jehu in the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III

Four inscriptions of Shalmaneser III refer to Jehu and his tribute soon after the latter's rebellion: (1) Paper Squeeze (*III R*, 5, no. 6 = *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.8, 1"-27"); (2) Marble Tablet from Ashur (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.10, iii 45b - iv 15a); (3) Kurbail Statue Inscription (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.12, 21-30a); and (4) Inscription on a Royal Statue from Calah (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.16, 122'b-137'a). These four inscriptions are important for understanding Israel's political relation with Assyria soon after Jehu's rebellion. Since the four texts are quite similar to each other, only one of them (Paper Squeeze *III R*, 5, no. 6) will be presented below, and the variants will be indicated in the footnotes.

2.3.1. Texts

2.3.1.1. Paper Squeeze *III R*, 5, no. 6 (A.0.102.8, 1"-27")

Translation

(1") In my eighteenth *palû* I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus trusted in the massed body of his troops (and) mustered massive troops. (5") Mount Saniru, peak of the mountain, which is facing Mount Lebanon, he fortified. I fought with him (and) inflicted a defeat.¹⁵⁵ 16,000¹⁵⁶ of his soldiers (10") I put to the sword, 1,121 of his chariots (and) 470 of his cavalry together with his military camp I took away from him. To save (15") his life he ran away (but) I pursued him. In Damascus, his royal city, I confined him. His gardens I cut down.¹⁵⁷ To Mount

¹⁵⁵ This sentence is missing in the Marble Tablet from Ashur and in the Inscription on a Royal Statue from Calah.

¹⁵⁶ 16,020 in the Marble Tablet; the number is illegible in the Calah Inscription.

¹⁵⁷ This part is restored according to the Marble Tablet. The same sentence possibly appears also in the

Hauran I marched. Cities without number I razed, destroyed (and) (20") burnt with fire. Booty without number I carried off. To Mount Ba'li-ra'si which is facing the sea,¹⁵⁸ I marched. My royal image, I erected there. At that time,¹⁵⁹ (25") tribute from the land Tyre,¹⁶⁰ land Sidon¹⁶¹ (and) from Jehu son of Omri I received.¹⁶²

Jehu appears in these texts as “son of Omri”, who paid tribute to Shalmaneser III at Ba'li-ra'si after the latter marched to Damascus and Mt Hauran. In the following sections, three important issues for Jehu's rise will be examined; (1) the location of Ba'li-ra'si; (2) Shalmaneser III's route from Mt Hauran to Ba'li-ra'si; and (3) the significance of Jehu's filiation as “son of Omri”.

2.3.1.1.1. The Location of Ba'li-ra'si

The place where Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser III is called Ba'li-ra'si (KUR-*e* KUR *ba-'li-ra-'si*). Several identifications have been proposed for this toponym: (1) the promontory at the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb, north of Beirut, where six Assyrian rock reliefs were engraved;¹⁶³ (2) Mt Carmel, which is famous as the location of the confrontation between Elijah and the priests of Baal (1 Kgs 18);¹⁶⁴ (3) Rosh-haniqra

Calah Inscription: “(and) his sheaves I burnt”.

¹⁵⁸ In the Marble Tablet and in the Calah Inscription, the phrase “facing the land Tyre” follows here.

¹⁵⁹ This phrase is missing in the Marble Tablet and possibly also in the Calah Inscription.

¹⁶⁰ In the Marble Tablet and in the Calah Inscription, this sentence reads “tribute from Ba'li-manzēri of Tyre”.

¹⁶¹ “Land Sidon” is missing in the Marble Tablet and possibly also in the Calah Inscription.

¹⁶² In the Marble Tablet, follows the sentence: “On my return Mount Lebanon I verily ascended (and) my royal image with the image of Tiglath-pileser, a strong king who preceded me, I erected”. In the Calah Inscription, a word “a prince” might replace “a strong king” in this sentence.

¹⁶³ Hommel 1885:612, n. 3; Winckler 1909:16; Weissbach 1922:23-24; Katzenstein 1997:176-178. However, the Nahr el-Kelb seems too far from Tyre (more than eighty kilometres) and Israel.

¹⁶⁴ Olmstead 1921:372, n. 58; Malamat 1964:259, n. 32; 1965a:86-87; 1965b:372; Dussaud 1952:385; Aharoni 1965a:61-62; 1970:6-7; Astour 1971:384-386; Ikeda 1977:196; Miller and Hayes 1986:287; Galil

(Rās en-Nāqūra), situated at the modern Israeli-Lebanese border;¹⁶⁵ and (4) the region of Reshba‘l east of Qamqa‘t and north of Mt Lebanon.¹⁶⁶

Tyre was an island until Alexander built the dyke in 332 BCE.¹⁶⁷ Ba‘li-ra’si is a mountain’s name (KUR-*e* = *šadê*) that both faced the sea and the land of Tyre.¹⁶⁸ It was located on the coast, in a place from where Tyre would be visible. It was therefore identified with either Mt Carmel or Rosh-haniqra, both of which are not very far from Tyre, although such a royal image is yet to be found in the region.¹⁶⁹

2.3.1.2. Shalmaneser’s Itinerary from Mt Hauran to Ba‘li-ra’si

Due to the brevity of the text, it is difficult to trace the route of Shalmaneser’s campaign from Mt Hauran to Ba‘li-ra’si. Darb el-Hawarneh¹⁷⁰ and the Jezreel Valley¹⁷¹ are two possible candidates. I suggest that Shalmaneser III marched through Darb el-Hawarneh, since this route was the easiest way to reach from Damascus to the Mediterranean coast, which stretched across northern Transjordan, crossed the Jordan River south of the Sea of Galilee, and continued westward through the Lower Galilee to the coast of Akko (Oded 1971:191).

2001b:37.

¹⁶⁵ Malamat 1965b:87; 1965b:372; Lipiński 1969:165, n. 31; 1971a:84-85; 1979:87, n. 123; 2004:1-6. Cf. also Pitard 1987:148, n. 4; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:121, n. 11; Reinhold 1989:175; Kuan 1995:55, n. 174.

¹⁶⁶ Elayi 1981:331-341. Her argument is based on the inversion of *b‘l* and *r‘š* in West Semitic (*op. cit.*, 334-336). The inland location of Reshba‘l, however, does not seem to fit the description *ša pūt tam-ti ša pu-ut KUR šur-ri*.

¹⁶⁷ See Katzenstein 1997:[9].

¹⁶⁸ A principal meaning of *ša pūt* is “opposite”. See *AHW* II:884-885. There is an ambiguity in the logogram for the word *pūtu* (SAG). It might be taken either as *pūtu* or as *rēšu*. Cf. *CAD* “R”:282-283, where SAG is interpreted as “top end, front end”. The description of Shalmaneser III’s twentieth year campaign (839 BCE) to Que (A.0.102.10, Col. iv 30-33; A.0.102.16, 148’-150’) uses similar phrasing: II *šalam šarrūtīya ēpuš tanatti kiššūtīya ina libbi alṭur ištēn ina rēš(SAG) ālānīšu šanū ina qanni ālānīšu ina pūt(SAG) tāmdī azqup* “I made two royal images of myself, inscribed thereon ‘the praise for my power’, placed one in the nearest cities and the other in the remotest of his cities, facing the sea” (Yamada 2000a:200).

¹⁶⁹ Dion 1997:197; Yamada 2000a:191-192. Mt Carmel is some fifty kilometres from Tyre, while Rosh-haniqra is about twenty kilometres from Tyre.

¹⁷⁰ Lipiński 1971b:90; Oded 1971:193. See Lissovsky and Na’aman 2003:306-307 with earlier literature.

¹⁷¹ Astour 1971:384; Green 1979:36 with n. 16.

2.3.1.3. Jehu, Son of Omri

“Jehu, son of Humri” (^m*iu-ú-a mār* (DUMU) *hu-um-ri-i*) was one of the tribute bearers in Shalmaneser III’s inscriptions and is generally identified with the Biblical Jehu.¹⁷² Na’aman (1997d:19-20) and Zadok (1997:20) suggested that the theophorous element IA should be read *iu*, which is equivalent to **yaw*/**yô* in the Northern Israelite Hebrew of that time, and that ^m*iu-ú-a* represents Biblical *yhw’* (equivalent to Jehu).¹⁷³

The designation of Jehu as “son of Omri” in the Assyrian inscriptions has drawn scholars’ attention, since it contradicts the Biblical narrative, which refers Jehu as “son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi” (2 Kgs 9:2, 14).¹⁷⁴ Schneider (1996:100-107) suggested that this designation should literally be interpreted as “son” or “descendant”, meaning that Jehu biologically belonged to the Omride Dynasty.¹⁷⁵ Considering the designation of the Northern Kingdom or the kings of Israel in other places in the Assyrian royal inscriptions, however, it is unnecessary to assume that the designation reflects Jehu’s actual filiation. This term has been sometimes interpreted as designating Jehu as the king of KUR *Bīt Humri(a)*, that is, “the house of Omri”, the term employed as the designation of the Kingdom of Israel in some Assyrian inscriptions (Eph’al 1991:37, nn. 6-7).¹⁷⁶ The Assyrians may not have been accurate in designating foreign

¹⁷² McCarter (1974:5-6) identified the tribute bearer as J(eh)oram, son of Ahab (2 Kgs 3:1-2). According to him, ^m*ia-ú-a* or ^m*ia-a-ú* is the hypocoristic form of the theophoric element *Yaw*, and can stand for J(eh)oram as well as for Jehu. Weippert (1978:113-118) suggested that ^m*ia-ú-a* or ^m*ia-a-ú* is not a hypocoristic, rather it linguistically represents the name of Jehu. In his opinion, the theophoric element in this name is *ia* and not *ia-ú* nor *ia-a*, as McCarter suggested. See also Galil 2001b:37, n. 31.

¹⁷³ Halpern (1987:81-85) assumed the original form as **Yahūwa’*, whose last *a’* is a hypocoristic affix.

¹⁷⁴ The Black Obelisk (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.88, line 1) also names Jehu as DUMU ^m*hu-mu-ri*.

¹⁷⁵ Na’aman (1997c:116; 1998:236-238) suggested that the Assyrians intentionally designated Jehu as the legitimate successor of the Omride Dynasty, who, in contrast to his predecessors, took a pro-Assyrian policy.

¹⁷⁶ This view was suggested by Ungnad (1906: cols. 224-226). The designation *Bīt Humri(a)* is attested in two royal inscriptions: Tiglath-pileser III (See Tadmor 1994:296) and Sargon II (See Winckler 1889, vol. 1, 148, line 32 = Fuchs 1994:261). KUR *hu-um-ri-i* is attested in Adad-nērāri III’s Nimrud Slab (4.2.3.2.3. =

rulers and may have employed the same designation, even though the dynasty has changed.¹⁷⁷ Without further evidence, “Jehu, son of Humri” should be interpreted as designating Jehu as the king of the Northern Kingdom.

2.3.1.4. Background for Jehu’s Rebellion in Light of Assyrian Inscriptions

It is worth noting that both Jehu’s coup d’état and Shalmaneser III’s military campaign to the Syro-Palestinian region took place in the same year – 841 BCE. This may show that Jehu’s rebellion was related to the impending Assyrian thrust. It may have been, as Na’aman (1991:82-83) suggested, that the battle between Joram and Hazael broke out because of the former’s refusal to participate in the anti-Assyrian coalition led by the latter.¹⁷⁸ After Hazael killed Joram and Ahaziah and withdrew from Ramoth-Gilead to prepare for the approaching Assyrian attack, Jehu took advantage of this opportunity and usurped the Israelite throne.

2.3.2. Shalmaneser III’s Campaign in 841 BCE and Jehu’s Rise

Shortly after Jehu’s accession to the throne (841 BCE), Shalmaneser III and his army came to Syria-Palestine. The Assyrian troops devastated the land of Damascus and then marched southward to Hauran. Passing through the Lower Galilee, possibly by the Darb el-Hawarneh route, Shalmaneser arrived at Ba’li-ra’si on the Mediterranean, not far from Tyre. Jehu paid tribute there to the Assyrian king and became an Assyrian vassal.

RIMA 3, A.0.104.8, line 12). See also Parpola 1970:82-83. For the mention of KUR *Sir-’i-la-a-a* (= Israel or Jezreel?) in the Kurkh Monolith, see Yamada 2000a:193, n. 402.

¹⁷⁷ It is notable, however, that Ahab was designated in Shalmaneser III’s inscriptions as ^m*a-ha-ab-bu* KUR *sir-’i-la-a-a* (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.2, lines 90-91). For a possibility that the Assyrians began to call Israel *Bīt Humri* already in the time of the Omride Dynasty, see Ishida 1969:136, n. 4.

¹⁷⁸ Na’aman (1991:82-83) suggested that one of the motives behind Jehu’s rebellion was the elimination of the anti-Assyrian party in both Israel and Judah. Yet, the motive of Jehu’s rebellion cannot be explained by this hypothesis. Joram was not an enemy of Assyria at the time of Jehu’s rebellion.

2.4. The Mesha Inscription and Jehu's Rise

The Mesha Inscription was discovered in 1868 at Dhiban (ancient Dibon) in Transjordan. It was broken by Bedouin after its discovery; yet, most of the text has been well reconstructed, based on the paper squeeze made before the smash of the Inscription. The restored text consists of thirty-four lines, but a few lines at the bottom have not been obtained.

The Inscription can be classified as a commemorative inscription,¹⁷⁹ composed for the dedication of the cult place that Mesha built in Qeriho. It commemorates the king's deeds and dedicates the victories to the god Chemosh. The text divides into two main parts: (1) Mesha's victory over Israel and the restoration/conquest of its Transjordanian territory; and (2) Mesha's building activity. Mesha refers to the fall of the Omride Dynasty in line 7 of the Inscription as follows:

וארא.בה.ובבתה וישראל.אבד.אבד.עלם.

“I looked down upon him and his house, and Israel utterly perished forever.”

The expression *ראה ב-* is an ellipsis for the meaning “to see (the fall of)...” A similar expression can be found in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁸⁰ “Him” and “his house” here mean Omri's son and the house of Omri, namely Israel. Mesha does not refer to the person who caused this event. Yet, the lack of the reference is natural because it was not his own achievement. It shows that the Dynasty ended during Omri's “son's” reign, which can mean one of the sons of Ahab, as the word “son” can be interpreted as a descendant of the Omrides.¹⁸¹ Mesha's rebellion against Israel can thus be dated to the time of Joram of Israel, son of Ahab.¹⁸² Hence, the Mesha Inscription indirectly corroborates

¹⁷⁹ Drinkard 1989:131-151; Na'aman 2001b:12, esp. n. 8. Cf. Miller 1974:9-18.

¹⁸⁰ Ob 12; Ps 22:18; 37:34; 54:9; 59:11; 112:8; 118:7; Mic 7:10.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Gen 31:28, 43; 32:1; Ex 34:7; Pr 13:22.

¹⁸² Miller 1974:15, n. 9; Davis 1891:181-182.

Jehu's coup d'état in the time of Joram.

2.5. Synthesis

In 841 BCE, Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah went to fight against Hazael of Aram-Damascus at Ramoth-Gilead. Joram and Ahaziah were killed in the battle. Jehu, the high official of the Israelite army, went to Jezreel from Ramoth-Gilead and murdered the other members of the Omride Dynasty. Soon after this event, Shalmaneser III led his army into southern Syria-Palestine. He destroyed the area around Damascus and Hauran, and then passed through Darb el-Hawarneh to reach the Mediterranean. Jehu, in contrast to the Omride kings, immediately went to this Assyrian king and paid tribute.

3. The Rise of Hazael and the Aramaean Expansion

The available sources for the rise of Hazael and the Aramaean expansion during his rule include these four types: (1) Assyrian inscriptions; (2) Aramaic inscriptions; (3) Biblical narrative; and (4) archaeological evidence from the Syro-Palestinian sites.

3.1. The Assyrian Sources

Some Assyrian royal inscriptions mention Hazael as Shalmaneser III's enemy. These inscriptions describe the Assyrian military campaigns during Shalmaneser's eighteenth regnal year (841 BCE) and twenty-first and twenty-second regnal years (838-837 BCE).¹⁸³ The campaign during the eighteenth regnal year is described in six annalistic texts, four of which are identical to those mentioned in the previous chapter (2.3).¹⁸⁴ The campaign during the twenty-first and twenty-second regnal years is described in three inscriptions: (1) a stone fragment from Ashur (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.13, Rev. lines 4'b-11'); (2) the Black Obelisk (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.14, lines 102b-104a); and (3) a royal statue from Calah (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.16, lines 152'-162'a). Furthermore, two summary inscriptions mention Hazael: (4) a royal statue from Ashur (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.40, i, line 25 – ii, line 1) and (5) a stela in the Walters Art Gallery (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.9, Right side, line 1'-15').¹⁸⁵ A booty inscription on a stone tablet from Ashur (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.92, lines 1-8) also refers to Hazael.

¹⁸³ I follow Reade (1978:251-260) and Yamada (2000a:59-67), who suggested that the campaigns during the twenty-first and the twenty-second regnal years are conflated into one single campaign in Shalmaneser III's annals. See also Yamada 2000a:205-206.

¹⁸⁴ A stone fragment from Ashur (A.0.102.13, lines 9'b-10') also mentions the campaign during the eighteenth regnal year. It is quite fragmentary and only the beginning of the account is readable: "[In] my eighteenth *palû*". The Bull Inscription (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.8, lines 1"-13") is equivalent to Squeeze *III R*, 5, no. 6 of the British Museum (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.8, lines 1"-13").

¹⁸⁵ For the classification of this inscription as a summary inscription, see Yamada 2000a:42-43.

3.1.1. Hazael as Usurper

The inscription on a royal statue from Ashur (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.40, i, line 25 – ii, line 6) refers to the change of rulers in Damascus during the mid-ninth century BCE.

3.1.1.1. The Inscription on a Royal Statue from Ashur (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.40, i, line 14 – ii, line 1)

(i, 14) On Adad-idri of Damascus with twelve kings, his helpers, I inflicted a defeat. 29,000 of his powerful fighters I laid down like rushes. The remainder of his army, into (i, 20) the Orontes River I laid out. To save their lives, they ran away. (i, 25) Adad-idri passed away (and) Hazael, son of nobody, took the throne. He mustered his massive troops (and) moved against me to wage war. I fought with him (and) inflicted a defeat. I took away the wall of his camp. To save his life he ran away. I pursued (him) as far as Damascus, his royal city. (ii, 1) [His] gardens [I cut down].

This inscription summarises four historical events which occurred in 853-841 BCE.¹⁸⁶ These events can be summarised as follows: (1) the battle with Adad-idri and his allies in 853 BCE (i, 14-24); (2) the death of Adad-idri (i, 25); (3) the rise of Hazael (i, 26-27a); and (4) the battle with Hazael in 841 BCE (i, 27b – ii, 1). Although the exact dates cannot be established, Adad-idri's death and the rise of Hazael must have occurred between 845 and 841 BCE.¹⁸⁷ 2 Kings 8:28-29, 9:14-15, and the Tel Dan Inscription suggest that Hazael fought Joram, the predecessor of Jehu, who usurped the former's

¹⁸⁶ See Yamada 2000a:188-195.

¹⁸⁷ Adad-idri is described as leader of the anti-Assyrian coalition during Shalmaneser's fourteenth regnal year (845 BCE) campaign (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.6, iii, lines 24-27; A.0.102.8, lines 44'b-45'; A.0.102.10, Col. iii, lines 14-18). See Yamada 2000a:179-183.

throne in 841 BCE. Hence, Hazael's usurpation must have occurred earlier than 841 BCE. Since a usurper must establish his position in the kingdom at the first stage of his usurpation, it would take time before he could organise a military campaign abroad. Therefore, Hazael's usurpation can be dated some time before that of Jehu, a few years before the battle of Ramoth-Gilead (*ca.* 843 BCE).¹⁸⁸

In this text, Hazael is called *mār lā mammāna*, “son of nobody”, the term which generally refers to a usurper or an upstart.¹⁸⁹ The view that Hazael was a usurper may be supported by Assyrian inscriptions from Tiglath-pileser III's reign, which refer to Damascus as “Bīt Hazaili”.¹⁹⁰ Here, Damascus is designated by the name of Hazael: “Bīt Hazaili” = “house of Hazael”. By form of “Bīt X”, Assyrians designated the kingdoms by the name of its legendary or actual founder.¹⁹¹ Also, a Biblical anecdote about the change of the throne in Damascus in 2 Kgs 8:7-15 may possibly support the view that Hazael was not the nominated royal heir (see 3.4.2.). Consequently, Hazael would have not been the first in line of succession to the throne, although he was a member of the royal family.¹⁹² If this is the case, it is plausible that the other coalition members were required, according to the ancient Near Eastern practice, to remain loyal to Adad-idri's line of succession and oppose Hazael, the usurper.¹⁹³ This hypothesis conforms well to the account of the campaign of Shalmaneser's eighteenth regnal year (841 BCE), which describes that Hazael without allies confronted the Assyrian army.

¹⁸⁸ Galil 2007:82.

¹⁸⁹ Seux 1980-83:152. In his opinion, this term is not a pejorative appellation. On the other hand, Oded (1992:69-75) suggested that the term is one of stigmatisation. For the usage of this term in the Neo-Assyrian texts, see Stith 2008:52-53.

¹⁹⁰ Tadmor 1994 (Summ. 9, Rev., line 3; Summ. 4, line 7). Na'aman 1995a:387.

¹⁹¹ Ungnad 1906:224-226. See also Na'aman 1995a:385, n. 19 for literature.

¹⁹² This issue will be discussed below (3.2.1.).

¹⁹³ Esarhaddon's succession treaty (Parpola and Watanabe 1988) and the Sefire Inscription (*KAI* 1:224, lines 9-14) include stipulations that obligate the signatory monarchs to oppose any illegitimate claimant to the throne of the author (Stith 2008:59).

This change of political situation in Syria probably offered Shalmaneser III the opportunity to conduct a military campaign in Syria in 841 BCE (Yamada 2000a:190).

3.1.2. Shalmaneser III's Campaign during His Eighteenth Regnal Year (841 BCE)

In 841 BCE, Shalmaneser III launched a military campaign to Syria-Palestine. The Assyrian army probably took the route through the Beqa' Valley, located between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon Ranges, as in the later campaign of the twenty-first *palû* (838-837 BCE).¹⁹⁴ Shalmaneser encountered the Aramaean army led by Hazael¹⁹⁵ at Mt Sanir, identified with the Anti-Lebanon Range that lies east of Mt Lebanon.¹⁹⁶ The Assyrian army inflicted defeat upon the Aramaean army; as a result, Hazael fled to Damascus. The Assyrian army confined Hazael in Damascus and cut down the orchards.¹⁹⁷ Then Shalmaneser took the road southward and destroyed the towns of Hauran (KUR-*e* KUR *Ha-û-ra-ni*),¹⁹⁸ possibly the modern Jebel ed-Druz, in the Suweida area,¹⁹⁹ and proceeded westward, to the Mediterranean. He erected a stela at Ba'li-ra'si (KUR-*e* KUR *ba-'li-ra-'si*), and received tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and Israel (2.3.1.1.).²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁴ On this route and its alternative, see Yamada 2000a:191 with n. 390 for earlier literature.

¹⁹⁵ *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.8, lines 5"-13"; A.0.102.10, Col. iii, line 49 – iv, line 1; A.0.102.12, lines 22-25; A.0.102.16, lines 124'-128'; A.0.102.40, Col. i, lines 29-31.

¹⁹⁶ See Aharoni 1965a:295; Ikeda 1978:36-37.

¹⁹⁷ *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.8, lines 14"-17"; A.0.102.10, Col. iv, lines 1-4; A.0.102.12, lines 25-26; A.0.102.16, lines 129'-130'; A.0.102.40, Col. i, line 32 – ii, line 1. For the custom of cutting trees in Assyrian warfare, see Cole 1997; Wright 2008:443.

¹⁹⁸ *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.8, lines 17"-21"; A.0.102.10, Col. iv, lines 4-7; A.0.102.12, lines 26-28; A.0.102.16, lines 130'-132'.

¹⁹⁹ It must be distinguished between Mt Hauran (KUR-*e* KUR *Ha-û-ra-ni*) in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III and the province Haurina (URU/KUR *Ha-û-ri-i-na*). The latter appearing in the later lists of provinces and has been identified with Hawwārīn between Qaryetēn and Ṣadād, about ninety kilometres west of Palmyra. See Eph'al 1984:149, n. 514 with earlier literature. For the identification of Mt Hauran with Jebel ed-Druz, see Aharoni 1979:37; Dussaud 1927:323-324.

²⁰⁰ *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.8, lines 22"-27"; A.0.102.10, Col. iv, lines 7-12; A.0.102.12, lines 28-30; A.0.102.16, lines 132'-135'.

3.1.3. Shalmaneser III's Campaign in His Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Regnal Years (838-837 BCE)

Three years after the 841 campaign, Shalmaneser III conducted another military expedition to Syria (838-837 BCE). There are long and short versions that describe this campaign; the longer version covers the shorter and will be cited here.

3.1.3.1. The Inscription on a Royal Statue from Calah (*RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 152'-162'a*)²⁰¹

(152') [In] my [twenty-first *pa*]lû [I crossed] the Euphrates [for the twenty-first time]. [Trib]ute from all the kings [of the land Hatti] I received. From [the land Hatti(?)] I moved. The stretching road of the Leba[non] I took. Mt Saniru I cro[ssed]. To the cities (155') [of] Hazael of Damascus (K[UR] *imērīšū*) I went down. The cities [...] became afraid²⁰² and to the difficult mountain they took. Ya[...], [...], Danabu, Malaha, the fortified cities, I conquered by [tunnel, battering]-rams, and towers. I massacred. I plundered them. The [town]s I destroyed (and) set them on fire. Ba'il (160') of the land of [. . .]ra seized my feet. I received his tribute. My royal image, in the temple in Laruba, his fortified city, I erected and received the tribute of the people of Tyre, Sidon (and) Byblos. I went as far as the land/mountain of Mušuruna.

Some scholars have suggested that Shalmaneser might have conducted two separate campaigns in 838-837 BCE but conflated the descriptions of the two campaigns into

²⁰¹ Hulin's copy of this inscription was published by Yamada (2000b:77-85, esp. 80). The Inscription on a stone fragment from Ashur (*RIMA 3, A.0.102.13, Rev. lines 4'b-11'*) is fragmentary and most of the text must be restored by the text in A.0.102.16, lines 152'-162'a.

²⁰² Cf. GAG §101f; CAD "G" garāru B, 49.

one.²⁰³ However, no solid reasons for two separate campaigns have been adduced; hence, the itinerary and the chronological order of events of this campaign will be reconstructed according to the order in the text.

Shalmaneser did not encounter opposition when he headed toward Damascus.²⁰⁴ He probably took the Beqa' Valley route, as the itinerary suggests. Then, he conquered four fortified cities of Hazael, but only two names survived in the extant text: Malaha and Danabu.²⁰⁵ The conquest of these cities was apparently a significant event during these years as two pieces of evidence show. First, the conquest of the four cities is mentioned in the short text of the Black Obelisk (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.14, 103). Second, Malaha and Danabu are also described in the entries of the Eponym Chronicles for 838 and 837 BCE.

Several identifications have been suggested for the city of Malaha: (1) Almalaha, several kilometres east of Damascus; (2) Safiyet-Melah, seventeen kilometres east of Salhad,²⁰⁶ and (3) Hazor in the Huleh Valley.²⁰⁷ Nonetheless, the exact location of Malaha cannot be determined because many toponyms with the root *mlh* are known throughout the region (Lemaire 1991a:100-101).²⁰⁸ It was probably located in the Hauran region, where many *mlh*-toponyms are preserved.²⁰⁹

Danabu has been identified with Şednaya, located about twenty kilometres

²⁰³ Reade 1978:254; Kuan 1995:21, 64; Yamada 2000a:206; Younger 2005:262.

²⁰⁴ *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.16, line 154'.

²⁰⁵ *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.16, lines 155'-159'.

²⁰⁶ Sader 1987:266.

²⁰⁷ Lipiński (2000:350-351) identified Malaha with Hazor; yet, the change of the city-name from the traditional form *Ha-šu-ra* to Malaha seems unlikely. Hazor was spelled as *Ha-šú-ra*, *Ha-šú-ra-a*, and *Ha-šu-ra-yu* in the Mari documents from the eighteenth century BCE. For example, see *ARM* VI, 78, Rev. lines 14, 15. Later, the Amarna Letters from the mid-fourteenth century BCE also mentions the city as *Ha-šu-ri*. EA (El-Amarna Letters) 148:41; 227:3, 21; 228:4, 15, 23; 364:18. The Hebrew Bible preserves the name חַצְוֹר *Hāšōr*.

²⁰⁸ See also Galil 2001b:38, n. 35. The major difficulty is that almost no systematic archaeological survey in the region south and southeast of Damascus has been conducted.

²⁰⁹ Dussaud 1927:366; Sader 1987:266.

north of Damascus and known as Danaba/Danoba in the classical sources.²¹⁰ Another possible candidate is Daniba/Dhounibe in the Bashan, located eighteen kilometres east of Naveh, between Sheikh Meskin and Ezra‘a.²¹¹ Lipiński (2000:352) dismissed both identifications and suggested that ad-Dunaybah, a settlement located fifteen kilometres north of modern Irbid, may preserve the ancient name Danabu, while near-by Tell Abila may be the actual site of ancient Danabu. Parpola and Porter (2001:8, Map 8) located it at modern Dunaiba in the Beqa‘ Valley. Evidently, the location of Danabu cannot be determined with certainty.

Shalmaneser does not mention Damascus during this campaign and obviously failed to conquer it.²¹² After mentioning Hazael’s four cities, Shalmaneser relates that a ruler named Ba’il submitted to him and he received his tribute and erected his royal image in Ba’il’s city.²¹³ The name of Ba’il’s country is illegible (‘KUR’ Z[I]/G[I]-x-[r]a-a). Most scholars have sought his country in the Phoenician region because the name Ba’il includes the theophorous element “Ba‘al”, a characteristic divine element of Phoenician names.²¹⁴ Based on this consideration, two candidates have been suggested: Tyre and Şimirra. The reading of Ba’il’s country as Tyre (*Şurrāya*)²¹⁵ is difficult, as pointed out by Yamada (2000b:80).²¹⁶ Another candidate

²¹⁰ Kraeling 1918:80; Honigmann 1938:116; Pitard 1987:150; Lemaire 1991a:101. Cf. Sader 1987:266. See Lipiński 2000:352, n. 26; Yamada 2000a:208, n. 446; Galil 2001b:38, n. 35 with earlier literature. Olmstead (1921:374, n. 62) located Danabu in the vicinity of ‘Azaz or Aleppo. Cf. Yamada 2000a:208, n. 446.

²¹¹ Dussaud 1927:332; Ahituv 1984:89; Lemaire 1991a:101. Cf. Sader 1987:266.

²¹² Miller and Hayes (1986:285-287) suggested that Hazael already submitted himself to Assyria in 841 BCE. In Galil’s (2001b:38) view, Shalmaneser III intentionally avoided conquering Damascus in order to preserve the balance of power in the Syro-Palestinian region.

²¹³ *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.16, lines 159’-161’.

²¹⁴ Benz 1972:234.

²¹⁵ The ruler of Tyre in the year 841 BCE was Ba’li-manzeri (A.0.102.10, Col. iv, line 10). A fortified city called *Ma-ru-ba* has been attested in the territory of Sidon at the time of Esarhaddon. Borger 1956:49, Nin. A, iii 15. For details, see Yamada 2000a:209, n. 450. If *La-ru-ba*, described in the text as a fortified city of Ba’il, was a scribal error for *Ma-ru-ba* (the two graphemes are similar), Ba’li would have been Ba’li-manzeri of Tyre. For this possibility, see Yamada 2000a:208-209; 2000b:80.

²¹⁶ See also Grayson *RIMA* 3:79.

Šimirra (Lipiński 1999:242) likewise faces difficulties. Na'aman (2002b:205) dismissed this reading for the following three reasons. (1) Its location does not agree with Shalmaneser's itinerary; it must be sought to the east of the Anti-Lebanon. (2) Šimirra is always written with the ŠI sign and not with the ZI (= ŠÍ) sign. (3) Šimirra appears in the Assyrian inscriptions with the determinative URU (city) and not with KUR (land).²¹⁷ Instead, he tentatively restored the land name as Geshur ([KUR]R G[*i*^(?)-*šu(r)-r*]a-a), which appears in the Hebrew Bible as a small Aramaean kingdom located in the southern part of the Golan Heights to east of the Sea of Galilee.²¹⁸ Based on this restoration, he identified Laruba, Ba'il's fortified city, with 'En Gev, on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, where a massive casemate wall was uncovered.²¹⁹ The identification of Ba'il's country with Geshur is inconclusive as Geshur is never attested in extra-Biblical source, except for in an emended cuneiform text from the Amarna period (EA 256, line 23),²²⁰ and the extensive excavation at the site of 'En Gev has not revealed any Assyrian royal image (Tsukimoto, Hasegawa, and Onozuka 2009).

Shalmaneser's itinerary ends with a place called Mušuruna, which is the furthest place he reached in his campaign.²²¹ The toponym Mušri/Mušur/Mušuri in Assyrian texts, which is usually identified with Egypt,²²² does not fit the context of this

²¹⁷ Na'aman pointed out an exceptional case, in which the Assyrian text refers to Šimirra with the determinative KUR after it became an Assyrian province. At least two more such cases exist: BT (= Balawat texts). 126, line 25 (KUR *Ši-mir-ra*) dated to 688 BCE, see Parker 1963:98; and Sargon's inscription (KUR *Ši-mir-ra*), see Winckler 1889, vol. 1, 102, line 33.

²¹⁸ 2 Sam 3:3; 13:37-38; 14:23, 32; 15:8.

²¹⁹ Na'aman 2002b:206 with earlier literature.

²²⁰ Mazar (1961:20) emended *ga-ri* to *ga-<šu>-ri*.

²²¹ *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.16, line 162'.

²²² Mišr in modern Arabic and Mišrāyim in the Hebrew Bible. For example, scholars discussed whether KUR *Mu-uš-ra-a-a*, mentioned in the Kurkh Monolith of Shalmaneser III (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.2, Col. ii, line 92) as one of the members of an anti-Assyrian coalition, can be identified as Egypt. See Lipiński 2000:204-205; Yamada 2000a:157-158 with nn. 281 and 282 with earlier literature.

campaign (Garelli 1971:37-42). Disappearance of Muşuruna in the shorter version of this campaign may suggest that the later Assyrian scribe regarded this achievement as marginal.

The itinerary suggests locating Muşuruna in the Phoenician coast: Shalmaneser reached this place after he received the tribute of the men of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos. Na'aman (2002a:207) tentatively identified this Muşuruna with the ridge of Nahr el-Kelb, about ten kilometres north of Beirut. A relief of a royal image, engraved at the river's mouth, may possibly represent Shalmaneser III.²²³ In addition, the location of the ridge of Nahr el-Kelb fits nicely with the geographical context described in the text. Hence, Muşuruna can be identified with Nahr el-Kelb.

3.1.4. Assyria and Syria-Palestine after the Campaign of 838-837 BCE

The Assyrian hegemony in Syria-Palestine, which Shalmaneser III achieved by the campaigns in 841 and 838-837 BCE, did not last long. During the later years of Shalmaneser's reign and the beginning of his son's, Shamshi-Adad V (826-820 BCE), Assyria suffered from internal revolts. Shalmaneser's last campaign to the Syro-Palestinian region (to Unqi) was in 829 BCE. From this year until 805 BCE, for more than twenty years, Assyria did not conduct campaigns to Syria. During this power vacuum, Hazael established his hegemony over the entire Syro-Palestinian region.

²²³ Weißbach 1922:23-25.

3.2. The Aramaic Sources

Several Aramaic sources pertaining to Hazael are available: (1) the Tel Dan Inscription; (2) the Arslan-Tash Inscription; (3) the Nimrud Inscription; (4) the Samos and Eretria Inscriptions; (5) the Zakkur Inscription; and (6) the Tell Deir ‘Alla Inscription. Since the Tel Dan Inscription was already discussed in detail (Chapter 2), I would like to open the discussion with the Arslan-Tash Inscription.

3.2.1. The Arslan-Tash Inscription

In 1928, an Aramaic inscription dedicated to Hazael was discovered. It was found in a building next to an Assyrian palace at Arslan-Tash (ancient Hadattu), located between Tel Ahmar in Syria and Urfa in modern Turkey. Three pieces of a broken ivory plaque bear an inscription and were published in 1931.²²⁴ It was read as follows:

... זת.ח[...].בר.עמא.למראן.חזאל.בשנת ...

Later, Puech (1981:545-550) rejected the arrangement of the pieces and proposed a different reconstruction of the text:

[...זי.ק]רב.עמא.למראן.חזאל.בשנת[א.ח].זת.ח[מת?]

Translation

[... which] the troops [o]ffered to our Lord, Hazael, in the year of the [cap]ture of Ha[math?].

Most scholars followed Puech’s decipherment albeit with slight modifications.²²⁵ Various opinions concerning two elements in the text were proposed: the meaning of the word עמא and the restoration of the toponym at the end of the inscription. Puech translated עמא as a noun, “troops”, whereas Lipiński (1994:93) interpreted it as a city

²²⁴ Thureau-Dangin *et al.* 1931.

²²⁵ For example, Bron and Lemaire 1989:37; Na’aman 1995a:382.

name ‘Imma, located on “strategic crossroads, where a sanctuary of Hadad was certainly not out of place”.²²⁶ Bron and Lemaire (1989), Röllig (*KAI* 2:282; 1974:39), and Na’aman (1995a:382) construed it as a personal name. Considering the absence of a preposition, such as מן “from”, before אַמַּע, it is preferable to construe the word as a personal name. ‘Amma could have been either a vassal king of Hazael or an official in his court.

It is generally assumed that the end of the inscription “[...]ח” is a toponym, which has been diversely restored: (1) Hauran (Puech); (2) Hamath/Hadrach/Hazor (Bron and Lemaire); (3) Hazaz (Bron and Lemaire 1989; Lipiński 2000:388-389); and (4) Haleb (Lipiński 1994:93). Although none of these restorations is decisive,²²⁷ it is tempting to restore here Ha[math] in light of the Zakkur Inscription (Na’aman 1996:177, n. 3).²²⁸

The Arslan-Tash Inscription was dedicated to Hazael on the occasion of a remarkable achievement. This is why that the penultimate word was restored as “חַח[חאַ]” “[cap]ture of”; yet, the restoration is highly speculative. If this restoration is correct, Hazael probably conquered a certain city, and the dedication was made on that occasion. At any rate, such or a similar remarkable achievement of Hazael could be dated to the period after Shalmaneser III stopped campaigning to Syria-Palestine (after 837 BCE).

3.2.2. The Nimrud Inscription

Mallowan (1966:598) published an Aramaic inscription on a fragment of ivory found

²²⁶ He read the word before אַמַּע as חַח[ח] and interpreted it as the name of person who sent the plaque.

²²⁷ Mazar (1962:112, 114) suggested that this ivory plaque, which was discovered in Arslan-Tash, is sufficient evidence to testify that Hazael ruled over northern Syria. Yet, the find site of this plaque does not help to identify the place name; it was most probably brought there by the Assyrians as booty (Pitard 1987:153-156; Hafthorsson 2006:42-43).

²²⁸ Cf. Puech 1981:549.

during the excavations of 1960-63 at Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud, ancient Kalhu. The text reads:

[למר...אן חזאל]

Millard suggested that the inscription might have been a parallel text of the Arslan-Tash Inscription.²²⁹

3.2.3. The Samos Inscription

An Aramaic inscription on bronze horse trappings was published by Kyrieleis and Röllig in 1988.²³⁰ It was unearthed in debris dating to the early sixth century BCE at the Heraion (temple of Hera) in Samos. The iconographical style of four naked goddesses, which lie in the centre of the inscription, indicates its northern Syrian origin.

Kyrieleis and Röllig read the text as follows:

זי נתן הדר למראן חזאל מן עמק בשן תערה מראן נהר

Translation

(This is) what HDR gave our Lord Hazael of the Valley of Bashan.

“Forehead-cover” of our lofty Lord.

Röllig (Kyrieleis and Röllig 1988:70-71) suggested that this text is identical with that of the Eretria Inscription, a damaged bronze blinker with an Aramaic inscription found at Eretria in Greek (Charbonnet 1986:117-156, Pls. 33-41). This view has been accepted by scholars.

Two critical studies of this text were published by Eph'al and Naveh (1989) and by Bron and Lemaire (1989). They restored the text as follows:

²²⁹ Millard's comment is mentioned in Mallowan 1966:598. Cf. Röllig 1974:48; Puech 1981:546; Pitard 1987:156; Eph'al and Naveh 1989:197; Bron and Lemaire 1989:37; Hafthorsson 2006:43.

²³⁰ Kyrieleis and Röllig 1988.

זי נתן הדרד למראן חזאל מן עמק בשנת עדה מראן נהר.

Despite the identical restoration, Eph'al and Naveh and Bron and Lemaire translated the text differently. The former translated it: "That which Hadad gave our lord Hazael from 'Umq in the year that our lord crossed the river." The latter rendered it: "That which Hadad from 'Umq, gave our lord Hazael in the year that our lord crossed the river." The two translations differ in the following three issues: (1) the identification of Hadad; (2) the location of עמק ('Umq); and (3) the identification of the river (נהר) Hazael crossed.

Bron and Lemaire (1989:42-43) construed Hadad as the king of עמק, who paid tribute to Hazael at that time,²³¹ whereas Eph'al and Naveh (1989:194) interpreted Hadad as the name of the major Damascene god.²³² The latter's view is corroborated by the study of Amadasi-Guzzo (1996:331-334) who compared the use of the verb נתן in the Samos Inscriptions with those of other Aramaic inscriptions from various places and periods. She reached the conclusion that Hadad must have been a divine name, who bestowed this object upon Hazael.

Both scholars identified עמק in the inscriptions with 'Umqi/Patina, which is attested in some inscriptions from the first millennium BCE.²³³ This kingdom, also called Unqi/Pattin, was a Neo-Hittite kingdom located in the neighbourhood of modern Antakya and is mentioned as עמק in the Zakkur Inscription.²³⁴ Eph'al and Naveh (1989:194-195) suggested that עמק is the origin of the object dedicated to Hazael, while Bron and Lemaire (1989:42-43) regarded it as the origin of Hadad, Hazael's tributary.

²³¹ Kyrieleis and Röllig (1988:63-64) suggested that the person here was the king who offered this object to Hazael, although they read the name as הדר "HDR".

²³² They also suggested the inscription as being made in this city, because "in Old Aramaic Hadad should first of all be considered as a divine name." This view was accepted by Lipiński (1994:92; 2000:388) and Dion (1995:484). Lipiński (2000:388, n. 222) found it difficult to assume an Aramaean ruler in 'Umq between the reigns of Sasi (*ca.* 830 BCE) and Tutamuwa (*ca.* 740 BCE), both bearing Hittite names.

²³³ Also Lipiński 1994:92; 2000:388; Dion 1997:201-202; Hafthorsson 2006:48.

²³⁴ *KAI* 1:202, A. line 6. On the Assyrian references to the kingdom of Unqi/Pattina, see Parpola 1970:158 (Hattina); 368 (Unqi); Hawkins 1972-75a:160-162 (Hattin); 1974:81-83; Klengel 1992:194-201.

Hafthorsson (2006:48-49) suggested that Hazael originally came from ‘Umqi/Patina and later usurped the Damascene throne.²³⁵ However, no source supports the view that the Eretria and Samos Inscriptions refer to the homeland of Hazael. Following Eph‘al and Naveh, I interpret עמק as the provenance of the object, which was brought to Hazael either as tribute or as booty.²³⁶

Interpreting נהר as indicating the Orontes River cannot be excluded due to its proximity to ‘Umqi/Patina.²³⁷ In the Assyrian texts, the word *nāru* “river” often appears without any qualification and must be interpreted according to the context. Similarly, נהר in the Hebrew Bible refers either to the Jordan (Num 22:5; Jos 24:14, 15) or to the Euphrates (Jos 24:2, 3; 2 Sam 10:16; 1 Kgs 5:1, 4; 14:15; Isa 7:20). Nonetheless, the significance of crossing the Euphrates is self-evident, when considering the unremitting mention of the Euphrates crossing in Shalmaneser III’s inscriptions. Yamada (1998) explained that the reference to the Euphrates crossing was so significant that it was even manipulatively counted in the later inscriptions of Shalmaneser III. Likewise, it is possible that crossing the Euphrates could have been one of the greatest achievements of the Aramaean king.²³⁸ To commemorate this outstanding deed, it is likely that court officials or vassal kings offered prestigious objects to Hazael. Hazael’s crossing of the Euphrates must be dated after Shalmaneser III stopped crossing the Euphrates,

²³⁵ Pitard (1994:221), because of the popularity of the name Hazael at that time, even doubted the identification of Hazael in the Inscriptions with Hazael of Aram-Damascus. Assyrian inscriptions refer to at least eleven different Hazael (Zadok 1977:86; Baker 2000:467-469). Even so, considering the title of our Hazael מראן “our lord”, Hazael of Aram-Damascus, whom Shalmaneser III could not subjugate, and whose son led the army of Syrian states against Zakkur of Hamath, is to be the best candidate.

²³⁶ Amadas-Guzzo 1996:337.

²³⁷ Eph‘al and Naveh 1989:196; Bron and Lemaire 1989:40; Lemaire 1991a:101-106; Lipiński 1994:92; Na‘aman 1995a:391; Amadasi-Guzzo 1996:334; Dion 1997:202; Bordreuil 1998:56-57; Lipiński 2000:389; Hafthorsson 2006:49.

²³⁸ Bron and Lemaire (1989:37, 41, 43) suggested the possibility of using it for chronological reference. Cf. Eph‘al and Naveh 1989:195, n. 16. Harrak (1992:67-73) and Dion (1995:484, n. 11) rejected this possibility.

specifically after 829 BCE, his campaign to Unqi.²³⁹ More precisely, it would have been after 826 BCE when the Eponym Chronicles no longer mention Assyrian military campaigns.²⁴⁰ Thus, the campaign of Hazael beyond the Euphrates can be dated between 826 BCE and 805 BCE, when Adad-nērāri III resumed the campaign to the west of the Euphrates.

3.2.4. The Zakkur Inscription

In the beginning of the twentieth century, Pognon (1907-08) published an Aramaic inscription engraved on fragments of a basalt stela. The original location of the inscription was not mentioned by Pognon; later, Dussaud (1922) located it at Tell Afis, some forty-five kilometres southwest of Aleppo. The author of the stela is Zakkur,²⁴¹ king of Lu'ash and Hamath, who composed and dedicated the inscription to the gods Ba'al-shamayin and El-wer in the early eighth century BCE. The inscription describes the siege of Hadrach, the city of Zakkur, by a coalition of Syrian kingdoms, which was led by Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael. The siege suddenly ended and Zakkur expressed his thanks to Ba'al-shamayin.

The siege took place either in the end of the ninth or in the beginning of the eighth century BCE.²⁴² Assuming that Bar-Hadad inherited the hegemony from his father, the inscription reflects the Damascene hegemony over the Syrian kingdoms at Hazael's time.²⁴³

²³⁹ Eph'al and Naveh (1989:198) and Dion (1995:486) dated it between 830-806 BCE, whereas Bron and Lemaire (1989:43) dated it between 810-805 BCE, to the end of Hazael's reign.

²⁴⁰ Only the revolts are mentioned during this period. Lemaire (1991a:104) tentatively dated it to around 810-809 BCE.

²⁴¹ The name of the king was long read Zakir. However, the Assyrian transcription in the Antakya Stela, referring to the same king as ^mZakkuri, established the reading Zakkur. See Donbaz 1990:6-7, line 4.

²⁴² For the date of this event, see 4.2.3.

²⁴³ Lemaire 1991a:104; 1993:150*.

At least eight kingdoms are named as members of the coalition led by Bar-Hadad: Arpad (= Bar-gush), Que, ‘Umq, Gurgum, Sam’al, Melid, and another two kingdoms whose names do not survive.²⁴⁴ In addition to these eight named kingdoms, specific number of other participants is mentioned in the text.²⁴⁵ Israel apparently did not participate in this coalition, which might indicate that it had thrown off the Damascene yoke by that time.

3.2.5. The Deir ‘Alla Inscription

In 1967, a heavily damaged inscription was unearthed by the Netherlands Expedition at Tell Deir ‘Alla in the eastern Jordan Valley (Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976).²⁴⁶ The text has been considered as evidence of an Aramaean control in Transjordan during the eighth century BCE²⁴⁷ because of the following three reasons: (1) linguistic affinity of the text to Aramaic; (2) the location of the site; and (3) the date of the inscription.

The Gilead was under Aramaean hegemony after Hazael’s invasion, possibly *ca.* 825 BCE,²⁴⁸ until Bar-Hadad’s submission to Adad-nērāri III in 796 BCE. From

²⁴⁴ Gibson (1975:14) and Lemaire (1993:151*) restored Kummuh and Carchemish here. Yet, Na’aman (1991:84-86) and Lipiński (2000:302-303) questioned the restoration of Kummuh because this kingdom did not participate in the struggle against Assyria in the ninth through eighth centuries BCE. See Hawkins 1974:79-80; 1983:338-340 with early literature. Lipiński (*op. cit.*, 303) suggested restoring Tabal and Kittik.

²⁴⁵ Some scholars restored “sixteen” in lines 4-5 for the number of kings (Dupont-Sommer 1949:46-48; Gibson 1975:8; Reinhold 1989:251, 253; Lemaire 1993:151*; Dion 1997:140, n. 15), whereas others read “seventeen” (Friedrich 1966:83; Lipiński 1971b:398, n. 34; Sader 1987:208). For the discussion, see *KAI* 2:207-208. Seven or eight more kingdoms are to be expected in the continuance of the inscription if sixteen or seventeen kings, in total, are mentioned here. Actually, line 8 refers to “seven kin(gs)” as Lemaire suggested (*op. cit.*, 151*). Cf. Gibson 1975:8, 14; Delsman 1985. Lemaire (*op. cit.*, 151*) read אַמַּר, instead of general reading מַּר[ה], in the beginning of line 9 and restored “seven kin(gs) of Amurru” in lines 8-9. However, the number “seven” in the text might be a typological number.

²⁴⁶ Tell Deir ‘Alla is commonly identified with Biblical Succoth. See MacDonald 2000:144 for earlier literature. For bibliography, see Aufrecht 1986; Lemaire 1991c:55-57. For identification of Tell Deir ‘Alla with Penuel, see MacDonald, *op. cit.*, 148-149.

²⁴⁷ This dating is based on the archaeological context that is corroborated by ¹⁴C dating (880-770 BCE). See Ibrahim and van der Kooij 1991:27-28; Lipiński 1994:104-106. See also Lemaire 1991c:34-35, nn. 3-6 with earlier literature.

²⁴⁸ For the dating, see 3.1.4. The date of Hazael’s expansion in Transjordan might have been earlier than

796 BCE until the reign of Rezin (*ca.* 750 BCE), however, relations between the Aramaeans and the inhabitants of Transjordan remain unknown.²⁴⁹ The language of the Deir ‘Alla Inscription might help us to establish these undetermined relations.

Despite its similarities to Aramaic, the language of the text cannot be defined as Aramaic proper due to some features which are foreign to Aramaic but common in the Canaanite languages. It seems that the text of the Deir ‘Alla Inscription retains archaic features of a Proto-Northwest Semitic language (McCarter 1991:90-95).²⁵⁰ Hence, this inscription alone cannot be evidence for Aramaic influence at that time.

However, an Aramaic inscription (זי שרעא) discovered on a jar from the same stratum (IX) shows the Aramaic influence on this region.²⁵¹ Combined with the inscription, the Deir ‘Alla Inscriptions show the Aramaic cultural influence in the region during the first half of the eighth century BCE.²⁵²

3.2.6. The Damascene Hegemony under Hazael and Bar-Hadad

The Aramaic sources discussed above supply valuable information on Hazael’s military

825 BCE. Cf. Na’aman 1995b:107 (*ca.* 835 BCE). Yet, it is not clear whether Hazael conquered the Gilead in 841 BCE immediately after the battle at Ramoth-Gilead described in the Book of Kings.

²⁴⁹ Largely depending on the Biblical source (2 Kgs 15:29), Lemaire (1985b:272-273; 1991c:36-41) suggested that the Gilead and the middle Jordan Valley on the Transjordan side was controlled by the Aramaeans of Damascus between *ca.* 835 and *ca.* 750 BCE and by the Israelites before the annexation of Gilead by Tiglath-pileser III in *ca.* 733 BCE. See also Halpern 1987:121; Hübner 1992:42.

²⁵⁰ The language of the inscription has features peculiar to Aramaic (Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976:300; McCarter 1991:87-89), which led some scholars to define this language as a dialect of Aramaic (Hoftijzer and van der Kooij, *op. cit.*, 300-302; Caquot and Lemaire 1977; Fitzmyer 1978; McCarter 1980; Kaufman 1980; Levine 1981; Pardee 1991:105). On the other hand, it has other features that are customarily regarded as distinctively Canaanite (McCarter 1991:89-90), which led some scholars to categorise it as Canaanite (Naveh 1979:133-136; Greenfield 1980:248-252; Hackett 1984a:109-124; 1984b:57-65). Since no clear dichotomy exists between Aramaic and Canaanite, the categorisation of the language of these texts is only a matter of relativity. Lemaire (1985b; 1985c:38), to explain its archaic linguistic features, suggested that the texts might have been copied from an older Aramaic text (also Wolters 1988).

²⁵¹ Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976:15, 167, 267, Pls. 19-22; Lemaire 1985c:273; Eph‘al and Naveh 1993; Lipiński 1994:107. Whether the Aramaean “controlled” over this region is not clear. Cf. Levine 1985:327-28. Wolters’s suggestion (1988) to ascribe the Aramaic influence in the region to the Aramaean population deported after the Assyrian annexation of Damascus in 732 BCE must be rejected, because the date of the strata M/IX predates 732 BCE (most probably 880-770 BCE by C¹⁴). Cf. Dion 1997:200, n. 127.

²⁵² Eph‘al and Naveh 1993; Na’aman 1995b:107.

activities outside his kingdom. Hazael was probably the son of Adad-idri, but not the crown prince nominated by his father. His military expansion was directed both southward and northward. The Tel Dan Inscription attests to Hazael's wars with Israel and Judah, which was followed by his territorial expansion into Israel. The Deir 'Alla Inscriptions demonstrate an Aramaic cultural influence in Transjordan around 800 BCE. The Arslan-Tash Inscription, and perhaps also the Nimrud Inscription attest to Hazael's expansion northward, beyond the Damascene territory. In addition, the Samos and Eretria Inscriptions indicate that Hazael crossed the Euphrates eastward, to northern Mesopotamia. The combination of these inscriptions shows Hazael's territorial expansion in the Syro-Palestinian region, by which he achieved hegemony over the north Syrian kingdoms in the late ninth century BCE. The Zakkur Inscription shows the Damascene leading role in Syria-Palestine in the time of Bar-Hadad, Hazael's son.

3.3. Archaeological Data

The Tel Dan Inscription indicates that the Aramaean expansion under Hazael occasionally entailed military conflicts with the local regimes. These conflicts would have frequently resulted in the destruction of the assaulted cities and fortresses. The destruction layers of sites in the territory of the Northern Kingdom reflect the disastrous results of Hazael's conquests and are important witnesses for evaluating the extent of Hazael's military activities.

The dates of archaeological strata are critical for relating destruction strata to Hazael's invasion. There is an on-going controversy among archaeologists about the dates of strata at the major sites in the Northern Kingdom and I will review it in the following section.

3.3.1. The Low Chronology and Its Validity

At the outset, I will outline the Low Chronology perspective. In a series of articles, Finkelstein (1995; 1996; 1999; 2000; 2005) suggested lowering both the dates of the strata formerly dated to the time of the United Monarchy as well as those hitherto attributed to the Omride Dynasty. In short, this "Low Chronology" hypothesis lowers all the dates of the Iron Age strata until the early eighth century BCE, by fifty to eighty years.

The "conventional" dating of Megiddo VA-IVB to the tenth century, along with Strata X-VII at Hazor and Stratum VIII at Gezer, was proposed by Yadin (1972a:147-164). It relies, according to Finkelstein, principally upon 1 Kgs 9:15 that mentions Solomon's building activities at Hazor, Gezer, and Megiddo.²⁵³ Finkelstein

²⁵³ Finkelstein (2000:133, n. 20) suggested interpreting the description of Solomon's building activity in 1

(1999:57-58) criticised Yadin's uncritical use of the Biblical description for establishing the date, and emphasised that the archaeological strata must be dated independently of the historical sources. Finkelstein's claim that the relationship between text and archaeology must be sought only thereafter is methodologically correct.

One of the pillars of Finkelstein's Low Chronology is the synchronisms between the strata at Megiddo and Jezreel. Zimhoni (1992; 1997) demonstrated that the pottery assemblage from the Jezreel enclosure is contemporary with that from Stratum VA-IVB at Megiddo. On the basis of the Biblical text (1 Kgs 21; 2 Kgs 9-10), Finkelstein dated the Jezreel enclosure, which is contemporary with Megiddo VA-IVB, to the first half of the ninth century BCE (Finkelstein 2005:36-37; Finkelstein and Piasezky 2010:381). Accordingly, he dated Megiddo VA-IVB to the same period. He further associated six architectural features found at the five major Israelite sites (Samaria, Jezreel, Hazor, Gezer, and Megiddo) with the building activities of the Omrides (1999:121-122).²⁵⁴ According to Finkelstein, some of these strata were destroyed by Hazael in the second half of the ninth century BCE.

Although accepted even by his main opponent (Mazar 2007:147), Finkelstein's date of the enclosure has not escaped criticism. Zarzeki-Peleg (1997), while dating Megiddo VA-IVB to the tenth century BCE, argued that the Jezreel enclosure is later than Megiddo VA-IVB, for three types of pottery from the floors of the Jezreel enclosure do not appear in Stratum VA-IVB at Megiddo.²⁵⁵ Recently, Franklin (2008),

Kgs 9:15 against the background of the Omride construction activities or those by the Jehuhtes in the early eighth century BCE.

²⁵⁴ Hafthorsson (2006:188-189) attributed the architecture of *bīt-hilāni* to typical Aramaean architecture. The same feature is described as the typical Omride architecture by Finkelstein (2000:122). Cf. Takata 2005.

²⁵⁵ Finkelstein (1999:56) questioned Zarzeki-Peleg's claim because she used the pottery assemblage from the previous Megiddo excavations (see 6.6.8.), which is unreliable source for discussing the dates. Instead, he suggested using for the comparative study only, the safe and clean assemblage from the previous and renewed excavations of the site. The results of the recent excavations at Megiddo, however, did not yet shed

based on its architectural comparison, dated the Jezreel enclosure to the eighth century BCE.

Finkelstein's Low Chronology was opposed by other scholars, among all by Mazar (1997) and Ben-Tor (Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami 1998; Ben-Tor 2000).²⁵⁶ Mazar (2005:19; 2007:147-148) pointed out the similarity in pottery between the Jezreel enclosure and the construction fills below it, which possibly shows that the same pottery assemblage was continuously used throughout most of the tenth and ninth centuries BCE.

A natural-scientific method was recently brought into this chronological debate. Radiocarbon dating (¹⁴C dating) is a method of determining the date of carbonaceous materials using the rate of decay of ¹⁴C. By this method, one can ascertain the age of the death of an organic sample up to about 60,000 years. This method, despite its range of error, has lately developed and contributed much to establishing the absolute dating of the Iron Age strata.²⁵⁷ It supplies chronological data that is independent of both subjective archaeological interpretations and historical considerations.

Gilboa and Sharon (2001) demonstrated the validity of radiocarbon dating of the Iron Age strata in Palestine. Using samples from Iron Age strata at Tel Dor, their radiocarbon dating lowered the conventional chronology by some seventy-five years and corroborates Finkelstein's Low Chronology. The radiometric dating of other sites such as Megiddo (Carmi and Segal 2000; Boaretto 2006) and Tel Hadar (Finkelstein and Piasezky 2003a:774-775) also support the Low Chronology.²⁵⁸ Finally, the accumulated results of radiocarbon dating of various sites in Israel clearly favour the

more light on the dating of Megiddo VA-IVB (Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2006b:854).

²⁵⁶ See also Bunimovitz and Faust 2001.

²⁵⁷ For the recent development of this dating method, see Levy and Higham 2005:9-13; Ramsey 2005.

²⁵⁸ See also Piasezky and Finkelstein 2005; Finkelstein and Piasezky 2006a; 2006b.

Low Chronology (Boaretto *et al.* 2005; Sharon *et al.* 2007; Finkelstein and Piasezky 2009; 2010).²⁵⁹ Yet, scholarly concensus is yet to be achieved; some scholars used the same or additional samples and argued that the results rather show the probability of the conventional chronology (Mazar and Ramsey 2008; van der Plicht, Bruins, and Nijboer 2009).²⁶⁰

The main focus of this on-going chronological issue is on the transition between the Iron Age IB and the Iron Age IIA. On the other hand, a wide scholarly consensus seems to be emerging concerning the date of the transition between the Iron Age IIA and the Iron Age IIB. Based on the ceramic evidence from Tel Jezreel and Tel Rehov, Mazar (2003a:174; 2003b:158-159; 2005; 2007:148-149; 2008:98-99) recently suggested a “modified conventional chronology (MCC)” and dated the destruction of Megiddo VA-IVB, along with other contemporary strata in the north, to the latter half of the ninth century BCE (840-830 BCE). He also raised the possibility that devastation of these strata was brought about by Hazael.²⁶¹ Dating the IAlIA/IIB transition to 840/830 has been accepted by scholars (Ben-Shlomo, Shai, and Maeir 2004:2; Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004),²⁶² if not unanimously (Zarzecki-Peleg 2005).

To conclude, Finkelstein’s Low Chronology for dating Megiddo VA-IVB and other contemporary strata in the north to the ninth century BCE has greatly increased.

²⁵⁹ The study of Gilboa, Sharon, and Zorn (2004:51-53) did not reach an exclusive conclusion, but at least, they showed the conventional chronology is less likely than the Low Chronology. In addition, the studies of Egyptian “mass produced” stamp seals of the Egyptian twenty-first Dynasty reached a favourable conclusion for the Low Chronology (Münger 2003; 2005; Gilboa, Sharon, and Zorn 2004).

²⁶⁰ For instance, although the ¹⁴C date from Tel Rehov was construed by some scholars as supporting the conventional chronology (Mazar and Carmi 2001; Bruins, van der Plicht, and Mazar 2003; Mazar *et al.* 2005; van der Plicht and Bruins 2005; cf. also Holden 2003), it was demonstrated that the same data could alternatively be interpreted as being supportive of Low Chronology (Finkelstein 2004; Finkelstein and Piasezky 2003a; 2003b; 2003c; Gilboa and Sharon 2003:60; Gilboa, Sharon, and Zorn 2004:42, n. 14; Piasezky and Finkelstein 2005; Sharon, Gilboa, and Boaretto 2007). Cf. also Mazar 2003b:160, n. 30.

²⁶¹ Cf. Mazar 2003b:160, n. 35.

²⁶² Mazar (2008:99) provides a list of the scholars who support the MCC.

The destruction of these strata must be dated to the second half of the ninth century BCE, and the best candidate for these destructions is Hazael of Aram-Damascus.

3.3.2. Archaeological Evidence for Hazael's Campaigns

The following strata in northern Palestine are contemporaneous with Megiddo VA-IVB: Dan IVB; Hazor IX; Jezreel enclosure; Yoqne'am XIV; Ta'anach IIB (Finkelstein 1998); Tell el-Hammah lower (Cahill 2006; Finkelstein and Piasezky 2007); Jebel 'Adatir Stratum III; 'En Gev Stratum IV in Area A and Stratum III* in Areas B-C; Beth-Shean Lower V (Mazar's S-1a and S-1b) and P-9; Tel Rehov IV; Tel 'Amal III; and Tel Gezer VIII.²⁶³ Following Na'aman (1997b:126-127), Finkelstein dated the destruction of these strata to *ca.* 830 BCE. On the basis of radiocarbon dating, the destruction layers of two of these sites, Hazor IX and Tell el-Hammah lower, were dated to *ca.* 830-800 BCE and ascribed to Hazael's military campaigns (Finkelstein and Piasezky 2007; 2009:268). The other sites were only partly discussed in connection with Hazael's invasion and will thus be analysed in the following sections. The sites in Transjordan are excluded from the discussion, since the archaeological information from the region is limited (Hindawi 2007).

3.3.2.1. Jebel 'Adatir

An Iron Age site on top of the mountain (Jebel 'Adatir / Har 'Adir; 1,008 m above the sea level), located close to Sasa in the Upper Galilee, was excavated in 1975-76 (Vitto and Davis 1976). A monumental casemate wall was unearthed, and fill was found inside the casemate rooms, under the room floor (Stratum III). In Stratum II, the inner wall

²⁶³ Oded (1971:196) ascribed Hazor VII-IX and Tell Abu-Hawam III to the time of the Aramaean campaigns.

collapsed, and a casemate room (or a tower) was discovered at the corner. Most of the walls continued to be used in Stratum I. According to the report, no destruction layer was detected. The excavators dated these strata from the late-eleventh to the ninth centuries BCE. Observing the appearance of a small high-necked jar from Stratum II, however, Ilan (1999:182-184) equated Stratum II to Dan IVA and Hazor X-IX, and Stratum III to Dan IVB and Hazor X. If so, Stratum III can be re-dated to the first half of the ninth century BCE by the Low Chronology perspective and to the tenth to ninth centuries BCE by the MCC perspective. Finkelstein (2000:124-125; Finkelstein and Na'aman 2005:183) connected this casemate fortress at Jebel 'Adatir to the Omride architecture. This fortress, together with that at Tel Harashim (Ben-Ami 2004) near Peqi'in, could be construed as one of the fortresses of the Northern Kingdom (Ben-Ami, *op. cit.*, 207; Finkelstein and Na'aman, *op. cit.*, 183).

3.3.2.2. Tel Kinrot (Tell el-'Orēme)

Tel Kinrot is located on a hill overlooking the Sea of Galilee from the north. The site is generally identified with Kinneret/Kinrot mentioned in the Bible (Jos 19:35; Fritz and Münger 2002:2-4; Pakkala, Münger, and Zangenberg 2004:8-11). The city reached its zenith during Stratum V, when it was fortified possibly by the Aramaeans (Pakkala, Münger, and Zangenberg, *op. cit.*, 19-20). In the following period (Stratum IV), the site was sparsely inhabited. The excavators defined Stratum III as an "intermezzo" since only a watchtower has been discovered on the upper mound (Pakkala, Münger, and Zangenberg, *op. cit.*, 24). The time span between Strata IV and II is wide and Stratum III can be attributed either to the Omrides or to Hazael and his successors (Knauf

2000:223, n. 19).²⁶⁴

3.3.2.3. Tel Bethsaida

Tel Bethsaida (et-Tell), one of the largest sites north of the Sea of Galilee, has been excavated since 1987 by Arav (Arav 1995; 1999; 2004; 2009). He attributed Strata VI-IV to the Iron Age II and dated them according to the conventional chronology (Stratum VI = *ca.* 950-*ca.* 850 BCE; Stratum V = *ca.* 850-732 BCE; Stratum IV = Assyrian and Babylonian occupation).²⁶⁵ Large-scale architecture, such as city wall, city gate, and *bīt-hilāni* palace, unearthed at the site, were dated to Stratum VI.²⁶⁶ Radiocarbon dating of the destruction of the Stratum VI granary is *ca.* 850 BCE (Boaretto *et al.* 2005:49; Sharon *et al.* 2007:44; Arav 2009:71).²⁶⁷ Following the destruction, the city reached its zenith in Stratum V by reusing and expanding the architecture of Stratum VI. The gate in Stratum V is architecturally similar to those at Megiddo, Dan, and Lachish (Arav 1999:26). The city of Stratum V was destroyed by Tiglath-pileser III in 732 BCE.

From the Low Chronology perspective, the following chronology may be suggested: Level 6b = late tenth to early ninth century BCE; Level 6a = early ninth to 838-837 BCE; Stratum V = 838-837 to 732 BCE. The identity of the destroyer of Level 6b is open to discussions. It might have been connected either to the Aram-Israel

²⁶⁴ It is noteworthy that Stratum III shows no signs of destruction.

²⁶⁵ Arav 2009:3. For his earlier dating of the strata (Levels 6-4), see Arav 1995:6; 1999:14-15. He (2004:14) divided both Levels 6 and 5 into substrata, namely 6a and 6b (*ibid.*, 7) and 5a and 5b. A destruction layer was detected between 6a and 6b but only in the city gate area (*ibid.*, 11).

²⁶⁶ On the *bīt-hilāni* palace at Bethsaida, see Arav and Burnett 1997; 2000.

²⁶⁷ Finkelstein (2000:125), from the Low Chronology perspective, suggested dating Stratum VI (former Level 6), together with Dan IVA and Hazor VIII, to the late ninth century, and related the massive architecture of this stratum to the expansion of Aram-Damascus under Hazael. On the other hand, Arav (2004) ascribed Level 6a to Hazael's time.

conflict prior to Hazael's reign (Tel Dan Inscription lines 3-4),²⁶⁸ or to the Damascene attack against the independent Geshurite kingdom in an attempt to establish sovereignty over the latter.²⁶⁹ The destruction of Stratum VI (Level 6a) was possibly brought by Shalmaneser III's campaign in 838-837 BCE. After the destruction, Hazael extensively re-fortified the city (Stratum V).

3.3.2.4. Tel 'En Gev

Tel 'En Gev is situated on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee. On the basis of Mazar's excavations, Finkelstein (2000:124) suggested that the casemate fort at Tel 'En Gev (Stratum IV in Area A and Stratum III* in Areas B-C) was built by the Omrides.²⁷⁰ During the years 1990-2004, a Japanese Expedition conducted eight seasons of excavations on the acropolis at 'En Gev (Tsukimoto, Hasegawa, and Onozuka 2009).²⁷¹ Two Iron Age II strata were detected on the acropolis: the casemate complex and the lower tripartite pillared buildings (Stratum V); and the upper pillared buildings (Stratum IV). The lower part of the casemate rooms was filled with grey soil (0.70 – 0.80 m thick) that contained almost no pottery sherds. This soil was possibly filled at the time of the construction of the casemate wall and the lower pillared buildings, so that the wall could function as a retaining wall for the building complex on the acropolis. The inner side of the casemate wall was also filled with constructional fill, which apparently functioned in the same manner. This architectural feature is similar to that of the Jezreel enclosure (Ussishkin 2000:253-254). No floor was detected on the horizontal surface of

²⁶⁸ See 2.2.5.1.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Na'aman 2002b:206.

²⁷⁰ Tel 'En Gev was first excavated by Mazar and others in 1961 (Mazar *et al.* 1964).

²⁷¹ For the excavations by the Japanese Expedition, see also Kochavi 1991; 1993a; 1993b; 1994; 1996:192-193; Kochavi *et al.* 1992; Sugimoto 1999; Miyazaki and Paz 2005; Kochavi and Tsukimoto 2008; Hasegawa and Paz 2009. The renewed excavation of the acropolis by Sugimoto began in 2008 (Sugimoto 2010).

this constructional fill, but the casemate rooms were paved with flagstones at the bottom. No clear mark of destruction has been detected on the acropolis area except for the burnt soil on the floor of the southernmost pillared building. The acropolis was deserted in the latter half of the eighth century, possibly when Tiglath-pileser III attacked this region.

According to the conventional chronology, Stratum V dates to the tenth century BCE, and Stratum IV dates to the ninth-eighth centuries BCE. Finkelstein's Low Chronology dates Stratum V to the time of the Omrides (the early ninth century BCE). Accepting this dating, Stratum IV was built by Hazael. However, the pottery from Stratum IV dates to the eighth century BCE. Upon synthesising the strata of the Acropolis and of Areas A-C of Mazar's excavations, the following table may be suggested (Table 3):

Table 3. Stratigraphical Correlations between Mazar's and Japanese Excavations at Tel

‘En Gev

Dates (BCE) by Mazar	Mazar's Area A	Walls	Mazar's Areas B, C	Walls	Japanese Stratum	Acropolis	Stage	Dates (BCE)
ca. 990-950	V	Solid	-	-	-	-	1	10 th – early 9 th
ca. 950-886	IV	Casemate wall (?) (IV)	(IV*) III*	Casemate with fill (III*)	Va	Casemate wall Glacis Lower Pillared buildings Fill	2	Early 9 th century – ca. 838-837
ca. 886-790	III	Offsets and insets	(IV*) III*	Casemate with fill (III*)	Vb	Casemate wall filled by debris	3	ca. 838-837 – early 8th century
	II	(III-II) Glacis			IV	Upper Pillared buildings	4	Early 8th century – 732
ca. 780-723	I	-	II*-I*	-	-	-	5	732 – ca. 630

 destruction
 destruction?
 division between substrata

According to this correlation of the two excavations, five successive stages can be discerned in the history of Tel ‘En Gev during the Iron Age.

The results of the excavations at ‘En Gev agree with Low Chronology dating. The lack of a destruction layer between Stages 2 and 3 indicates that the city escaped Hazael’s assaults. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the Kingdom of Israel ruled the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee in the ninth century BCE. This region had a close relationship with Syria during the Iron Age, as demonstrated by the Aramaic inscriptions from Tel ‘En Gev, Tel Hadar, and Tel Bethsaida. Thus, I suggest ascribing

Stage 2 at Tel ‘En Gev to the Aramaeans.²⁷² After coming to power, Hazael reinforced the casemate fortification by filling it with soil (Stage 3). Afterwards, the city was attacked. The candidates for the attack are either Adad-nērāri III, who led the military campaign against Damascus in 796 BCE, or Joash, who also fought against Damascus. Later, in the early eighth century, the city was restored by either Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, or by his successor (Hadiānu), and continued to be an Aramaean fortified city until Tiglath-pileser III’s invasion (Stage 4).

I suggest reconstructing the chronology of strata of Bethsaida and ‘En Gev in the following chart (Table 4).

Table 4. Stratigraphical Correlations between Tel Bethsaida and Tel ‘En Gev

Bethsaida	‘En Gev Mazar’s Area A	‘En Gev Mazar’s Areas B, C	‘En Gev Japanese Excavation	Dates (BCE)
6a	V	-	-	10th – early 9th century
6b	IV	(IV*)	Va	Early 9th century – 838-837
V	III	III*	Vb	838-837 – early 8th century
	II		IV	Early 8th century – 732

— destruction
 destruction?
 division between substrata

This chart exhibits differences in the history of Bethsaida and of ‘En Gev: Bethsaida was destroyed in the latter half of the ninth century, whereas ‘En Gev escaped the assault. This destruction may be connected to Shalmaneser III’s campaign in 838-837

²⁷² This region is traditionally connected to Geshurites; yet, whether the kingdom of the Geshurites existed cannot be verified. For the concise history of the kingdom of Geshur, see Ma’oz 1992; Na’aman 2002b:205-207.

BCE and thus is not the result of Hazael's military expansion. This absence of destruction layer at 'En Gev can be explained either by the limited area of excavation or because 'En Gev escaped this attack, probably by surrender. At any event, this chart is tentative, and we should await detailed publication of the Bethsaida excavation.

3.3.2.5. Tel Soreg

Tel Soreg is a small site on the western fringe of the Golan Heights, about four kilometres east of Tel 'En Gev. An Iron Age casemate wall was discovered during excavations (Kochavi 1989:6-9; 1991:181; 1996:189; Kochavi *et al.* 1992:33). The excavators dated this defence system to the ninth-eighth centuries BCE and its destruction to the ninth century BCE. Considering its proximity to Tel 'En Gev, Tel Soreg might have served as an Aramaean fortress. The destruction can be attributed either to the Assyrian invasions of 838-837 BCE or 796 BCE, or to Joash of Israel in the early eighth century BCE.

3.3.2.6. Tel Beth-Shean

Tel Beth-Shean is a major site in the Beth-Shean Valley, located near the place where two ancient roads meet. One road traverses the Jezreel and Harod Valleys towards the east, and the other runs along the Jordan Valley from north to south. The site was first excavated by the University of Pennsylvania between 1921 and 1933.²⁷³ Then, it was excavated by Mazar between 1989 and 1996. Mazar (2006:173) correlated the strata S-1a, S-1b, and P-9 of the new excavation with Lower V of the older.²⁷⁴ These strata were dated by him to the Iron IIA (tenth to mid-ninth centuries BCE), and the pottery

²⁷³ See Mazar 2006:6-7 for literature.

²⁷⁴ For the two phases of the Level V at Tel Beth-Shean, see James 1966:30-45; 140-148.

assemblage is equivalent to that of Tel Rehov VI-IV.²⁷⁵ Mazar (*op. cit.*, 381-382) dated the end of P-10 to P-9 and S-1a and S-1b to *ca.* 840 BCE; no evidence of destruction was detected.

3.3.2.7. Tel Rehov

Tel Rehov, situated about six kilometres west of the Jordan River, is a large tell in the Beth-Shean Valley. The excavations were launched in 1997 and uncovered an Iron II city. Mazar (2003a; 2003b), the director of the Rehov excavation, dated the destruction of Stratum IV to *ca.* 840-830 BCE and related it to Hazael's invasion in this region. Yet, Finkelstein and Piasezky (2007:270), on the basis of radiocarbon dating (*ca.* 875-850 BCE), ascribed the destruction of Stratum IV to a conflict between Aram-Damascus and Israel under the Omride Dynasty. Hence, Tel Rehov might not have been destroyed by Hazael.²⁷⁶

3.3.2.8. Tel 'Amal

Tel 'Amal is located near Kibbutz Nir David, about five kilometres west of Beth-Shean. In the 1960s, the site was excavated by the Musée d'archéologie méditerranéenne (Levy and Edelstein 1972). At niveau III, all the houses were destroyed by conflagration.²⁷⁷ The excavators dated this stratum to the second half of the tenth century.²⁷⁸ Re-dating this stratum by Low Chronology, this conflagration was possibly a result of Hazael's attack on the site in the second half of the ninth century BCE.

²⁷⁵ Mazar 2006:202-203.

²⁷⁶ It may be tempting to connect a massive solid wall newly built in Stratum III (Mazar 2003b:157-158) to Hazael's construction; yet, no epigraphical evidence for the Aramaean occupation has been found.

²⁷⁷ Levy and Edelstein 1972:328.

²⁷⁸ Levy and Edelstein 1972:342.

3.3.2.9. Tel Gezer

Tel Gezer is located on the northern boundary of Shephelah. The tell overlooks the road that leads to the highlands north of Jerusalem (the Valley of Ayalon) as well as the coastal highway, making it an important strategic centre in the Northern Kingdom. The site was first excavated by Macalister in 1902-05 and 1905-07; thereafter, several excavations were carried out at the site in the 1930s, 60s, and 80-90s by Rowe, Wright, and Dever.²⁷⁹

Finkelstein (2002:284-287) re-examined the Iron Age II (VIII-VI) strata at Gezer from the Low Chronology perspective. He dated the end of Stratum VIII, which shows signs of destruction, mainly near the gate, to the second half of the ninth century.²⁸⁰ He ascribed this destruction, albeit with reservations, to Hazael's military campaign.²⁸¹ Radiocarbon dating is required to check the date of the destruction and the identification of the destroyer.

3.3.2.10. Tell eṣ-Šāfi

Tell eṣ-Šāfi, located in the Shephelah, is identified with Philistine Gath (Rainey 1975; Schniedewind 1998; Ehrlich 2002). The excavators uncovered a vast destruction layer which they dated to the end of the ninth or beginning of the eighth century BCE (Boas and Maeir 1998; Maier 2001; 2003; Maeir and Ehrlich 2001). They unearthed a deep trench and identified it as a dry siege moat that was cut by the Aramaean army, when Hazael besieged the city (Maeir and Ehrlich 2001:30-31; Maeir 2003:244-246;

²⁷⁹ For publications, see Dever 1993:506.

²⁸⁰ For the criticism, see Dever 2003, esp. 267-270.

²⁸¹ See also Na'aman 1997b:127. Cf. Master 2001:119, n. 9.

2004:323-325). Their dating of the destruction is also supported by radiocarbon dating (Maeir, Ackermann, and Bruins 2006; Sharon *et al.* 2007). Yet, Ussishkin (2009) suggested that the trench may not be a “siege trench”, and this possibility should also be further investigated.

3.3.3. Hazael’s Conquests and Building Activities in Southern Levant

Archaeological data sheds new light on Hazael’s conquests and building activities in the territory of the Kingdom of Israel, although the dating of each destruction layer must be checked by further radiocarbon analyses. First, a series of destruction levels of Iron Age II sites in northern Palestine is dated to the latter half of the ninth century BCE. These destructions reflect Hazael’s military expansion into the territory of the Northern Kingdom. In the north of Israel, Hazael conquered cities such as Hazor. In the Beth-Shean and Jezreel Valleys, he conquered Tell el-Hammah, Tel ‘Amal, Jezreel, Taanach, and Megiddo. In the northern Shephelah, he might have captured Gezer. He also conquered the Philistine city of Gath and utterly destroyed it. Second, there are indications that Hazael rebuilt or reinforced the captured cities and fortresses. He possibly rebuilt Dan and Hazor. The site of Jezreel, on the other hand, was left in ruins. At Dan, Hazael erected his stela (Stratum IVA). Likewise, Hazael might have refortified Hazor (Stratum VIII).²⁸² The sites on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee, such as Bethsaida and Tel ‘En Gev were formerly in Aramaean hands. The excavations at ‘En Gev (Stage 3) and Bethsaida indicate that Hazael fortified these sites, probably after the Assyrian withdrawal from Syria-Palestine. The massive fortifications and monumental buildings at these sites show their prosperity under Hazael.

²⁸² Finkelstein 1999:61.

3.4. The Biblical Source

Various Biblical texts mention the name of Hazael: 1 Kgs 19:15-17; 2 Kgs 8:7-15; 8:28-29; 9:14-15; 10:32-33; 12:18-19; 13:3, 22-25.²⁸³ The historicity of the description in 2 Kgs 8:28-29; 9:14-15 was addressed in Chapter 2 (2.1.2.2.2.). 2 Kgs 10:32-33 describes Hazael's invasion of the territory of the Kingdom of Israel. These verses refer to the reigns of Jehu and Joahaz and will be discussed in the next chapter. The rest of the passages will be analysed in the following sections.

3.4.1. The Anointment of Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha by Elijah (1 Kgs 19:15-18)

This passage is included within the story of Elijah's flight from Jezebel to Mt Horeb, where he encountered YHWH (19:1-18).²⁸⁴ In v. 17, YHWH orders Elijah to anoint Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha: "And him who escapes from the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay; and him who escapes from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay." These verses have been cited by some scholars as evidence for the conspiracy between Hazael and Jehu.²⁸⁵ However, the assumption that these verses are a literary unit reflecting the time of Hazael's hegemony over Israel (Steck 1968:92; Cogan 2001:457) must be reconsidered. The passage includes a later interpolation, namely vv. 15b-17 (Fohrer 1957:19-22, 36-39, 42, 44; Hentschel 1977:56-60; Sekine 1977:63-66; Otto 2001:184-185, n. 161; Lehnart 2003:252-253).²⁸⁶ It is obvious that Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha were not

²⁸³ Am 1:4, which also mentions Hazael, will be discussed in 6.1.4.3.

²⁸⁴ 1 Kgs 19:3-18 is generally regarded, particularly in the recent studies, as an entity inserted by a post-Dtr editor. Cf. von Nordheim 1992:152; Long 1984:197-198. For the earlier literature, see Otto 2001:184-186, n. 161; Lehnart 2003:240-241, n. 185. 1 Kgs 19:15-18 is not well integrated into the Dtr History, as pointed out by Wellhausen (1899:280-281). See also Montgomery 1951:325; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:92.

²⁸⁵ See, for example, Schniedewind 1996:83-85. Cf. 2.2.6.2.

²⁸⁶ The range of this interpolation is in dispute (Fohrer: 15aβ-18; Hentschel and Lehnart: vv. 15b-17; Sekine: vv. 15aβ-17; Otto vv. 15-16, 18). Otto (2001:184-185, n. 161) assumed that v. 17 is an older prose which derives from the time of Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha. Würthwein regarded (1984:231-232) vv. 15-18 as a secondary interpolation. Otto (*loc. cit.*) ascribed vv. 15-16, 18 to the second post-Dtr editor ("BE2" = „Zweite nachdeuteronomistische Bearbeitung im Bereich der Elia-Erzählungen“). McKenzie (1991:81-87)

contemporaneous with Elijah. Moreover, YHWH's order to anoint these three persons (vv. 15b-16) is not fulfilled: Hazael was not anointed by Elijah (2 Kgs 8:7-15); it was Elisha's disciple who anointed Jehu (2 Kgs 9:1-10); Elijah did not anoint Elisha (1 Kgs 19:19-21; 2 Kgs 2:1-18). It is clear that these verses are a result of a scribe's efforts to associate these individuals with Elijah's authority. Finally, the reference to the incidents that took place during the Jehuite Dynasty (v. 17), such as Hazael's attack on Israel and Jehu's elimination of Baal's worshippers and the House of Omri, is a *vaticinium ex eventu*.²⁸⁷ To summarise, 1 Kgs 19:17, which is an attempt to connect Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha with Elijah, represents a late theological interpretation of the history of Israel during the early Jehuite Dynasty. The attempt might have been made already during the Jehuite Dynasty, but the verse cannot be regarded as evidence for the conspiracy between the Damascene and Samaritan kings.

3.4.2. Throne Change in Damascus (2 Kgs 8:7-15)

The story describes the meeting between Hazael and Elisha in Damascus. Hazael was sent by Ben-Hadad, the king of Damascus, to Elisha, who visited Damascus, to ask the man of God whether he would recover from illness. Elisha replied in an enigmatic way: "Go, say to him,"²⁸⁸ 'You shall certainly recover'; but the LORD has shown me that he shall certainly die" (v. 10). Then, Elisha²⁸⁹ burst into tears (v. 11) because Hazael would distress the people of Israel in the future (v. 12). At the end of this story,

regarded Chapters 17-19 as a post-Dtr interpolation.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Campbell and O'Brien 2000:397. Cf. Blum 1997:287-288, 290-291.

²⁸⁸ *Qere* אֵל is a later attempt to avoid giving an image that the prophet Elisha instigated Hazael to lie. Cf. Montgomery 1951:393; Gray 1977:530-531; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:90.

²⁸⁹ For the view that the subject here is Hazael and not Elisha, see Cogan and Tadmor 1988:90. See also Montgomery 1951:393-394 with earlier literature.

Ben-Hadad dies and Hazael becomes king of Damascus.²⁹⁰

The story relates how Hazael, not having been the designated royal heir, rose on the throne of Damascus (vv. 14-15).²⁹¹ Despite its fictional features,²⁹² the historical nucleus of this story may be confirmed by the Assyrian source which attests to Hazael's illegitimacy in occupying the Damascene throne (3.1.1.).²⁹³ Thus, it is plausible that this piece of information, together with the historical setting of the account, retains historical memory of Hazael's rise.²⁹⁴

Another main theme of the account is found in vv. 11-12, which describes the prophet's weeping over Israel's impending misfortune. By this description, great emphasis is placed on Elisha's sympathy toward the people of Israel, who would be suffering from Hazael's hegemony.²⁹⁵ This emphasis helps in dating the anecdote to the time of the Jehuite Dynasty,²⁹⁶ either under the Aramaean hegemony or immediately thereafter.²⁹⁷ People in the Northern Kingdom might have questioned themselves as to why Elisha, despite his meeting with Hazael, did not remove Israel's oppression under the Damascene hegemony. The answer is provided in v. 13b: YHWH "allowed" Hazael

²⁹⁰ The cause of the death of Ben-Hadad is not clear. See Montgomery 1951:394; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:91. This verse does not signify that Hazael murdered the king. Gray 1977:532. *Contra* Würthwein 1984:320.

²⁹¹ Cf. Galil 2007:89.

²⁹² Most commentators regarded the description of the gift from Ben-Hadad to Elisha in v. 9b as fictional due to the exaggerated number of camels (Montgomery 1951:392; Gray 1977:530; Würthwein 1984:318; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:90).

²⁹³ Montgomery 1951:392; Gray 1977:470.

²⁹⁴ Most commentators (Montgomery 1951:392; Gray 1977:470; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:90) interpreted vv. 10-12 together with v. 15 that the prophet was involved in Hazael's usurpation, regardless directly or indirectly. Cf. 1 Kgs 15:17.

²⁹⁵ Elisha operates as a man of God in this story, unlike 1 Kgs 19:15b-17. In 1 Kgs 19:15b-17, Elijah was sent by YHWH to anoint Hazael, and yet Elisha's role in the story is restrictive; he does not anoint Hazael as the king of Damascus. The anecdote in 2 Kgs 8:7-15 does not reflect the concept that foreign kings served as tools of YHWH in the history of Israel; it merely exhibits the change of the throne in Damascus.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Gressmann 1921:304; Stith 2008:48-49. McKenzie (1991:95-100) regarded 2 Kgs 3:4-8:15 as post-Dtr additions.

²⁹⁷ White (1997:42) suggested that 8:7-15 were added to the OJN during the reign of either Joahaz or Jeroboam II, to render another piece of prophetic authorisation to Jehu's coup.

to ascend the Damascene throne. In other words, vivid memory of Hazael's invasion of Israel forms the backbone of this anecdote.²⁹⁸ To sum up, 2 Kgs 8:7-15 testifies to two historical points: Hazael was a usurper;²⁹⁹ Hazael invaded Israel and caused a dire plight.

3.4.3. Hazael's Attack on Gath (2 Kgs 12:18-19)

These verses tersely report Hazael's conquest of Philistine Gath and his march toward Jerusalem in the time of Jehoash, king of Judah (v. 18). Jehoash avoided the attack by paying heavy tribute to Hazael (v. 19).

This short account apparently reflects a genuine historical memory. (1) Only four Philistine kingdoms (Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron) are mentioned both in the Assyrian royal inscriptions of the eighth-seventh centuries BCE and in the Biblical prophecy of the eighth to fifth centuries BCE (Jer 25:20; Amos 1:6-8; Zeph 2:4; Zech 9:5-6). The name of Gath is missing from these sources except in the annals of Sargon II, which refers to Gath as a secondary city in the territory of Ashdod.³⁰⁰ (2) The on-going excavation at Tell eṣ-Šāfi (3.3.2.10.), identified with Biblical Gath, detected a destruction layer dating to the late ninth-early eighth century BCE.

²⁹⁸ Vv. 12b-13a appears to be a secondary interpolation, probably influenced, in terms of phraseology, by the descriptions of the foreign nations' attack on Israel in Am 1:13 (Ammon) and Isa 13:16 (Babylonia). Cf. Cogan 1983:755-757; Na'aman 1995c:38-39. Cf. 2 Kgs 15:16.

²⁹⁹ Neither the Assyrian text nor the Book of Kings prove Hazael murdered Adad-idri (as in Assyrian text) or Ben-Hadad (as in the Book of Kings), as many scholars have suggested. The earliest of this view is found in Josephus (*Antiquities* IX 92) who stated: "he killed him by suffocation". For earlier literature, see Na'aman 1995a:387, n. 24. The expression for "to pass away" *šadāšu ēmid* (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.40, Col. i, line 25), employed in the description of Adad-idri's demise, does not necessarily imply a violent death (Kottsieper 1998:485-486). See Lemaire 1991a:95-96, n. 40 for earlier literature. Lemaire (*op. cit.*, 95-96) demonstrated the ambiguity of the description in 2 Kgs 8:15 as evidence for Ben-Hadad's murder by Hazael. See also Na'aman, *op. cit.*, 387-388; Dion 1999:153-154.

³⁰⁰ Fuchs 1994:134, line 250; 220, line 104. Cf. Na'aman 2002b:202.

3.4.4. Decline of Israel under Joahaz (2 Kgs 13:3, 7)

2 Kgs 13:1-8 describes Joahaz's reign as the lowest ebb in the history of Israel. Vv. 1-2 and 8-9 are inserted in the Dtr formula for the Israelite king, which will be examined in the next chapter.³⁰¹ To this formula, vv. 3-7 adds further information, which can be summarised as follows: (1) Hazael and his son Ben-Hadad subjugated Israel (v. 3); (2) a "saviour" delivered the Israelite people from the Aramaean hegemony (v. 5); (3) the Israelite army was depleted by the Aramaeans (v. 7).

Vv. 3-7 are not a literary unit and the majority of scholars regard vv. 4-6 as secondary.³⁰² Dietrich (1972:34, n. 51) ascribed vv. 4-6 to the DtrN, and Würthwein (1984:361) suggested that these verses were added to explain why Israel did not come to an end despite the catastrophic situation under the Aramaean hegemony. Similar explanation can be found in 2 Kgs 13:23 (Joash) and 14:26-27 (Jeroboam II), all of which can be attributed to the same late hand.³⁰³

Hoffmann (1980:114-118) surmised a single Dtr composition of vv. 3-6 due to the similarity between vv. 3-5 and Jgs 3:7-11 both in phraseology and in plot.³⁰⁴ He suggested that the similarity is derived from the same author who composed both verses in the typical structure of the Book of Judges ("Richterrahmen"), a formula of "infidelity – oppression – repentance – liberation".³⁰⁵ However, Briend (1981:42-45) demonstrated the late date of the phraseology in vv. 4-6. Hence, it is not necessary to connect this passage to the structure of the Book of Judges.

³⁰¹ Würthwein 1984:360; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:144.

³⁰² For example, Montgomery 1951:433; Gray 1977:594-596; Briend 1981:42-45. See Long (1991:164) for more literature.

³⁰³ Dietrich 1972:34.

³⁰⁴ Hoffmann 1980:114. The phraseology *וַיְהִי אֶף ה' בְּבִנְיָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל* is found also in: Num 25:3; 32:13; Jos 7:1; Jgs 2:14; 2:20; 10:7. Cf. Ps 106:40.

³⁰⁵ For this reason, Hoffmann (1980:116-118) suggested that vv. 3-5 are not directly derived from a source and recognised no historical information or reflexion of older tradition in vv. 3-6.

The general situation of Israel as described in v. 3 conforms to the historical reality: Israel was subjugated by Hazael and his son Ben-Hadad. Hence, it is logical to assume that the author, using a similar phraseology to that in the Book of Judges, composed v. 3 by consulting an old source, most probably the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.³⁰⁶

In 2 Kgs 13:7, the number of the reduced Israelite army in the time of Joahaz are enumerated: 50 horses for a chariot (פרשים),³⁰⁷ 10 chariots, and 10,000 foot soldiers.³⁰⁸ These numbers are displayed here as concrete data to show the decline of Israel under the Aramaean oppression. Some scholars assume that the verse was derived from an ancient source and belongs to the Dtr history,³⁰⁹ and some suppose that it was inserted at a later date.³¹⁰ Since numbers in the ancient historiography is often subject to manipulation for author's purpose, the authenticity of these numbers must be re-evaluated in light of recent research on numbers in the Ancient Near Eastern literature.³¹¹

Two contemporary extra-Biblical sources have been cited for the evaluation of the numbers of Joahaz's army. Shalmaneser III's Kurkh Monolith (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.2: Col. ii, 91-92) describes his encounter with Syrian allied forces at Qarqar in 853 BCE.

³⁰⁶ Cf. 2 Kgs 13:22.

³⁰⁷ Whether פרשים here means "team of horses/horses for a chariot" or "horsemen/charioteers" is not clear. Gray 1977:596. See *HAL* III:919 for literature.

³⁰⁸ Cogan and Tadmor (1988:143) suggested emending עשרת "ten" to עלפים "two thousands" in v. 7. They also suggested that "'ten thousand' sets in contrast the depleted chariot and cavalry forces and the relatively larger infantry." However, the emendation of the text based on speculation must be avoided because there is no comparable source for the numbers of the Israelite army at that time.

³⁰⁹ For example, Montgomery 1951:433.

³¹⁰ Würthwein 1984:361. Gordon and Rendsburg (1997:240) suggested that this verse may be taken out of the peace treaty.

³¹¹ Jepsen (1941-44:159) suggested that this verse originally followed v. 22, because it has the conjunction כי in the beginning of the sentence. Also, Gray 1977:596. Another suggestion is that this verse is an expansion of v. 3 as an editorial interpolation (Montgomery 1951:434). In this case, v. 22 might originally have followed v. 7 (Gray, *op. cit.*, 596). The Lucianic recension puts v. 23 after v. 7.

Ahab of Israel was one of the three biggest allies in the coalition, and his military force described was 2,000 chariots and 10,000 troops. These numbers are debated among scholars.³¹² De Odorico (1995:103-107) suggested that the numbers in this text, particularly those of the first three, including Ahab's army, were deliberately exaggerated in order to multiply the total numbers of the enemy forces. The numbers of the first three contingents are extremely high compared with the others, which may show the possibility that the author multiplied the numbers to reach an adequate total of the enemy troops. Therefore, these numbers should not be taken at face value.³¹³

The Tel Dan Inscription (lines 6-7) also refers to the chariots and horsemen (פרשים) of the Israelite and Judahite armies. In the text, the author claimed that he slew "thou[sands of cha]riots and thousands of horsemen". One should bear in mind, however, that these numbers are exaggerated to aggrandise the author's victory. In sum, the reliability of the numbers of these sources is questionable, and we should not expect that the comparison of the numbers of Joahaz's army with those in the Ancient Near Eastern Literature will shed light on the logic behind the concrete numbers in 2 Kgs 13:7.

The most comparable numbers of the Israelite army in v. 7 can be found in other places in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the Dtr History. 1 Kgs 5:6 and 10:26 state that Solomon had 12,000 פרשים and 1,400 chariots. As for foot soldiers, Jgs 20:4 gives 400,000 and 1 Sam 15:4 numbers 200,000, excluding those from Judah. Compared with these numbers, the numbers of the army in 2 Kgs 13:7 are indeed small. The result of the comparison shows that the numbers of Joahaz's army are not directly

³¹² See for example, Elat 1975; Galil 2002:43-46.

³¹³ The emendations of the numbers of the Israelite army in the Kurkh Monolith inscription were suggested by some scholars. See Na'aman 1976:97-102; Katzenstein 1997:168.

derived from a credible source. The Dtr might have an older source that possibly mentions concrete numbers of Joahaz's army. However, to emphasise Joahaz's military weakness, he could have intentionally described small numbers as compared to the quantity of the Israelite army at the peak of its power. Therefore, the numbers of the Israelite army in 2 Kgs 13:7 cannot be regarded as reliable.³¹⁴

3.4.5. Historical Information in the Description of the Relationship between Israel and Aram under Joahaz and Joash (2 Kgs 13:22-25)

Vv. 22-25 are located within the framework of Joash's reign (13:10-13 and 14:15-16). The first verse (v. 22), using similar phraseology as 2 Kgs 13:3, reminds the reader of the Aramaean yoke in the time of Joahaz. This similarity led Gray (1977:600) to place this verse either between vv. 3 and 7 or after v. 7, assuming that v. 22, 24-25 are from the Book of the Chronicles of Israel.³¹⁵

In the Lucianic recension, a lengthy addition follows v. 22: "and Hazael took the Philistine from his hand, from the sea of the West to Aphek". Indicating the geographical impossibility of the transcription, Rahlfs (1911:289) suggested that this verse is a secondary expansion that was partly based on the mistranslation of ים הערבה as ים המערב "western sea".³¹⁶ Schenker (2004:113-115), on the other hand, accepted its originality and discussed the dissonance of this Lucianic addition for the political-historical situation at that time.³¹⁷ To solve this problem, he suggested that the Philistines were, in reality, under Israelite domination until the time of Joahaz and

³¹⁴ More detailed discussion will be found in Hasegawa 2010a.

³¹⁵ V. 22 contradicts the statement given in v. 5, according to which Israel was relieved of the Aramaean oppression in the days of Joahaz. Cf. Cogan and Tadmor 1988:150.

³¹⁶ Cf. Šanda 1912:157-158; Montgomery 1951:438.

³¹⁷ Stade and Schwally (1904:245) accepted this addition as original.

obtained their independence after Hazael's conquests. However, there is no evidence for this theory. Be that as it may, this additional information can hardly serve as a historical source for drawing the political relations on the eve of Hazael's conquest.³¹⁸

It appears that v. 23 was composed by a post-Exilic editor to explain the reason for Joash's reversal of the power balance between Israel and Damascus.³¹⁹ The covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob appears for the first time after the Exile (Briend 1981:45-47). The context of the present text (vv. 22, 24-25) creates an impression that the cause of the power shift in the time of Joash and Ben-Hadad was the throne-changes in both kingdoms. Hence, the intention of the later editor was to ascribe this power shift to the grace of YHWH.³²⁰

The description of Hazael's death and the subsequent enthronement of Ben-Hadad reported in v. 24 provides historically authentic information. It is worth noting that the description of the throne-change in Damascus employs a verb מוֹת (cf. 2 Kgs 8:10, 15), which is different from those in the concluding statements of the kings of Israel and Judah (שָׁב). It may suggest that the author deliberately employed a different verb for the description of the Damascene throne change, since Ben-Hadad is a foreign king.

V. 25a depicts Joash's fighting against Ben-Hadad and the retaking of the cities lost during Joahaz's time.³²¹ It should be emphasised that the victory over Aram mentioned in v. 25 also fulfils the magical omen in vv. 14-19.³²² According to 2 Kgs 13:14-19, Elisha predicts the three defeats of the Aramaeans. Most commentators accept

³¹⁸ Cogan and Tadmor 1988:149.

³¹⁹ The thematic similarity between this verse, v. 4, and 2 Kgs 14:26-27 is notable. See Long 1991:163-164.

³²⁰ Cf. Würthwein 1984:369.

³²¹ Long (1991:167) pointed out the exact diction, in which the author brings Israel and Aram in "familial relation": son regains from son what father had lost to father.

³²² It should be noted that this anecdote, as 1 Kgs 20, originally preserved no name of the king of Israel and belonged to the legendary story of the prophet. Cf. Wellhausen 1899:288-289; Würthwein 1984:364.

the unity of this anecdote, except for the specific mention of Aphek as the place of the Israelite victory (v. 17).³²³ Yet, the contextual difference between v. 17 and v. 18 seems unnatural and thus negates the unity (Würthwein 1984:365-366).³²⁴ In vv. 15-17, Elisha transfers his supernatural power to the king of Israel, thereby enabling him to defeat the Aramaeans.³²⁵ Despite the declaration of total victory in v. 17, the king of Israel was ordered to shoot again towards the ground (vv. 18-19). Thus, vv. 18-19 function as a correction of the total victory over Aram declared in v. 17. It seems that a late editor, who read v. 25b and learned that Joash did not completely defeat Aram, interpolated vv. 18-19 as corrective to the original anecdote (vv. 14-17).³²⁶ Whether the Dtr, when composing v. 25, knew the exact number of Joash's victories over Aram (three times) remains unknown. "Three times" can also be a rhetorical emphasis to show that Joash's victory was sufficient to throw off the Aramaean yoke. Likewise, whether Joash regained all the territories lost to Aram or only a part of them is unknown.³²⁷

In short, 2 Kgs 13:22-25 present the following information. (1) Israel was subjugated to Hazael in the reign of Joahaz. (2) Ben-Hadad succeeded Hazael. (3) Joash defeated the Aramaeans in the days of Ben-Hadad and recovered some cities which had been lost to the Aramaeans during Joahaz's time.

3.4.6. Hazael and Israel in the Book of Kings

The chapter discussed Hazael's rise to power and his domination over Israel during the second half of the ninth century BCE. 2 Kgs 8:7-15 attest to Hazael's usurpation of the

³²³ Montgomery 1951:435; Gray 1977:598; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:148. Hentschel (1985:60-61) discerned two layers in this text and regarded "at Aphek" as secondary. Würthwein (1984:364), on the other hand, included "at Aphek" in the original text.

³²⁴ Also Fritz 1998:72.

³²⁵ Cf. 2 Kgs 2:1-15, where Elijah transfers his supernatural power to Elisha.

³²⁶ Würthwein (1984:366) regarded v. 15b as a secondary interpolation.

³²⁷ Cf. Chapter 4.

Damascene throne from Adad-idri (Ben-Hadad). Short descriptions derived from a chronistic source reflect the overall chain of events during Hazael's reign, which roughly corresponds to the combined reigns of Jehu and Joahaz (2 Kgs 13:3). 2 Kgs 12:18-19 show the extent of Hazael's military campaigns in the south. Hazael attacked Gath and received tribute from Jehoash, the king of Judah. His campaigns brought about a dire plight to Israel, which possibly formed the background of the prophetic stories in 2 Kgs 8:7-15 and 1 Kgs 19:15-18. As a result, Joahaz's military power considerably decreased (2 Kgs 13:7). The military power gained by the Omrides in the first half of the ninth century BCE gradually dissolved. The Aramaean dominance under Hazael seemed to have continued until the early days of Joash, king of Israel (2 Kgs 13:22). After Hazael's death, Ben-Hadad ascended the throne of Damascus (2 Kgs 13:24). Joash regained power, threw off the Aramaean yoke, and conquered some of the captured territories (2 Kgs 13:25).

3.5. Synthesis

Four kinds of sources, each supplementing the other, contribute to the historical picture of the rise and dominance of Hazael. His usurpation of the throne ended the alliance between Israel and Aram-Damascus and thus they embarked on a hostile era. Under Hazael, Damascus became a dominant power in Syria-Palestine. Especially after the Assyrian withdrawal from the region in 829 BCE, Hazael deeply invaded the territory of the Northern Kingdom, eventually subjugating it.

4. The Reigns of Jehu and Joahaz (841-798 BCE)

Only a handful of direct sources for the reigns of Jehu and Joahaz are available, part of them were already discussed in Chapter 3. The Book of Kings provides us with general information concerning these two kings. The Assyrian and Aramaic (Zakkur) inscriptions illuminate the political developments, whilst the Mesha Inscription describes how the Israelite territory in Transjordan was captured by the Moabites.

4.1. The Biblical Source

The Biblical texts that briefly describe the reigns of Jehu and Joahaz are (1) 2 Kgs 10:28-29; (2) 10:32-33; (3) 10:34-36; and (4) 13:1-9.

4.1.1. Dtr's Evaluation of Jehu's Religious Policy (2 Kgs 10:29)

2 Kgs 10:29 does not belong to the original Jehu Narrative (cf. Chapter 2). It was added to summarise and evaluate Jehu's reign from a Dtr viewpoint. Since the Biblical description of Jehu's reign lacks the usual opening formula, v. 29 serves as an expanded concluding formula. Vv. 29, 34-46, together with 10:30-33, constitute the summarising description of Jehu's reign. Vv. 29-31 are the Dtr's judgment on Jehu's religious policy, and vv. 32-33 describes Hazael's invasion of the Northern Kingdom.

2 Kgs 10:29 accuses Jehu of maintaining the cult of the golden calf in Bethel and Dan. The Tel Dan Inscription, however, suggests that Dan belonged to the Aramaeans during the early Jehuite Dynasty. Recent analysis of the pottery from Stratum IVA at Tel Dan suggests that the city was rebuilt during the late ninth century BCE after a gap of occupation (Arie 2008:33-38). Since the Tel Dan Inscription is dated to the same period, it was most certainly Hazael who built Dan in the late ninth century

BCE, between the Assyrian withdrawal from the region in 829 BCE and Hazael's death. It could probably be dated between 830-820 BCE, which still falls during Jehu's reign. If this had been the case, the mention of Dan in the religious evaluation in 2 Kgs 10:29 indicates that the Dtr did not know that Dan had belonged to the Aramaeans during Jehu's reign and used a schematic judgment formula in order to emphasise Jehu's sins (Hoffmann 1980:115-116, 118).³²⁸ It is clear that 2 Kgs 10:29 does not reflect historical reality.

4.1.2. The Extent of Hazael's Invasion (2 Kgs 10:32-33)

2 Kgs 10:32-33 delineates the geographical extent of Hazael's invasion of Transjordan. If the geographical information in v. 33 is correct, Hazael conquered the entire Transjordanian areas as far as the Arnon River. Certain parts of these verses might have been based on a source. V. 32 begins with an expression "in those days" (בימים ההם) which might refer to an archival source.³²⁹ On the other hand, the double mention of Gilead in v. 33 may suggest that part of this verse is a late addition.³³⁰ Thus, a reconstruction of the original text is necessary to discuss the historical authenticity of these verses. Kittel (1900:242) and Würthwein (1984:343) ascribed v. 33a β -b (הגדי והראובני והמנשי מערער אשר על-נחל ארנן והגלעד והבשן) to a later editor, who "(was) perhaps motivated by such texts as Numbers 32 and Deut 3:12-13 – felt compelled to specify what he called 'the whole land of Gilead' according to tribal boundaries" (Barré

³²⁸ It is notable that the exemplification of religious sin in Bethel and Dan appears only here except for the description of Jeroboam I (1 Kgs 12:29) who introduced the cult. It may show Dtr's emphasis on Jehu's sin and imperfection, possibly in contrast to that of Josiah, although Jehu did expel, as Josiah did, the Baal cult from Israel. 2 Kgs 13:6, which mentions the existence of Asherah in Samaria, is also schematic but it belongs to a secondary interpolation. See 3.4.4. Cf. 1 Kgs 16:33; 18:19).

³²⁹ Montgomery 1934; 1951:33-37.

³³⁰ Stade (1885:279) suggested that v. 33 is later than v. 32a, and vv. 33a and 33b do not consist of the same layer. Otto (2001:53) ascribed all vv. 28-36 to the Dtr.

1988:22-23).³³¹ Following this view, Na'aman (2001b:37) pointed out the literary relationship between the extent of David's conquest in 2 Samuel and the geographical extent of Gilead in this segment of v. 33.³³² It indicates that v. 33a β -b was added to v. 33 in order to show that all the territory held by Israel since David's days was lost to Hazael. Only v. 33a α ("from the Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead") was based on an ancient source.

It is unlikely that this short note is a Dtr's invention, although the source for the composition of vv. 32-33 is unknown. We may assume that an ancient source was available to the Dtr for composing v. 33, to which he added v. 32. Ben-Zvi (1990:100-105) suggested that 2 Kgs 10:32 as well as 2 Kgs 15:37 are based on prophetic sources, which might have contained "a more frightening and detailed description" of the punishment of the kings who were seen to be relatively good in the eyes of YHWH.³³³ Assuming that this hypothesis is correct, the expression "החל" might have been employed here to "moderate the severity of the divine stroke" upon Jehu, the "good" king.

Whereas the Aramaeans conquered Gilead, it was Mesha who conquered the southernmost part of the Israelite territory in Transjordan. As related in the Mesha Inscription, during the early Omride period Israel held some cities in the Mishor, north of the Arnon River, such as Medeba, Ataroth, and Yahaz.³³⁴ Under Jehu, Mesha

³³¹ Benzinger (1899:155) regarded the second mention of Gilead (על-נחל ארנון והגלעד והבשן) as original, whereas the first mention (כל-ארץ הגלעד) as gloss because it is a general description of Transjordan. Šanda (1912:119-120), while ascribing v. 32b (ויכם חזאל בכל-גבול ישראל) to the Dtr (Rj), regarded כל-ארץ הגלעד as a later addition. He assumed that v. 32b was composed on the information in 2 Kgs 13:3 by the Dtr. Montgomery (1951:412) and Gray (1977:563) ascribed כל-ארץ הגלעד הגדי והראובני והמנשי to a secondary editor. Cf. also Na'aman 1995b:109; 2001b:37; Barré 1988:22-23.

³³² 2 Sam 24:5-6.

³³³ 2 Kgs 15:37 describes the reign of Jotham. V. 34 reads: "he did what was right in the eyes of YHWH".

³³⁴ On historical background of the Israelite expansion in Transjordan during the Omride Dynasty, see Na'aman 2001b:34-35.

conquered all the territory up to Nebo on the Transjordanian plateau and built/rebuilt some cities in the area (lines 11-31).

4.1.3. Dtr's Final Assessment of Jehu's Reign (2 Kgs 10:34-36)

According to the concluding verses to his reign, Jehu was buried in Samaria (v. 35), Joahaz his son ascended the throne (v. 35) and reigned for twenty-eight years (v. 36).³³⁵ It should be noted that v. 36 is not a schematic description of the length of the Israelite king's reign (והימים אשר מלך יהוא על-ישראל עשרים-ושמנה שנה בשמרון).³³⁶ The author might have had a full scheme for Jehu, which he excluded due to the interpolation of the prophetic narrative and historical notes (Steuernagel 1912:343).³³⁷

4.1.4. Dtr's Assessment of Joahaz's Reign (2 Kgs 13:1-2, 8-9)

In 2 Kgs 13:1-2, 8-9, the Dtr gives a negative judgement on Joahaz, represented by the usual expression for the king of Israel "the sin of Jeroboam" (חטאות ירבעם) (v. 2).³³⁸

4.1.5. The "Saviour" of Israel (2 Kgs 13:5)

2 Kgs 13:5 refers to a "saviour" (מושיע) sent by YHWH to deliver Israel from the Aramaean yoke. Some scholars regarded him as a historical figure and proposed several identifications: Elisha, Adad-nērāri III, Joash, Jeroboam II, and Zakkur.³³⁹ However, vv.

³³⁵ The phrase "in Samaria" in v. 36 is out of position and thus may be a gloss. See Thenius 1873:330; Benzinger 1899:155; Kittel 1900:243; Stade and Schwally 1904:234; Montgomery 1951:416; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:117.

³³⁶ A schematic description of an Israelite king's reign is put into an opening formula specific to the king. It has a synchronism with the contemporary Judahite king, the names of the king and his father, his capital, and the length of the reign in this order.

³³⁷ See also Würthwein 1984:343. Cf. 1 Kgs 2:11 (David); 1 Kgs 14:20 (Jeroboam I). See also Long 1991:127.

³³⁸ This expression appears twelve times in the Bible, all of which are found in the Book of Kings. 1 Kgs 14:16; 15:30; 16:31; 2 Kgs 3:3; 10:31; 13:2, 6; 15:9, 18, 24, 28; 17:22. Cf. Debus 1967.

³³⁹ For the literature, see Gray 1977:594-595; Briend 1981:41-42; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:143.

4-6 is a secondary interpolation and thus should be excluded from the historical discussion.³⁴⁰ It is likely that a later author employed this expression without having a specific character in mind, or at least did not intend that the “saviour” would be identified with a specific character.³⁴¹

The secondary origin of v. 5 is also corroborated by its contents. There is a marked discrepancy between vv. 3-5 and v. 22. V. 3 states that Israel was subjugated by the Aramaeans “all the days” (כל-הימים); and v. 22 states that Hazael, king of Aram, oppressed Israel “all the days of Joahaz” (כל ימי יהואחז). And yet in v. 5, YHWH sends a deliverer during the reign of Joahaz. This inconsistency indicates the secondary origin of v. 5.³⁴² Israel was not delivered from the Aramaean yoke during Joahaz’s days.³⁴³ It was during Joash’s reign that the Israelite kingdom regained its independence.

4.1.6. Joahaz’s “might” (2 Kgs 13:8)

Joahaz’s “might” (גבורתו) is mentioned in the concluding formula in v. 8. A king’s “might” is mentioned in other concluding formulae when a battle or a rebellion is described in the previous part of the king’s history.³⁴⁴ Thus, Joahaz’s “might” may refer to the Aramaean oppression which would inevitably entail military operations (2

³⁴⁰ See 3.4.4.

³⁴¹ Similar plot and phraseology appear in the Book of Judges (Jgs 3:9, 15; cf. also 2:18). The stories follow a basic plot: (1) the sinning Israelites; (2) YHWH becomes enraged and hands them over to foreign kings; (3) Israel returns to YHWH; (4) YHWH provides a means of reconciliation through a saviour and Israelites are able to finally enjoy peace. See Gray 1977:591-592; Hoffmann 1980:114-116; Würthwein 1984; Hentchel 1985:58; Long 1991:116.

³⁴² The verb לחץ “to oppress” in 2 Kgs 13:4, 22 is often used in the Hebrew Bible, particularly in the Book of Judges, for oppressions of Israelite people by foreign nations. Ex 3:9; Jgs 1:34; 2:18; 4:3; 6:9; 10:22; 1 Sam 10:18; Am 6:14.

³⁴³ Joahaz might have refused to take part in the siege of Hadrach. See 4.3.

³⁴⁴ “Might” (גבורתו) is mentioned in the concluding formulae of the following kings: Asa (1 Kgs 15:23), Baasha (1 Kgs 16:5), Omri (1 Kgs 16:27), Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:46), Jehu (2 Kgs 10:34), Joash (2 Kgs 13:12; 14:15), Jeroboam II (2 Kgs 14:28), and Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20:20).

Kgs 13:3, 7, 22).³⁴⁵

³⁴⁵ Na'aman 2007:107-108. *Contra* Montgomery 1951:434; Würthwein 1984:360.

4.2. The Assyrian Sources

The only direct Assyrian source for Jehu's reign is Shalmaneser III's Black Obelisk that depicts his tribute. The available Assyrian sources provide no information on the reign of Joahaz. The Eponym Chronicles and Adad-nērāri III's inscriptions provide information on the resumed Assyrian military campaigns to Syria which began in 805 BCE. These sources will be analysed in the following sections in order to clarify the political situation in Syria-Palestine during Jehu's reign and the last days of Joahaz.

4.2.1. The Campaign of Shalmaneser III in 838-837 BCE

The last military campaign of Shalmaneser III to Syria-Palestine was in 838-837 BCE (Chapter 3). The descriptions of this campaign do not mention the Kingdom of Israel, whereas Hazael of Damascus is depicted as the sole Assyrian enemy.³⁴⁶ It is thus likely that Jehu remained loyal to Assyria from 841 BCE until at least 838-837 BCE.

4.2.2. An Epigraph on the Black Obelisk (*RIMA 3, A.0.102.88*)

The epigraph on the so-called "Black Obelisk" (*RIMA 3, A.0.102.88*) relates the details of Jehu's tribute. The Obelisk has four sides, each of which has five rows of relief displaying various scenes to commemorate Shalmaneser III's deeds. Each row has a text above the relief, which describes the pictorial scene. According to the text, this inscription was most probably composed in 828 or 827 BCE, during the last years of Shalmaneser III, since the main text ends with the description of the event in 828 BCE.³⁴⁷

The second panel from the top on the first side depicts Shalmaneser with his

³⁴⁶ *RIMA 3, A.0.102.13, Rev. lines 4'b-11'*; *A.0.102.14, lines 102b-104a*; *A.0.102.16, lines 152'-162'a*.

³⁴⁷ *RIMA 3, A.0.102.14, lines 174b-190*. Shalmaneser III reigned until 824 BCE.

entourage and a man kneeling down before him. The text (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.88) of the scene reads:

The tribute of Jehu (*Iu-ú-a*), son of Omri (*Hu-um-ri-i*): silver, gold, a gold bowl, a gold tureen, gold vessels, gold buckets, tin, the staffs of the king's hand (and) spears, I received from him.

The kneeling man is identified by the inscription as Jehu (^m*iu-ú-a*),³⁴⁸ paying his tribute to Shalmaneser in 841 BCE.³⁴⁹ Keel and Uehlinger (1994) pointed out that the image might represent Jehu's delegate who brought the tribute to Assyria.³⁵⁰

The fact that only two vassal kingdoms (Gilzanu and Israel) are depicted on the Obelisk indicates that those two kingdoms were rendered as geographical merismus; they represent the whole area which Shalmaneser III subjugated.³⁵¹ Simultaneously, these kingdoms represent the virtual boundaries of Shalmaneser's Empire. Israel was on the south-western and Gilzanu the northeastern boundary.³⁵² They were selected due to their geographical locations on the borders of the newly established empire.³⁵³

The study by Keel and Uehlinger (1994:406-414) clarified that the prostration of the man in front of an Assyrian king does not mean humiliation. Rather, it displays his voluntary obeisance, and as reward, his position in his local kingdom is assured by the Assyrian king. They pointed out that the Obelisk was made much later than 841 BCE and suggested that the panel does not necessarily depict the event in 841, but a certain time during Jehu's long vassalage. However, it is unlikely that Jehu continued paying tribute to Shalmaneser after Assyria stopped conducting military campaigns to

³⁴⁸ For the reading of ^m*iu-ú-a*, see 2.3.1.3.

³⁴⁹ See above, 2.3.1.

³⁵⁰ Keel and Uehlinger 1994 with earlier literature (esp. 393, n. 8).

³⁵¹ Cf. Porada 1983:15-16; Lieberman 1985:88; Marcus 1987:87-88; Na'aman 1997d:20.

³⁵² Gilzanu is located in the vicinity of the Lake Urmia, which is in modern Azerbaijan. See Röllig 1957-71:375; Keel and Uehlinger 1994:400. For earlier literature, see Porada 1983:15.

³⁵³ Keel and Uehlinger 1994:402-406. *Contra* Green 1979:38-39.

the west. Hence, the description of both boundaries of Shalmaneser's hegemony encompasses the largest extent of this Assyrian king's realm and does not necessarily indicate Jehu's vassalage at the time of its composition (828-827 BCE).

4.2.3. Adad-nērāri III and Syria-Palestine (805-802 BCE)

4.2.3.1. The Eponym Chronicles

In Assyria, dignitaries were yearly appointed as eponyms side by side with the kings and high officials. Those eponyms were registered in texts which can be divided into two classes: Eponym Lists and Eponym Chronicles.³⁵⁴ The Eponym Lists register year by year the name of the eponym and his title. The Eponym Chronicles have an additional entry: an event that was regarded as important for Assyria.³⁵⁵ From 840 BCE, the Eponym Chronicles continuously record events, usually designated by a place name³⁵⁶ that designates the objective of the campaign.³⁵⁷ Since the annals of Adad-nērāri III are missing, these entries are particularly important for reconstructing the chronology of his campaigns.

During the reigns of Jehu and Joahaz (841-798 BCE), Assyria was ruled by three successive kings, Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE), Shamshi-Adad V (823-811 BCE), and Adad-nērāri III (810-783 BCE). According to the Eponym Chronicles, the Assyrian kings did not launch military campaigns to Syria-Palestine between 828-806 BCE (see 3.1.4.). In 805 BCE, Adad-nērāri III launched a series of campaigns to the

³⁵⁴ Eponym Lists are lists of eponym names in chronological order. See Millard 1994:4.

³⁵⁵ It should be noted that the extant Eponym Chronicles were subject to editions after the events had been first recorded. As a result, different copies present some differences in names and events. In addition, there is an apparent tendency in the entries: the later events are described in detail in the entries (Millard 1994:4).

³⁵⁶ In the tablet SU 52/18+18A+21+333+337, "in (*ina*)" is used instead of "to (*ana*)".

³⁵⁷ See also Kuan 1995:7-18.

areas west of the Euphrates. The entries in the Eponym Chronicles of the years 805 to 798 are as follows (Table 5):

Table 5. The Eponym Chronicles between 805 and 798 BCE

Year (BCE)	Event Entry
805	to Arpad
804	to Hazazu
803	to Ba'li
802	to the "Sea"; plague
801	to Hubuškia
800	to Mannea
799	to Mannea
798	to Lušia

The identifications of Ba'li (803) and the "Sea" (802) are the keys in establishing the directions of Adad-nērāri's military campaigns in those years.

Ba'li appears in the entry of the Eponym Chronicles for 803 BCE as *a-na URU ba-'li* (B1, 15').³⁵⁸ Amurru,³⁵⁹ Ba'albek,³⁶⁰ Bala (Roman Abila),³⁶¹ Ba'li-šapuna,³⁶² Ba'li-ra'si,³⁶³ and Ibleam³⁶⁴ have been suggested for its identification. Since toponyms

³⁵⁸ Or *i-na URU b[a-]* (B10, r., line 1, see Appendix). For the earlier literature, see Lipiński 1971b:84, n. 1-3; Elayi 1981:331, n. 1.

³⁵⁹ Poebel 1943:83.

³⁶⁰ Honigmann 1928:327.

³⁶¹ Cazelles 1969:115, n. 15. He suggested this identification because its mention – before that of Damascus – fits his interpretation that the campaign against Damascus occurred in 803 BCE (*op. cit.*, 110-112).

³⁶² Cazelles 1969:115, n. 15; Millard and Tadmor 1973:59.

³⁶³ Lipiński (1969:165, n. 31; 1971b:84-85; 1979:87, n. 123) identified Ba'li with KUR-*e* KUR *ba-'li-ra-'si*, as attested in Shalmaneser III's inscription, which depicts the campaign of year 841 BCE (*RIMA* 3, A.0.102.8, lines 21"-23"; A.0.102.10, Col. iv., lines 7-10; A.0.102.12, lines 28-29; A.0.102.16, lines 132'-134').

³⁶⁴ Lipiński 2000:396; 2004:13-15.

with the name Ba'al often appear on the Syrian and Phoenician coast, Ba'li is probably located in Syria (Millard 1973:161-162).

Two possible identifications have been suggested for the identification of “the Sea” (*tâmtim*):³⁶⁵ the Mediterranean³⁶⁶ and the Persian Gulf.³⁶⁷ Its identification with the Mediterranean is corroborated by the mention of Adad-nērāri's visit to Arvad in the Tell al-Rimah and Tell Sheikh Hammad Stelae (Millard and Tadmor 1973:59; Weippert 1992:50; Siddal *personal communication*).³⁶⁸

The 805 to 802 BCE entries in the Eponym Chronicles point to Adad-nērāri III's military advance into the west. In the first year (805) he conducted a campaign against Arpad, which is identified with Tell ar-Rif'at, thirty-five kilometres to the north of Aleppo.³⁶⁹ In the following year, he led a campaign to Hazazu, identified with the region of modern 'Azaz, about fifteen kilometres northwest of Tell ar-Rif'at.³⁷⁰ In 803 BCE Adad-nērāri passed through northern Syria and reached the Mediterranean coast. The campaign in 802 BCE may also have been directed to the same region.

4.2.3.2. Adad-nērāri III's Inscriptions

Having established the chronological framework of the events, the details of Adad-nērāri III's campaigns as described in his summary inscriptions will be analysed.

³⁶⁵ The full text reads *ana muhi tâmtim* “to the Sea”.

³⁶⁶ Poebel 1943:83; Page 1968:147; Cody 1970:329; Jepsen 1970:359; Donner 1970:57; Lemaire 1993:149*.

³⁶⁷ Brinkman 1968:217, n. 1359; Lipiński 1969:169-170, n. 43; 1979:91, n. 136.

³⁶⁸ My thanks go to Luis Siddal, who kindly provided me a translation of the second fragment of the Sheikh Hammad Stela, which was on sale at an antique market (for the fragment of the Stela, see Radner 2002:15, nn. 172-173).

³⁶⁹ On the history and territory of Arpad, see Buccellati 1967:53-56; Abu Taleb 1973:147-157; Sader 1987:99-152; Dion 1997:113-136; Lipiński 2000:195-219.

³⁷⁰ On the identification of Hazazu, see Hawkins 1972-75b:240; Liverani 1992:74 with nn. 346-347; Yamada 2000a:106, n. 110, for earlier literature. Dion (1997:114) located it at Jebel Sim'an, which rises south of 'Azaz.

4.2.3.2.1. The Saba'a Stela (A.0.104.6)

The Saba'a Stela was found in 1905 at Saba'a, south of Jebel Sinjar. The stela consists of thirty-three lines inscribed under the king's image and divine symbols. The poor condition of the stela renders the decipherment of the text difficult.

The text can be divided into seven sections: (1) dedication (lines 1-5); (2) Adad-nērāri III's genealogy (lines 6-11a); (3) campaign to the land of Hatti "in the fifth year" (lines 11b-18a); (4) tribute from Mari' king of Damascus (lines 18b-20); (5) erection of the statue in Zabanni (lines 21-22); (6) introduction of Nergal-ēreš (lines 23-25); and (7) curses (lines 26-33).³⁷¹ Following is a translation of the campaign to the west (section 3):

Translation

11b-18a) In the fifth year <since> I sat on the throne in majesty, I mustered the land (and) the troops of wide Assyria, and I verily commanded to march to the land of Hatti. I crossed the Euphrates in its flood. The kings of extended [land of Hatti] who, in the time of Šamšī-Adad my father, became strong and organised their [army]³⁷² — by the command of Aššur, 'Marduk', Adad, Ištar, the gods, my support, the fearsome radiance overwhelmed them and they seized my foot. They brought tribute and t[ax] [...] (and) I received (it).

³⁷¹ Publication: Unger, 1916; Donner 1970:52-53 (lines 11-22); Tadmor 1973:144-148; Weippert 1992:44, n. 16 (lines 21-22); *RIMA* 3, A.0.104.6.

³⁷² *ik-šu* -[ru ÉRIN.HÁ.MEŠ]-šú-un. This restoration is only tentative. Compare *ummāni-šú* DUGUD-tú *ik-šur-ma* in the Babylonian Chronicle, (BM 21946, Obv. line 21: Wiseman 1956:70; Grayson 1975:100). Unger (1916:10) and Donner (1970:52) reconstructed *si-d[i^(?)-ir^(?)-t]a^(?)-šú^(?)-un*, which is less probable. Tadmor's reconstruction (1973:145) is *'ik²-lu²'* -[ú IGI.DU₈]-šú-un "withheld their tribute" and was followed by Grayson in *RIMA* 3. However, Adad-nērāri III stated, in the Pazarcık Stela (Obv. lines 7-10), that the rebellious kings caused him and his mother to cross the Euphrates. This reinforces the restoration of lines 14-15 of the Saba'a Stela, in which Adad-nērāri considers an offensive action taken during his father's reign as a *casus belli* ("organised their [army]"), rather than only a "withholding [of] tribute".

Adad-nērāri III launched his first campaign to the west in his “fifth year”, namely 805 BCE.³⁷³ The chronological designation does not indicate that all the land of Hatti was conquered in this year. Compared with the Eponym Chronicles, it is apparent that the scribe brought together all the western campaigns of Adad-nērāri from 805 to 796 BCE, the year when the stela was probably engraved.³⁷⁴ As a summary inscription, this stela summarises Adad-nērāri III’s military achievements in the west up to 796 BCE.

4.2.3.2.2. The Tell al-Rimah Stela (A.0.104.7)

This stela was uncovered in 1967 inside the *cella* in a shrine at Tell al-Rimah located near the Jebel Sinjar. The king’s image and divine symbols are located on the upper part of the stela and the text is inscribed below it.

The inscription consists of twenty-one lines, but the last nine lines (lines 13-21) were effaced.³⁷⁵ The text can be divided into the following six sections: (1) dedication (lines 1-2); (2) Adad-nērāri III’s genealogy (line 3); (3) campaign to the land of Hatti and the tribute from the kings in the region (lines 4-8); (4) campaign to the Great Sea and Mt Lebanon and tribute from the kings of Na’iri (lines 9-12); (5) addition of lands to Nergal-ēreš’s governorship (lines 13-20); and (6) curse (line 21).³⁷⁶ Following is a translation of the campaign to the Hatti land (section 3).

Translation

³⁷³ I adopt Adad-nērāri III’s chronology suggested by Poebel 1943:74-79. Cf. Page 1968:147, n. 27; Cazelles 1969:108; Tadmor 1969:46, n. 3; Lipinski 1969:167, n. 37; Donner 1970:56, n. 23; Cody 1970:328-329; Grayson 1976:140, n. 48; Shea 1978:102-103; Millard 1994:13; Yamada 2003:75. For further discussion of this chronological issue, see Hasegawa 2008.

³⁷⁴ Tadmor 1973:147-148.

³⁷⁵ The effacement of these lines probably happened when Nergal-ēreš fell from power. On the date of Nergal-ēreš’s fall from power, see 5.2.5.

³⁷⁶ Publication: Page 1968:139-153; Donner, 1970:50-51 (lines 1-12); Tadmor 1973:141-144; Weippert 1992:108:60-62; *RIMA* 3, A.0.104.7.

4-8) I verily mustered my chariots (and) camps. I verily commanded the march to the land Hatti. In one year I verily submitted the land Amurru (and) the land Hatti at my feet. I verily imposed upon them tribute of obligation for the future. He^{sic!} received 2,000 talents of silver, 1,000 talents of copper, 2,000 talents of iron, 3,000 multicoloured clothing and linen — the tribute of Mari of the land Damascus. He^{sic!} received the tribute of Joash of the land Samaria, of the land Tyre, of the land Sidon.

9-12) I verily marched to the great sea of the setting sun. I verily erected the image of my lordship in the city of Arvad which in the middle of the sea. I verily ascended Mount Lebanon. I verily cut down 100 beams of strong cedar for the requirement of the palace and my temples.

This summary inscription assigns all the military achievements of Adad-nērāri III in the west to “one year” (line 4). The terminology of “one year” should be interpreted as the literary expression magnifying the king’s deeds.³⁷⁷ The stela commemorates and magnifies Adad-nērāri III’s military achievements in the west.

4.2.3.2.3. The Nimrud Slab (A.0.104.8)

This broken slab was found in 1854 by Loftus at a mound between the North West and South West Palaces at Calah. The text, although the lower part was missing, was squeezed by Norris and published in the first Rawlinson folio. Its importance is notable because this is the sole inscription discovered in the Assyrian mainland; all other inscriptions originated from the provinces.

³⁷⁷ See Tadmor 1973:143; Younger 1990:122. Similar examples in the Assyrian royal inscriptions can be found in Tadmor (*op. cit.*, 143, n. 16).

The remaining text consists of twenty-four lines, which is divided into the following four sections: (1) Adad-nērāri III's name and epithets without his genealogy (lines 1-5a); (2) range of Adad-nērāri III's conquest described from east to west (lines 5b-14); (3) conquest of Damascus and tribute from Mari' king of Damascus (lines 15-21); (4) tax imposition on the Babylonian kings (lines 22-24).³⁷⁸ Here is the translation of the part (section 2), depicting the range of Adad-nērāri's conquest in the west.

Translation

5b-14) The conqueror from the land Siluna, where the sun rises, the land Namri, the land Ellipi, the land Harhar, the land Araziaš, the land Mesu, the land Media, the land/mountain Gizilbunda in its totality, the land Munna, the land Parsua, the land Allabria, the land Abdadanu, the land Na'iri to the border in totality, the land Andia, which is a distant place, BAD-hu, the mountain to the border in its totality, until the great sea where the sun rises. From the Euphrates, the land Hatti, the land Amurru in its totality, the land Tyre, the land Sidon, the land of (the house of) Omri, the land Edom, the land Philistia, until the great sea where the sun sets, to my feet I subjected. Tribute of obligation I imposed on them.

This inscription is a "summary inscription" that relates in great detail the western (lines 15-21) and southeastern (lines 21-24) frontiers of the king's conquest. To emphasise the extent of the conquest, the author uses merismus such as "from ... until the great sea where the sun rises"; "from ... until the great sea where the sun sets". This is followed

³⁷⁸ Publication: *IR*, Pl. 35, no. 1; Tadmor 1973:148-150; *RIMA* 3, A.0.104.8.

by description of the events which happened at both extremities.

It is notable that the conquest of Babylonia is mentioned in the text. This campaign might be dated to 795-794 BCE, when the Eponym Chronicles refer to the campaign against Dēr.³⁷⁹

The tributaries in line 12 include Tyre, Sidon, Israel (KUR *humri*), Edom, and Philistia (Palastu). The first three are also mentioned in the Tell al-Rimah Stela (line 8) as tributaries, but Edom and Philistia are not mentioned in the other Adad-nērāri III's inscriptions.³⁸⁰ The payment was made either in the years 803, 802, or 796 BCE.³⁸¹

4.2.3.2.4. The Scheil Fragment (A.0.104.4)

This fragmentary stone slab was published by Scheil in 1917 (Scheil 1917:159-160). Millard (Millard and Tadmor 1973:60-61) attributed it to Adad-nērāri III's reign for two reasons.³⁸² (1) The name of the king's predecessor is Šamšī- [...]. (2) The name Ataršumki (line 5') is mentioned in other Adad-nērāri III's inscriptions (Antakya Stela and Sheikh Hammad Stela). The fragment is the middle part of a stela consisting of ten lines whose right side is also missing.³⁸³

Translation

[...] they drew the yoke [...] who, in the time of Šamšī-[Adad (V) ...] the lords
of the river Eup[hrates...] he heard [of ...]. Atarš[umki ...] he trusted in [...]

³⁷⁹ See Millard 1970:448; Tadmor 1973:150. On Adad-nērāri III's possible campaign against Babylonia and its aftermath, see Brinkman 1968:213-220.

³⁸⁰ At one time, *ana* KUR *hat-te-e* in the end of line 12 of the Saba'a Stela had been mistakenly regarded as *ana* KUR *pa-la-as-tu*. Tadmor (1969:47; 1973:145) rejected this transliteration and corrected it to *ana* KUR *hat-te-e*.

³⁸¹ Thus, if one dates the tribute from the first three kingdoms to 803 BCE, that of the others would be dated to 802 or 796 BCE; if to 802 BCE, then the others to 796 BCE. Philistia was possibly under the Aramaean hegemony during the absence of Assyria from the region (2 Kgs 12:18).

³⁸² Scheil ascribed the fragment to Shalmaneser III. Borger (1967:451) suggested already in 1967 that the text belongs to Adad-nērāri III. Cf. Weippert 1992:44.

³⁸³ Publication: Scheil 1917:159-160; Millard and Tadmor 1973:60-61; *RIMA* 3, A.0.104.4.

and [came] to w[age battle ...] (and) I took away his camp. [...] the treasure of [his] pa[lace ... Ataršumki], son of AD-rāmu³⁸⁴ [...] fr[om ... his tribute] without number [I received ...].

This text describes Adad-nērāri III's campaign(s) against Arpad in years 805-804 BCE. Millard (Millard and Tadmor 1973:61), associating the river mentioned in line 3' with that mentioned in the Sheikh Hammad Stela, identified it with the Euphrates. Grayson (*RIMA* 3, 206, footnote) identified it with the Orontes River since Ataršumki is mentioned in the Antakya Stela (lines 4-8a) in conjunction with that river. However, it is questionable whether these two inscriptions relate to the same event. The river mentioned in line 3' of the Sheikh Hammad Stela is certainly the Euphrates, which Adad-nērāri III claimed to have crossed (line 4). The "lords of the river" might have been the eight kings mentioned in the Pazarcık Stela (Obv. line 12), and possibly also in the Sheikh Hammad Stela (line 6).

The Scheil Fragment was probably written before the subjugation of Damascus in 796 BCE because of the detailed description of the campaign(s) against Arpad. This event was counted as Adad-nērāri's major deed in the west during his first years and thus was described in detail.

4.2.3.2.5. The Sheikh Hammad Stela (A.0.104.5)

Two fragments of the Sheikh Hammad Stela (BM 131124) are known. One fragment was found in 1879 by Rassam at Tell Sheikh Hammad, (Assyrian Dūr-katlimmu) in the

³⁸⁴ It is recently suggested that AD-rāmu should be read as A(b)-rāmu (Mattila and Radner 1998:12b-13b).

region of the Habur River, where many Neo-Assyrian documents were unearthed.³⁸⁵ The bust of the king is depicted on the left side with three divine symbols on the right. Only the right upper part of the stela remains. The other fragment was put on sale in 2000 with Christie's of New York.³⁸⁶ This fragment forms the lower part of the original stela. The combined fragments consist of thirty-two lines. Millard and Tadmor noted the similarity in phrases and the relief's motifs to those of the Tell al-Rimah stela.³⁸⁷

The inscription begins with (1) Adad-nērāri III's genealogy (lines 1-2) and then describes (2) Adad-nērāri's campaign against Ataršumki the Arpadite (lines 3-10). The twenty-two lines in the lower fragment describe the construction of the temple of the god Sulmanu. The following translation of the first ten lines is highly conjectural due to the damaged condition of the text.³⁸⁸

Translation

3-10) [By the command of Aššur] I verily mustered my camp, and to the land Hatti [I verily ordered (them) to march.] I crossed the Euphrates in (its) flood (and) went down [to Paqarhu]buna.³⁸⁹ Ataršumki, [son of A(b)rāme the Arpadite and the eight king]s of the land of Hatti, who were with him. [I fought against them ... the te]rror of radiance of Aššur, [my lord], [overwhelmed them. In on]e^(?) year, the land Hatti[...] I s[ubdued].

The text commemorates the victory over Arpad as a major military achievement.³⁹⁰ It

³⁸⁵ Radner 2002.

³⁸⁶ Radner 2002:15; Kühne and Radner 2008:33-34.

³⁸⁷ Millard and Tadmor 1973:58; *RIMA* 2:296.

³⁸⁸ Publication: Millard and Tadmor 1973:57-64, Pl. XXIX; *RIMA* 3, A.0.104.5.

³⁸⁹ Paqarruhbuni is identified with Gaziantep, see also Yamada 2000a:92-94.

³⁹⁰ Millard (1973:162), conjecturing the rest of the stela, stated that the text narrates only the victory over Arpad and her allies and the list of tribute from them. His conjecture is now confirmed by the second fragment, which narrates no military report but building activities (Siddall *personal communication*). Cf. Timm 1993:71.

indicates that the stela was probably erected soon after the campaign against Arpad in 805 BCE.³⁹¹

4.2.3.2.6. The Pazarcık Stela (Obverse A.0.104.3)

The Pazarcık Stela was found during the construction of a dam in the Pazarcık area in Turkey. The stela is inscribed on two sides. The obverse was inscribed in the time of Adad-nērāri III and the reverse during Shalmaneser IV's reign.³⁹² The stela is almost intact but inferior in workmanship.

The obverse consists of twenty-three lines, which can be divided into the following five sections: (1) Adad-nērāri III's genealogy mentioning of Semiramis³⁹³ (lines 1-7a); (2) Adad-nērāri III and Semiramis's crossing of the Euphrates against nine anti-Assyrian kings at the time of Ušpilulume of Kummuh (lines 7b-10); (3) battle against Ušpilulume and his ally Ataršumki of Arpad at Paqarhubunu (lines 11-15a); (4) erection of the stela as the boundary stone between Kummuh and Gurgum (lines 15b-18); and (5) curses (lines 19-23).³⁹⁴ Following is a translation of the campaign against Arpad and its aftermath (sections 2–4).

Translation

7b-10) In the days of Ušpilulume,³⁹⁵ king of the city Kummuh, they caused
Adad-nērāri (III) king of the land Assyria, (and) Sammuamat (Semiramis),

³⁹¹ Radner (Kühne and Radner 2008:33) dated the stela to 805 BCE.

³⁹² Both inscriptions were attributed to the respective kings, but the real author was most probably Šamšī-īlu, an Assyrian *turtānu*. For this person, see 5.2.9.

³⁹³ For Semiramis and her role and importance in Adad-nērāri III's reign, see Timm 1993:62-63, n. 18 with earlier literature.

³⁹⁴ Publication: Donbaz 1990:5-24; Timm 1993:55-84; Zaccagnini 1993:53-72; Weippert 1992:58, n. 97 (lines 4-11); *RIMA* 3, A.0.104.3.

³⁹⁵ Following Timm (1993:64), *ina ūmē Ušpilulume* is taken as a construct state. Generally, *ina ūmēšu(-ma)* is used for the meaning "at that time" in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. Donbaz (1990) and Weippert (1992:55-56, n. 82) translated: "when Ušpilulume ..."

the palace woman, to cross the river Euphrates.³⁹⁶

11-15a) Ataršumki, heir of Abirāmu, of the city of Arpad, together with eight kings who were with him at the city of Paqi(/a)rahubunu. Their lines with them, I have beaten. Their military camp, I took away. To save their lives they went away.

15b-18) In this year³⁹⁷ this boundary (stone), between Ušpilulume, king of the city Kummuh, and (between) Qalparunda, heir of Palalam, king of the city Gurgum, they installed.³⁹⁸

Parts of this text are syntactically problematic, rendering the historical evaluation of this stela disputable. This is exemplified by lines 7-10. Weippert (1992:56, n. 82) suggested that it was Ušpilulume who was forced to cross the Euphrates. This interpretation, however, raises another question: was Ušpilulume deported to the eastern side of the Euphrates by Ataršumki and his allies, or was he forced to cross the Euphrates in order to join the allies in the struggle with Assyria? The first possibility is unlikely since in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions (and possibly also in the Aramaic inscription of Hazael), the “crossing of the Euphrates” is commonly associated with successful or heroic military action. The second possibility is also unlikely: Ušpilulume was not punished by the Assyrians after the battle, although he had taken part in the coalition

³⁹⁶ For the translation of this sentence, see the notes on this stela below.

³⁹⁷ For this chronological interpretation, see Timm 1993:66-67. He interpreted this expression as chronological as well as causal.

³⁹⁸ The form of the verb *ušēlūni* can be interpreted either as third person plural of *elū* (Š-stem) plus ventive *-nim* or as first or third person singular of the same verb plus subjunctive marker *-ūni* (See *GAG* §83b; Hämeen-Anttila 2000:92-93). Donbaz (1990:9) translated: “In this (same) year this boundary stone was *set up* between Ušpilulume, king of the people of Kummuh, and Qalparuda, son of Palalam, king of the people of Gurgum.” Timm (1993:58) interpreted as the former and translated this sentence: „In jenem Jahr stellte man diese Grenzstele zwischen Ušpilulume, dem König der Stadt der Kummuhäer, (und) zwischen Qalparu(n)da, dem Sohn des Palalam, dem König der Stadt der Gurgumäer, auf.“

against Assyria (albeit by compulsion). Moreover, it is clear from the curses in Obv. lines 19-22 and from the geographical location of Pazarcık, that this border treaty is in favour of Kummuh.³⁹⁹ Thus, Weippert's interpretation is historically unlikely. Donbaz (1990:9) and Yamada (2000a:93) suggested that Ušpilulume was the subject of *ušēbirūni* and thus translated: "when Ušpilulume ... caused Adad-nērāri ... to cross the Euphrates".⁴⁰⁰ This interpretation fits best the context of the inscription, which mainly concerns Ušpilulume. Ušpilulume, as a loyal vassal of Assyria, possibly requested Adad-nērāri to rescue him from the attack of the "eight kings" (Na'aman 1991:84-85).

The aforementioned interpretation of the Obv. lines 7-10 supports the restoration of lines 14-15 of the Saba'a Stela. According to the restoration, the enemy "organised their [army]" already in Adad-nērāri III's father's reign. Adad-nērāri regarded this action as offensive and considered it a *casus belli*. This military campaign against Paqarhubuna probably took place in 805-804 BCE, when the Assyrian western frontier was endangered.⁴⁰¹

In line 18, the setting of the boundary is reported. When interpreting the verb *ušēlūni* as the third person plural form of Š-stem of *elū* plus ventive, the subject of the sentence, who set the boundary, should not be a single person.⁴⁰² According to the context in Obv. line 10, where a similar use of an Š-stem verb in the plural plus ventive is employed, the subject of the verb is to be sought after the sentence. Likewise, the subject in line 18 can be found outside the sentence, for it is clear that the *persona(e)*, who established the border was/were Assyrian(s). Therefore, the "they" in line 18 refers

³⁹⁹ See Timm 1993:71-72. He also drew attention to the fact that the father of Ušpilulume is not mentioned, although the father of Qalparunda is.

⁴⁰⁰ They regarded *-ūni* as a subjunctive marker of the third person singular verb *ušēbir*.

⁴⁰¹ Weippert 1992:55-56.

⁴⁰² When interpreting it as the first or third person singular plus subjunctive marker, one should interpret that the sentence begins from line 15b with *ina* MU.AN.NA and thus the translation would be: "Boundary, which I (Adad-nērāri III) set, in this year, between ..." The possibility of third person "he" will be discarded.

to Adad-nērāri III and Semiramis, the pair whom Ataršumki and the eight kings caused to cross the Euphrates. That this “boundary stone” belongs to both Adad-nērāri and Semiramis is clearly shown in the introduction to the text.⁴⁰³

To sum up, the obverse of the Pazarcık Stela can be dated to 805-804 BCE, when Adad-nērāri III led military campaigns against Arpad and Hazazu, or soon thereafter.

4.2.3.2.7. The Antakya Stela

This stela was found around 1968 between Antakya and Samandağ, in Turkey. Although partially damaged, the stela is in fairly good condition. Two standing royal figures are engraved face to face across a divine symbol on the stela. The royal figures might be the two kings, Zakkur of Hamath and Ataršumki of Arpad. The text describes the establishment of the border between Hamath and Arpad by Adad-nērāri III and Šamšī-ilu, his *turtānu*.

The text consists of nineteen lines which can be divided into four sections: (1) Adad-nērāri III’s genealogy (lines 1-3); (2) setting up the border between Hamath and Arpad along the Orontes River (lines 4-8a); (3) authorisation of the border of Arpad by Adad-nērāri III and Šamšī-ilu (lines 8b-11a); and (4) curses (lines 11b-19). In what follows, the second part of the text, which relates the establishment of the border between Hamath and Arpad, will be examined.

Translation

4-8a) The boundary that Adad-nērāri (III) king of the land Assyria (and)
Šamšī-ilu the field marshal set between Zakkur of the land Hamath [an]d

⁴⁰³ For detailed discussion, see Hasegawa 2010b.

Ataršumki, heir of Abirāmu.⁴⁰⁴ The city Nahlasi⁴⁰⁵ together with its fields, orchards, [and its s]ettlements, all of it belongs to Ataršumki. They [allot] the river Orontes [eq]ually between them, and share this boundary.

Ataršumki fought against the Assyrian army in 805-804 BCE and then took part in the attack against Zakkur of Hamath in 804/3 BCE.⁴⁰⁶ However, this event should not be the result of the siege of Hadrach, because at that time Šamšī-ilu had not yet achieved great political power in the Assyrian Empire.⁴⁰⁷ The setting of the boundary can be dated after 796 BCE, for the campaign in the same year was possibly led by Nergal-ēreš, who held the power in the Empire at that time. Šamšī-ilu, having gained the power after this year, played the role of mediator between Hamath and Arpad.

This border agreement was apparently in favour of Arpad for the following two reasons.⁴⁰⁸ First, the Antakya Stela was discovered far west of the centre of the kingdom of Arpad. Second, lines 8b-11a state that this border was given to Ataršumki and his descendants. However, it remains unclear why Assyria favoured Ataršumki and cut short the territory of Zakkur.⁴⁰⁹ It is possible that Assyria, by supporting Ataršumki

⁴⁰⁴ I follow the reading of Abirāmu suggested by Zadok 1997:805; Mattila and Radner 1998:12-14. In the reading of Adramu – for this name, see Lipiński 2000:196-198, n. 12 with earlier literature. The reading of Adramu, based on the reading “Hdrm” in line 2 of the Melqart Stela, is far from certain.

⁴⁰⁵ Lipiński (2000:285-286) identified the city Nahlasi with the modern town Al-‘Arīš on the bank of the Orontes River, while Ikeda (2003:94*) suggested Nahliye, three kilometres northwest of modern Riha, but distant from the Orontes River.

⁴⁰⁶ Na’aman 1991:86.

⁴⁰⁷ Nergal-ēreš held power in the Empire at least until 796 BCE, when he led the campaign against Damascus. Šamšī-ilu’s name was first mentioned in the Eponym Chronicles in 780 BCE.

⁴⁰⁸ Hawkins (1995:96) assumed that the stela was swept downstream by the river and that the original location was in the neighbourhood of Jisr esh-Shughur, the border between the two states. This assumption seems unlikely, when considering the distance between Jisr esh-Shughur and Antakya which is nearly fifty kilometres as the crow flies. See Lipiński 2000:282-283, n. 188.

⁴⁰⁹ Ikeda (1999:282-283; 2003:91*) suggested that the intention of Šamšī-ilu to set the border in favour of Arpad was “to drive a wedge between the enemy lines”, particularly between Arpad and Aram-Damascus, and that this grievance caused Hamath to revolt in the following years (772, 765, and 755 BCE according to the Eponym Chronicles). See also Dion 1997:129. Dating the attack on Hadrach to 796 BCE, Hawkins (1982:403-404) explained that this favourable border was granted to Arpad in order to detach it from the

and by reducing Zakkur's territory, conciliated Arpad and wished to maintain the power balance in the region.

This border setting poses another question: why the kingdom of Unqi, which had also joined the attack on Hamath (Zakkur Inscription A, line 6), is not mentioned in the Antakya Stela, although Kunulua, its capital, was located about twenty-five kilometres east of its discovery place?⁴¹⁰ Two possible interpretations could be offered. Arpad was a major power in north Syria and south Anatolia. Just as Hazael of Damascus intruded the territories of Israel and Philistine,⁴¹¹ it is possible that during the latter half of the ninth century BCE, Ataršumki or his predecessor had expanded its territory both northward and westward. If this assumption is correct, Arpad had probably subjugated Unqi by the time of the border setting.⁴¹² Alternatively, Zakkur of Hamath gained great power in the region and subjugated Unqi after the Damascene submission to Assyria in 796 BCE.⁴¹³ Zakkur's rise to power might have been the cause of the Assyrian setting of the border in favour of Arpad.

alliance led by Damascus. Mazzoni (2000:48-49) argued that the Assyrian involvement in disputes between local Syrian states promoted the Assyrian hegemony over this region. She (2001:105) also suggested that the Syrian states must have regarded Hamath under Zakkur as a more imminent threat rather than Arpad under Ataršumki. Assuming that this event occurred immediately after the siege of Hadrach, Harrison (2001:120) interpreted this favourable treatment as a reward to Arpad from Assyria for Arpad's retreat from the siege.

⁴¹⁰ Kunulua is generally identified with Tell Tayinat. See Hawkins 1981:305-306.

⁴¹¹ Cf. 2 Kgs 10:32, 33; 12:17-18; 13:3, 7, 22. This Aramaean expansion under Hazael is generally accepted as historical fact. See most recently, Pitard 1987:145-160; Sader 1987:265-268; Reinhold 1989:173-179; Lemaire 1991a; Dion 1997:199-204; Lipiński 2000:385-391.

⁴¹² For example, Hazazu, formerly an important city in the kingdom of Unqi/Patina supposedly belonged to Arpad in 804 BCE. See Dion 1997:124-125; Lipiński 2000:199.

⁴¹³ Ikeda (2003:93*) assumed that it was Zakkur of Hamath who expanded northward and perhaps annexed a part of Unqi, and even invaded the territory of Arpad. His assumption is based on Tiglath-pileser III's summary inscription (Tadmor 1994:146-149), in which many cities, formerly in the territory of Hamath, are allocated to Arpad. This list includes, however, also a city located far south, such as Haurani, which is identified with Hawārīn, northeast of Damascus and far south of Hamath, and thus it possibly reflects the territorial concessions by Hamath after her battle with Assyria in 772, 765, and 755 BCE and also that of Arpad in 743-740 BCE. On the other hand, Weippert (1992:58-59 with n. 97) suggested that at the time of the erection of the stela (796 BCE), the territory of Unqi had not yet been fixed and its territory was divided by Arpad and Hamath. Harrison (2001:120) suggested that Unqi's territory was reduced or even annexed by Arpad.

4.2.3.2.8. The Campaigns of Adad-nērāri III to Syria (805-802 BCE)

Adad-nērāri III's military campaign against Arpad in 805 BCE had a great influence on the political situation in Syria. The successive annual campaigns to this region shifted the power balance among the small kingdoms in Syria, south Anatolia, and Palestine.

In 805 BCE, Ataršumki of Arpad and eight other kings attacked Ušpilulume of Kummuh. Adad-nērāri considered this action as a *casus belli*, crossed the Euphrates and attacked them. In the following year (804 BCE), he again led his army against Arpad. They fought at Paqarhubuna and the Assyrian army defeated the north Syrian coalition. Adad-nērāri subjugated Arpad and set a borderline between Kummuh and Gurgum in favour of the former. In the following two years (803-802 BCE), he advanced much south-westward and finally reached the Mediterranean, possibly in 803 BCE. He even sailed to Arvad and set his stela there. During these years, he received tribute from various kingdoms in Syria, yet at that time, Damascus, Israel, and other kingdoms in Palestine presumably were not yet among those tributaries.

4.3. The Zakkur Inscription

The date of the siege of Hadrach as related in the Zakkur Inscription should be considered against the background of the chronological frame established above.⁴¹⁴

Several dates have been suggested for the episode. Dating it to 772 BCE can safely be dismissed because Damascus had lost its leading position in Syria-Palestine by that time.⁴¹⁵ Others dated it to 796 BCE, shortly before the Assyrian campaign against Damascus.⁴¹⁶ According to this view, Damascus tried to re-establish its hegemony over Syria-Palestine after the Assyrian retreat from the west in 803/2 BCE. Hadrach was besieged because Zakkur, the king of Hamath, had refused to take part in the anti-Assyrian coalition. Consequently, Adad-nērāri III launched a military campaign in 796 BCE against Damascus, which formed the historical background for the “miraculous deliveance” of Zakkur and the city of Hadrach from the besieging army.

However, this view confronts major problems. Ataršumki of Arpad was subjugated by Adad-nērāri III in 804 BCE, after the battle at Paqarhubuna. Arpad’s re-participation in the anti-Assyrian coalition in 796 BCE is thus unlikely. Likewise, the participation of the Anatolian kingdoms, such as Que and ‘Umq, in the alliance is inconceivable. In addition, Adad-nērāri III’s inscriptions, describing the subjugation of Damascus in 796 BCE, does not mention any alliances; on the other hand, the Zakkur Inscription describes a large Syro-Anatolian alliance that besieged Zakkur. In light of these inconsistencies, other scholars dated the siege of Hadrach to 805 BCE, on the eve of Adad-nērāri III’s campaign against Arpad.⁴¹⁷ However, this solution faces another

⁴¹⁴ For the general information of the Zakkur Inscription, see 3.2.4.

⁴¹⁵ Lidzbarski 1915:8-9; Noth 1929:128-130. For more literature, see Na’aman 1991:85, n. 19.

⁴¹⁶ Jepsen 1941-44:164-170; Lipiński 1971b:397-399; Ikeda 1977:208-209; Lemaire 1993:153* ; Harrison 2001:119-120. For further literature, see Na’aman 1991:85, n. 20.

⁴¹⁷ Dupont-Sommer 1949:47; Cazelles 1969:113; Millard and Tadmor 1973:63-64.

problem. The Assyrian 805/4 BCE campaigns were launched at the instigation of Ušpilulume, the king of Kummuh, and were directed against the Syro-Anatolian coalition headed by Arpad (Pazarcık Stela). The battlefield was Paqarhubuna, which lies near the northern border of Kummuh. Therefore, the “miraculous salvation” of Zakkur can hardly be consistent with the Assyrian campaign in north Syria in 805 BCE.

Na’aman (1991:86) offered an alternative dating for the siege of Hadrach. He dated this event immediately after 805 BCE, the defeat of the Syro-Anatolian coalition by the Assyrian army. According to his view, Damascus made an effort to “unite an all-inclusive Syro-Hittite coalition against Assyria” because “it became clear that even a partial coalition of kingdoms was not strong enough to hold back the Assyrian war machine”. Zakkur, however, refused to participate in the alliance and was attacked by Damascus and other coalition members.⁴¹⁸ Adad-nērāri III’s 804/3 BCE campaign forced this coalition “to hurry northwards in order to defend their homeland and thus Hamath was saved”. This dating seems the most probable because it produces no conflicts with the descriptions in the Assyrian inscriptions.⁴¹⁹

Provided that the siege of Hadrach took place in 804/3 BCE, the absence of Joahaz from among the besieging troops in the Zakkur Inscription may indicate that the Kingdom of Israel did not take part in the siege. It might show that Joahaz had already attempted to throw off the Damascene yoke, by refusing to participate in the anti-Assyrian coalition.

⁴¹⁸ Na’aman (1996:177) suggested that after Hazael’s conquest of Hamath, the capital was transferred to Hadrach.

⁴¹⁹ It should be noted that Zakkur does not mention by whom Hadrach was released from the besieging army. 2 Kgs 13:5 likewise does not specify the “saviour” of Israel, but this verse is a later insertion (4.1.5.).

4.4. The Mesha Inscription⁴²⁰

The Mesha Inscription, although not directly concerned with the relation between Israel and Aram-Damascus, demonstrates the extent of the territorial loss of Israel during the reigns of Joram and Jehu. This territorial loss would certainly reflect the decline of Israel at that time. The inscription commemorates Mesha's conquest of the Israelite cities and his building activities and provides vital information on the Moabite's new territory. The main part of the text (lines 7-33) is divided into two parts: (1) Mesha's wars against Israel (lines 7-21, 31-32); (2) Mesha's building activities in Moab.

Mesha conquered the land of Medeba (lines 7-8), Ataroth (lines 10-11), Nebo (14-18), Jahaz (18-20), and Horonaim (lines 31-32). Medeba is located thirty kilometres south of Amman and twenty kilometres north of Dibon.⁴²¹ Ataroth is generally identified with Khirbet 'Atārūz, some fifteen kilometres northwest of Dibon.⁴²² Nebo has generally been identified with Khirbet al-Mukkhayat, due primarily to its location and the Iron Age findings from excavation at the site.⁴²³ Jahaz, mentioned also in the Hebrew Bible,⁴²⁴ should be located in the vicinity of Dibon according to lines 20-21 of the Mesha Inscription. Although Jahaz's exact location is in dispute, all the candidate sites are on the Transjordanian plateau.⁴²⁵ The conquest of Horonaim seemingly occurred later, and its location is apparently south of the Arnon.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁰ For the general introduction of the Mesha Inscription, see 2.4.

⁴²¹ For Medeba, see Dearman 1989:174-175; Piccirillo 1992a.

⁴²² Dearman 1989:177-178; Franklyn 1992.

⁴²³ For the earlier literature, see Dearman 1989:180-181; Ferch 1992a; Piccirillo 1992b.

⁴²⁴ Num 21:23; Deut 2:32; Jos 13:18; 21:36; Jgs 11:20; Isa 15:4; Jer 48:21, 34.

⁴²⁵ Dearman (1984; 1989:181-84; 1992a) identified it with Khirbet el-Medeiniyeh (Khirbet al-Mudayna). For the result of recent excavations of the site, see Daviau 1997; Daviau and Steiner 2000; Dion and Daviau 2000. Smelik (1992:74-79) suggested Khirbet Libb. Others suggested Jalul, ar-Remeil, Khirbet 'Aleiyān and Khirbet Iskander. For the literature, see Smelik, *op. cit.*, 76, nn, 44-45; 78, n. 55; Dearman 1992a.

⁴²⁶ For the location of Horonaim, see Dearman 1989:188-189; 1992b; Na'aman 1994; 2001b:11, n. 7 with earlier literature.

Mesha conducted construction activities at Baal-Meon,⁴²⁷ Kiriathaim,⁴²⁸ Qeriho, Aroer,⁴²⁹ Beth-Bamoth,⁴³⁰ Bezer,⁴³¹ Beth-Diblathaim,⁴³² and Kerioth.⁴³³ These places are also on the Transjordanian plateau. In sum, the Mesha Inscription mentions toponyms located within the Transjordanian plateau, in the area called “Mishor” in the Bible.

However, the Moabite expansion probably continued after the composition of the Mesha Inscription. Lemaire (1987:210-214; 1991b:146-150) dated the composition of the Inscription to *ca.* 810 BCE, that is, during Joahaz’s reign. On the other hand, Na’aman (2001b:18-21) dated it to Jehu’s reign (841-814 BCE) because the text does not seem to reflect the largest extent of the territory which the Moabites achieved.⁴³⁴ Further Moabite expansion is reflected in the prophecies concerning Moab in Isa 15-16, Jer 48, Eze 25:8-11, and Am 2:1-3.⁴³⁵ In these prophecies, some of the Moabite cities (e.g., Heshbon, Elealeh, Sibma, Jazer, and Mephaath) are located beyond the region conquered by Mesha. Without entering into details, these prophecies demonstrate well that these cities were regarded as Moabite at the time of their composition. A few cities mentioned in these prophecies are even situated on the eastern side of the Jordan Valley: Nimrim (Isa 15:12; Jer 48:34),⁴³⁶ Beth-Jeshimoth (Eze 25:9).⁴³⁷ Likewise, the toponym

⁴²⁷ For the identification with Khirbet Ma‘in, nine kilometres south of Medeba, see Dearman 1989:175-176; Piccirillo 1992c.

⁴²⁸ For the proposed identifications, see Dearman 1989:176-177; Mattingly 1992a.

⁴²⁹ For the identification, see above 3.1.2.; Dearman 1989:185.

⁴³⁰ For the identification, see Dearman 1989:185-186.

⁴³¹ For the identification, see Dearman 1989:186; Mattingly 1992b.

⁴³² For the identification, see Dearman 1989:187; Mattingly 1992c.

⁴³³ For the proposed identifications, see Dearman 1989:178-179; Mattingly 1992d.

⁴³⁴ For the other dating, see Lemaire 1991b:146-147, nn. 16-18.

⁴³⁵ Lemaire 1991b:165-166; Na’aman 2001b:18-21.

⁴³⁶ There is no consensus among scholars regarding to the location of Nimrim. It might be either northeast or southeast of the Dead Sea. For the former view, see Glueck 1943:11, and for the latter, see Schottroff 1966:200-202; Ferch 1992b with earlier literature.

⁴³⁷ It is either identified with Khirbet es-Suweimeh or Tell ‘Azeimeh, both are located in the north-eastern plain of the Dead Sea. See Glueck 1943:23-26; Romero 1992.

“the plain of Moab” (ערבות מואב) – for the north-eastern plain of the Dead Sea⁴³⁸ – conceivably indicates that Moab conquered that area after the composition of the Mesha Inscription.⁴³⁹ In addition to this, the episode of the Moabite invasion into the western side of the Jordan in 2 Kgs 13:20-21 may support this view (see below, 5.1.3.). Yet, it is not clear that this additional conquest was achieved either by Mesha or by his successor(s). The composition of the Mesha Inscription cannot be exactly dated. Tentatively, I would date Mesha’s death between 820 and 810 BCE, for the large extent of the Moabite expansion is best understood in the context of the Aramaean expansion in Transjordan during the reigns of Hazael of Damascus (see above 4.1.2).⁴⁴⁰ It is likely that Mesha and his successor(s) took advantage of Israel’s decline during the reigns of Jehu and Joahaz and conquered the northern Mishor after the composition of the Mesha Inscription. Consequently, by the beginning of Joash’s enthronement Moab already dominated the entire area of the Mishor.

⁴³⁸ Num 22:1; 26:3, 63; 31:12; 33:48-50; 35:1; 36:13; Deut 34:1, 8; Jos 13:32. The description of the plain is found in Glueck 1943:10-11.

⁴³⁹ Weippert 1998:548.

⁴⁴⁰ See also Na’aman 2001b:37.

4.5. Synthesis

Available sources for Jehu and Joahaz's reigns reflect the decline of the Kingdom of Israel in the late ninth century BCE. Due to the Assyrian absence from the region, Assyrian inscriptions provide limited information on the Kingdom of Israel. The Eponym Chronicles and Adad-nērāri III's summary inscriptions indicate his campaigns to Syria from 805 BCE on. The Biblical source also delineates the lowest ebb of the Kingdom of Israel during this period. 2 Kgs 10:32-33 and 13:3-7, 22 contribute to clarifying the status of Israel as a vassal of Aram-Damascus. The absence of Joahaz from the Zakkur Inscription indicates that he did not participate in the siege of Hadrach (804/3 BCE). The Mesha Inscription helps to demarcate the Moabite expansion in the latter half of the ninth century BCE and the loss of vast Israelite territories in south Transjordan.

Jehu ascended the throne in 841 BCE and possibly paid tribute to Shalmaneser III at Ba'li-ra'si in the same year. After the Assyrian retreat from Syria, especially after 829 BCE, Hazael started invading Israel. As a result, the Israelite territory east of the Jordan was conquered by Aram-Damascus, Moab, and possibly also Ammon.⁴⁴¹ The situation of Israel had not changed when Jehu was succeeded by Joahaz in 814 BCE. During Joahaz's reign, Hazael and his son Ben-Hadad continued oppressing Israel. The shift in power balance in the Syro-Palestinian arena took place in the year 805 BCE, when Adad-nērāri III resumed military campaigns to the west of the Euphrates. The Assyrian four-year-consecutive campaigns into Syria had a great influence on the kingdoms in Syria and southern Anatolia, and possibly also in Palestine. These campaigns finally brought a radical change in the power balance. The attempt to

⁴⁴¹ A possible mention to the Ammonite invasion of Gilead is mentioned in Am 1:13.

subjugate Arpad in 805 BCE by Adad-nērāri brought about the secession of Hamath under Zakkur (and possibly also of Israel under Joahaz) from the anti-Assyrian coalition led by Damascus and Arpad. Consequently, Hadrach was besieged by its former allies. In the following year, Adad-nērāri III subjected Arpad, which was the second strongest power in the anti-Assyrian Syro-Anatolian alliance. As a result, the anti-Assyrian coalition headed by Damascus and Arpad broke up. Damascus was detached from its former allies and had to face the Assyrian attack alone in 796 BCE.

5. The Reign of Joash (799/798-784 BCE)

Having discussed the lowest ebb of the Kingdom of Israel in the late ninth century BCE, this chapter will deal with the early eighth century BCE, namely the reign of Joash, son of Joahaz. Two source types are available for the historical reconstruction of Joash's reign: (1) Biblical texts; (2) Assyrian texts.

5.1. The Biblical Source

The Biblical texts available for the discussion are classified into two distinct types: (a) short texts which are included in the Dtr framework of Joash's reign (2 Kgs 13:10-13; 13:14-19; 13:20-21; 13:25; 14:8-14; 14:15-16; 14:17); (b) prophetic stories (1 Kgs 20; 2 Kgs 6:24-7:20; 6:8-23).

5.1.1. Synchronism between Joash and Jehoash (2 Kgs 13:10-13)

According to the synchronism (v. 10), Joash, son of Joahaz, ascended the throne of Samaria in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoash of Judah. However, Joash's enthronement falls in the thirty-ninth year of Jehoash according to the calculation of regnal data in v. 1 and 2 Kgs 14:1.⁴⁴² Some Greek manuscripts⁴⁴³ and modern commentators⁴⁴⁴ offered various solutions to this discrepancy but no consensus on Joash's dates has been achieved.

Vv. 12-13 is the reiteration of 14:15-16 and is probably a secondary attempt to conclude Joash's reign.⁴⁴⁵ The opening formulae in 2 Kgs 13:10-11 provides

⁴⁴² Burney 1903:316.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Stade and Schwally (1904:243).

⁴⁴⁴ For example, Gray (1977:597) suggested Joash's co-regency with Joahaz for two years, and Kittel (1900:258) assumed a scribal error here.

⁴⁴⁵ Montgomery 1951:434; Gray 1977:593; Würthwein 1984:363; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:145. There are only minor differences between these verses and 2 Kgs 14:15-16. The secondary origin of the verses is

information on the names of Joash's predecessor (Joahaz), his seat (Samaria), and the length of his reign.⁴⁴⁶

5.1.2. Elisha's Prophecy of Joash's Victory over Aram (2 Kgs 13:14-19)

This prophetic story of Elisha on his death bed can be divided into two redactional parts (see 3.4.5.): an original anecdote (vv. 14-17) and an interpolation (vv. 18-19). The story mentions Joash's victories over the Aramaeans. It indicates that Israel was still under the Damascene hegemony in Joash's early reign.

5.1.3. The Moabite Invasion of Cisjordan (2 Kgs 13:20-21)

The story is one of Elisha's wonder stories, in which a dead man was resurrected when his body touched that of Elisha. This story, together with vv. 14-19, seems to have been integrated into the Book of Kings by the Dtr. Our main concern here is v. 20b, which states that "Moabite bands used to invade the land at the start of the year".⁴⁴⁷ The location of Elisha's tomb is not mentioned; however, Gilgal, the place near Jericho and the Moabite border, seems to be the best candidate.⁴⁴⁸ This story attests to the Moabite invasion of the Israelite Cisjordanian territory in the late ninth and the beginning of the

reflected in the unusual phrase employed for the depiction of Jeroboam's accession "וירבעם ישב על־כסאו" (v. 13).

⁴⁴⁶ V. 11 is a schematic Dtr judgement on the religious activity of the kings of Israel.

⁴⁴⁷ Montgomery (1951:435) and Würthwein (1984:364) construed the phrase "בה שנה" as annual invasion. Gray (1977:600) followed the Lucianic recension, in which the phrases are modified into "כבוא השנה"; he translated "Moabites used to come into the land at the end of the year". Following LXX and Targum renditions, Cogan and Tadmor (1988:148) read: "בבוא השנה".

⁴⁴⁸ Gray (1977:592-593, 600) suggested that Elisha's tomb could be located in Gilgal near Jericho (Jos 4:19), whereas Montgomery (1951:435) located it in Abel-Meholah, Elisha's hometown (1 Kgs 19:16) situated on the west side of the Jordan. Abel Meholah was identified by Edelman (1992a:11) with Tell Abu Sus. There is another Gilgal located in the southern hill of Samaria and close to Bethel (2 Kgs 2:1, 2), but this Gilgal is too distant for the Moabite bands to raid. Cf. Kotter 1992:1023.

eighth centuries BCE.⁴⁴⁹

5.1.4. Joash's Resumption of the Israelite Cities (2 Kgs 13:25)

The verse recounts Joash's recapture of the Israelite cities from the Aramaeans. This verse is probably derived from a source which the Dtr used for the composition of vv. 22-25 (see 3.4.5.). Joash's victory over Aram-Damascus would have resulted in the capture of the former Israelite cities which had been conquered by Hazael and Bar-Hadad.

5.1.5. Joash's Battle against Amaziah of Judah (2 Kgs 14:8-14)

Joash's victory over Amaziah in the battle of Beth-shemesh is related in 2 Kgs 14:8-14.⁴⁵⁰ The explicit attribution of Beth-Shemesh to Judah (v. 11) and the apparent sympathy with Joash show that the story originated in the Northern Kingdom. The historicity of this battle is supported by the results of the Tel Beth-shemesh excavations. Traces of destruction were uncovered in the fortifications of Beth-Shemesh (Bunimovitz and Lederman 2001:144; 2006:420). The excavators dated this destruction layer (Level 3) to the first half of the eighth century BCE on the basis of the pottery assemblage. If this is indeed the case, Joash, following his victory in battle, must have attacked Beth-Shemesh and destroyed it.⁴⁵¹ Joash possibly ruined other Judahite

⁴⁴⁹ It is probable, as Gray (1977:600) suggested, that Hazael (and possibly Bar-Hadad as well) and Mesha attacked Israel together in Transjordan during the reigns of Jehu and Joahaz. The story of Ehud in Jgs 3:12-30, which depicts the conquest of Jericho by Moab, Ammon, and Amalek, should probably be set in the same chronological frame.

⁴⁵⁰ Würthwein (1984:372) regarded the mention of Joash's plunder in v. 14 as schematic and attributed it to a redactional addition. However, it is natural that Joash the victor received the subjugation tax from Amaziah (cf. 1 Kgs 14:25-26; 2 Kgs 12:19). The description of the plunder is not schematic either, when compared with those in the other passages (1 Kgs 14:25-26; 2 Kgs 12:19). For the historical background of the battle between Amaziah and Joash, see Na'aman 1987. Interpreting the "king" in 2 Kgs 14:22 as Joash, Na'aman (1993:229) suggested that Israelite hegemony over Judah continued until the death of Joash.

⁴⁵¹ The excavators did not connect the event to any historical event (Bunimovitz and Lederman 2006:420).

settlements on his way to Jerusalem.

Historical information from the story is summarised as follows: (1) Joash defeated Judah at Beth-Shemesh and captured Amaziah; (2) Joash attacked Jerusalem and breached part of the city wall; and (3) Joash took booty and hostages from Jerusalem and brought them to Samaria.

This battle relates the political-territorial struggle between Israel and Judah after the end of the Damascene hegemony over this region.⁴⁵² Judah's victory over Edom (vv. 7, 10) raised its status in the region.⁴⁵³ Amaziah thus tried to negotiate with Joash over the political position of Judah, hoping to obtain a status of political equality. However, Joash, who had already defeated Aram-Damascus and regarded himself as the successor of the political-territorial hegemony of Damascus, dismissed the proposal for negotiation "face to face" (לכה נתראה פנים, v. 8). Instead, they "faced" at Beth-Shemesh (ויתראו פנים, v. 11) for battle (Na'aman 1987:213).⁴⁵⁴

Joash's route to Beth-Shemesh was probably intentionally chosen in order to establish the Israelite hegemony in the northern Shephelah after the region was liberated from the Aramaeans yoke.⁴⁵⁵ Beth-Shemesh's proximity to Philistia and the Darb el-Ghaza route is another possible reason for Joash's attack. Amaziah's victory over Edom and his capture of Sela (2 Kgs 14:7) enabled Judah to control the commercial

⁴⁵² The historical background for this battle suggested by scholars, such as marriage proposal (Šanda 1912:165) and boundary dispute (Šanda, *op. cit.*, 166; Gray 1977:608; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:158), are mere speculations based either on the fable in v. 9, or on the location of the battlefield (Beth-Shemesh).

⁴⁵³ Amaziah's battle against Edom is related in detail in 2 Chr 25. In this episode, Amaziah hired the Israelite soldiers (vv. 6-10). Na'aman (1987:213-214) suggested that the nucleus of the event and the results are based on an authentic source because there is no such story in the Book of Kings that a Judahite king hires Israelite soldiers. In addition, the end of this episode contradicts the moral of the Chroniclers: that although Amaziah avoided hiring Israelite soldiers (positive action), he gained not only the reward (victory over Edom) but also the punishment (the Israelite soldiers plundered cities in Judah; v. 13).

⁴⁵⁴ These two expressions form an ironical pun.

⁴⁵⁵ Hazael's invasion reached Philistine Gath (2 Kgs 12:18, see Chapter 3). Cf. Gray 1977:608.

route to the Gulf of Aqaba. Later it facilitated the construction of Elat by Azariah (v. 22). It seems that just as Jehoshaphat his great-great-grandfather declined the Israelite suggested cooperation (1 Kgs 22:49-50), so Amaziah too did not allow Israel to participate in commercial enterprise through the Way of Arabah. Judah's control over this route hindered Israel from accessing the Gulf of Aqaba. Israel consequently had to seek an alternative route, possibly through Philistia (Na'aman 1987:213). To consolidate the route to Philistia, Joash attacked Beth-Shemesh, Judah's stronghold in the northern Shephelah, located twelve kilometres southeast of the Philistine Ekron. The establishment of Kuntillet 'Ajrud, close to Darb el-Ghaza that leads from the Philistine coast to the Southern Sinai, may be understood against this background.⁴⁵⁶

Israel's predominance is emphasised by the story.⁴⁵⁷ Joash could regain his power only after Adad-nērāri III's conquest of Damascus in 796 BCE,⁴⁵⁸ which was also the year of Amaziah's enthronement (v. 1). His campaign into Judah can thus be dated between 796 BCE and 783 BCE, the end of Joash's reign.

5.1.6. Dtr's Concluding Statement of Joash's Reign (2 Kgs 14:15-16)

The original concluding verses of Joash (vv. 15-16) are secondarily mentioned in 2 Kgs 13:12-13.⁴⁵⁹ The Dtr mentions the peaceful death of the king, his might, which is exemplified by the successful battle he waged against Amaziah, and his burial place.

5.1.7. Dtr's Calculation of Amaziah's Reign (2 Kgs 14:17)

⁴⁵⁶ Since the Way of Arabah was blocked by Judah, Jeroboam II probably established and used the site as a commercial station (6.3.). For the view that the function of Kuntillet 'Ajrud as a caravanserai was secondary, see Na'aman and Lissovsky 2008.

⁴⁵⁷ This is also reflected in the mocking fable in v. 10, although the power balance of the metaphors cannot be taken at face value because the story is of Northern origin.

⁴⁵⁸ See 5.2.1.

⁴⁵⁹ See 5.1.1.

The verse relates that Amaziah lived fifteen years after Joash's death. The calculation is based on the data in 2 Kgs 13:20 and 2 Kgs 14:1, 2: Joash reigned for sixteen years; Amaziah ascended the throne in the second year of Joash and reigned for twenty-nine years. This statement is a pure redactional note by the Dtr and can hardly be ascribed to an archival source (Begrich 1929:149-151).⁴⁶⁰ The verse functions as a reminder that the real subject here is Amaziah of Judah and not Joash of Israel, the actual protagonist in the preceding story (Gray 1977:612). Hence, Lewy's suggestion (1927:11-14) that this verse attests to Azariah's early enthronement soon after Amaziah's defeat cannot be accepted,⁴⁶¹ although Azariah certainly ascended the throne much before Amaziah's death (Chapter 1). Whether Joash dethroned Amaziah and enthroned Azariah after Amaziah's defeat cannot be verified.

5.1.8. Contribution of Prophetic Stories to the History of Joash's Reign

Three prophetic stories in the Book of Kings have often been related to the time of Joash. The literary structure and historical authenticity of these stories as well as their contribution to history will be discussed in the following three sections.

5.1.8.1. Two Battles between Israel and Aram (1 Kgs 20)

The story contains two scenes of war between Israel and Aram-Damascus (vv. 1-21 and vv. 26-34). The first scene (vv. 1-21) relates the siege of Samaria by the massive Aramaean army led by Ben-Hadad. The story culminates in the flight of the Aramaean troops as they are defeated by the Israelite forces small in number (vv. 20-21).⁴⁶² The

⁴⁶⁰ Würthwein 1984:372-373.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Cogan and Tadmor 1988:154. For criticism, see Begrich 1929:150-151; Würthwein 1984:373, n. 14.

⁴⁶² The story commences with the description of the Aramaean siege of Samaria and Ben-Hadad's severe demand on the King of Israel (vv. 1-3). The Israelite king, judging from the expression in his statement (v.

second scene in 1 Kgs 20 relates the battle between Israel and Aram-Damascus at Aphek, the victory of Israel, and the subsequent treaty concluded between the two kingdoms. Scholars, especially those in the German school, hypothesised that the two accounts were originally independent and that they were later combined through vv. 22-25 (Schmitt 1972:46-51; Würthwein 1984:237; Stipp 1987:230-267; Otto 2001:212-213).⁴⁶³

However, Sroka (2006:5-18) demonstrated that 1 Kgs 20 is a sophisticated literary unity. He pointed out fifteen *Leitwörter* and word roots that are reiterated in the story. These words highlight the coherent theme of the entire story and appear also in the last part (vv. 35-43), which has been frequently regarded as a later addition. Thematic, stylistic, and grammatical phenomena are also common throughout chapter 20. For example, the story begins in Samaria and ends in Samaria. In conclusion, the entire story of 1 Kgs 20 can safely be ascribed to a single author.

Anachronistic features of the story have been widely recognised since Jepsen's article (1941-44).⁴⁶⁴ Some scholars regarded the reference to "Ahab" in vv. 2, 13, and 14 as secondary.⁴⁶⁵ These scholars suggested assigning the story to the Jehuite Dynasty

4), was apparently a vassal of Ben-Hadad at that time. At the second request (vv. 5-6), he summoned the elders of the city and decided to refuse the demand (vv. 7-9). Enraged by this answer, Ben-Hadad commanded his soldiers to prepare themselves for an attack on Samaria (vv. 10-12). Then, a prophet came to the king of Israel and announced that God would give to the king of Israel a victory over the massive Aramaean army (vv. 13-14). The king of Israel acted in accordance with this oracle (vv. 15-19). The small Israelite troop defeated the vast Aramaean army; Ben-Hadad himself had to flee (vv. 20-21).

⁴⁶³ Some scholars counted v. 28 to a later addition. For example, see Würthwein 1984:237. It must be emphasised, however, that the two episodes form a literary set in the present version. The reverse of the position between two kings and correspondent verbs and actions are seen in two episodes. Cf. Long 1984:209-211; Revell 1993:104.

⁴⁶⁴ The king of Israel depicted in this narrative presents himself as a vassal of the king of Damascus (v. 4), which hardly reflects the power balance between the two kingdoms at Ahab's time (Cf. Whitley 1952:144-146). The possibility that certain anecdotes from the Elisha stories can be interpreted in the historical context of the Jehuite Dynasty was already suggested as early as the nineteenth century (Kuenen 1890:83, n. 13).

⁴⁶⁵ The name of the king of Israel appeared only three times in the account (vv. 2, 13, and 14). In other cases, he is merely referred to as "the king of Israel"; on the other hand, the king of Aram is almost always mentioned with his name Ben-Hadad (thirteen times, vv. 1, 3, 5, 9, 10, 16, 17, 20, 26, 30, 32, 33 [twice]).

and identified the protagonist as either Joahaz or Joash.⁴⁶⁶

These identifications rest on the premise that the war narratives in 1 Kgs 20 are basically authentic. However, Sroka's close diachronic-linguistic analysis of the text and his examination of the norms embedded in the text attest to fictional features and a late date of 1 Kgs 20 (Sroka 2006:19-35). He found in the story seven words and expressions that are otherwise used only in secure late sources.⁴⁶⁷ Comparison of words and expressions that appear in the story with those in the Classical and Late Hebrew sources dates the story most probably to the Persian Period. In addition to the linguistic evidence, Sroka pointed out three late norms in the story (*op. cit.*, 36-37), which are likely to date it to the Persian Period. (1) The king consults with all the elders of the Land and the people (vv. 7-8). (2) Anonymity of the prophets (vv. 13, 22, 28, 35, 38, and 41). (3) A prophet who appears before war without the king's summons. These features are extraordinary in the Book of Kings but are common in the Book of Chronicles.

It seems therefore that the author composed 1 Kgs 20 to convey his theological and educational messages to his contemporary readers. He composed some parts of the story by employing themes and stylistic features, including words and expressions borrowed from various passages in the Bible.⁴⁶⁸ The source for the introduction of 1 Kgs 20 can easily be identified at 2 Kgs 6:24-7:20. The similarity between the historical

According to Würthwein (1984:236), vv. 13 and 14 are secondary. For various views supporting the originality of Ahab in the story, see Gray 1977:415, 417-418.

⁴⁶⁶ The prevailing view in research is that the vassalage situation of Israel fits the early days of the Jehuite Dynasty when Israel was in the shadow of Aramaean hegemony (cf. Chapters 3 and 4); hence, the anonymous king of Israel in this narrative can be one of the early Jehuite kings.

⁴⁶⁷ These words and expressions are as follows: אִם-יִשְׁפַּק עִפְר שׁוֹמְרוֹן (v. 10), שְׁעֵלִים (v. 10), גַּעְרֵי שְׂרֵי הַמְדִּינּוֹת (vv. 14, 15, 17, and 19), מִי-יֵאֱסֵר הַמְלַחְמָה (v. 14), בְּמִישׁוֹר (vv. 23 and 25), הַסֵּר הַמְּלָכִים אִישׁ מִמְּקוֹמוֹ (v. 24), וַיַּחְלְטוּ הַמַּמְנֹנִים (v. 33).

⁴⁶⁸ Sroka (2006:38-46) enumerated the possible sources for the composition of 1 Kgs 20: 2 Sam 10-11:1; 2 Kgs 6:24-7:20; 2 Kgs 9:1-10:28; 2 Kgs 5:7; 1 Sam 15; Gen 31; Jos 6; 1 Kgs 16:9; 1 Kgs 21:1. 1 Kgs 13 might have served as its source, although this chapter too shows features of a late composition.

circumstances of the mid-Jehuite Dynasty and those related in 1 Kgs 20 is the result of literary borrowing. The anachronisms in the story are not a result of later additions, but indicate the late date of composition. In short, it is doubtful that 1 Kgs 20 contains any historical information which could serve as a source for reconstructing the history of Israel in the time of the Jehuite Dynasty.

5.1.8.2. The Siege of Samaria (2 Kgs 6:24-7:20)

The legend describes the siege of Samaria by the Aramaean army, the famine in the city during the siege, and the surprising Aramaean withdrawal, by which the inhabitants of Samaria were released from the siege. Originally an independent story, it was later integrated into the Book of Kings by the Dtr.⁴⁶⁹ The story probably rests on a historical event.⁴⁷⁰ The hunger and the unanticipated relief from the siege must have left a strong impression on the memory of the Samaritans and developed into a folkloristic legend. The author of the Book of Kings included the story within the legends attributed to the time of Joram, who can hardly be the king depicted in the story.⁴⁷¹ The weak status of Israel in the story reflects the time of the Jehuite Dynasty.⁴⁷² The unexpected withdrawal of the Aramaean army from the besieged Samaria can best be explained by the imminent Assyrian offensive against Damascus in 796 BCE (Na'aman 1991:86-89).⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁹ Würthwein 1984:309-310.

⁴⁷⁰ Würthwein (1984:314-316) suggested that the involvement of the Prophet Elisha in the story (6:31-7:2, 6-7, 16b-20) is fictional and may not have been in the original story. It is pointed out, already by Jepsen (1941-44:154-155) that this account describes the same siege of Samaria described in 1 Kgs 20:1-21, and the same event was orally transferred in two different stories, described from two different viewpoints. However, literary analysis elucidates that 1 Kgs 20 borrows themes and expressions from 2 Kgs 6:24-7:20 (Sroka 2006:38-46). Cf. 5.1.8.1.

⁴⁷¹ Kuenen 1887:396, n. 2.

⁴⁷² Šanda (1912:49-51) attempted to establish a more precise date of the event (shortly after 797 BCE). Cf. Gray 1977:518. Cogan and Tadmor (1988:84-85) dated this event to the reign of Joahaz.

⁴⁷³ This Assyrian campaign might have been a response to Joash's plea for help, as Na'aman suggested.

Within the plot, the Aramaeans fled in panic, fearing that the kings of the Hittite and Egypt were hired by the king of Israel (7:6-7). Cogan and Tadmor (1988:84-85) suggested that the army was actually the Assyrians who came to relieve Israel. However, it is unlikely that this legendary story memorises the Assyrian intervention in the siege of Samaria; rather, the mention of the kings of the Hittites and Egypt is imaginary, invented by the story's author.⁴⁷⁴

5.1.8.3. The Defeat of Aramaean Troops (2 Kgs 6:8-23)

This prophetic story is set in the period of hostility between Aram and Israel. The story begins with the description of Elisha delivering Israel from the Aramaean attacks (vv. 8-10).⁴⁷⁵ Israel's weakness is reflected in the description of the Aramaean troops moving freely in the Israelite territory and penetrating as deep as Dothan in the northern Samarian Hills.⁴⁷⁶ The Aramaic superiority is the only chronological anchor for dating the story. Šanda (1912:49-51) dated it, along with the event described in 2 Kgs 6:24-7:20, soon after 797 BCE.⁴⁷⁷ Following Šanda, I suppose that the story reflects the weak position of Israel in the time of the Jehuite Dynasty. Israel in this story is no more a vassal of Aram-Damascus since both kingdoms are obviously in enmity. Hence, this picture would fit the time after the siege of Samaria (796 BCE),⁴⁷⁸ when Joash threw

The tribute of Joash is recorded in the Tell al-Rimah Inscription from the time of Adad-nērāri III (5.2.3.).

⁴⁷⁴ Würthwein 1984:315-316.

⁴⁷⁵ The Aramaean attacks on the cities in Israel were prevented by Elisha (vv. 8-10), which enraged the king of Aram; he sent his troops to catch Elisha (vv. 11-14). Elisha, however, with an unnatural power brought from YHWH, temporarily blinded the soldiers and led them to Samaria (vv. 15-19). The king of Israel asked Elisha's permission to kill the Aramaean soldiers, but Elisha refused it. Instead, the king of Israel served a feast for them, and sent them back to their master (vv. 20-23).

⁴⁷⁶ It is generally identified with Tel Dothan, ten kilometres south of Jenin.

⁴⁷⁷ Other scholars suggested that the legendary elements in the story, for example the lack of kings' names (both of Israel and of Aram-Damascus), hinder from the precise dating of the event (Gray 1977:512-514; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:75). Gray (*loc. cit.*), associating the weak Israel in the story with Jehu's reign, dated its *terminus post quem* to 839 BCE, when the Assyrian power withdrew from the region.

⁴⁷⁸ For the incident, see 5.1.8.2, and for the date, see 5.2.1.

off the yoke of Aram-Damascus, although the historicity of the details of the story can not be verified.

5.2. The Assyrian Sources

In Chapter 4, the inscriptions of Adad-nērāri III and the chronology of his military campaigns to Syria-Palestine during 805-802 BCE were discussed.⁴⁷⁹ In this section, his campaign to Damascus in 796 BCE will be reviewed: first, the entry of the Eponym Chronicles in 796 BCE; then, the texts that relate the Damascene submission to Assyria and Joash's tribute.

5.2.1. The Eponym Chronicles and the Campaign of Adad-nērāri III against Damascus

The subjugation of Damascus by Adad-nērāri III has been variously dated.⁴⁸⁰ Unger (1916:16-18), on the basis of the chronological reference to Adad-nērāri's "fifth year" in the Saba'a Stela, dated the conquest of north Syria and the subjugation of Damascus to 806 BCE. Poebel (1943:82-84), accepting this date, explained the absence of Damascus in the Eponym Chronicles by assuming that Adad-nērāri conducted two campaigns in a single year and only one of them, "to Mannea", was registered in the entry.⁴⁸¹ Lipiński (1979:81-93) dated the subjugation of Damascus to 803 BCE, when the Assyrian army reached "Ba'li", located on the Mediterranean coast, and hypothesized that this is the place where Joash paid tribute to Adad-nērāri.⁴⁸² Donner (1970:55-57), based on the Biblical chronology of Joash's reign, dated it to 802 BCE. Lemaire (1993:149*) also dated it to 802 BCE, when other Phoenico-Palestinian kingdoms paid tribute to Adad-nērāri.⁴⁸³ However, none of these dates are decisive.

⁴⁷⁹ See 4.2.3.

⁴⁸⁰ A brief history of the studies regarding the date of the Damascus campaign is also found in Kuan 1995:93-97.

⁴⁸¹ Cf. Shea 1978:101-113; Oded 1972:28-29.

⁴⁸² Also Kuan 1995:99-106.

⁴⁸³ I date the Joash's tribute to Adad-nērāri to 796 BCE. See 5.2.6.

Three of Adad-nērāri III's inscriptions describe the campaign against Mari' of Damascus and his tribute.⁴⁸⁴ They indicate that the subjugation of Damascus was considered as one of the greatest achievements of Adad-nērāri III. The Tell Sheikh Hammad Stela mentions erecting the king's royal image in Arvad but it does not refer to the subjugation of Damascus (Siddall *personal communication*). It may suggest that the Sheikh Hammad Stela was erected between the two events. Provided this assumption is correct, the subjugation of Damascus must be dated after Adad-nērāri III's campaign to the Syro-Phoenician coast (803-802 BCE).⁴⁸⁵

Damascus is not mentioned in Adad-nērāri's entries of the Eponym Chronicles. Scholars explained the absence of Damascus by hypothesising the principle according to which the entries in the Eponym Chronicles were selected (Millard and Tadmor 1973:62; Kuan 1995:7-18).⁴⁸⁶ However, very little is known about the system of selecting entries and it is impossible to clarify the principles of selection. Therefore, it is reasonable to date the campaign against Damascus according to the toponym mentioned in the Eponym Chronicles, which is geographically closer to Damascus.

The Eponym Chronicle (B1 22') refers to *a-na KUR man-ṣu-a-te* in the entry for 796 BCE. Two possible locations for this place have been suggested.⁴⁸⁷ Honigmann (1924:46) suggested the valley of Massyas/Marsyas in the southern Beqa' Valley, which is mentioned in the classical sources.⁴⁸⁸ Lipiński (1971b:393-397), based on a linguistic comparison between the two place names, identified Manṣuate with Maṣyāf, situated some forty kilometres west-south-west of Hama. This identification may be

⁴⁸⁴ Saba'a Stela, lines 18-20; Tell al-Rimah Stela, lines 6-7; Nimrud Slab, lines 15-21.

⁴⁸⁵ See 4.2.3.1.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. also Cody 1970:328, n. 11; Oded 1972:26.

⁴⁸⁷ For the earlier literature on the identification of Manṣuate, see Lipiński 1971b:394-395; 2000:304-310; Millard and Tadmor 1973:63, n. 21.

⁴⁸⁸ Strabo, *Geography*, XVI:2:18; Polybius, *History*, V:45-46, 61. See Hölscher 1930: col. 1986. Weippert (1992:50-53) and Sader (1987:266-267) accepted this view.

corroborated by one of Amenophis II's inscriptions and a letter from Nimrud (ND 2680; NL 22)⁴⁸⁹ that perhaps mentions problems from the settlements of Assyrian rebels in the city of Manṣuate (Na'aman 1999:427-428).⁴⁹⁰ In light of this evidence, Manṣuate may be located in the territory of Hamath.

Since Manṣuate is the closest place to Damascus in the Eponym Chronicles during Adad-nērāri III's reign after 802 BCE, I suggest dating the Assyrian campaign against Damascus in 796 BCE and use this date in the present study. Admittedly, this date is not exclusive and remains open for further discussion.

5.2.2. The Saba'a Stela (A.0.104.6)

The inscription relates the tribute from Mari' king of Damascus as follows:⁴⁹¹

“I verily commanded [to march to the land of Damascus]. [I verily confined] Mari' in the city Damascus, [... he brought to me] 100 talents of gold, 1,000 talents of silver. [I received it and took it to Assyria]” (lines 18b-20).

5.2.3. The Tell al-Rimah Stela (A.0.104.7)

The stela describes the submission of Mari' and his tribute as follows:⁴⁹²

“I verily mustered my chariots (and) camps. I verily commanded the march to the land Hatti. In one year I verily submitted the land Amurru (and) the land Hatti at my feet. I verily imposed upon them tribute of obligation for the future. He^{sic!} received 2,000 talents of silver, 1,000 talents of copper, 2,000 talents of iron, 3,000 multicoloured clothing and linen — the tribute

⁴⁸⁹ Saggs 1955:141, XXII 8.

⁴⁹⁰ Na'aman assumed that these rebels may be connected to the Assyrians that Sargon II settled in Hamath.

⁴⁹¹ See 4.2.3.2.1.

⁴⁹² See 4.2.3.2.2.

of Mari' of the land Damascus. He^{sic!} received the tribute of Joash of the land Samaria, of the land Tyre, of the land Sidon" (lines 4-8).

5.2.4. The Nimrud Slab (A.0.104.8)

The slab relates the conquest of Damascus and tribute from Mari' as follows.⁴⁹³

"To the land Damascus, I verily marched. I verily confined Mari', the king of the land Damascus, in the city of Damascus. The fear of radiance that Aššur his^{sic!} lord overwhelmed him and he seized my feet, he became my vassal. 2,300 talents of silver, twenty talents of gold, 3,000 talents of bronze, 5,000 talents of iron, linen garment of multicoloured cloth, bed of ivory, couch with inlaid ivory; I received his possessions, his property without number in the city of Damascus, his royal city, inside his palace" (lines 15-21).

This is the most detailed description of the submission of Damascus. Adad-nērāri III states that he received the tribute from Mari' in his palace (line 21). This is the first time that Damascus was subjugated by the Assyrians. Adad-nērāri's predecessors did not achieve it, not even Shalmaneser III, who boasted of confining Hazael in Damascus and cutting down his orchards.⁴⁹⁴ It was therefore a good reason for Adad-nērāri to describe this event in his inscription. The reason for the absence of this deed in the Eponym Chronicles remains unknown.

⁴⁹³ See 4.2.3.2.3.

⁴⁹⁴ *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.8, lines 1'''-27''''; A.0.102.10, Col iii, line 45b – Col. iv, line 15a; A.0.102.12, lines 21-30a; A.0.102.16, lines 122'b-137'a.

5.2.5. Nergal-ēreš⁴⁹⁵

Two out of three inscriptions describing the campaign against Damascus during Adad-nērāri III's reign (the Saba'a and Tell al-Rimah Stelae) were set up by Nergal-ēreš.⁴⁹⁶ He is mentioned in various inscriptions as well as twice in the Eponym Lists,⁴⁹⁷ and was one of the four outstanding Assyrian officials during the tumultuous period in the Assyrian Empire from 830 to 745 BCE (Grayson 1993:26-29).⁴⁹⁸ These officials are prominent in that "they are named in royal inscriptions or have their own private inscriptions, or both" (Grayson, *op. cit.*, 26).⁴⁹⁹ Against this background, it was most likely Nergal-ēreš who engaged in the campaign against Damascus in 796 BCE. In the Saba'a and Tell al-Rimah Inscriptions, he seemingly intended to commemorate the military expedition in which he rendered distinguished service or which he himself led.⁵⁰⁰ It may be corroborated by the alternation between the first and third person forms in the Tell al-Rimah Stela (Tadmor 1973:142; Ruby 2001:172). If this hypothesis is correct, Mari' of Damascus paid tribute to Nergal-ēreš as representative of Adad-nērāri III.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁵ For this court official and his activities, see Fuchs 2008:75-78.

⁴⁹⁶ The Tell Sheikh-Hammad Stela was attributed also to Nergal-ēreš by Millard (1973:162), which was confirmed by its second fragment (Siddal *personal communication*).

⁴⁹⁷ Nergal-ēreš appears in the Eponym Chronicles as governor of Rašappa (803 and 775 BCE). The list of the sources that mention his name is found in Åkerman and Baker 2002:981-982. His name is also read as "Pālil-ereš"; however, this reading is uncertain (Kühne and Radner 2008:31-32). Therefore, I read "Nergal-ēreš" for practical reasons, although this reading is equally uncertain. See Åkerman and Baker, *op. cit.*, 981; Postgate 1970:33; Tadmor 1973:147, n. 32; Timm 1993:65, n. 29 with earlier literature. Cf. Krebernik 2003-2005.

⁴⁹⁸ Grayson enumerated the four officials: Dayyan-Aššur (*ca.* 853-826), Šamšī-ilu (*ca.* 800-752), Nergal-ēreš, and Bel-Harran-beli-ušur (*ca.* 782-727). He (*op. cit.*, 19; 1982:273-279; *RIMA* 3:200-201) pointed out that the time from Shalmaneser III's late years to the appearance of Tiglath-pileser III (830-745 BCE) was a period that "a select few officials gained exceptional power in the state and threatened the very foundation of the Assyrian monarchy."

⁴⁹⁹ For the Assyrian magnates in this period, see the extensive studies of Blocher (2001) and Fuchs (2008).

⁵⁰⁰ See Page 1968:153; Cody 1970:331-332; Schramm 1973:113. Cazelles (1969:108) suggested that Nergal-ēreš led the campaign to Ba'li in 803 BCE (he thought it was 804 BCE), that is, the Eponym year of Nergal-ēreš himself.

⁵⁰¹ The end of Nergal-ēreš's service can be dated between 775 BCE, the last mention of him in the Eponym Lists, and 747 BCE, when Šin-šallimanni appears as the governor of Rašappa in the Eponym Lists. The

5.2.6. Joash's Tribute to Adad-nērāri III

The next issue is dating the two following events: (1) the receipt of the tribute from the kingdoms of Israel, Tyre, and Sidon, which is related in the Tell al-Rimah Stela (lines 8-9a); (2) the march to the Mediterranean Sea and Mt Lebanon, as related on the same stela (lines 9b-12a). Both events could be ascribed to two different (the 802 and 796 BCE) campaigns, or to one of them. Assuming that the identification of *ana tām̄tim* in the Eponym Chronicles for 802 BCE with the Mediterranean is correct,⁵⁰² Adad-nērāri's march to the Mediterranean and Mt Lebanon may be dated to that year. Joash's accession to the throne was dated in this study to 798 BCE,⁵⁰³ and the tribute of Israel and the Phoenician kingdoms must accordingly be dated to 796 BCE. Joash's tribute to Assyria is explained by the ancient Near Eastern custom that a new king brings tribute to his sovereign and his lord then affirms his status and authority.

5.2.7. Identification of Mari' King of Damascus

Adad-nērāri III's inscriptions call the king of Damascus by the name Mari'. The name does not appear in the Aramaic inscriptions or in the Bible. Mari's identification can therefore be determined only upon chronological consideration. Hazael's death and Ben-Hadad's enthronement must have preceded 804/3 BCE, the date of the Zakkur Stela where Ben-Hadad is mentioned.⁵⁰⁴ Hence, Hazael cannot be a candidate for

deliberate erasure of text concerning him from the Tell al-Rimah Stela (see above), suggests that he might have fallen from power in disgrace. Cf. Grayson *RIMA* 3:210; Page 1968:152-153.

⁵⁰² See 4.2.3.1.

⁵⁰³ See Chapter 1.

⁵⁰⁴ See 4.3. Hazael was still upon the throne until some time after Joahaz's accession (814 BCE, cf. 2 Kgs 13:3).

Mari's identification.⁵⁰⁵ The old suggestion of identifying Mari' with the successor of Ben-Hadad cannot be excluded,⁵⁰⁶ but more plausible is to regard Mari' as a hypocoristicon of the king's real name, and Ben-Hadad as a throne name. Māri', meaning "my Lord" in West Semitic, probably formed a part of the real name of Ben-Hadad, son of Hazael.⁵⁰⁷

5.2.8. The Tribute from Mari'

All three inscriptions record inventory of the tribute of Mari' (Table 6).⁵⁰⁸

Table 6. Tribute from Mari' king of Damascus (measures given in talents = *biltu*)⁵⁰⁹

	Saba'a Stela	Tell al-Rimah Stela	Nimrud Slab
Gold (KÙ.GI)	100?	-	20
Bronze (ZABAR)	-	-	3,000
Silver (KÙ.BABBAR)	1,000	2,000	2,300
Copper (URUDU)	-	1,000	-
Iron (AN.BAR)	-	2,000	5,000
Garments (<i>lubulti birme</i>)	-	3,000	No quantity specified
Bed of Ivory (GIŠ.NÁ ZÚ)	-	-	No quantity specified
Couch with Ivory (GIŠ <i>nēmatti ZÚ ihzi tamlē</i>)	-	-	No quantity specified

⁵⁰⁵ *Contra* Unger 1957:83, 164, n. 2; de Vaux 1934:516-518; Lipiński 1969:168, n. 40.

⁵⁰⁶ Pitard 1987:165. Sader (1987:260) regarded Mari' as another son of Hazael, who succeeded the Damascene throne after Hazael, and was excluded later by Ben-Hadad after he (Mari') paid tribute to Assyria. See Pitard, *op. cit.*, 165, n. 42, for earlier literature. Lipiński (2000:390-393), dating the campaign against Damascus in 803 BCE, suggested that the royal title Mari' is used in Assyrian inscriptions, because Hazael died in the same year. However, this view does not explain the use of the royal title in the Assyrian inscriptions.

⁵⁰⁷ Mari'-Hadad is suggested. See Albright 1942:28, n. 16; Page 1968:149-150; Millard and Tadmor 1973:63, n. 22; Millard 1987-90:418. Cf. Hafthorsson 2006:69-70 with n. 312.

⁵⁰⁸ Saba'a Stela lines 18b-20; Tell al-Rimah Stela, lines 11-12; Nimrud Slab, lines 18-21. See also Page 1968:144; Elat 1977:23-24; De Odorico 1995:51. However, the tables there must be corrected according to the new editions of the texts. For example, in the list of the Saba'a Stela, they counted sixty or one hundred talents of iron, but iron (AN.BAR) is actually not mentioned in that stela.

⁵⁰⁹ One talent is generally equivalent to about thirty kilograms. A heavy standard, equivalent to about sixty kilograms, is also attested. Cf. Powell 1987-90:510.

The variation in the inventories and their quantities shows that these lists were probably copied from different tribute inventories.⁵¹⁰ During the subsequent process of recording those numbers on the stelae, the scribe(s) may have intentionally exaggerated the quantities of those items so as to enhance the achievements of the king (De Odorico 1995:51).⁵¹¹ It is thus difficult to use the numbers included in these inscriptions for the historical reconstruction.

It is noteworthy that none of Adad-nērāri III's inscriptions mention booty (*šalālu*). In his analysis of the tributes mentioned in Shalmaneser III's historical inscriptions, Yamada (2000a:225-272) distinguished between booty and tribute (*madattu*). He suggested that the tribute can be divided into two types (*op. cit.*, 237): (1) "spot tribute" which is "received by the king (or his representative) at a particular place or spot in the course of a campaign"; (2) "annual tribute" which is "imposed on local rulers, to be delivered annually to the Assyrian capital". Adopting this categorisation, all the tributes mentioned in Adad-nērāri III's inscriptions are of the "spot tribute" type, formulated as "I received X (as) the tribute of PN/GN" (*madattu ša PN/GN ... amhur*). Yamada further observed two different circumstances for the reception of "spot tribute": one is "tribute of surrender" or "subjugation gifts"; and the other involves "audience gifts", offered under the threat of potential Assyrian aggression.⁵¹² The tribute from Mari' should be classified as "tribute of surrender" because the siege of Damascus and its surrender are described before the receipt of tribute (Nimrud Slab, lines 15-17). By

⁵¹⁰ De Odorico (1995:51) noticed the increased quantities reported in the Nimrud Slab and suggested that these are "totals" of tribute that Adad-nērāri III received from Mari'.

⁵¹¹ See also Galil 2001b:44-45 with n. 10. Examples of such manipulation are found in De Odorico 1995.

⁵¹² For the terminology, see Yamada 2000a:236-238. Yamada's "spot tribute" is equivalent to Elat's "tribute of surrender", see Yamada, *op. cit.*, 236-237, n. 21; Elat 1982:244-245, 249, n. 9.

contrast, the tribute from Joash, the Phoenician kings, Edom, and Philistia are of the “audience gifts” type, since no Assyrian assaults on these parties are mentioned.⁵¹³

5.2.9. The Late Years of Joash and the Rise of Šamšī-ilu in Assyria

According to the Eponym Chronicles, the Assyrian army did not return to Syria until 775 BCE.⁵¹⁴ Adad-nērāri III was preoccupied with the east and his heirs suffered from revolts. It was against this background that Šamašī-ilu, the Assyrian *turtānu*, gained power in the West.⁵¹⁵

Šamšī-ilu, the author of the Pazarcık and the Antakya Stelae, was a powerful Assyrian official from the late ninth to the mid-eighth centuries BCE.⁵¹⁶ His seat as Assyrian *turtānu* (field marshal) was in Til-Barsip (Tel Ahmar) and from there he exerted his power over south Anatolia and Syria-Palestine. The beginning of his office as *turtānu* can be approximately dated between 796 and 780 BCE. Considering his role as an arbitrator of the border dispute between Hamath and Arpad after 796 BCE (Antakya Stela),⁵¹⁷ he was nominated around that date. His name appears in the Eponym Chronicles as *turtānu* in 752 BCE but not in 742 BCE. His disappearance may be connected with Tiglath-pileser III’s accession (745 BCE), who probably terminated the office of Šamšī-ilu (Hawkins 1982:404; Lipiński 1991:173-174).⁵¹⁸

Šamšī-ilu probably led the campaign against Damascus in 773 BCE and received the tribute of Hadiānu, king of Damascus at the latter’s palace (Pazarcık Stela; *RIMA* 3, A.0.105.1, Rev. lines 4-10). Further, he probably led the military campaigns

⁵¹³ The Scheil Fragment lines 10-11 seem to mention the “subjugation gifts” from Ataršumki.

⁵¹⁴ The Eponym Chronicle records “to the cedar mountain” for 775 BCE; see 6.2.1.

⁵¹⁵ For detail analysis of his activities, see Dalley 2000; Fuchs 2008.

⁵¹⁶ Šamšī-ilu is the one who set the borders between Arpad and Hamath (the Antakya Stela); Kummuh and Gurgum (the Pazarcık Stela, Obv.); and for Kummuh (the Pazarcık Stela, Rev.).

⁵¹⁷ See 4.2.3.2.7.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. Fuchs 2008:96.

against Hatarikka in 772, 765, and 755 BCE (Lipiński 1991:174-175). Nergal-ēreš, who exerted a strong influence in the Assyrian Empire, probably fell from power after 775 BCE, when his name was last mentioned in the Eponym Chronicles (see 5.2.5.). Thus, Šamšī-ilu's leading role in the international relations in south Anatolia and Syria-Palestine was outstanding. At a certain phase, he even made his own inscription (*RIMA* 3, A.0.104.2010) and described his successful campaign against Urartu, without mentioning the king. He undoubtedly represented the Assyrian power in the west from the early to the mid-eighth centuries BCE.⁵¹⁹ In short, Assyria, through Šamšī-ilu, maintained its influence upon the kingdoms in Syria, especially in the north, for some twenty years after the campaign against Damascus in 796 BCE.

⁵¹⁹ Some scholars identified Bar-Ga'ya mentioned in the Sefire Inscriptions with Šamšī-ilu, due to the former's significant role in northern Syria around 754 BCE (Lemaire and Durand 1984:37-58; Ikeda 1994).

5.3. Synthesis

Adad-nērāri III's campaigns against Arpad in 805-804 BCE had a critical influence on all the Syro-Palestinian kingdoms. They shook the Damascene hegemony over those kingdoms, including the kingdoms of Hamath and Israel. When Joash ascended the throne in 798 BCE, he probably refused to take part in the anti-Assyrian coalition led by Ben-Hadad of Damascus. As a result, Samaria was besieged by the Aramaean army in 796 BCE. The city was relieved by the approaching Assyrian army led by Nergal-ēreš, which forced the Aramaean army to withdraw from the city.

The struggle between Damascus and Israel continued after 796 BCE. Joash defeated the Aramaean army and regained the conquered territories and established the independence of the Kingdom of Israel. Having gained a dominant power in southern Levant, Joash took over the Damascene hegemony in the region. He fought against Amaziah of Judah, who tried to obtain a political equality with Israel, and defeated him at Beth-Shemesh. As a result, Judah became, at least temporarily, a vassal kingdom of Israel (2 Kgs 14:14).⁵²⁰

⁵²⁰ Vogelstein (1945:7-20) suggested that Judah was subjugated by Israel during the reigns of Amaziah and Azariah.

6. The Reign of Jeroboam II (784-748 BCE)

Primary sources for Jeroboam II's reign are limited. The only sources that explicitly refer to him are the Book of Kings and a seal discovered at Tel Megiddo. The Book of Amos brings to light the extent of the territory and the material prosperity of Israel at that time. Assyrian inscriptions shed light on the international relations in the Syro-Palestinian region. Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions provide information on the territorial extent of Israel during Jeroboam II's reign. The results of the archaeological excavations contribute to the understanding of the economic status and material culture of Israel at that time.

6.1. The Biblical Source

6.1.1. Biblical Description of Jeroboam's Reign (2 Kgs 14:23-29)

The passage tersely relates Jeroboam II's deeds and the Dtr's theological interpretation of them. It consists of three parts: (1) vv. 23-24; (2) vv. 25-27; and (3) vv. 28-29.

6.1.1.1. Opening and Concluding Formulae (2 Kgs 14:23-24, 29)

Vv. 23-24 form a stereotypical opening formula of an Israelite king. V. 23 presents the king's name, the name of his father, his seat, and the synchronism with the king of Judah. V. 24 is a formulaic negative judgement of Jeroboam, and v. 29 is the concluding formula of a peaceful death of the king.

6.1.1.2. Restoration of the Border (2 Kgs 14:25)

Verse 25 consists of two parts. V. 25a reads: "It was he (Jeroboam II) who restored the

boundaries of Israel from Lebo-hamath to the Sea of the Arabah". V. 25b explains that Jeroboam's achievements fulfil the prophecy of YHWH's prophet, Jonah ben Amitai.

Lebo-hamath is identified with modern Labweh in the northern Beqa' Valley, which is mentioned as Lab'u in the ancient sources.⁵²¹ "The Sea of Arabah" is glossed in other Biblical sources (Deut 3:17; Josh 3:16, 12:3) as "the Salt Sea", which is equivalent to the Dead Sea. This description reflects the ideal extent of the Israelite boundary and appears in the description of the prosperity in Solomon's age (1 Kgs 5:1; 8:65). The verbal form "restored" (השיב) also associates this territorial extent with Solomon's dominion.⁵²² In this light, scholars suggested that the territorial extent under Jeroboam II was retrospectively projected onto the ideal territorial extent in the time of Solomon.

Some scholars postulated that v. 25a was derived from an archival source and that it was later adopted by the Dtr.⁵²³ Montgomery (1934), for example, ascribed the verse to a hypothetical lapidary source together with 2 Kgs 14:7, 22; 15:35; and 18:4, 8 because of the common formulaic terminology in those verses.⁵²⁴ However, all the other texts that he cited refer to the kings of Judah.⁵²⁵ The literary similarity among these texts does not necessarily indicate that this piece of information is based on an

⁵²¹ For those classical sources, see Ahituv 1984:131. Cf. Donner 1977:414; Aharoni 1979:72; Hobbs 1985:183; Ahlström 1993a:617; Thomas 2003:146-147.

⁵²² Cogan and Tadmor 1988:162.

⁵²³ Benzinger 1899:165; Kittel 1900:263; Hölscher 1923:197; Jepsen 1934:94; 1941-44:153-172, esp. 154-156; Montgomery 1951:443; Noth 1967:75; Crüsemann 1971:59; Gray 1977:615; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:163. Würthwein (1984:374) ascribed the whole verse to the DtrP. Cf. Haran (1967:266). Tadmor (1962:114-122, esp. 119) regarded this report as historical. Cohen (1965:154) interpreted it as royal boasts.

⁵²⁴ The formulaic terminology, according to Montgomery, is הוּא + suffix conjugation verb + object.

⁵²⁵ 2 Kgs 14:7, 22 (Amaziah); 15:35 (Jotham); 18:4, 8 (Hezekiah). I follow Halpern and Vanderhooff (1992), who identified "he" in 2 Kgs 14:22 as Amaziah. Na'aman (1993:228-229), on the other hand, identified "he" as Azariah. Following Montgomery, Halpern (2001:186-187, 194) categorised 2 Kgs 14:25 as "narrative statement", whose parallels can be found in other parts of the Books of Kings and regarded it historically reliable. He categorised 14:28 as "source notice". Halpern (*op. cit.*, 193) suggested that 2 Kgs 14:25 relies on a source describing Jeroboam II's reign.

archival source. It only indicates that those texts were composed by the same author. Information on the boundaries in 2 Kgs 14:25 and its possible source must therefore be evaluated in the light of Am 6:14, which refers to a similar extent of the Israelite territory.

6.1.1.3. Theological Explanation for Jeroboam's Deeds (2 Kgs 14:26-27)

These two verses attribute Jeroboam's exploits to YHWH's mercy on Israel. According to this explanation, it is not because of Jeroboam's personal competence, but by the grace of YHWH, that Israel prospers. This explanation has nothing to do with the historical reality.⁵²⁶ It only indicates that the large territory conquered during Jeroboam's reign was known to the author of vv. 26-27 and that he found it necessary to explain this "bad" king's success by divine mercy.

6.1.1.4. The Restoration of Damascus and Hamath (2 Kgs 14:28)

Another description of territorial expansion during Jeroboam II's reign is found in v. 28, which forms a part of the Dtr concluding formula. According to the description, Jeroboam "fought and 'restored' Damascus and Hamath for Judah in Israel (ליהודה (בישראל)". The enigmatic text has drawn scholarly attention.⁵²⁷ Na'aman (1993:231-234) tentatively restored the original text "and the war(s) of Judah against Israel" (ומלחמת

⁵²⁶ Crüsemann (1971:59) construed vv. 26-27 as a redactional comment by the Dtr. See also, Gray 1977:616. Montgomery (1951:443) regarded vv. 25b-27 as one unit. Würthwein (1984:375-376) ascribed vv. 26-27 to the DtrN. Gosse (1994:169-72) suggested that v. 27 is designated not to the time of Jeroboam II, but to the posterior time, after the fulfilment of the words of Amos through the falls of Samaria and Jerusalem.

⁵²⁷ Burney (1903:320) suggested reading "how he fought with Damascus and how he turned away the wrath of YHWH from Israel" (ואשר נלחם את־דמשק ואשר השיב את־חמת יהוה מִישראל). Cf. Šanda 1912:173. Vogelstein (1945:10) suggested that this verse indicates that Judah was a province or vassalage of Israel under Jeroboam. Eissfeldt's (1968:99-130) reading "in Yau'di for Israel" was dismissed by Tadmor (1961:232-271). Cf. Gordon and Rendsburg 1997:241, n. 6.

יהודה בישראל). The restoration may fit the historical context, but it is impossible to verify it without further evidence. Cogan and Tadmor (1988:162) regarded “for Judah” as “a gloss from the hand of a Judahite scribe for whom the claim to these territories in the far north rested on the achievements of David and Solomon, who were primarily kings of Judah”.⁵²⁸ Yet, it is possible that the territorial achievement of David and Solomon was described on the basis of Jeroboam II’s conquests. In conclusion, the word “restored” was probably derived from the source that the Dtr used (v. 25) and may reflect Jeroboam’s claim to “the border of Israel” (גבול ישראל).⁵²⁹ Jeroboam’s territorial achievement and that of David and Solomon were associated through the insertion of the phrase “for Judah” by a later editor who was inspired by the word “restored”. This solution too is highly speculative, and I suggest it with due reservation.

Some scholars assumed that the information on the restoration of Hamath and Damascus in v. 28 was derived from an authentic source.⁵³⁰ Jeroboam could have conquered at least part of Damascus immediately after the Assyrian campaign by Šamšī-ilu (5.2.9).⁵³¹ Yet, there is no source to verify these conquests.⁵³²

6.1.2. The Israelite Territory under Jeroboam as Reflected in the Description of Pekah’s Reign (2 Kgs 15:29)

V. 29 appears in the chronological framework of the reign of Pekah, king of Israel (737-731/730 BCE). The verse might contain information regarding the Israelite

⁵²⁸ Similar views were suggested by Kittel 1900:263; Montgomery 1951:161; Thomas 2003:141, n. 7; 157.

⁵²⁹ Cf. 2 Kgs 14:25; 16:6.

⁵³⁰ Tadmor 1961:238-240; 1962:119; Haran 1967:278-284; Soggin 1971:434; Würthwein 1984:375; Hentschel 1985:66; Pitard 1987:176-177, 179, 189; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:163-164; Fritz 1998:80; Halpern 2001:191.

⁵³¹ It is attested in v. 25 and in the Book of Amos (6.1.4.2.).

⁵³² Halpern (2001:199) suggested the possibility that the conquests of Hamath and Damascus were recorded in the “chronicles”, on which the 2 Kgs 14:28 relies.

territory at the time of Tiglath-pileser III's campaigns, about two decades after the death of Jeroboam II. The text reads as follows:

In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, Abel-beth-maachah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria.

This event can be dated to 733-732 BCE, when Tiglath-pileser III led military campaigns against Philistia and Damascus.⁵³³ The cities mentioned in 2 Kgs 15:29 are located mostly in the Upper Galilee region.⁵³⁴ Assuming that this piece of information is historically authentic, it confirms that the Upper Galilee was within the territorial extent of Israel in the last days of Jeroboam II.

6.1.3. The Israelite Rule in Gilead under Jeroboam II (2 Kgs 15:10, 13-14, 17, 25, and 29)

Some references in the Book of Kings might allude to the Israelite rule in Gilead in the eighth century BCE (2 Kgs 15:10, 13-14, 17, 25, and 29). They have been interpreted by some scholars as implying the Israelite dominion over Gilead immediately after Jeroboam II's reign.

According to 2 Kgs 15:10, Shallum murdered Zechariah son of Jeroboam II and usurped the throne. Since Jabesh, Shallum's father's name, is also the name of a city in the northern Gilead (vv. 10, 13), some scholars identified it as a patronymic/clan's name in Transjordan.⁵³⁵ Shallum was murdered by Menahem whose

⁵³³ Eponym Chronicles record the entry "to Philistia" in 734 BCE, "to Damascus" in 733 and 732 BCE. Pekah was killed and replaced by Hoshea. This event possibly occurred during the campaign of Tiglath-pileser III in 733 BCE.

⁵³⁴ A concise list of the identifications of these cities is available in Younger 1998:209, Tab. 1. Cf. also Becking 1992:17-19.

⁵³⁵ Jgs 21:8-14; 1 Sam 11:1-10; 31:11-13; 2 Sam 2:4,-5. See Šanda 1912:181; Noth 1928:244; Montgomery

father's name was Gadi (vv. 14, 17). According to the same line of thought, the name Gadi may also be related to the Transjordanian tribe, Gad.⁵³⁶ Pekahiah, son of Menahem, was murdered by Pekah who was aided by fifty Gileadites (v. 25). On the basis of the assumed origin of Shallum and Menahem from Transjordan, some scholars inferred that after Jeroboam II's death, the Northern Kingdom was split, so that one ruler sat in Samaria and another in Transjordan.⁵³⁷

However, there is no unequivocal evidence in the Book of Kings to regard the name of the king's father as a patronymic/clan's name. First, none of the names of the Israelite kings' fathers can be associated with toponyms. Baasha's son (1 Kgs 16:6-13) and Hoshea's father (2 Kgs 15:30; 17:1; 18:1, 9) had a common name Elah that is identical with the name of a valley in Shephelah (1 Sam 17:12, 19; 21:10). Yet, it is unreasonable to associate them with the name of the valley that was outside of the North Israelite territory. Hence, it is unnecessary to associate Jabesh with a toponym in Transjordan. Second, none of the names of the Israelite kings' fathers or of the kings themselves in the Book of Kings designates tribe or clan names.⁵³⁸ The ending “-i” in personal names must have been popular in the time of the monarchies as attested in numerous stamp seals from the period.⁵³⁹ Accordingly, Gadi must have been one such name with an “-i” ending, which might have been a hypocoristicon of a name such as Gadiyahu⁵⁴⁰ or Gadi'el.⁵⁴¹ Finally, there is no unequivocal explanation for the

1951:455; Thiele 1983:125; Würthwein 1984:378. For the identification of Jabesh-Gilead, see Edelman 1992b:594-595. Cf. Mittmann 1970:214-215.

⁵³⁶ Cf. 1 Chr 5:18. Würthwein 1984:378; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:171.

⁵³⁷ Vogelstein 1945:5-7, 13, 20; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:178.

⁵³⁸ “Shimei the son of Gera the Benjamite” in 1 Kgs 2:8 clearly designates the name of the tribe Benjamin but Shimei is not a king.

⁵³⁹ Avigad and Saas 1997. Nimshi, father or grandfather of Jehu, must be construed as such (2.1.2.2.2.).

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. Avigad and Sass, *op. cit.*, 54, no. 12; 87, nos. 117, 118; 191, no. 467; 430, no. 1134.

⁵⁴¹ Num 13:10.

employment of patronymic/clan's names as the fathers' names of these kings.⁵⁴²

The hypothesis of an independent kingdom in Transjordan after Jeroboam II's death must be rejected. The mention of Gileadites “בני גלעדִים” in v. 25 might indicate that the population in Gilead was instigated by Rezin of Damascus, who had conquered Gilead and became an ally of Pekah (2 Kgs 15:37; 16:5; Isa 7:4-9).⁵⁴³ The mention of “Gilead” in v. 29 as a region conquered by Tiglath-pileser III must be a secondary interpolation.⁵⁴⁴ To sum up, the references in the Book of Kings do not indicate Jeroboam's domination over Gilead.

6.1.4. Contribution of the Book of Amos to the History of Jeroboam's Reign

Amos 1:1 dates the activity of the prophet to Jeroboam II's reign.⁵⁴⁵ The prophet's message is mainly directed to the upper class in the society of the Northern Kingdom, announcing the “days of YHWH”, that is, divine punishment for the social injustice that prevailed in Israel at the time. The book mentions the prosperity of the Northern Kingdom during Jeroboam II's reign. The gradual growth of the Book of Amos has repeatedly been discussed since the 1960s.⁵⁴⁶ According to this line of research, the Book of Amos was redacted several times. Other scholars have dated large portions of

⁵⁴² The filiations of the kings are not always mentioned in the Book of Kings. Fathers of Zimri (2 Kgs 16:9) and Omri (2 Kgs 16:16) are not mentioned. Hence, it is not necessary to postulate that these names were invented, even if the names of the kings were unknown.

⁵⁴³ By that time, the inhabitants seem to have already been mixed between the former Israelite population and the new Aramaean settlers. This hypothesis explains the existence of Aramaic inscriptions at Tell Deir 'Alla in the eighth century BCE; see 3.2.5.

⁵⁴⁴ Most commentators ascribed “Gilead” and “Galilee” in 2 Kgs 15:29 to the secondary interpolation for the following two reasons (Stade 1886:160-161; Kittel 1900:267; Šanda 1912:188; Würthwein 1984:383, n. 17; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:174; Irvine 1994:25-26; Na'aman 1995b:109; Younger 1998:207). First, Gilead is mentioned in the middle of the cities lying on the west side of the Jordan River, which seems out of place in the geographical context here (Irvine, *op. cit.*, 25). Second, the extent of Galilee overlaps with that of the “land of Naphtali” which follows it. The orthography of Galilee (הגלילה) is also a late form (Cogan and Tadmor 1988:174).

⁵⁴⁵ For the editorial history of the introductory title in Am 1:1, see Schmidt 1965:169-173; Wolff 1969:146-151; Paul 1991:33-36; Willoughby 1990:210.

⁵⁴⁶ Schmidt 1965; Wolff 1969; Coote 1981; Lust 1981.

the Book to the late eighth century and have suggested that it originated from Amos himself.⁵⁴⁷ The formation of the Book of Amos is thus in dispute.

Two short passages of the Book of Amos will be evaluated in the present study.

(1) Am 6:13-14 which possibly alludes to the Israelite conquests in Transjordan during Jeroboam II's reign; (2) Am 1:3-5 which mentions the "transgressions" of the kingdom of Aram-Damascus. These two passages are generally ascribed to the late eighth century, if not to Amos himself.⁵⁴⁸

6.1.4.1. The Capture of Lo-dabar and Karnaim (Am 6:13)

V. 13 reads:

You who rejoice of Lo-dabar, who say, "Have we not taken to us Karnaim by our own strength?"

Amos criticised the Israelites who boasted of their military achievement by mentioning the cities they captured. The two toponyms Lo-dabar and Karnaim may be a pun: "nothing" (לֹא-דָבָר) and "horns" (קַרְנַיִם), a symbol of strength.⁵⁴⁹ Most scholars construed Lo-dabar and Karnaim as two toponyms conquered by Jeroboam II in Transjordan.⁵⁵⁰ Karnaim is identified with Sheikh es-Sa'ad on a northern tributary of the middle Yarmuk River, some four kilometres north of Tell 'Astarah, Biblical Ashtaroth.⁵⁵¹ Lo-dabar is mentioned in various forms in the Hebrew Bible,⁵⁵² and can probably be located in the highlands area south of the Yarmuk River.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁷ Hammershaimb 1970; Gordis 1971; Limburg 1987; Paul 1991:6; Thomas 2003:6-8.

⁵⁴⁸ For the date of Am 6:14, see 6.1.4.2.

⁵⁴⁹ Cohen 1965:156; Wolff 1969:334-335; Paul 1991:219; Halpern 2001:186, n. 1; Thomas 2003:154. Cf. Zech 2:4.

⁵⁵⁰ Wolff 1969:332, 334-335; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:161; Paul 1991:219.

⁵⁵¹ Kellermann 1981.

⁵⁵² Jos 13:24-28; 2 Sam 9:4-5; 17:27.

⁵⁵³ For the identifications of Lo-dabar by scholars, see Kallai 1962:409-410; Edelman 1992c:346. Edelman (1992b:346) identified it with Tel Dover (Khribet ed-Duweir), located below the south-western-most tip

Karnaim and Lo-dabar were possibly the places of concrete battles, even if those toponyms were chosen for pun. The two cities were captured after fierce battles and were well-remembered in the Northern Kingdom. It is evident that Jeroboam II conquered Transjordan as far as the north of the Yarmuk River, including part of the district of Bashan.⁵⁵⁴

6.1.4.2. The Israelite Border as Reflected in the Book of Amos (Am 6:14)

The verse reads:

Behold, I will raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, says YHWH the God of hosts; and they shall afflict you from Lebo-hamath unto the brook of Arabah.

This reference has generally been accepted as evidence of the territorial expansion of the Northern Kingdom during Jeroboam II's reign.⁵⁵⁵ The two toponyms demarcate the northern and southern borders of Jeroboam's conquests. The designation "brook of Arabah" appears only here.⁵⁵⁶ Assuming that this expression is a variation of "the sea of Arabah" (2 Kgs 14:25), it should be sought in the north of the Dead Sea.⁵⁵⁷

Due to the similarity between Am 6:14 and 2 Kgs 14:25, Gosse (1988:30, n. 12, 38) suggested that the prophecy in the former served as a source for the latter.⁵⁵⁸

of the Golan Heights and on the west bank of the Yarmuk River. However, this identification cannot be substantiated; the recent excavation at Tel Dover uncovered remains dated to the Iron Age I but little Iron Age II material (Wolff 1998:775; Rapuano 2001).

⁵⁵⁴ Andersen and Freedman (1989:595-596) suggested that the conquest of Hamath and Damascus occurred after Amos's words were spoken/written. For the territory of Bashan, see Slayton 1992.

⁵⁵⁵ Montgomery 1951:443; Wolff 1969:334; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:161; Paul 1991:220.

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. Isa 15:7 "to the brook of the willows" (על נחל הערבים). Halpern (2001:187) interpreted that the expression in Isaiah is probably "adduced in the translation of Amos as a learned explication of the *unicum*."

⁵⁵⁷ Halpern (2001:187) interpreted as either the Arnon or the Jordan.

⁵⁵⁸ Na'aman (2002a:98-99) pointed out difficulties in the assumption of the Dtr's adoption of the prophecies of Amos and suggested the possibility that Amos and the Dtr cited the same famous prophecy attributed to Jonah son of Amittai.

Contrarily, Crüsemann assumed that the Dtr knew Amos's oracles predicting the doom of Israel (8:2; 9:8) and responded to them in a negative way in 2 Kgs 14:27.⁵⁵⁹ However, since Lebo-Hamath is mentioned as an Israelite border only in the Exilic or post-Exilic texts⁵⁶⁰ and the toponym Lebo-Hamath could only appear after the inclusion of the city Lab'u in Hamath in 720 BCE (Na'aman 1999:417-429), its mention here as well as in 2 Kgs 14:25 can be ascribed to later editing(s) (Dietrich 1972:110-111).⁵⁶¹

Be that as it may, the descriptions in 2 Kgs 14:25, 28, and Am 6:14 were clearly written by at least two different writers holding two different points of view.⁵⁶² The Dtr emphasised the extent of the conquered territory whereas Amos avoided emphasising Jeroboam's accomplishments.

6.1.4.3. The Oracle against Damascus (Am 1:3-5)

In this passage, which is a part of the so-called "oracles against the nations" (Am 1:3-2:16), Amos pronounces punishment against Aram-Damascus.⁵⁶³ The ground for the punishment is explained in v. 3, and the punishment itself is announced in vv. 4-5. The punishment in vv. 4-5 evidently refers to Tiglath-pileser III's conquest of Damascus, its annexation to Assyria, and the deportation of its population in 732 BCE.⁵⁶⁴

The historical background of the Aramaean "transgression" mentioned in v. 3

⁵⁵⁹ Crüsemann 1971; Andersen and Freedman 1989:588. For another view, see Halpern 2001:188-190.

⁵⁶⁰ Jos 13:5; Jgs 3:3; Ezek 47:20; 48:1; 1 Chr 13:5; 2 Chr 7:8.

⁵⁶¹ It is not clear whether the two verses were inserted by the same editor. Dietrich ascribed it to the DtrP. See also Würthwein 1984:375.

⁵⁶² See Hasegawa 2007.

⁵⁶³ Geyer (2009:80) suggested calling the prophecy "oracles about nations". All the passage is clearly targeted at Aram-Damascus. Comparing with the Assyrian inscriptions, Höffken (1982) demonstrated that "the house of Hazael" בית חזאל represents here the territory of Hazael, namely, the kingdom of Damascus.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. 2 Kgs 16:9.

must be evaluated. V. 3b reads: “because they threshed Gilead with threshing iron sledges”. This is a description of cruel violence in warfare likened to agricultural practice.⁵⁶⁵ The question is, then, to which historical event this war refers.

Some scholars construed that the verse mentions the renewed Aramaean attack after the re-conquest of Transjordan by Jeroboam II,⁵⁶⁶ and other scholars dated the event to the beginning of Jeroboam II’s reign.⁵⁶⁷ However, there is no evidence of an Aramaean onslaught on the Gilead in Jeroboam’s time.⁵⁶⁸ It seems that the description refers to Hazael’s conquest of the Gilead during the latter half of the ninth century BCE (see Chapter 4).⁵⁶⁹ The mention of Hazael’s house and of Ben-Hadad’s palaces in v. 4 corroborates this view.

The toponyms in vv. 4-5, on the other hand, would reflect the territorial extent of Aram-Damascus in the late eighth century BCE.⁵⁷⁰ The Valley of Aven (בקעת און) is generally identified with the Beqa‘ Valley,⁵⁷¹ and Beth-Eden most probably represents the region of Baalbek in the northern Beqa‘.⁵⁷² It seems that the Beqa‘ Valley was re-conquered and re-occupied by the Aramaeans after Jeroboam’s conquest of the region. At any rate, Am 1:3-5 cannot be used as a historical source for the assumed

⁵⁶⁵ See Barton (1980:19) for earlier literature. He (*op. cit.*, 26-31) summarised various dating of Amos’s reference to the “threshing of Gilead” by the Aramaeans.

⁵⁶⁶ Cohen 1965:155; Wolff 1969:182-184; Rudolf 1971:130-131; Cohen suggested that Ammon also took part in this attack (Am 1:13).

⁵⁶⁷ Haran 1967:276-277; 1968:206-207; Soggin 1971:440-441.

⁵⁶⁸ V. 4 mentions the names of the sovereigns (Hazael and Ben-Hadad) at the apogee of Aram-Damascus.

⁵⁶⁹ Schoville 1974:61-62 ; Galil 2000:36. It is also possible that Ammon took part in this attack to expand its own territory, as Am 1:13 implies.

⁵⁷⁰ The “oracles against the nations” seem to reflect, at least partially, the territorial reality of the Syro-Palestinian kingdoms in the eighth century BCE, since Gath is not mentioned among other Philistine cities. See 3.3.2.10., 3.4.3.

⁵⁷¹ Wolff (1969:190), Millard (1993:176*), and Bordreuil (1998:57-58) suggested Baalbek for the exact location of the Valley of Aven.

⁵⁷² Bordreuil, *op. cit.*, 58-59. Malamat (1953) identified Beth-Eden (בית עדן) in Am 1:5 with Bit-Adini, which is the kingdom of Aramaeans mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions. He also related the person, who held the sceptre in the same verse, with Šamšī-ilu. Also Galil 2001b:37. Millard (1993:176*), rejecting these identifications, suggested that Beth-Eden should be sought within the territory of Aram-Damascus at the time of Amos. Cf. Haran 1967:276-277, n. 3; Lipiński 1991:173, n. 12.

Aramaean attack on Gilead in the last years of Jeroboam II's reign.

6.1.5. Contribution of the Book of Hosea to the History of Jeroboam's Reign

The discussion will focus on toponyms mentioned in the Book of Hosea and located in Transjordan.⁵⁷³ Since the Book often refers to the Israelite history beyond the scope of Jeroboam II's reign, the historical background of each passage where the toponyms appear will be analysed in detail.

6.1.5.1. The Crimes in Mizpah, Tabor, and Šittim (Hosea 5:1-2)

The passage tells of a divine judgment on Israel, whose crimes/sins are likened to hunters' traps. It refers to three toponyms, Mizpah,⁵⁷⁴ Tabor,⁵⁷⁵ and Šittim,⁵⁷⁶ the first and the last of which are located in Transjordan. Alt (1953:186, n. 1) suggested that these places were Israelite political centres in Gilead, Galilee, and southern Transjordan in Hosea's time and were subsequently conquered by Tiglath-pileser III in 733 BCE.⁵⁷⁷ This suggestion has widely been accepted. Yet, it is impossible to relate these toponyms to any concrete historical events, since the accused sins at those places are metaphors.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷³ For the date of the composition of the Book of Hosea, see 2.1.3.

⁵⁷⁴ Alt (1953:187, n. 1) and Donner (1964:44-45) identified this Mizpah as the one in Gilead. Cf. Gen 31:49; Jos 13:26; Jgs 10:17; 11:11, 29, 34.

⁵⁷⁵ Jgs 4:6, 12, 14.

⁵⁷⁶ MT reads מִצְפָּה, but the toponym מִצְפָּה fits better in the parallelism with the preceding two toponyms in v. 1. See Wellhausen 1898:113; Elliger 1957; Wolff 1974:94; Andersen and Freedman 1980:387; Jeremias 1983:73; Pentec 2002:152; Rudnig-Zelt 2006:119; Vielhauer 2007:75-76. For more literature, see Rudnig-Zelt, *op. cit.*, 119, n. 94. *Contra* Macintosh 1997:179. Rudnig-Zelt (*op. cit.*, 108-119) ascribed these toponyms in the passage to a redactional layer. Likewise, Vielhauer (*op. cit.*, 78) named vv. 1-2 "Überschrift" and ascribed it to a later stratum.

⁵⁷⁷ Donner (1964:45) interpreted that the passage reflects the Israel's territorial situation after Tiglath-pileser's annexation of Gilead and Galilee; the two toponyms are represented by Mizpah and Tabor. Other scholars suggested that the three places were cult centres in Hosea's time. For literature, see Vielhauer 2007:77, n. 67.

⁵⁷⁸ Num 25:1 relates the Israel's apostasy in Šittim. Cf. Mic 6:5; Hos 9:10. Tabor might have been a cult place. Cf. Deut 33:18-19. Mizpah, if it is identified as Mizpah in Gilead, might refer to the sin mentioned in Hos 6:8 and 12:12.

At any event, it is reasonable to assume that Hosea refers to the places under the Israelite rule at his time. Hence, the mention of Mizpah and Šittim indicates Jeroboam II's (and his successors') rule over Transjordan.

6.1.5.2. The Crimes in Adam, Gilead, and Shechem (Hos 6:7-8)

In this passage, Hosea reproaches Israel with their impenitence and connects each crime to a specific toponym, namely, Adam (v. 7),⁵⁷⁹ Gilead (v. 8), and Shechem (v. 9), the first two are located in Transjordan. Alt (1953:186, n. 1) suggested that the passage reflects the itinerary of revolutionary attacks led by Shallum (2 Kgs 15:10) and Menahem (2 Kgs 15:14).⁵⁸⁰ Fohrer (1957:16), while accepting Alt's theory, identified the alluded incident as Pekah's coup d'état (2 Kgs 15:25), and most scholars accepted this view.⁵⁸¹ The assumption that Hosea accused Israel by referring to contemporary incidents seems reasonable.⁵⁸²

6.1.5.3. The Battle at Beth-Arbel (Hos 10:14)

Here, the impending attack against Israel is compared to the "day of the battle" when "Shalman spoiled Beth-Arbel". Neither Shalman nor Beth-Arbel can securely be identified.⁵⁸³ Shalman has been interpreted as a hypocoristic form of Shalmaneser, the name of Assyrian kings, and this Shalman could be identified either as Shalmaneser

⁵⁷⁹ This Adam has been widely construed as a toponym since Wellhausen's suggestion "באדם" instead of "באדם" (1898:116-117). It is a city located in Transjordan (Jos 3:16). For another view, see Pentti 2002:188-190. For the identification of Adam with Tell ed-Damiyah, see Fretz 1992:64.

⁵⁸⁰ It is unclear why Alt noted both rebels together. Cf. Day 1986:5.

⁵⁸¹ Jeremias 1983:92-94; Day 1986:5-6; Macintosh 1997:236-237. For earlier Literature, see Vielhauer 2007:84, n. 85.

⁵⁸² Wolff (1974:121) suggested that the lack of details of the events might show that they were contemporary ones which the hearers can perceive without details.

⁵⁸³ Irvine (1990:116-117, n.12) suggested that Shalmaneser V might have attacked Israelite territory as a punishment for Hoshea's involvement in anti-Assyrian activity in the last years of Tiglath-pileser III.

III⁵⁸⁴ or as Shalmaneser V. Salamanu, a Moabite king, who appears as one of the tributaries in Tiglath-pileser III's inscription is another candidate.⁵⁸⁵ Beth-Arbel is widely identified with modern Irbid in northern Transjordan.⁵⁸⁶ Hearers of the prophecy in the Northern Kingdom certainly knew the event, but it does not mean that the battle took place in the Israelite territory, nor in the time of Jeroboam II.

6.1.5.4. Gilead as the Place of Iniquity (Hos 12:12)

Hos 12:10-12 reminds Israel of the divine fidelity.⁵⁸⁷ V. 12 mentions Gilead as the place of iniquity (אִם-גִּלְעָד אֵין אֶדְ-שׁוֹא הִי), which might refer to the same wickedness mentioned in 6:8.⁵⁸⁸ The mention of Gilead with Gilgal that is evidently in the Israelite territory suggests that the former was also under the Israelite rule.

6.1.5.5. The Israelite Rule over Transjordan in the Light of the Book of Hosea

References to Transjordanian toponyms in the Book of Hosea indicate that part of Transjordan was ruled by Israel in the time of Hosea. It was recovered from Aram-Damascus, possibly by Joash or Jeroboam II in the first half of the eighth century BCE and remained Israelite until its annexation by Rezin in the latter half of the same century. However, it is difficult to connect those toponyms to any concrete historical events in the late years of Israel.⁵⁸⁹ They are related to sins and hence are the targets of accusation. Mention of Gilead as a region seems to indicate that Israel ruled over the

⁵⁸⁴ Astour 1971.

⁵⁸⁵ Tadmor 1994: Summ 7: r. 10'. Wolff 1974:188.

⁵⁸⁶ For literature, see Wolff 1974:188, n. 74.

⁵⁸⁷ Sweeney 2000:117-130.

⁵⁸⁸ Wolff 1974:215; Macintosh 1997:504.

⁵⁸⁹ The attempts to set each passage in certain historical setting is seen most prominently in Alt (1953:163-187), Wolff (1974:110-112, 172-173), and Donner (1964:42-59). Good (1966:275-278) suggested that the passage in Hos 5:8-6:6 can alternatively be interpreted apart from historical point of view.

entire/most of the Gilead region. Šittim and Adamah are located in the eastern side of the Jordan Valley. The location of Mizpah of Gilead cannot be determined with certainty, but one may search for it not far from Mahanaim (Tell edh-Dhahab), on the northern side of the Jabbok River (Na'aman 1995b:105-106, 110-113).⁵⁹⁰ Hence, the Israelite rule in Gilead encompassed the area between Mizpah of Gilead in the north to Šittim in the south.

6.1.6. The Extent of Jeroboam II's Dominion according to the Bible

Lack of sources will not allow us to delineate the Israelite territorial extent during Jeroboam II's reign. Available sources explicitly indicate the Israelite expansion eastward, namely, into northern Transjordan. Jeroboam also expanded northward and might have occupied part of the territories of Damascus for a short period of time. The eastern territory most probably encompasses the entire/most of the Gilead region, down to the Moabite border in the south. It seems, however, that the inhabitants of Transjordan wrote Aramaic even under the Israelite rule. The Deir 'Alla Inscription and another unearthed Aramaic inscription attest to the Aramaean influence in Transjordan at that time (3.2.5.). Until now, no Hebrew inscriptions dating to the eighth century BCE have been found in the region. There is no evidence that attests to Jeroboam's conquest of Ammonite or Moabite territories.⁵⁹¹ Jeroboam's relations with Phoenicia, Philistia, and Judah are not mentioned in the Bible and any theory on this issue must remain conjectural.

⁵⁹⁰ Among the candidates are Tell Maşfah, El-Mishrifeh, Khirbet Jel'ad, and Er-Reshuni, see Na'aman 1995b:106, n. 5; MacDonald 2000:199-200, with earlier literature.

⁵⁹¹ *Contra* Cohen (1965:154), who suggested that Israel recovered all the territories lost in the time of Jeroboam's ancestors, including the border between Moab and Israel. Cf. Hübner 1992:186.

6.2. The Assyrian Sources

Assyrian inscriptions refer neither to Jeroboam II nor to Israel under his rule. Only the Eponym Chronicles, the Pazarcık Stela, and the Nimrud Wine Lists bring some light to the political situation and international relations during his reign.

6.2.1. The Eponym Chronicles

The Eponym Chronicles in the corresponding years to the reign of Jeroboam II (*ca.* 784-748 BCE) run as follows (Table 7):

Table 7. The Eponym Chronicles between 784-748 BCE

Name of King	Year	Event
Adad-nērāri III	784	to Hubuškia
	783	to Itu'a
Shalmaneser IV	782	to Itu'a
	781	to Urartu
	780	to Urartu
	779	to Urartu
	778	to Urartu
	777	to Itu'a
	776	to Urartu
	775	to the cedar mountain
Ashur-dan III	774	to Namri
	773	to Damascus
	772	to Hatarikka
	771	to Gananati
	770	to Marad
	769	to Itu'a
	768	in the land

	767	to Gananati
	766	to Media
	765	to Hatarikka; plague
	764	in the land
	763	revolt in the citadel; in Siwan the sun had an eclipse
	762	revolt in the citadel
	761	revolt in Arrapha
	760	revolt in Arrapha
	759	revolt in Guzana; plague
	758	to Guzana; peace in the land
	757	in the land
	756	in the land
	755	to Hatarikka
Ashur-nirari V	754	to Arpad; return from Ashur
	753	in the land
	752	in the land
	751	in the land
	750	in the land
	749	to Namri
	748	to Namri

As seen from the list, Assyria was less involved in Syria-Palestine than in the previous period. It also suffered from revolts in the years 763-759 BCE.⁵⁹² Hence, there is little evidence for an Assyrian presence in the west during these years. Under Shalmaneser IV, Assyria conducted campaigns to the west in the years 775, 773-772 BCE. Ashur-Dan III led two campaigns against Hatarikka: in the years 765 and 755 BCE, and one campaign against Arpad in 754 BCE.

Scholars explained the territorial expansion of Israel under Jeroboam II by the

⁵⁹² The Eponym Chronicles refer to “in the land” nine times during the reigns of Ashur-Dan III and Ashur-nirari V (768, 764, 757, 756, 753-750, and 747 BCE).

influence of Assyria in the West in his time. Haran (1967:279-280) dated the Israelite expansion under Jeroboam to 754-748 BCE, when Assyrian influence on the Syro-Palestinian region was reduced.⁵⁹³ In his view, the Israelite expansion was independent of the Assyrian influence on the region. Lipiński (1991:175) and Halpern (2001:192) suggested that Jeroboam II could recover the Transjordanian territory because Assyria defeated its major rivalry kingdoms in the region (Arpad, Hamath, and Damascus). According to Halpern, the Beqa‘ was given to Israel by Assyria as a reward for loyalty, which can be dated as early as the time of Adad-nērāri III (810-783 BCE), or as late as that of Ashur-Dan III (773-755 BCE).⁵⁹⁴ Lipiński and Halpern thus assumed an Israeli-Assyrian alliance behind the Israelite expansion under Jeroboam.

In reviewing these reconstructions, we must emphasize that it is hard to assume a vacuum of Assyrian power in the Syro-Palestinian region. Assyrian strong influence in the region is indicated by the Assyrian campaign against Damascus related in the Pazarcık Stela (6.2.2.). Jeroboam’s territorial expansion is therefore best explained by collaboration between Israel and Assyria (Šamšī-ilu).

6.2.2. The Pazarcık Stela (Reverse A.0.105.1)⁵⁹⁵

The text on the reverse of the stela has twenty lines, which can be divided into the following four sections: (1) Shalmaneser IV’s genealogy and mention of Šamšī-ilu as

⁵⁹³ Also Hallo 1960:44-46. Cogan and Tadmor (1988:164), assuming the large Israelite expansion during the reign of Jeroboam II even “beyond Damascus” (Am 5:27), set it in the early and middle days of his reign. Similarly, Vogelstein (1945:17-20) dated it between 773-765 BCE.

⁵⁹⁴ This dating is based on the active role of Adad-nērāri III and his son in establishing borders in the West, as reflected in the Pazarcık and Antakya Stelae. However, it was actually done by Šamšī-ilu. Lipiński (1991:174-175) suggested that it was probably Šamšī-ilu who actually led the military campaigns against Hatarikka in 772, 765, and 755 BCE. Halpern connected the cession of Beqa‘ to Ashur-Dan III’s campaign in 772 BCE against Hatarikka. Hadrach is also mentioned in Zech 9:1. Halpern (*op. cit.*, 193) suggested that the Transjordanian territory was conquered by Jeroboam as reflected in the Book of Amos.

⁵⁹⁵ For basic information of the Pazarcık stela, see 4.2.3.2.6.

field marshal (lines 1-4a); (2) campaign against Damascus and the tribute paid by Hadiānu of Damascus (lines 4b-10); (3) granting this boundary stone to Ušpilulume of Kummuh (lines 11-13a); and (4) curses (lines 13b-21). The following translation is that of section 2.

Translation:

4b-10) When they (= Shalmaneser IV and Šamšī-ilu) went to Damascus, the tribute of Hadiānu of the land Damascus, silver, gold, copper, his royal bed, his royal couch, his daughter with her abundant dowry, the property of his palace without number, I received from him.

11-13a) On my return, this boundary (stone) to Ušpilulume, king of the city Kummuh, I gave.

The side of the stela composed on the occasion of the successful campaign against Damascus, was given to Ušpilulume of Kummuh as a boundary stone (lines 11-13a). Although the inscription was engraved soon after the campaign (773 BCE), the reference to the subjugation of the Damascene king is brief (lines 4b-10) and refers only to his tribute.⁵⁹⁶

In light of this inscription, it seems that the Israelite northward expansion under Jeroboam is best understood against the background of the Assyrian 773 BCE campaign.

6.2.3. The Nimrud Wine Lists

About sixty tablets bearing wine rations to approximately 6,000 people belonging to the

⁵⁹⁶ The quantities of tribute are not given either, except for “without number” in line 10.

Assyrian king's household were discovered in the 1950s-1960s excavations at Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud. The tablets were published by Kinnier Wilson (1972) and later revised by Dalley and Postgate (1984). These tablets, designated as the "Nimrud Wine Lists", were dated to the eighth century BCE.⁵⁹⁷ Kinnier Wilson (*op. cit.*, 92-94) suggested that the foreign gentilics mentioned in the lists were captives from military campaigns. The Samaritans (*Samerināya*) are mentioned three times in lists dating to the early eighth century BCE (ND 6229, Col. iv, 4; ND 6212, Rev. 15; ND 10032, Obv. 7).⁵⁹⁸ Their professions are not specified, but they apparently fulfilled official functions in the Assyrian king's household.⁵⁹⁹ The stay of the Samaritans in the Assyrian capital may show that Joash and/or Jeroboam II sent them to Assyria either to bring the tax or on diplomatic mission.

⁵⁹⁷ Kinnier Wilson (1972:2-3) dated the tablets to the last years of Adad-nērāri III and the early years of Shalmaneser IV (791-779 BCE) but it later became clear that the tablets covered longer period than Kinnier Wilson had suggested (Dalley and Postgate 1984:22-24).

⁵⁹⁸ ND 10047, Rev. 15, referring to Samaritans, was originated in NE 48III, which can be dated to the late eighth century BCE (Dalley and Postgate 1984:23).

⁵⁹⁹ The foreign gentilics mentioned in the lists include foreign leaders and ambassadors (Tadmor 1975:42; Dalley and Postgate 1984:24).

6.3. The Kuntillet ‘Ajrud Inscriptions

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud is located in southern Sinai, about fifty kilometres south of Kadesh-barnea. It was excavated by Meshel in 1975-76 and published in preliminary reports (Meshel 1992). The site was used only for a short period of time and then deserted.⁶⁰⁰ It was dated on the basis of three criteria: (1) On the basis of the pottery analysis it was dated to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century BCE;⁶⁰¹ (2) On the basis of radiocarbon dating it was dated between *ca.* 820 to later than 745 BCE;⁶⁰² (3) On the basis of palaeographical analysis it was dated to the first three quarters of the eighth century BCE.⁶⁰³

The influence of the Northern Kingdom is reflected especially in the inscriptions discovered at the site. Most remarkable is the mention of “YHWH of Samaria” in the Phoenician script. In addition, the theophoric names with *-yaw* (יַו-) ending suggest that their dedicators came from the Northern Kingdom.⁶⁰⁴ Although most of the pottery originated in Judah (Singer-Avitz 2006:198-207), petrographic analyses indicate that part of the pottery, especially small vessels, originated in northern Israel (Gunneweg, Perlman, and Meshel 1985; Goren 1995). Due to these facts, some scholars regarded the findings at Kuntillet ‘Ajrud as evidence for the Israelite expansion and prosperity during the time of Jeroboam II.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁰ On the date of the abandonment of the site, see Freud 2008.

⁶⁰¹ Ayalon 1995. Singer-Avitz (2006) dated the pottery assemblage of Kuntillet ‘Ajrud to the end of eighth to beginning of the seventh centuries BCE. She (*op. cit.*, 212-213) related the site with Assyrian activity in the Empire’s peripheral regions. For the criticism of Singer-Avitz’s dating, see Freund 2008.

⁶⁰² Finkelstein and Piasezky 2008. Some scholars dated the site on the basis of radiocarbon dating. Segal (1995) dated it to first half of the eighth century BCE. Meshel, Carmi, and Segal (1995) dated it to around 800 BCE. Later, they (Carmi and Segal 1996) dated more narrowly to 801-770 BCE.

⁶⁰³ Lemaire 1984:134-136. Renz (1995:51, 60, n. 7) dated it to *ca.* 800 BCE. However, such a narrow dating solely based on palaeography is hardly possible.

⁶⁰⁴ The theophoric name endings are written as *-yahu* (יַהוּ) in the Judahite tradition.

⁶⁰⁵ The excavator considered that the site was built by the Northern Kingdom under Joash (Meshel 1992:109). Hadley (1987:207-208; 1993) suggested that the site is a caravanserai. Cf. Beck (1982:61); Na’aman (1993:232).

The excavator suggested a religious function of the site.⁶⁰⁶ However, most scholars have interpreted the site as being a fortified caravanserai for travellers to Elat on the way called Darb el-Ghaza.⁶⁰⁷ Lemaire (1984:136-139) suggested a commercial joint enterprise between Phoenicians and Israelites and dated the inscriptions to the time of Jeroboam II, more precisely between 776 and 750 BCE. Na'aman (1993:232-234) first suggested that Amaziah blocked the way of Arabah after Joash's death and did not allow Jeroboam II to use it. Jeroboam was forced to use the western route via Darb el-Ghaza to reach Elat and thus built Kuntillet 'Ajrud near the road.⁶⁰⁸ Later, Na'aman and Lisovsky (2008) associated the various artefacts from Kuntillet 'Ajrud with the cult of sacred trees in Levant, and emphasised the religious function of the site. They pointed out that the site's function as a caravanserai was only secondary. Its distant location from Darb el-Ghaza (about twelve kilometres), the relatively small number of cooking-pots unearthed there, and an abundance of unique material discovered at the site may support this view. At any event, the view does not contradict the dating of the site and its construction by the Northern Kingdom. I follow the view of Lemaire and Na'aman and date the site to the time of Jeroboam II.

The divergent origin of the findings in this remote site can be explained by the multi-cultural background of the travellers who visited it. Inscriptions in Phoenician script may indicate the Phoenicians' visit to the site. The origin of most of the pottery in Judah shows that Judaeans visited the place or provided travellers on their way to Kuntillet 'Ajrud with food and drink.⁶⁰⁹ If the site was used also by Phoenicians and

⁶⁰⁶ Meshel 1992:108-109; Weinfeld 1984:127.

⁶⁰⁷ Zwickel 2000:139; Finkelstein and Piasezky 2008. A list of the literature for the view is found in Na'aman and Lisovsky 2008:187.

⁶⁰⁸ This view is followed by Zwickel (2000:140-141). Cf. Weinfeld (1984:127). He related the inscriptions to the expeditions towards Elat (2 Kgs 8:20-22; 14:7, 22).

⁶⁰⁹ Goren 1995.

Judaeans, it might reflect a peaceful relationship between Israel and these two neighbours during Jeroboam II's reign. The use of Darb el-Ghaza further indicates peaceful relations between the travellers and the Philistines who lived on the outlet of the route.

6.4. The Samaria Ostraca

Sixty-six ostraca with Hebrew inscriptions were uncovered during the excavation of Samaria in 1910. These ostraca provide information on the delivery of wine and oil to Samaria during the ninth, tenth, and fifteenth years of a king, who is usually identified with Jeroboam II. They no doubt served as an administrative record, although their exact function is in dispute.⁶¹⁰ The contents of the ostraca contribute little to our understanding of the political history of Israel during the time of Jeroboam II. The distribution of the toponyms in the ostraca encompasses only part of the territory of western Manasseh, which certainly does not reflect the extent of the Israelite kingdom at the time.

⁶¹⁰ See Kaufman 1992:923-925.

6.5. The Seal of Shema‘

Schumacher’s excavations at Tel Megiddo unearthed a seal with a roaring lion at its centre and the inscription “belonging to Shema‘, servant of Jeroboam” (לשמע עבד (ירבעם).⁶¹¹ The majority of scholars believe this “Jeroboam” to be Jeroboam II.⁶¹² This seal cannot be ascribed to Jeroboam I, as no seals with personal names dating before the mid-eighth century BCE have been found so far.⁶¹³ This is the earliest known seal from the Kingdom of Israel bearing the name of an Israelite king.

⁶¹¹ Schumacher and Steuernagel 1908:99-100, Fig. 47. The present whereabouts of the seal are unknown.

⁶¹² See Ussishkin (1994:420) for earlier literature.

⁶¹³ Yeivin (1960) and Ahlström (1993b), examining the seal from the palaeographical, iconographical, and stratigraphical point of view, concluded that the seal cannot be dated later than the ninth century BCE. Renz and Röllig (2003:398) dated it to the mid-eighth century BCE, based on its iconography (cf. Lemaire 1990; Avigad 1992). Ussishkin (1994) re-examined the stratigraphy of the discovery place of the seal and ascribed the seal to Jeroboam I. Different opinions on the stratigraphical status of the seal merely show that the early excavations at Megiddo was methodologically problematic, and did not provide any decisive date regarding to the seal of Shema‘ (Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2006b:854).

6.6. Archaeological Evidence

Construction of strongly fortified cities and large public and private buildings, or the discovery of many prestige artefacts of local and foreign origin, indicates a period of rise and prosperity in the land. To examine the prosperity under Jeroboam II, archaeological evidence from the early eighth century BCE will be reviewed below. Only the Cisjordanian sites will be analysed, for archaeological information of the Iron Age sites in northern Transjordan is limited (Hindawi 2007). It should be noted that the Low Chronology system usually does not affect the date of the eighth century strata.

6.6.1. Tel Dan

Tel Dan (Tell el-Qadi) is located at the foot of Mt Hermon, close to one of the sources of the Jordan River. An important road connecting the Mediterranean with Damascus passes near the site. Excavations at the site began in 1966 and continued until 1999 under the direction of Biran (Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996; Biran and Ben-Dov 2002). According to the excavator (Biran 2002:4), Stratum II dates to the second and third quarters of the eighth century BCE, which roughly overlaps the reign of Jeroboam II.⁶¹⁴ Arie (2008) re-examined the pottery of the Iron Age strata and dated Stratum IVA to the time of Hazael and his son Bar-Hadad. Adopting his stratigraphy, two strata (III and II) should be assigned to the period between the destruction of Hazael's city (Stratum IVA) and Tiglath-pileser III's destruction of 732 BCE.⁶¹⁵ I tentatively relate Stratum III to the time of Joash, who conquered the Aramaean city (Stratum IVA),

⁶¹⁴ In the chronicle of the excavations (Biran 2002), however, the excavator did not assign each building to a certain stratum, but only dated each building. This makes it difficult to connect those buildings to Biran's stratigraphy.

⁶¹⁵ Mazar (2005:24) dated Stratum IV to Iron IIA (1000/980-840/830 BCE) and only Stratum III before the Assyrian attack in 732 BCE. This dating – Stratum II to after 732 BCE – is not convincing because the loci, where the Tel Dan Inscription fragments were uncovered, apparently belongs to Stratum II, most possibly destroyed in 732 BCE.

smashed the Tel Dan Stela, and rebuilt the city (Stratum III). The renovation of the city can be attributed to the time of Jeroboam II (Stratum II).⁶¹⁶ The stratigraphical affiliation of monumental buildings, such as the city gate complex, fortification system and piazza, is not clear in the publication (Biran 2002:4). Part of these buildings may have been built during the reign of Jeroboam II (Stratum II).

6.6.2. Tel Hazor

Tel Hazor is the largest tell in Palestine, located in the Upper Galilee, north of the Sea of Galilee. Excavation at Hazor was first launched by Yadin (1955-1958, 1968) and by Ben-Tor (from 1991 to the present) (Yadin *et al.* 1958, 1960, 1961, Ben-Tor 1989, 1996; Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami 1998; Ben-Tor and Bonfil 1997).

According to the Low Chronology, Strata VIII-VII were built by the Aramaeans. Finkelstein and Piasezky (2007:271-272) ascribed the destruction of Stratum VII to either Joash or Jeroboam II. Yadin (1972b:179) observed that the city of Stratum VI was rebuilt in an entirely different layout than its predecessor and suggested that it was built by Jeroboam II and destroyed by an earthquake *ca.* 760 BCE.⁶¹⁷

The buildings in Stratum VI are the best constructed among the Iron Age buildings at Hazor (Yadin 1972b:179, 182, and 185). Luxury objects, including ivory vessels, were discovered in this stratum and attest to the prosperity of the city at this time.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁶ Arie (2008:37-38) dated Stratum III to the time of Joash and Stratum II to Jeroboam II. However, there is no sufficient data to separate the two strata, as he himself stated (*op. cit.*, 33).

⁶¹⁷ Yadin *et al.* 1960:24, 26; Yadin 1975:157.

⁶¹⁸ The dating of the Late Iron Age strata at Hazor was recently challenged by James (2008:153-154), who dated Stratum VIII to Jeroboam II's time. If so, the large-scaled water system (Ben-Tor and Bonfil 1997:239-246) was hewn in the time of Jeroboam.

6.6.3. Tel Kinrot⁶¹⁹

Stratum II at Tel Kinrot covers the period from the end of the ninth century BCE to 732 BCE. During this period, only the upper mound was inhabited. Two pillared buildings, a city-gate, and a solid wall were discovered. The destruction of Stratum II was assigned to Tiglath-pileser III's campaign. Hebrew inscriptions unearthed in this stratum may suggest that the site was inhabited by the Israelites (Fritz 1990:209-211).⁶²⁰ Assuming that the city of Stratum II was Israelite, the upper mound served as a fortress under Jeroboam II.

6.6.4. Tel Bethsaida⁶²¹

Stratum V at Tel Bethsaida encompasses the eighth century BCE. The site seems to have been occupied by Aramaeans (3.3.2.3.) until its destruction by Tiglath-pileser III in 732 BCE.⁶²²

6.6.5. Tel 'En Gev

The burnt soil on the floor of the Lower pillared building in the acropolis of 'En Gev Stratum V (according to the stratigraphy by the Japanese Expedition) as well as the destruction of the lower city by fire (Stratum III by Mazar) may be the result of the campaign of Adad-nērāri III in 796 BCE, or that of Joash of Israel in the early eighth century BCE (3.3.2.4.). It seems that the Aramaeans rebuilt the city soon thereafter

⁶¹⁹ For general information of the site, see 3.3.2.2.

⁶²⁰ It is worth noting that Hebrew inscriptions were also found in the equivalent stratum at Hazor. See 6.6.2. However, despite its geographical proximity to Hazor, no destruction layer was exposed at Tel Kinrot, which is equivalent to the one between Strata VI and V at Hazor. This fact makes it difficult to explain the destruction of Hazor by an earthquake.

⁶²¹ For general information of Bethsaida, see 3.3.2.3.

⁶²² The jar handle impression of *zkryw* found at the site does not necessarily indicate that Bethsaida was incorporated into the Israelite kingdom in the eighth century BCE (*contra* Brandl 2009). The population of this region was mixed as the other seals indicate (Knauf 2006:315, n. 130).

(Stratum IV on the acropolis and Stratum II in the lower city). There is no archaeological evidence to indicate Israelite occupation of the site during the eighth century BCE.

6.6.6. Tel Beth-shean⁶²³

Mazar (2005:24) dated Strata Upper V-IV and Strata P-8-7 at Tel Beth-shean to *ca.* 830 to 732 BCE.⁶²⁴ The violent destruction of stratum P-8 may reflect Joash's/Jeroboam's military campaign to resume the Israelite domination in the Beth-shean Valley. The large dwelling exposed in Stratum P-7 (Mazar 2006:33) is "one of the largest and most impressive Iron Age dwelling structures excavated in Israel", and may represent more of the prosperity of Jeroboam's reign.

6.6.7. Tel Rehov⁶²⁵

Stratum III at Tel Rehov is contemporaneous with the other strata dated to *ca.* 830-732 BCE in this region. This Stratum, which was found only at the upper mound, is characterised by the construction of new buildings including a massive mud brick fortification wall (Mazar 1999:36; 2003b:157-158). The destruction of the city is associated with Tiglath-pileser III's campaign in 732 BCE. In light of the stratigraphic sequence of the nearby site of Beth-shean, it seems that Tel Rehov was rebuilt during the time of Jeroboam II.⁶²⁶ If this is indeed the case, there is a settlement gap at Tel Rehov for about half a century from Hazael's conquest (Stratum IV) and until

⁶²³ For general information of the site, see 3.3.2.6.

⁶²⁴ Strata Upper V-IV were named by the excavation by the University of Pennsylvania and Strata P-8-7 were by the Hebrew University excavation.

⁶²⁵ For general information of the site, see 3.3.2.7.

⁶²⁶ The massive mud brick wall may be an offset-inset wall (Mazar 1999:36), which is also found in Megiddo IVA.

Jeroboam's rebuilding of the city (Stratum III).⁶²⁷

6.6.8. Tel Megiddo

Tel Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim) is located in the west Jezreel Valley. It was excavated in 1903-1905 by Schumacher (Schumacher and Steuernagel 1908), in the 1920s-1930s by the Chicago Oriental Institute (Fischer 1929; Guy 1931; Lamon and Shipton 1939; Loud 1948), and between 1960 and 1972 by Yadin (1960; 1970; 1972b). The renewed excavations by the Tel Aviv University began in 1992 and is ongoing (Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2000; 2006a). The Chicago Oriental Institute established a pottery chronology of the strata. The new excavators carefully co-related their strata with those of the old excavations. According to their observation, Stratum IVA by the Chicago stratigraphy corresponds to H-3 and H-4, and a stratum in Area L by the renewed excavation. These strata, more particularly H-3, represent the time of Jeroboam II.

Monumental stables were uncovered in Area L and they were well furnished for breeding and handling horses. Cantrell and Finkelstein (2006) hypothesised that the horses were bred by the Northern Kingdom for export in the eighth century BCE. If so, the stables at Megiddo suggest that under the reign of Jeroboam II, the Northern Kingdom had commercial relations with the neighbouring political powers – especially Egypt and Assyria. This view accords well with the assumed good relations between Jeroboam II and Šamšī-ilu of Assyria. Other buildings from Stratum IVA, such as inset-offset city walls, the gate complex, and a massive water system, show that the city

⁶²⁷ Occupation gap between Strata IV and III is not observed by the excavator.

was well-planned and prosperous.⁶²⁸

6.6.9. Tel Yoqne‘am

Tel Yoqne‘am, identified with Biblical Jokneam, is a large mound, located at a point along the abutment of Mt Carmel and the Jezreel Valley. The site was excavated from 1977 to 1988 by Ben-Tor (Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978; 1979; 1983; Ben-Tor, Zarzecki-Peleg, and Cohen-Anidjar 2005).

Stratum XII at Tel Yoqne‘am corresponds to the time of Jeroboam II. The city was well planned, with “gallery wall”, towers, piazza, and perimeter-street. The excavator dated the beginning of Stratum XII to the latter half of the ninth century BCE, under the reigns of Jeroboam’s predecessors. However, it is preferable to date these buildings to Jeroboam II’s reign.

6.6.10. Tel Ta‘anach

Tel Ta‘anach (Tell Ta‘annek) is Biblical Ta‘anach, located in the southern Jezreel Valley, about eight kilometres southeast of Tel Megiddo. The site was excavated in 1902-1904 by Sellin (1904; 1905) and in 1963-1968 by Lapp (1964; 1967; 1969). Finkelstein (1998) ascribed the destruction of the flourishing city of stratum IIB⁶²⁹ to Hazael’s military campaign. The following strata (III and IV) are quite poor. Several loci from stratum IV show signs of destruction, which can be connected to the Assyrian campaign in 732 BCE (Rast 1978:45). It indicates that Tel Ta‘anach became an insignificant site during stratum IV, which corresponds to the time of Jeroboam II.

⁶²⁸ Ussishkin (Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2006b:856) suggested that Megiddo was an Israelite garrison city in the eighth century BCE.

⁶²⁹ The strata are pottery strata.

6.6.11. Samaria

The most important site for examining the material culture of the time of Jeroboam II is Samaria, the capital of the Northern Kingdom. The site of Samaria was first excavated in 1908 by Schumacher, from 1909 to 1910 by Reisner and Fisher (Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924), and from 1932 to 1935 by Crowfoot, Sukenik, and Kenyon (Crowfoot and Crowfoot 1938; Crowfoot, Kenyon, and Sukenik 1942; Crowfoot, Crowfoot, and Kenyon 1957). Minor archaeological campaigns were also conducted in 1965-67 and in 1968 (Zayadine 1967-68; Hennessy 1970). Kenyon established a stratigraphy of nine building phases and pottery periods at Samaria, which for a time became the “standard” stratigraphy of Samaria (Table 8).⁶³⁰

Table 8. Schematic Table of the Suggested Stratigraphy by Kenyon and Tappy

Pottery Period	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Kenyon	Omri	Ahab	Jehu, Joahaz, Joash	Jeroboam II and his successors	Assyrian hegemony	Assyrian hegemony	Assyrian administration
Tappy	11th century to ca. 875		ca. 875 to 800	ca. 800-722			722-

One of the problems of Kenyon’s stratigraphy is her tendency to excessively relate the strata to certain north Israelite rulers. Tappy (1992; 2001), using unpublished field notes of the British expedition, considerably changed Kenyon’s stratigraphy of the Iron Age Samaria. Yet, his new stratigraphy has little effect on the strata attributed to the time of

⁶³⁰ Wright (1959) differently dated the construction activities, and proposed a different view concerning the relations between the construction phases and the pottery periods.

Jeroboam II. Both Kenyon and Tappy dated Stratum IV⁶³¹ to the time of Jeroboam II and his successors.

Almost all the main buildings, fortification walls and city gates of Stratum IV had been constructed during the previous periods and only repaired and renovated during the eighth century BCE. But some buildings were newly constructed. Stratum IV does not reflect well the prosperity under Jeroboam II, despite Samaria's status as the capital of the Northern Kingdom. This may be explained by the fact that the later buildings used the earlier remains as building material. The conquering Assyrians took as booty most of prestigious objects from Samaria. For these reasons, luxurious artefacts were rarely found at the site.

6.6.12. Tell el-Far'ah (North)

The site of Tell el-Far'ah (North), which lies eleven kilometres northeast of Nablus, is generally identified with Biblical Tirzah.⁶³² The site is located at the source of Wadi Far'ah, flowing into the Jordan River; the Samaria mountains rise just west of the site. A good view toward the east suggests its strategic control over the route from/to the Jordan Valley in the east.

De Vaux conducted nine seasons of excavation at Tell el-Far'ah from 1946 to 1960 (de Vaux 1951; 1952; 1955; 1956; 1957; 1961; 1962; de Vaux and Steve 1947; 1948; 1949). Chambon (1984) subsequently published the final report of the Tell el-Far'ah excavations concerning the Iron Age strata.⁶³³ Stratum VII corresponds to the Iron Age I-II and is divided into five sub-strata (VIIa-e). Stratum VIId, dated to the

⁶³¹ The strata are pottery strata.

⁶³² For the identification of Tirzah, see Manor 1992:573-574.

⁶³³ See also McClellan 1987.

eighth century BCE, indicates the flourishing period of the site. The houses were better constructed and also larger than those of the preceding stratum. This stratum ended perhaps with the Assyrian conquest in the late eighth century BCE.

6.6.13. Tel Gezer⁶³⁴

The Iron Age II Strata VII-VI at Tel Gezer show the heyday of the site. A newly built outer wall strengthened the city fortification,⁶³⁵ and the city was enlarged to about eight hectares. Finkelstein (2002:285-286) dated Strata VII-VI to the eighth century BCE.⁶³⁶ The prosperity of these strata at Gezer is also reflected in the increased numbers of rural sites in the vicinity (Shavit 2000:217-229).⁶³⁷

6.6.14. Conclusion

The strata at various sites in the territory of the Northern Kingdom, dating to the time of Jeroboam II, show a large-scale, extensive building activity.⁶³⁸ Cities were well planned, new buildings constructed, and fortifications strengthened. Prolific building activity can only be achieved in time of economic upheaval, social stability, and sufficient manpower. This may suggest that Jeroboam II, in addition to military success, had established close amicable relations – both commercially and politically – with Assyria.⁶³⁹

⁶³⁴ For general information of Tel Gezer, see 3.3.2.9.

⁶³⁵ Finkelstein 1994.

⁶³⁶ For criticism, see Dever 2003:267-270.

⁶³⁷ Shavit (*op. cit.*, tab. 4) observed that the numbers of settlements both in the Ayalon Valley and the Lower Galilee increased in the eighth century BCE than in the ninth (cf. Gal 1992:94-109).

⁶³⁸ Finkelstein and Singer Avitz (2009) re-examined the pottery assemblage from Bethel and concluded that the site was prosperous in the eighth century BCE.

⁶³⁹ Israel probably had commercial relations also with Egypt as implied in Hos 12:2.

6.7. Synthesis

After ascending the throne in 784 BCE, Jeroboam II established amicable relations with the Assyrian Empire. He co-operated with the *turtānu* Šamšī-ilu, who had a great influence on the Syro-Palestinian kingdoms at that time. The Assyrian military campaigns against Arpad, Hamath, and Damascus in the years 775-754 BCE opened the way for Jeroboam. Following the conquests of Joash, his father, Jeroboam was able to further expand the Israelite territory in the Gilead and possibly in the Bashan. Jeroboam's territorial expansions brought great prosperity to the Kingdom of Israel, and this is reflected in the building activities at various sites throughout his kingdom.

7. The End of the Jehuite Dynasty (747 BCE)

The Jehuite Dynasty came to an end with Zechariah's murder. The Book of Kings is the single source that refers to his name and this event.

7.1. The Biblical Source

2 Kgs 15:8-12 describes the reign of Zechariah (748-747 BCE), the successor of Jeroboam II, and the last king of the Jehuite Dynasty. V. 10 is a short report on the conspiracy.

7.1.1. The Murder of Zechariah (2 Kgs 15:10)

The verse originally derives from an archival source of the Northern Kingdom, which related a series of conspiracies (vv. 14, 25). It mentions Ibleam as the place of Zechariah's murder. This was the place where Jehu killed Ahaziah, king of Judah (2 Kgs 9:27).⁶⁴⁰ Based on the Lucianic recension, modern commentators support the reading of "Ibleam" (יבלעם), instead of "before people" (קבל-עם) in the Masoretic text.⁶⁴¹

7.1.2. The End of the Jehuite Dynasty as Fulfilment of YHWH's Words (2 Kgs 15:12)

With Zechariah's murder, the Jehuite Dynasty came to an end. 2 Kgs 15:12 mentions the fulfilment of YHWH's words, as announced to Jehu (2 Kgs 10:30), hence the two verses form the "prophecy and fulfilment" pattern. These two verses are obviously *post factum* statements, added by the Dtr. The Dtr's authorship of 2 Kgs 10:30 is indicated in

⁶⁴⁰ Cogan and Tadmor 1988:171; Hasegawa 2006.

⁶⁴¹ Montgomery 1951:453-454; Gray 1977:620; Würthwein 1984:377-378; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:169-170. There are two reasons that make it difficult to accept קבל-עם here: קבל is a late Aramaic word; עם needs the definite article ה before it.

the way that the words of YHWH were directly conveyed to the king, and not through a prophet.

7.2. Synthesis

The lack of sources does not allow a detailed sketch of the end of the Jehuite Dynasty. The political instability in the Northern Kingdom after the end of the Jehuite Dynasty is reflected in repeated coups d'état (2 Kgs 15:14, 25, 30). According to the Book of Kings, Zechariah was the first king who was murdered in a conspiracy after Joram's murder of 841 BCE – almost a century before. The reason for the murder is unknown. The rise of Urartu under Sarduri II (764-734 BCE) brought about the decline of the Assyrian Empire in the last years of Jeroboam II, which reduced Assyria's political influence on Syro-Palestinian arena. It opened the way for the rise of Rezin who ascended the Damascene throne in the mid-eighth century BCE. Damascus under Rezin exerted considerable influence on the political situation in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. We may thus suggest that Rezin's political intervention in the Northern Kingdom formed the background for Zechariah's murder. Shallum, who might have been an ally of Rezin, set an ambush for Zechariah at Ibleam and killed him, thereby bringing the Dynasty of Jehu to an end.

Conclusion

Critical reading and analysis of the Book of Kings enable to some extent a sifting of texts and isolation of historically credible material. 2 Kgs 9-15 provides the basic information about the kings of the Jehuite Dynasty: affiliations, lengths of reigns, and deeds of the kings. The prophetic stories in the Book of Kings and the prophecies in the Books of Hosea and Amos present the relations between Aram-Damascus and Israel from different perspectives.

Aramaic, Moabite, and Assyrian texts elucidate the chain of political events in Syria-Palestine and the international affairs of the region during the Jehuite Dynasty.

Archaeology casts light on two political historical aspects: Hazael's military conquests of the Israelite territory and the prosperity during the reign of Jeroboam II. The former is reflected in the destruction layers, dated to the same period at various sites. The large scale building activity, dating to the eighth century BCE, at key sites in northern Israel corroborates the political stability and material prosperity under Joash and Jeroboam II.

Only through a combination of these three types of sources can the political-historical relationship and the shifts in the power-balance between Assyria, Aram-Damascus, and Israel during the Jehuite Dynasty be reconstructed. The following description is a concise political history of Aram-Damascus and Israel in chronological order.

Shortly before Jehu's coup d'état, Israel fought against Hazael, the new king of Aram, in Transjordan. After Jehu took the throne, Hazael invaded the Israelite territory. Then, either in the late years of Jehu or during the reign of Joahaz, Israel became a vassal kingdom of Aram-Damascus. After Hazael's death, Bar-Hadad succeeded to the

Damascene throne and later besieged Joash in Samaria. The latter, however, survived the siege and succeeded in defeating the Aramaean army, possibly at Aphek. It was during his reign that Israel threw off the Aramaean yoke, recovered its independence and even re-conquered parts of its former territory. Jeroboam II also fought against Aram-Damascus and conquered the former Israelite territory in Transjordan and possibly in the southern Bashan. The date of the loss of the conquered territories, either in the late years of Jeroboam or in the time of his successors, remains unknown. The Jehuite Dynasty came to an end with Zechariah's murder by Shallum, who possibly cooperated with Rezin, the king of Aram-Damascus.

As demonstrated in every chapter, Assyria played a major role in the international affairs of Syria-Palestine during the Jehuite Dynasty. In 841 BCE Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser III when the latter reached the border of his kingdom, whereas Hazael did not pay the tribute and remained as an opponent of Assyria. After 838-837 BCE, Assyria withdrew from Syria-Palestine. Hazael took advantage of the political situation and became the dominant power in the region between southern Palestine and the Euphrates. Since 805 BCE, Adad-nērāri III resumed the Assyrian military campaigns to Syria. In 796 BCE he subjugated Bar-Hadad and, for the first time, the king of Damascus paid tribute to Assyria, side by side with Joash and the Phoenician kingdoms. Šamšī-ilu exerted the Assyrian power over Syria-Palestine during the first half of the eighth century BCE. He led campaigns to Damascus, Hamath, and Arpad. Jeroboam II possibly established amicable relations with Šamšī-ilu, and took advantage of the political situation to expand the Israelite territory northward. It might have been the instability in Assyria in the mid-eighth century BCE that enabled Rezin, the new king in Damascus, to rise to power, possibly in the late years of Jeroboam.

This study has sought to show the value of meticulous and cautious analysis of all the available sources – Biblical, extra-Biblical, and archaeological – before suggesting reconstruction of the history of Israel. Shortened means will not do justice to the complexity of the sources. Only comprehensive and systematic work can bring results that might stand the test of time and illuminate this significant period in the history of ancient Israel.

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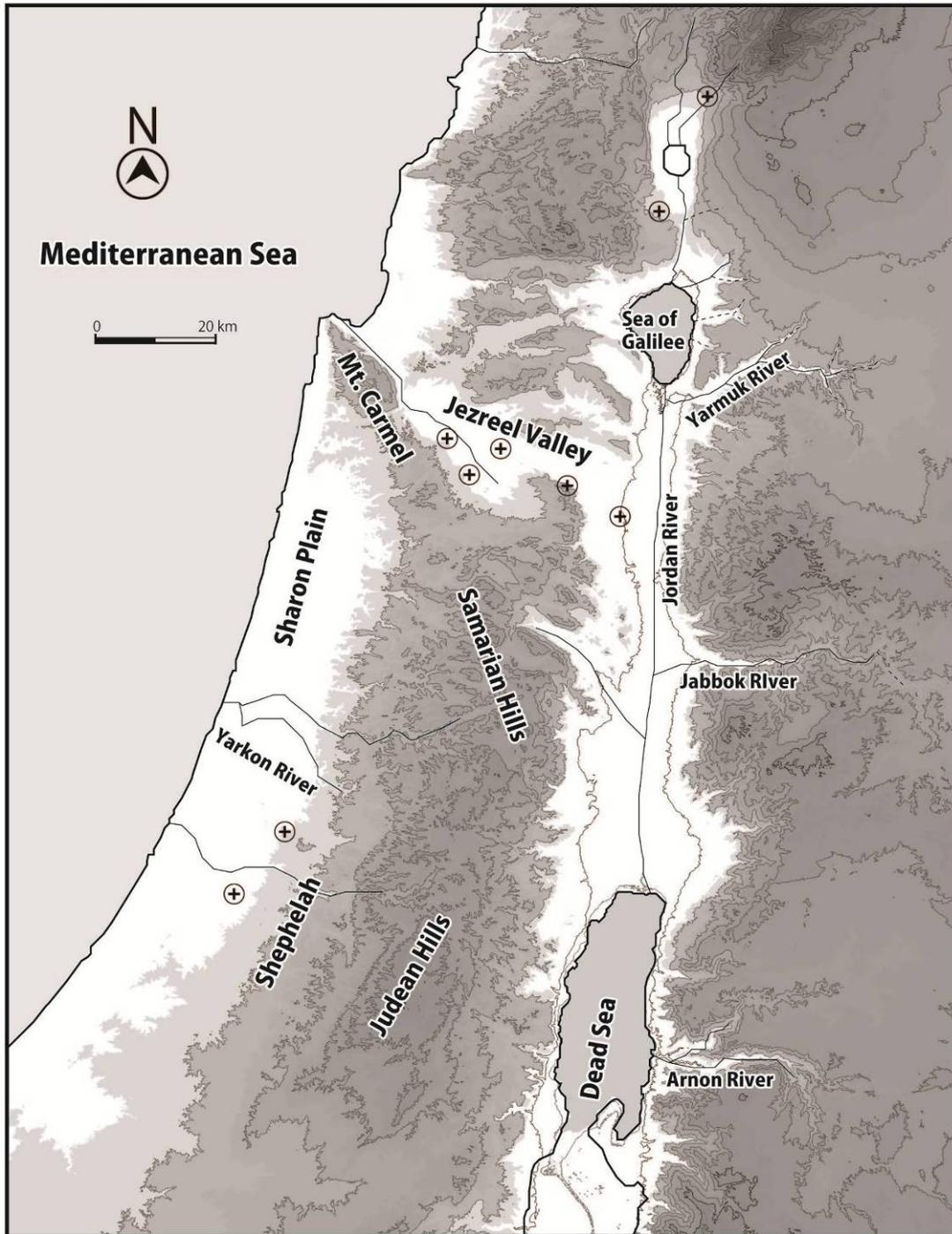
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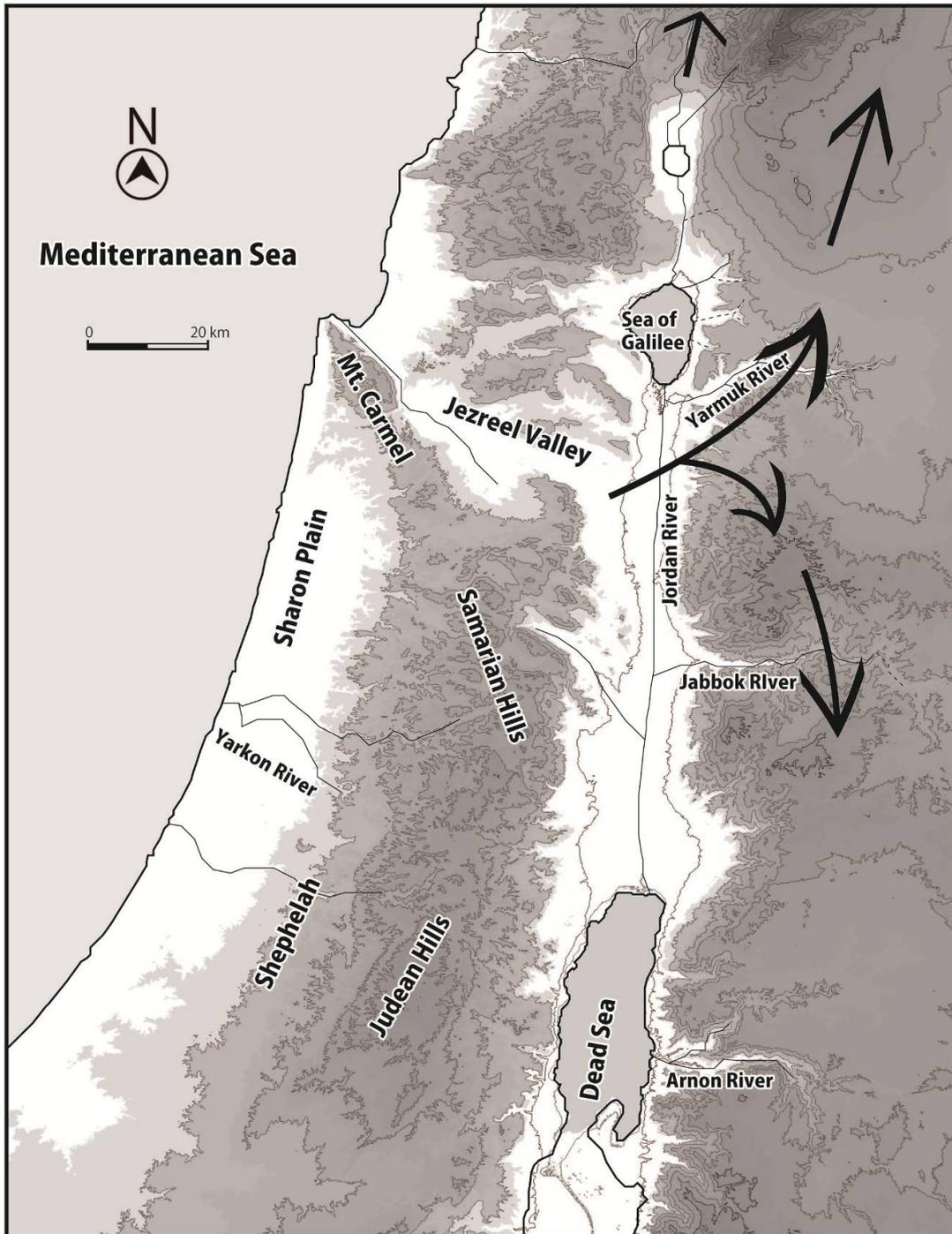
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Map 1. The Cities Destroyed by Hazael



Map 2. The Israelite Expansion under Jeroboam II

אוניברסיטת תל אביב
הפקולטה למדעי הרוח ע"ש לסטר וסאלי אנטין
בית הספר למדעי היהדות ע"ש חיים רוזנברג
החוג להיסטוריה של עם-ישראל

ארם וישראל בימי שושלת יהוא



חיבור לשם קבלת תואר דוקטור לפילוסופיה

על ידי
שואיצי (סקינה) הסגווה

העבודה הוכנה בהנחיית:
פרופ' נדב נאמן

הוגש לסנאט של אוניברסיטת תל אביב
תשע"א 2010

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תקציר

עבודה זו דנה בהיסטוריה הפוליטית של ממלכת ישראל בימי בית יהוא (841-747 לפנה"ס בקירוב) ובתמורות שחלו ביחסים בין ממלכת ישראל לממלכת ארם-דמשק בתקופה סוערת זו. שושלת בית יהוא נוסדה בשנת 841 לפנה"ס, שלטה במשך חמישה דורות על ממלכת ישראל, ושלטונה הסתיים עם רצח זכריה בן ירבעם באמצע המאה ה-ח' לפנה"ס. בתקופה זו משלו בדמשק ארבעה מלכים: חזאל, ברהדד, חדיאן ורצין. מאז ימי שלמנאסר ג' (859-824), אשור שיחקה תפקיד חשוב ביחסי הגומלין בין ממלכות ארם וישראל. לאחר שאשור נסוגה מהאזור בשנות ה-30 של מאה ה-ט' לפנה"ס, חזאל מלך דמשק כבש את ישראל, וזו נשארה משועבדת לארם-דמשק עד למסעותיו של אדד-נררי ג' לאזור בשנים 805-796 לפנה"ס.

מספר חוקרים דנו בעבר בהיסטוריה של שושלת יהוא, אולם רוב המחקרים שנכתבו לא היו ביקורתיים במידה מספקת ולא שקלו באופן הולם את כל המקורות העומדים לרשותנו. מכאן חשיבותו של המחקר הנוכחי, הדן דיון ביקורתי בכל המקורות ומשחזר באופן מקיף את ההיסטוריה של התקופה הנידונה. בהסתמך על בחינה מדוקדקת של כל המקורות הקיימים, כולל הכתובות החדשות ותוצאות החפירות והסקרים החדשים, ותוך התחשבות בהתפתחות שחלה לאחרונה בחקר המקרא, אנסה אפוא לשחזר במידת האפשר את ההיסטוריה של בית יהוא בתקופה הנידונה.

שלושה סוגי מקורות משמשים לשחזור ההיסטוריה של תקופת שושלת יהוא: (א) המקרא (ב) המקורות החוץ-מקראיים ו-(ג) הממצאים הארכאולוגיים. בספר מלכים ב' מוצגת בקווים כלליים ההיסטוריה של המלכים מבית יהוא. הסיפור על מרד יהוא בפרקים ט-י הוא המקור העיקרי לאירוע זה. פסוקים שונים בפרקים י-טז מספקים מידע על מלכי בית יהוא. סיפורי נביאים בספר מלכים, ובמיוחד מחזור סיפורי אלישע, כוללים גרעינים היסטוריים שמיוחסים לתקופת בית יהוא. הספרים עמוס והושע מוסיפים רקע היסטורי למאורעות. כתובות מלכי אשור מזכירות את יהוא ויואש ואת המנחות שהעלו למלכי אשור. כמו כן נזכרות בכתובות שתי המלחמות שניהלו האשורים עם חזאל, ודבר הכנעתם של מרא וחדיאן, יורשיו בדמשק. כתובות ארמיות, מואבית ועבריות תורמות אף הן מידע היסטורי באיזור לחקר התקופה. נתונים ארכאולוגיים מעידים הן על מסעות המלחמה

ההרסניים של חזאל במחצית השנייה של מאה ה-ט' לפנה"ס הן על השגשוג בממלכת ישראל בימי ירבעם ב'. צירוף כל המקורות הללו מאפשר להציג תמונה, גם אם חלקית, של המאורעות שהתרחשו בזירה הסורית-ארץ-ישראלית בתקופה הנחקרת.

להלן אפרט את המתודולוגיה שבה השתמשתי לשחזור ההיסטוריה של בית יהוא. ראשית, על מנת לקבל תמונה מקפת, יש לנתח תחילה כל מקור באופן נפרד, להשוות את המקורות זה לזה, ורק לאחר מכן לצרפם לתמונה כוללת. כל מקור נכתב מנקודת מבט מסוימת של מחברו ודרושה קריאה ביקורתית כדי לבחון האם המידע שנמסר אכן מהימן מבחינה היסטורית. כך למשל סיפור מרד יהוא נכתב בחצר המלוכה של בית יהוא על מנת להצדיק את המרד ומגמת המחבר משתקפת במקומות שונים בסיפור. סיפורי הנביאים נכתבו בכוונה להבהיר את ההתערבות האלהית בהיסטוריה על ידי נביאיו, והז'אנר לא מחייב הצגה מדויקת של מהלך המאורעות. בספר מלכים מופיעים מספר סיפורים פיקטיביים שנכתבו בתקופה מאוחרת, זמן רב לאחר תום המאורעות המסופרים בהם, ולכן לא ניתן להשתמש בהם לשיחזור היסטורי. לדוגמה סיפור המלחמות נגד הארמים במל"א כ, המיוחס לימי אחאב, לא הולם את המציאות ההיסטורית בתקופה זו. ספר מלכים אף עבר עריכות אחדות, כך שלמקורות הקדומים נוספו פסוקים שהוכנסו על ידי הדויתרונומיסט, שכתב/ערך את הספר, או על ידי עורכים מאוחרים.

כתובות מלכי אשור כוללות כתובות אנאליות וכתובות סיכום, והן מתאפיינות במגמה אידאולוגית ותעמולתית. לדוגמה, הכתובת מתל א-רימאח של אדד-נררי ג' מתארת את הכנעת מלכי המערב על ידי המלך האשורי "בשנה אחת". אולם הביטוי "בשנה אחת" הוא נוסחה ספרותית המגדילה את הישגו של המלך ואין בו דיוק כרונולוגי.

קיים ויכוח על תאריכי שכבות ארכיאולוגיות באתריים מרכזיים בממלכת ישראל. במשך שנים רבות התאריכים נקבעו בהסתמך על שיקולים סטרטיגרפיים והיסטוריים. אבל לאחרונה משתמשים חוקרים בתאריכי פחמן 14 כדי לקבוע את תאריך שכבות היישוב, כך שהכרונולוגיה של אתרי תקופת הברזל אינה תלויה רק בשיקולים היסטוריים.

באמצעות דיון זהיר בכול המקורות הכתובים ובמצא הארכיאולוגי, תוך שילובם ביחד, ניתן לנסות

לשחזר – ולו באופן חלקי – את ההשתלשלות ההיסטורית בתקופה הנידונה בחיבור.

הפרק הראשון עוסק בכרונולוגיה של מלכי בית יהוא. בספר מלכים מופיעים שני סוגים של מידע כרונולוגי: (א) סינכרוניזמים של מלכי ישראל ומלכי יהודה (ב) אורך תקופת השלטון של כל מלך. לעיתים מקורות מידע אלה סותרים האחד את השני. כתובות מלכי אשור קובעות תאריכים למספר מאורעות חשובים בהיסטוריה של ממלכת ישראל ומשמשות נקודת מוצא לקביעת הכרונולוגיה של התקופה. הכרונולוגיה שקבעתי בפרק זה משמשת בסיס לדיונים ההיסטוריים ביתר פרקי החיבור.

בפרק השני נדונה עלייתו של יהוא למלוכה. סיפור מרד יהוא בפרקים ט-י ("סיפור יהוא") הוא המקור העיקרי שמתאר את המרד. אולם יש יסוד להניח שסיפור זה נערך מספר פעמים ולכן יש צורך לשחזר את הסיפור המקורי. לאור ניתוח ספרותי של הסיפור קיימים שלושה רבדים בסיפור המרד: (א) הסיפור הקדום שמתאר את המאורעות (ב) מקומות שהוסיף הדויתרונמיסט (ג) תוספות מאוחרות. הסיפור המופיע ברובד הקדום מצדיק את מרד יהוא. לכן סביר להניח שנכתב בחצר המלוכה בשומרון כדי להצדיק את המרד של מייסד השושלת. פרשת המרד נזכרת רק בסיפור יהוא. אבל הושע א ד מזכיר את "דמי יזרעאל", ביטוי שאולי מכוון באופן ביקורתי למרד. כתובת מישע מעידה על נפילת בית עמרי בימי המלך המואבי. לאור כל העדויות האלה ניתן לקבוע שסיפור מרד יהוא נכתב על רקע אירוע היסטורי ממשי. ואולם רבים מן הפרטים המתוארים בסיפור אינם יכולים לשמש לשחזור היסטורי. בכתובת מתל-דן מוזכר הירצחם של יורם מלך ישראל ואחזיה מלך יהודה על ידי חזאל. יש סתירה בולטת בין התיאורים בסיפור יהוא לתיאור בכתובת, ואנו מעדיפים את עדותו של המקור הארמי, שנכתב זמן לא רב לאחר המאורע המסופר. חזאל הרג את יורם ואחזיה, ויהוא ניצל את ההזדמנות, הכרית את בית-עמרי ונטל את כיסא המלכות. מיד לאחר מכן, בשנת 841 לפנה"ס, יהוא העלה מנחה לשלמנאסר ג' כדי לקבל ממנו את האישור לשלטונו וגם את חסות ממלכת אשור.

הפרק השלישי עוסק בעלייתו של חזאל. לפי כתובת אשורית חזאל לא היה יורש העצר של אדד-אדרי (הדדעזר) המלך הקודם בממלכת דמשק. חזאל ירש את כיסא המלכות בערך בשנת 843 לפנה"ס והמשיך גם את המדיניות האנטי-אשורית של קודמו. שלמנאסר ג' נלחם בו ותקף את דמשק ללא

הצלחה בשנים 841, 838-837 לפנה"ס. אחרי נסיגת אשור מהאיזור בשנות ה-30 של מאה ה-ט' לפנה"ס, חזאל הפך לשליט ההגמוני במרחב הסורי-הארץ-ישראלי. גבול ממלכתו התרחב צפונה ודרומה, ופעם אף חצה את נהר הפרת (לאחר שנת 829 לפנה"ס). ההגמוניה של חזאל באה לידי ביטוי הן בכתובות ארמיות המזכירות את חזאל כריבונם של הארמים, והן בפסוקים שונים בספר מלכים המתארים את המצוקה שנגרמה לישראל עקב המסעות הצבאיים של חזאל. שכבות החורבן שנחשפו באתרים שונים בתחום ממלכת ישראל מעידות על מסעות הכיבוש ההרסניים שערך המלך הארמי. מספר אתרים בצפון כמו חצור ודן נבנו אחרי הכיבוש כערים ארמיות. לעומת זאת, אתרים אחרים כמו תל זרעאל ותל-א-צפי ננטשו אחרי החורבן. כתובת זכור מלמדת שחזאל הוריש את מעמדו ההגמוני לברהדד, בנו, אל נכון בעשור האחרון של המאה התשיעית לפנה"ס, ומכאן שעד מותו חזאל היה השליט החזק באזור.

בפרק הרביעי, נדונים ימי יהוא ויואחז בנו. פסוקים שונים במל"ב י ויג מצביעים על היקף הכיבוש הארמי ועל אובדן טריטוריות שהיו קודם לכן בידי ממלכת ישראל, במיוחד באיזור עבר הירדן ובצפון ארץ-ישראל. אשור הייתה טרודה בבעיות פנימיות ולא ערכה מסעות ממערב לנהר הפרת בתקופה זו, דבר שאיפשר לממלכת דמשק להתעצם. כתוצאה מכך ממלכת ישראל הפכה ממלכה ווסאלית לארם-דמשק.

הפרק החמישי עוסק בימי יואש בן יואחז. הסיפור המקראי על נצחונו של יואש על ממלכת דמשק והשבתן של הערים הישראליות לממלכת ישראל משקף את התחזקות ממלכת ישראל בימי יואש, שעלה בידו להשתחרר מעולה של דמשק. מסעותיו של אדד-נררי ג' לסוריה בשנים 805-802 הביאו לשינוי במאזן הכוחות הפוליטי באזור. ברהדד מלך דמשק נכנע לאדד-נררי ושילם מס כניעה לאשור בשנת 796 לפנה"ס. הסיפור על מצור שומרון במל"ב ו כד – ז כ משקף את התעצמותה של ממלכת ישראל ואת החלשותה של ארם-דמשק. יואש העלה מנחה לאדד-נררי וניצל את הסיטואציה הפוליטית שנוצרה כדי להתפשט לעבר הירדן ולצפון ארץ-ישראל.

בפרק השישי, נדונים ימי ירבעם בן יואש (ירבעם ב'). לפי התיאור במל"ב יד כה ירבעם "השיב את גבול ישראל מלבוא חמת עד ים הערבה" ולפי פסוק כח אף "השיב את דמשק וחמת ליהודה

בישראל", פסוק שהוא סתום מבחינה טקסטואלית והיסטורית. פסוקים שונים בספרים עמוס והושע, בהם נזכרים שמות מקומות בעבר הירדן, מחזקים את ההנחה שישראל שלטה בגלעד בימי ירבעם. באתרים רבים בממלכת ישראל המתוארכים לתקופה זו נתגלו חפצי יוקרה, מקצתם מיובאים ומקצתם מקומיים. עדויות על פעילות בנייה אינטנסיבית בתקופה זו מצביעות אף הן על השגשוג הכלכלי בימי ירבעם, שגשוג שהושג הודות לקשרי הידידות עם ממלכת אשור.

שמי-אלו, התרתן האשורי, ישב בעיר תיל-ברסיף שממזרח לפרת ושלט על חבל הפרת בשתי גדותיו. הוא ערך מסע נגד דמשק בשנת 773 לפנה"ס והכניע את חדיאן, מלך דמשק. עוצמתו וריבונותו באיזור משתקפות בכתובות מאנטקיה ומפזרז'יק, בהן נזכר תפקידו כמתווך בין ממלכות בסוריה ואנטוליה. ייתכן שירבעם, בחסותו ובהסכמתו של שמי-אלו, כבש את האיזורים בעבר הירדן וכן ערים בתחום ממלכת דמשק. כתובות עבריות מכונתילת עגירוד בסיני מעידות על פעילויות מסחריות בין-לאומיות במאה ח' לפנה"ס ככל הנראה ביוזמת ממלכת ישראל.

הפרק השביעי עוסק בסופו של בית יהוא. לפי ספר מלכים ב' טז, זכריה בן ירבעם נרצח על ידי שלום בן יבש בשנת 747 לפנה"ס, דבר שהביא קץ על בית יהוא.

לסיכום, בית יהוא שלט על ממלכת ישראל במשך 90 שנה, מהמחצית השנייה של המאה ה-ט' עד אמצע המאה ה-ח' לפנה"ס. ירידתה ועלייתה של ממלכת ישראל בתקופה זו היו קשורות למאורעות באיזור סוריה וארץ-ישראל, שבהם ממלכת אשור וממלכת ארם-דמשק שיחקו תפקיד מרכזי. ניתן לדון בהיסטוריה בתקופה זו אך ורק על ידי ניתוח מקיף וביקורתי של כל המקורות שבידינו. רק בדרך זו אנו יכולים להציג תמונה היסטורית מדויקת יותר של ההיסטוריה בימי בית יהוא, שהייתה אחת משתי השושלות החשובות ביותר בממלכת ישראל בימי הבית הראשון.