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 Jehuote 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 Jehuote 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 Jehu·ites 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 eš-Šāfī (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 Pazarcík 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 Jehu-ite Dynasty, which – side by side with the Omride Dynasty – played a major role in the history of Israel of the First Temple Period.
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Abbreviations


ADAJ = Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan

ADP = Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästinavereins

AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung

AfOB = Archiv für Orientforschung: Beiheft


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

BARRev = 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
GTA = Göttinger theologischer Arbeiten
HA-ESI = Hadashot Arkheologiyot: Excavations and Surveys in Israel
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
KAT = Kommentar zum Alten Testament
LAPO = Litératures 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
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
RHPH = Revue d’histoire et de philosophie religieuses
RIMA = The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods. 3 vols. Toronto.
RtA = 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


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
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 Jehuette 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 Jehuette 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 Jehuette Dynasty (see Schmitt 1972); he also dated 1 Kgs 20 to the time of the Jehuites (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 Jehuites 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 Jehuite 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, Haftthorsson (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 Jehuith 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 Jehuïte 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 Jehuïtes, 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 Jehuïte 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 Jehuïte 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 Jehúite Kings

Two chronological anchor points are available for dating the reigns of the Jehúites. 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 Sarraḇānu, 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 Jehúite 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 Jehúite 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

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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 Sarraḇānu, 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

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

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).
(2) Judah probably used a Tishri calendar\(^7\) 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.

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\(^7\) 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 Jehuic Dynasty (Table 2).

Table 2. Chronology of the Jehuic Kings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Year (BCE)</th>
<th>Length of Reign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jehu</td>
<td>841-814</td>
<td>28 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joahaz</td>
<td>814-798</td>
<td>17 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Jehuic Dynasty and hence counted the beginning of his rule from the end of the Jehuic 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 Jehuash); Azariah: 785-734/733 (fifty-two years, including sixteen years of co-regency with Amaziah and eight years co-regency with Jotham); Jotham: 751/735-732/731 (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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Reign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joash</td>
<td>799/798-784</td>
<td>16 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeroboam II</td>
<td>788/787-748</td>
<td>41 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zechariah</td>
<td>748-747</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Jehuite 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

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\(^{13}\) 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.\textsuperscript{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-3a\textsuperscript{ab}), 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{16} For example, see Burney 1903:xiii-xiv.
\textsuperscript{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.
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). 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. 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

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: יָדֹעַ לְיַעַכל וּלְבֹרוֹקָא הָאָרֶם יָרֵאָה יְזִירוֹ הַמָּרָה יָדֹעַ לְיַעַכל וּלְבֹרוֹקָא הָאָרֶם יָרֵאָה. Na’aman (2008:205) ascribed the latter to an editorial statement. A brief history of the discussion is found in Barré 1988:11-13; Long 1991:114-117.
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.  

(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).

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, 16αββ. 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 (יורם/יהורם) 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 “הוא כה עלה impeachmentט us to an equivalence in 9:15-16, which probably shows Dtr’s tendency to exactness in the former passage. (4) Information of

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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).

the Aramaean strike of Joram is repeated in 8:28-29,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{28} Long (1991:117),

\textsuperscript{24} The reference to יִהוּדָה in v. 29 and יִהוּדָה אָרֶם in v. 28.

\textsuperscript{25} The reference to יִהוּדָה in 8:29, in contrast to יִהוּדָה אָרֶם 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.


\textsuperscript{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 בָּהּ בְּכִי etc. go back to the archival source cannot be supported. Cf. Na’aman 2002a:88-90.

\textsuperscript{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 יָשָׁד. (2) 2 Kgs 9:14a, in contrast with the other reports (1 Kgs 15:27b; 16:9b, and 15b), employs וָיהי 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 16αβ 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 16αβ 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...
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. However, the verses employ common stylistic and thematic elements with the rest of the narrative. 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. 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 Legitimisation 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. 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). 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).


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 – שלם. The word also appears in v. 11. Otto (2001:64) pointed to another possible Leitwort שלם 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.


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. However, there is no consensus among scholars in terms of division and dating of these verses.

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). 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. 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.

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

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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.
The verse has been ascribed to the Dtr, who connects the JN to the reign of Ahaziah of Judah. V. 29 synchronises Ahaziah’s reign to Joram’s eleventh year. 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. 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-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. 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.

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 and 28 were dependent on the account of Josiah’s death, and that they were inserted by 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 כ, while in 2 Kgs 23:30a, the verbs are with object suffix of third person masculine
Likewise, the mention of Megiddo in v. 27b 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

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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 “וינס” (2 Kgs 14:19). This similarity between 2 Kgs 9:27 and 14:19 may suggest that “וינס” 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: יד המות את איסבל את אשר עשה י׃ 2 Kgs 14:19 reads: יד המות את איסבל את אשר עשה י. McKenzie (1991:75-76) ascribed vv. 36a, 37 to the Dtr but vv. 36aβ 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” (אחים אחאב האמנים), whereas in v. 6b, they stayed with the “elders of the city” (’elleי העיר).\(^{63}\)

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58 2 Kgs 9:10 reads: קברואת ואין יزراعةל בחלק יאכלו – איזבל.
61 Benzinger 1899:152. For earlier literature, see Barré 1988:17, n. 63.
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 לא מדברי לא ארץ 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 עד שאריתלו שריוד supports its Dtr origin.66

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

The passage can be divided into two parts. The first part (vv. 12αβ*-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. 12αβ*-16 is an integral part of the OJN.68 Since no substantial ground for

68 The coherence can be found in the following three points. (1) In v. 13, the Leitwort זכר 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 10:6α. (3) Vv. 15-16 is thematically connected with 10:17α, 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 עשה in v. 12 and v. 14bβ 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

2.1.11. Jehu’s March to Samaria (10:12α*, 17α)

Excluding 10:12αβ*-16 from the OJN, the story relates Jehu’s advance toward Samaria (10:12α*, 17α), immediately after his annihilation of Ahab’s descendants in Jezreel. Hence, some of the scholars who regarded 10:12αβ*-16 as secondary, suggested that 10:12α*, 17α are the conclusion of the OJN.70 However, the following points attest that the OJN does not end with 10:12α*, 17α. (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)" (10:12α*, 17α). Hence, this phrase is used as a binder of the two individual scenes.72

2.1.12. The Annihilation of Ahab’s Descendants (10:17αβb)
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

2.1.13. Jehu’s Cunning to Destroy Baal Worshippers (10:19b)

69 Šanda 1911:110; Steck 1968:61. Barré (1988:20) suggested that vv. 15-16 was inserted by the Dtr.
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. 17αβb does not belong to the OJN: (1) repetitious reference to Samaria in 17αα and 17αβ; (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. 17αβ 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. This part was possibly inserted to defend Jehu from reproach, for he declares his intention to serve the Baal more than Ahab (v. 18).

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

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.

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). 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

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76 Otto 2001:55. For the view that regards v. 21aa 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: מַשְׂרָף in v. 26 and נתץ in v. 27. 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-27α*, 30-35; 10:1-6a, 7-9, 12-17αα, 18-19a, 20, 21αβb-25a, 28.
(2) 2 Kgs 9:6b*-7a, 8-10a, 27β*, 28, 36; 10:10-11, 17αβb, 19b, 21αα, 25b-27.

78 נתץ “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, מצבת נתץ appears only here.
79 שרי “to burn” is used with cultic objects in Ex 33:20; Deut 7:5, 25; 1 Kgs 15:13; 2 Kgs 23:4, 6, 11, 15.
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).
82 It includes the possible pre-Dtr editing (9:21b, 25-26).
83 It includes the secondary Dtr editing (9:29, 37).
The Redactional Layers in 2 Kgs 9-10

Original .1

Dtr Editing .2

Later Additions .3

2 Kgs 9

1. הַ֥הַשֶּׁ֥םֶן פַּ֣ךְ וְ֠קַח מָתְנֶ֗יךָ חֲגֹ֣ר ל֜וֹ וַיֹּ֙אמֶר הַנְּבִ֔יאִים מִבְּנֵ֖י לְאַחַ֖ד קָרָ֕א הַנָּבִ֔יא גִּלְעָֽד׃וֶאֱלִישָׁע רָמֹ֥ת וְלֵ֖ךְ בְּיָדֶ֔ךָ זֶ֙ה בֶּן־יְהוֹשָׁי֙וּא וּרְאֵֽה־שָׁ֠ם שָׁ֑מָּה בְּחָֽדֶר׃בָ֖אתָ חֶ֥דֶר אֹת֖וֹ וְהֵבֵיאתָ֥ אֶחָ֔יו מِתּ֣וֹךְ וַהֲ קֵֽמֹתוֹ֙ וּבָ֙אתָ֙ בֶּן־נִמְשִׁ֗י פָ֜ט

2. וְלָקַחְתָּ וּפָתַ אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל לְמֶ֖לֶךְ מְשַׁחְתִּ֥יךָֽ יְהוָ֔ה כֹּֽה־אָמַ֣ר וְאָֽמַרְתָּ עַל־רֹאשׁ֔וֹ וְיָצַקְתָּ הַדֶּ֛לֶתפַךְ־הַשֶּׁ֙םֶן חְתָ֥ה׃ וְלֹ֥א וְנַ֖סְתָּה

3. גִּלְעָֽד׃ רָמֹ֥ת הַנָּבִ֖יא הַנַּ֥עַר הַנַּ֛עַר וַיֵּ֧לֶךְ יֵהוּא וַיֹּ֤אמֶר הַשָּׂ֑ר אֵלֶ֥יךָ לִ֛י דָּבָ֥ר וַיֹּ֕אמֶר יֹֽשְׁבִ֔ים הַחַ֙יִל שָׂרֵ֤י וְהִנֵּ֙ה וַיָּ֙בֹא הַשָּֽׂר׃ אֵלֶ֥יךָ وַיֹּ֖אמֶר מִכֻּלָּ֔נוּ אֶל־מִ֣י יְהוָ֖ה כֹּֽה־אָמַ֤ר ל֗וֹ وַיֹּ֣אמֶר אֶל־רֹאשׁ֑וֹ הַשֶּׁ֖םֶן וַיִּצֹ֥ק הַבַּ֔יְתָה וַיָּבֹ֣א וַיָּ֙קָם

4. לְמֶ֛לֶךְ מְשַׁחְתִּ֧יךָֽ יְהוָ֖ה אֶל־עַ֥ם אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃ וְעָז֖וּב וְעָצ֥וּר בְּקִ֔יר מַשְׂתִּ֣ין לְאַחְאָב וְהִכְרַתִּ֤י אַחְאָ֙ב כָּל־בֵּ֣ית ואָבַ֖ד אֶת־בֵּ֣ית נָֽתַתִּי יָרָבְּךָ֑ בֶּן־אֲחִיָּֽה׃ אַחְאָ֔ב בַּעְשָׁ֥א וּכְבֵ֖ית بֶּן־נְבָ֑ט עָ֣ם אֲדֹנֶ֑י אַחְאָ֖ב אֶת־בֵּ֣ית וְהִכְרַתִּ֤י אַחְאָ֙ב כָּל־בֵּ֣ית וַאָבַ֖ד אֶת־אִיזֶ֜בֶל קֹבֵ֑ר וְאֵ֣ין יִזְרְעֶ֖אל
בְּחֶלְקַת אָמַר בַּשּׁוֹפָר אֲלֵיהֶם: שָׂא וְעַתָּה אַל־יֵצֵֽא לֶךְ וַיַּֽעֲלָהוּ לָ֑נוּ אֵלֶ֑יךָ אָבֹתָיו כָּזֹ֤את הֲשָׁל֣וֹם בִּקְבֻרָת֛וֹ לָ֑נוּ. וַיָּרְא בֶּן־יְהוֹשָׁפָ֥ט רָאָ֔ה יֵה֛וּא בְּיִזְרְעֶ֗אל אֶת־יִבְלְעָ֔ם יֵהוּא הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ הַמַּלְאָ֥ךְ וְהַמִּנְהָ֗ג רָאִיתִי ויְהִי לְהַגִּיד מְגִדּוֹ כִּֽי־זְכֹ֞ר אֶל־הַמֶּרְכָּבָ֗ה שֶׁאָמַר אֶל־דְּמֵ֣י שֹׁמֵ֜ר מִפְּנֵ֥י הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ־אֲרָֽם׃יוֹרָם שֹׁמֵ֜ר שֹׁמֵ֜ר לְהַגִּיד לְמֶ֖לֶךְ־יִזְרְעֵאלִֽי זְרֹעָ֔יו וַיֵּ לַגִּיד שֶׁאָמַר לְמֶ֖לֶךְ יֵהוֹרָ֗ם אֲשֶׁ֣ר תַּקְשֵׁ֗ר אֶל־עַבְדֵ֣י אֲחַזְיָ֤ה אֲנִי אָנִ֣י גִּלְעָ֗ד הַחֵ֖צִי וְלֹֽא־שָ֑ב עֹמֵ֙ד אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃וַיָּנֹֽס׃ הַחֵ֖צִי ויְהוֹרָ֗ם לִקְרָאתָ֖ם וַיֵּ יָרַ֖ד לַגִּיד לְהַמֶּ֖לֶךְ אֲשֶׁ֣ר תַּקְשֵׁ֗ר לְמֶ֖לֶךְ אֲרָֽם׃יוֹרָם שֹׁמֵ֜ר שֹׁמֵ֜ר עֹמֵ֙ד אֶל־עַבְדֵ֣י אֲחַזְיָ֤ה אֲנִי אָנִ֣י גִּלְעָ֗ד הַחֵ֖צִי וְלֹֽא־שָ֑ב עֹמֵ֙ד אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃וַיָּנֹֽס׃ מְגִדּוֹ כִּֽי־זְכֹ֞ר אֶל־הַמֶּרְכָּבָ֗ה שֶׁאָמַר אֶל־דְּמֵ֣י שֹׁמֵ֜ר מִפְּנֵ֥י הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ־אֲרָֽם׃יוֹרָם שֹׁמֵ֜ר שֹׁמֵ֜ר לְהַגִּיד לְמֶ֖לֶךְ־יִזְרְעֵאלִֽי זְרֹעָ֔יו וַיֵּ לַגִּיד שֶׁאָמַר לְמֶ֖לֶךְ יֵהוֹרָ֗ם אֲשֶׁ֣ר תַּקְשֵׁ֗ר אֶל־עַבְדֵ֣י אֲחַזְיָ֤ה אֲנִי אָנִ֣י גִּלְעָ֗ד הַחֵ֖צִי וְלֹֽא־שָ֑ב עֹמֵ֙ד אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃וַיָּנֹֽס׃ אִיּוֹרָ֗ם לָ֖נוּ אֶת־דְּמֵ֥י שֹׁמֵ֜ר מִפְּנֵ֥י הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ־אֲרָֽם׃יוֹרָם שֹׁמֵ֜ר שֹׁמֵ֜ר לְהַגִּיד לְמֶ֖לֶךְ־יִזְרְעֵאלִֽי זְרֹעָ֔יו וַיֵּ לַגִּיד שֶׁאָמַר לְמֶ֖לֶךְ יֵהוֹרָ֗ם אֲשֶׁ֣ר תַּקְשֵׁ֗ר לְמֶ֖לֶךְ אֲרָֽם׃יוֹרָם שֹׁמֵ֜ר שֹׁמֵ֜ר לְהַגִּיד לְמֶ֖לֶךְ יֵהוֹרָ֗ם אֲשֶׁ֣ר תַּקְשֵׁ֗ר לְמֶ֖לֶךְ יֵהוֹרָ֗ם אֲשֶׁ֣ר תַּקְשֵׁ֗ר לְמֶ֖לֶךְ יֵהוֹרָ֗ם אֲשֶׁ֣ר תַּקְשֵׁ֗ר לְמֶ֖לֶךְ יֵהוֹרָ֗ם אֲשֶׁ֣ר תַּקְשֵׁ֗ר לְמֶ֖לֶךְ יֵהוֹרָ֗ם אֲשֶׁ֣ר תַּקְשֵׁ֗ר לְמֶ֖לֶךְ יֵהוֹרָ֗umont enquanto você assistia à apresentação, em breve.
בבשנה שלוש עשרה שליק בנו אשר הוא מלך יהודה.


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בb שומרון שמשו עם מסגרת im משכון מקרא של אדום ואת לבש בהר ה.grp

בז הזרעאלה עם מסגרת im משכון מקרא של אדום ואת לבש בהר הgrp

ב ריקודים וכתבייםBeth הקבוצה עברו כתי וברוח אדום השתייתו את לבש צלצל בנה לבש.

בון מבית בכה 묵 ובהז ריקודים וכתבייםBeth הקבוצה עברו כתי וברוח אדום השתייתו את לבש צלצל בנה לבש.

ב שמעו ושבו לזרעאלה וברוח אדום השתייתו את לבש צלצלה ברוח אדום השתייתו את לבש צלצל בנה לבש.

ב דומה שמעו ושבו לזרעאלה וברוח אדום השתייתו את לבש צלצל בנה לבש.

ב כוהן אחרון בשתייתו את לבש צלצל בנה לבש

ב השכון im משכון מקרא של אדום ואת לבש בהר הgrp

בז הזרעאלה עם מסגרת im משכון מקרא של אדום ואת לבש בהר הgrp

ב ריקודים וכתבייםBeth הקבוצה עברו כתי וברוח אדום השתייתו את לבש צלצל בנה לבש.

ב בנה לבש צלצל בנה לבש.

בז הזרעאלה עם מסגרת im משכון מקרא של אדום ואת לבש בהר הgrp

ב ריקודים וכתבייםBeth הקבוצה עברו כתי וברוח אדום השתייתו את לבש צלצל בנה לבש.

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 descargar el archivo con el contenido de la imagen.
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”.

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. Inappropriateness to fit the OJN into the Elisha Cycle stories was discussed above (2.1).

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.

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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

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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 latters’ 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 legitimation of kingships

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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 Hattišili 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 Jehuitic 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 Jehuitic 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-Jehuic author(s), attempted to legitimise Jehu’s kingship by

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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”. 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. 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. Yet, the name should be retained as the lectio difficilior, since no cogent reasons for inserting it could be found. Thus, Jehu could have been a son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi. Inscriptions containing either the phrase לְנַמְשִי “of Nimshi”, or the word including a component נמש, have been discovered at Tel ‘Amal, Samaria (an ostraca), Khirbet Tannin, and Tel Rehov, and they are dated to the tenth-ninth centuries BCE. This suggests that the name Nimshi was a

100 The name Jehu is also attested in Shalmaneser III’s inscriptions as mšu-ú-a DUMU mhu-um-ri-i.
104 Lemaire 1973:559.
105 Lemaire 1977:37, 53.
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.

2.1.2.2.1. 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. 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

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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. The ascent of Gur cannot be located with certainty. 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

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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. Na’aman (2006:163-164) suggested a conflation of sources. None of the suggested solutions can be substantiated, and this puzzling itinerary remains open.

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 (עם). 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

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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 10:15-17αα, 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 (10:15-17αα), nor the slaughters of the worshippers of Baal (10:18-27). 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 destructed 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. 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.

114 2 Kgs 10:15-17αα, 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” (בֵּית יְهوּהוָא) for the “blood in Jezreel” (דִּמְי יָרֵאֵל). 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). The verse condemns what is justified in the OJN, and regards it as a criminal and punishable deed. 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 the Omrides. For different views on the meaning of this expression, see Jeremias 1983:30-31.

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, 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. 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. The composition of Fragment A can securely be dated before the first half of the eighth century BCE.

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”\(^\text{122}\). 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.\(^\text{123}\) This potential connection, however, has caused controversy.\(^\text{124}\)

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\(^{122}\) 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.

The join of Fragments A and B was questioned mainly for physical reasons. 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. 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.
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.
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.

On April 4, 2006, I had an opportunity to examine the Tel Dan Inscription at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. 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.
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.
2.2.4.1. Notes on the restoration

Line 1

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

Line 2

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

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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,

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 ז instead of יוהו, 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 Ramirez “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. formerly 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 [mighty 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 תשר is supposed to be a verb or a part of a verb (Athas 2003:194-195). Its possible root is רדשׂ (meaning “to rule, to reign”) or ררשׂ (“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,

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singular, and imperfect pe’al form of the verb שָׂרָה, 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 שָׂרָה.

Line 3
Kottsieper’s translation (2007:110-111) of the word תלחמותה 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 לפני in the beginning of line 4 is in dispute. Most scholars followed editio princeps and interpreted it as temporal adverb “formerly”. However, לפני 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). Lemaire (loc. cit.) and Na’aman (loc. cit.) regarded לפני here as a verb that specifies the preceding verb ייעל, and translated it “to advance”. Although attractive, this interpretation is not well-established, since לפני as a verb does not occur in Old Aramaic inscriptions (Irvine 2005:343-344). 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 לפני 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 לפני as a verb.
Line 6
The publishers restored the text in the middle of line 6 as מֶלֶךְ כָּהֲנֶה "[seventy kings]". 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 מֶלֶךְ כָּהֲנֶה מַחְטָב מַעְנֶן "mighty/powerful kings". Dion (1999:148) restored beth, and read מֶלֶךְ כָּהֲנֶה "great kings"; yet, the space is too narrow for this restoration. Lemaire and Lipiński’s restoration seems most reasonable for the following two reasons: (1) pe epigraphically fits here the best (2.2.1.); 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. 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”

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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 מֶלֶךְ כָּהֲנֶה מַחְטָב מַעְנֶן "mighty kings”.
(יהו), 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

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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 ± 75 years; Biran and Naveh (1993:87); the ninth century BCE; Noll (1998:7): 850 BCE ± 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±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,\(^\text{145}\) 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.\(^\text{146}\) Yamada (1995:618-621) compared the verb יָּגוֹל 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.\(^\text{147}\) However, this theory cannot be substantiated, because the Akkadian verb dâku is hardly a comparable example to determine the meaning of יָּגוֹל 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 Jehuite 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

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148 Ishida (1977:180-181) suggested that Hazael conquered the Israelite territory in revenge for Jehu’s betrayal to Assyria.
Jehu. He, ascribed 2 Kgs 8:28, which states that “the Aramaeans struck Jehoram (ויכו את ארמים יורם-),” to the “annals of the kings of Judah”. Hence, the hiph‘il form of the verb נ samsung 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

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

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153 The excavations at Tel Jezreel revealed a small domestic area inside the enclosure (Ussishkin and Woodhead 1994; Na’amani 2008:207). “All the people (העם כל)” 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.\(^{155}\) 16,000\(^{156}\) 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) burnt with fire. Booty without number I carried off. To Mount Ba’li-ra’si which is facing the sea, I marched. My royal image, I erected there. At that time, (25") tribute from the land Tyre, land Sidon (and) from Jehu son of Omri I received.

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. 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; (2) Mt Carmel, which is famous as the location of the confrontation between Elijah and the priests of Baal (1 Kgs 18); (3) Rosh-haniqra

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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.
(Rās en-Naqūra), situated at the modern Israeli-Lebanese border, and (4) the region of Reshba’l east of Qamq’a’t and north of Mt Lebanon.

Tyre was an island until Alexander built the dyke in 332 BCE. Ba’li-ra’si is a mountain’s name (KUR-e = šadē) that both faced the sea and the land of Tyre. 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.

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-Hawarneh and the Jezreel Valley 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).
2.3.1.3. Jehu, Son of Omri

“Jehu, son of Humri” (m₁u-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 m₁u-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, m₁a-ú-a or m₁a-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 m₁a-ú-a or m₁a-a-ú is not a hypocoristicon, 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 *Yahîwa’, whose last a’ is a hypocoristic affix.

¹⁷⁴ The Black Obelisk (RIMA 3, A.0.102.88, line 1) also names Jehu as DUMU m₁hu-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. 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. 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 “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, 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.הב.הכהה וישראל.אבד.אבד.עלא.

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

The expression ראה is an ellipsis for the meaning “to see (the fall of)…” A similar expression can be found in the Hebrew Bible. “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. Mesha’s rebellion against Israel can thus be dated to the time of Joram of Israel, son of Ahab. Hence, the Mesha Inscription indirectly corroborates

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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). 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.).

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 4b-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'). A booty inscription on a stone tablet from Ashur (RIMA 3, A.0.102.92, lines 1-8) also refers to Hazael.

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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 9b-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 pulû”. 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. Hazaæl 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) Hazaæl, 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. 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 Hazaæl (i, 26-27a); and (4) the battle with Hazaæl in 841 BCE (i, 27b – ii, 1). Although the exact dates cannot be established, Adad-idri’s death and the rise of Hazaæl must have occurred between 845 and 841 BCE. 2 Kings 8:28-29, 9:14-15, and the Tel Dan Inscription suggest that Hazaæl fought Joram, the predecessor of Jehu, who usurped the former’s

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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).\footnote{Galil 2007:82.}

In this text, Hazael is called mār lā mammāna, “son of nobody”, the term which generally refers to a usurper or an upstart.\footnote{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.} 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”.\footnote{Tadmor 1994 (Summ. 9, Rev., line 3; Summ. 4, line 7’). Na’amān 1995a:387.} 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.\footnote{Ungnad 1906:224-226. See also Na’amān 1995a:385, n. 19 for literature.} 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.\footnote{This issue will be discussed below (3.2.1.).} 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.\footnote{Esrarhaddon’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 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.
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-ú-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

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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.
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.
198 For the custom of cutting trees in Assyrian warfare, see Cole 1997; Wright 2008:443.
199 It must be distinguished between Mt Hauran (KUR-e KUR Ha-ú-ra-ni) in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III and the province Haurīna (URU/KUR Ha-ú-ri-i-na). The latter appearing in the later lists of provinces and has been identified with Ḥāwwārin 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 Lebanon I took. Mt Saniru I crossed. To the cities (155') [of] Hazael of Damascus (K[UR] īmērīšu) I went down. The cities […] became afraid\(^{202}\) 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 Muṣuruna.

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.
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. 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. 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) Almaliha, several kilometres east of Damascus; (2) Safiyet-Melah, seventeen kilometres east of Salhad, and (3) Hazor in the Huleh Valley. Nonetheless, the exact location of Malaha cannot be determined because many toponyms with the root *mlḥ* are known throughout the region (Lemaire 1991a:100-101). It was probably located in the Hauran region, where many *mlḥ*-toponyms are preserved.

Danabu has been identified with Şednaya, located about twenty kilometres

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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-su-ra* to Malaha seems unlikely. Hazor was spelled as *Ha-ši-ra*, *Ha-ši-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-su-ri*. EA (El-Amarna Letters) 148:41; 227:3, 21; 228:4, 15, 23; 364:18. The Hebrew Bible preserves the name Ḫāṣôr.
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. Another possible candidate is Daniba/Dhouneibe in the Bashan, located eighteen kilometres east of Naveh, between Sheikh Meskin and Ezra’a. 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 Ɗunaiba 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. 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. 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. Based on this consideration, two candidates have been suggested: Tyre and Şimirra. The reading of Ba’il’s country as Tyre (Şurrāya) is difficult, as pointed out by Yamada (2000b:80). Another candidate

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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.
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.
Şimirra (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) Şimirra is always written with the ŞI sign and not with the ZI (шей) sign. (3) Şimirra appears in the Assyrian inscriptions with the determinative URU (city) and not with KUR (land). Instead, he tentatively restored the land name as Geshur ([KUR G[ʃu(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. 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. 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), 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 Muşuruna, which is the furthest place he reached in his campaign. The toponym Muşri/Muşur/Muşuri in Assyrian texts, which is usually identified with Egypt, does not fit the context of this

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


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 Miṣr in modern Arabic and Miṣrāyim in the Hebrew Bible. For example, scholars discussed whether KUR Mu-ṣṣ-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 Muṣuruna in the shorter version of this campaign may suggest that the later Assyrian scribe regarded this achievement as marginal.

The itinerary suggests locating Muṣuruna 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 Muṣuruna 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. In addition, the location of the ridge of Nahr el-Kelb fits nicely with the geographical context described in the text. Hence, Muṣuruna 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.

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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. It was read as follows:

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

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

Translation

 [...] which [...]

Most scholars followed Puech’s decipherment albeit with slight modifications. Vairous 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”. 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 מֵן “from”, before עמא, 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 “[...]ן” 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, it is tempting to restore here Ha[math] in light of the Zakkur Inscription (Na’aman 1996:177, n. 3).

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 “מ[פן] “[capture 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

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226 He read the word before עמא as מ[פן] 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).
during the excavations of 1960-63 at Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud, ancient Kalhu. The text reads:

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

3.2.3. The Samos Inscription

An Aramaic inscription on bronze horse trappings was published by Kyrieleis and Röllig in 1988.\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{center}
יד תញ הרדר ימאריא ימ עמק בשן תועדה ימאריא נזר
\end{center}

\textbf{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 blinder 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:

\begin{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{230} Kyrieleis and Röllig 1988.
\end{footnotesize}
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," whereas Eph‘al and Naveh (1989:194) interpreted Hadad as the name of the major Damascene god. The latters’ 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. 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. 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 רדר “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.
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. 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 העמק as the provenance of the object, which was brought to Hazael either as tribute or as booty.

Interpreting נהר as indicating the Orontes River cannot be excluded due to its proximity to ‘Umqi/Patina. 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. 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, and whose son led the army of Syrian states against Zakkur of Hamath, is to be the best candidate.

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 Hazaeals (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.
specifically after 829 BCE, his campaign to Unqi.\textsuperscript{239} More precisely, it would have been after 826 BCE when the Eponym Chronicles no longer mention Assyrian military campaigns.\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{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,\textsuperscript{241} king of Luʿash and Hamath, who composed and dedicated the inscription to the gods Baʿal-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 Baʿal-shamayin.

The siege took place either in the end of the ninth or in the beginning of the eighth century BCE.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{243}

\textsuperscript{239} Ephʿal 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.

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

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

\textsuperscript{242} For the date of this event, see 4.2.3.

\textsuperscript{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. In addition to these eight named kingdoms, specific number of other participants is mentioned in the text. 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). The text has been considered as evidence of an Aramaean control in Transjordan during the eighth century BCE 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, until Bar-Hadad’s submission to Adad-nērāri III in 796 BCE. From 244

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245 Some scholars restored “sixteen” in lines 4-5 for the number of kings (Dupont-Somer 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 נאר, instead of general reading נאר[ן], 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 88
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 (שרעאʾ צי) 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

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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 (Hoûtijzer and van der Kooij 1976:300; McCarter 1991:87-89), which led some scholars to define this language as a dialect of Aramaic (Hoûtijzer 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).


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 Piasetzky 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).\footnote{Hafthorsson (2006:188-189) attributed the architecture of \textit{bīt-hilānī} to typical Aramaean architecture. The same feature is described as the typical Omride architecture by Finkelstein (2000:122). Cf. Takata 2005.} 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.\footnote{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 Kgs 9:15 against the background of the Omride construction activities or those by the Jehuhtes in the early eighth century BCE.} Recently, Franklin (2008),
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). 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 ($^{14}$C dating) is a method of determining the date of carbonaceous materials using the rate of decay of $^{14}$C. 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. 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 Piasecki 2003a:774-775) also support the Low Chronology. Finally, the accumulated results of radiocarbon dating of various sites in Israel clearly favour the

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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 Piasecki and Finkelstein 2005; Finkelstein and Piasecki 2006a; 2006b.
Low Chronology (Boaretto et al. 2005; Sharon et al. 2007; Finkelstein and Piasetzky 2009; 2010). Yet, scholarly consensus 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).

The main focus of this ongoing 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. Dating the IAIIA/IIB transition to 840/830 has been accepted by scholars (Ben-Shlomo, Shai, and Maeir 2004:2; Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004), 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.

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[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 Piasetzky 2003a; 2003b; 2003c; Gilboa and Sharon 2003:60; Gilboa, Sharon, and Zorn 2004:42, n. 14; Piasetzky and Finkelstein 2005; Sharon, Gilboa, and Boaretto 2007). Cf. also Mazar 2003b:160, n. 30.


[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; Yiqne‘am XIV; Ta’anach IIB (Finkelstein 1998); Tell el-Hammah lower (Cahill 2006; Finkelstein and Piasetzky 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. Following Na’amān (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 Piasetzky 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

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’am, op. cit., 183).

3.3.2.2. Tel Kinrot (Tell el-‘Orême)

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
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). Large-scale architecture, such as city wall, city gate, and bīt-hilāni palace, unearthed at the site, were dated to Stratum VI. 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). 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

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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 Bernett 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), or to the Damascene attack against the independent Geshurite kingdom in an attempt to establish sovereignty over the latter. 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. During the years 1990-2004, a Japanese Expedition conducted eight seasons of excavations on the acropolis at ‘En Gev (Tsukimoto, Hasegawa, and Onozuka 2009). 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

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268 See 2.2.5.1.
270 Tel ‘En Gev was first excavated by Mazar and others in 1961 (Mazar et al. 1964).
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates (BCE) by Mazar</th>
<th>Mazar’s Area A</th>
<th>Mazar’s Areas B, C</th>
<th>Japanese Stratum</th>
<th>Acropolis</th>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Dates (BCE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca. 990-950</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Solid</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10th – early 9th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 950-886</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Casemate wall (?)</td>
<td>III*</td>
<td>Casemate wall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(IV)</td>
<td>(IV*)</td>
<td>with fill</td>
<td>Glacis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(III*)</td>
<td>Lower Pillared buildings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 886-790</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Offsets and insets</td>
<td>Vb</td>
<td>Casemate wall filled by debris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(III-II)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Glacis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glacis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower Pillared buildings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 780-723</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>II*-I*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>732 – ca. 630</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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.

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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. 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. These strata were dated by him to the Iron IIA (tenth to mid-ninth centuries BCE), and the pottery

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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.\textsuperscript{275} Mazar (op. cit., 381-382) dated the end of P-10 to P-9 and S-1a and S-1b to \textit{ca.} 840 BCE; no evidence of destruction was detected.

\subsection*{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 \textit{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 (\textit{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.\textsuperscript{276}

\subsection*{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.\textsuperscript{277} The excavators dated this stratum to the second half of the tenth century.\textsuperscript{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.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{footnotes}
\item[275] Mazar 2006:202-203.
\item[276] It may be tempted 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.
\item[277] Levy and Edelstein 1972:328.
\item[278] Levy and Edelstein 1972:342.
\end{footnotes}
\end{footnotesize}
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 eš-Ṣāfi

Tell eš-Ṣāfi, 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; Maeir 2003:244-246; Maeir 2003:244-246;)

279 For publications, see Dever 1993:506.
280 For the criticism, see Dever 2003, esp. 267-270.
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). 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.

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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. 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). 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. 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). It is obvious that Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha were not

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283 Am 1:4, which also mentions Hazael, will be discussed in 6.1.4.3.
285 See, for example, Schniedewind 1996:83-85. Cf. 2.2.6.2.
286 See, for example, Schniedewind 1996:83-85. Cf. 2.2.6.2.
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. 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 Samarian 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.


288 Qere \( נב \) 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 Hazaď’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 Hazaď’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 Hazaď’s hegemony.295 This emphasis helps in dating the anecdote to the time of the Jehuïte 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 Hazaď, did not remove Israel’s oppression under the Damascene hegemony. The answer is provided in v. 13b: YHWH “allowed” Hazaď

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).
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 Hazaď’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 Hazaď, and yet Elisha’s role in the story is restrictive; he does not anoint Hazaď 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. Cf. Gressmann 1921:304; Stith 2008:48-49. McKenzie (1991:95-100) regarded 2 Kgs 3:4-8:15 as post-Dtr additions.
296 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. To sum up, 2 Kgs 8:7-15 testifies to two historical points: Hazael was a usurper; 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. (2) The on-going excavation at Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi (3.3.2.10.), identified with Biblical Gath, detected a destruction layer dating to the late ninth-early eighth century BCE.

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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.

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.
\(^{303}\) Dietrich 1972:34.
\(^{305}\) 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.
308 Cogan and Tadmor (1988:143) suggested emending עשרת "ten" to עילנפה "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. 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.

The Tel Dan Inscription (lines 6-7) also refers to the chariots and horsemen 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

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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’am 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.\footnote{More detailed discussion will be found in Hasegawa 2010a.}

### 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.\footnote{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.}

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 המערב as ים המערבי “western sea”.\footnote{Cf. Šanda 1912:157-158; Montgomery 1951:438.} 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.\footnote{Stade and Schwally (1904:245) accepted this addition as original.} To solve this problem, he suggested that the Philistines were, in reality, under Israelite domination until the time of Joahaz and
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 trope (cf. 2 Kgs 8:10, 15), which is different from those in the concluding statements of the kings of Israel and Judah (שבי). 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

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318 Cogan and Tadmor 1988:149.
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). Yet, the contextual difference between v. 17 and v. 18 seems
unnatural and thus negates the unity (Würtzwein 1984:365-366). In vv. 15-17, Elisha
transfers his supernatural power to the king of Israel, thereby enabling him to defeat the
Aramaeans. 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). 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.

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

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discerned two layers in this text and regarded “at Aphek” as secondary. Würtzwein (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.
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.


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). 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), which might refer to an archival source. On the other hand, the double mention of Gilead in v. 33 may suggest that part of this verse is a late addition. 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. 33ab-b (הגדה על אשר מענהר והמנשי והבשן-והראובני והגלעד ארנן נחל) 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

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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).


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.
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. It indicates that v. 33αβ-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. 33αα (“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. Assuming that this hypothesis is correct, the expression “הליך” might have been employed here to “moderate the severity of the divine stroke” upon Jehu, the “good” king.

Whereas the Arameans 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. Under Jehu, Mesha

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331 Benzinger (1899:155) regarded the second mention of Gilead (מע戾ור אפר י訓 חלון והגלעד הפרש) as original, whereas the first mention (הגלעד כל ארץ) as gloss because it is a general description of Transjordan. Šanda (1912:119-120), while ascribing v. 32b (בכל חزة אליהם הגלעד הפרש) to the Dtr (Rj), regarded כל ארץ 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 to a secondary editor. Cf. also Na‘aman 1995b:109; 2001b:37; Barré 1988:22-23.

332 2 Kgs 15:37 describes the reign of Jotham. V. 34 reads: “he did what was right in the eyes of YHWH”.

333 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). It should be noted that v. 36 is not a schematic description of the length of the Israelite king’s reign (זיהו המזים מלכת יהוה על ישראלו, אשרו כ Playstation שנים עשרים וששים). 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).

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” (זיהו הרבעים) (v. 2).

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

2 Kgs 13:5 refers to a “saviour” (שוע) 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. However, vv.

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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.

4-6 is a secondary interpolation and thus should be excluded from the historical discussion.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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” (כולם ימי), and v. 22 states that Hazael, king of Aram, oppressed Israel “all the days of Joahaz” (כל ימי יהואazines). And yet in v. 5, YHWH sends a deliverer during the reign of Joahaz. This inconsistency indicates the secondary origin of v. 5.\textsuperscript{342} Israel was not delivered from the Aramaean yoke during Joahaz’s days.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{344} Thus, Joahaz’s “might” may refer to the Aramaean oppression which would inevitably entail military operations (2

\textsuperscript{340} See 3.4.4.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{343} Joahaz might have refused to take part in the siege of Hadrach. See 4.3.
\textsuperscript{344} “Might” (גבורות) 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).\textsuperscript{345}

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. 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.

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

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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 (*mIu-ú-a*),

paying his tribute to Shalmaneser in 841 BCE. Keel and Uehlinger (1994) pointed out that the image might represent Jehu’s delegate who brought the tribute to Assyria.

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. Simultaneously, these kingdoms represent the virtual boundaries of Shalmaneser’s Empire. Israel was on the south-western and Gilzanu the northeastern boundary. They were selected due to their geographical locations on the borders of the newly established empire.

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

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348 For the reading of *mIu-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).
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.
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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (BCE)</th>
<th>Event Entry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>805</td>
<td>to Arpad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>804</td>
<td>to Hazazu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>803</td>
<td>to Ba’li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>802</td>
<td>to the “Sea”; plague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>801</td>
<td>to Hubuška</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>to Mannea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>799</td>
<td>to Mannea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>798</td>
<td>to Lušia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’).\textsuperscript{358} Amurru,\textsuperscript{359} Ba’albek,\textsuperscript{360} Bala (Roman Abila),\textsuperscript{361} Ba’li-ṣapuna,\textsuperscript{362} Ba’li-ra’si,\textsuperscript{363} and Ibleam\textsuperscript{364} have been suggested for its identification. Since toponyms

\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{359} Poebel 1943:83.\textsuperscript{360} Honigmann 1928:327.\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{op. cit.}, 110-112).\textsuperscript{362} Cazelles 1969:115, n. 15; Millard and Tadmor 1973:59.\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{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’).\textsuperscript{364} Lipiński 2000:396; 2004:13-15.
with the name Baʿal often appear on the Syrian and Phoenician coast, Baʿli is probably located in Syria (Millard 1973:161-162).

Two possible identifications have been suggested for the identification of “the Sea” (tāmtim):\textsuperscript{365} the Mediterranean\textsuperscript{366} and the Persian Gulf.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{personal communication}).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\subsection{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.

\textsuperscript{365} The full text reads \textit{ana muhhi tāmtim} “to the Sea”.


\textsuperscript{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)


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). 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 Šamšē-Adad my father, became strong and organised their [army] — 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 [tax] ... (and) I received (it).

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372 *ik-su-∗{ru ÉRIN.HÅ.MES}-šú-un. This restoration is only tentative. Compare ummâni-šî DUGUD-tú ik-šur-ma in the Baybylonian Chronicle, (BM 21946, Obv. line 21: Wiseman 1956:70; Grayson 1975:100). Unger (1916:10) and Donner (1970:52) reconstructed si-di[l][r][u]-šú-un, which is less probable. Tadmor’s reconstruction (1973:145) is ‘ik-šur-u’ {u IGI.DU₃}-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”.

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Adad-nērāri III launched his first campaign to the west in his “fifth year”, namely 805 BCE. 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. 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. 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). Following is a translation of the campaign to the Hatti land (section 3).

Translation


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.

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\textsuperscript{sic}\textsuperscript{1} 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\textsuperscript{sic}\textsuperscript{1} 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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{377} See Tadmor 1973:143; Younger 1990:122. Similar examples in the Assyrian royal inscriptions can be found in Tadmor (\textit{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). 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: I R, 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 Der. 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 Euphrates... he heard [of ...]. Atarš[umki ...] he trusted in [...]

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-šas-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 Tadmor1973:60-61; 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-rāmu[^384] [...] 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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[r]ror 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.\textsuperscript{390} It

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Radner 2002.
\item Radner 2002:15; Kühne and Radner 2008:33-34.
\item Millard and Tadmor 1973:58; \textit{RIMA} 2:296.
\item Publication: Millard and Tadmor 1973:57-64, Pl. XXIX; \textit{RIMA} 3, A.0.104.5.
\item Paqarrubunini is identified with Gaziantep, see also Yamada 2000a:92-94.
\item 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 \textit{personal communication}). Cf. Timm 1993:71.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
indicates that the stela was probably erected soon after the campaign against Arpad in 805 BCE.\textsuperscript{391}

\textbf{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-ñērāri III and the reverse during Shalmaneser IV’s reign.\textsuperscript{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-ñērāri III’s genealogy mentioning of Semiramis\textsuperscript{393} (lines 1-7a); (2) Adad-ñērāri 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).\textsuperscript{394} Following is a translation of the campaign against Arpad and its aftermath (sections 2–4).

Translation

7b-10) In the days of Ušpilulume,\textsuperscript{395} king of the city Kummuh, they caused

Adad-ñērāri (III) king of the land Assyria, (and) Sammaramat (Semiramis),

\textsuperscript{391} Radner (Kühne and Radner 2008:33) dated the stela to 805 BCE.

\textsuperscript{392} Both inscriptions were attributed to the respective kings, but the real author was most probably Šamšī-llu, an Assyrian turtānu. For this person, see 5.2.9.

\textsuperscript{393} For Semiramis and her role and importance in Adad-ñērāri III’s reign, see Timm 1993:62-63, n. 18 with earlier literature.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{395} Following Timm (1993:64), \textit{ina ūmek Ūšpilulume} is taken as a construct state. Generally, \textit{ina ūmek (-mu)} 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.\footnote{For the translation of this sentence, see the notes on this stela below.}

11-15a) Ataršumki, heir of Abirāmu, of the city of Arpad, together with eight kings who were with him at the city of Paqī(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 year\footnote{For this chronological interpretation, see Timm 1993:66-67. He interpreted this expression as chronological as well as causal.} this boundary (stone), between Ušpilulume, king of the city Kummuḫ, and (between) Qalparunda, heir of Palalam, king of the city Gurgum, they installed.\footnote{The form of the verb ušlūni 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 -ini (See GAG §83b; Hämeen-Anttila 2000:92-93). Donbraz (1990:9) translated: “In this (same) year this boundary stone was set up between Ušpilulume, king of the people of Kummuḫ, and Qalparu(n)da, 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 Kummuḫäer, (und) zwischen Qalparu(n)da, dem Sohn des Palalam, dem König der Stadt der Gurgumäer, auf.”}

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
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. 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”. 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.

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. 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.
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 Šamši-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 Šamši-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)
Šamši-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 [e]qually 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 Šamši-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. Šamši-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

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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-‘Arîš 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. Šamši-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 Šamši-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.


\(^{412}\) 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; Łipiński 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 Hawārin, 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 deliverance” 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.
\[^{417}\] 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. 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.

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 Inscription

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. Ataroth is generally identified with Khirbet ‘Atārūz, some fifteen kilometres northwest of Dibon. Nebo has generally been identified with Khribet al-Mukkhayat, due primarily to its location and the Iron Age findings from excavation at the site. Jahaz, mentioned also in the Hebrew Bible, 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. The conquest of Horonaim seemingly occurred later, and its location is apparently south of the Arnon.

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420 For the general introduction of the Mesha Inscription, see 2.4.
421 For Medeba, see Dearman 1989:174-175; Piccirillo 1992a.
423 For the earlier literature, see Dearman 1989:180-181; Ferch 1992a; Piccirillo 1992b.
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, Qeriho, Aroer, Beth-Bamoth, Bezer, Beth-Diblathaim, and Kerioth. 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. 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. 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), Beth-Jeshimoth (Eze 25:9). 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.
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 Sea\textsuperscript{438} conceivably indicates that Moab conquered that area after the composition of the Mesha Inscription.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{439} Weippert 1998:548.

\textsuperscript{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 Israeliite 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. Some Greek manuscripts and modern commentators 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. The opening formulae in 2 Kgs 13:10-11 provides

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442 Burney 1903:316.
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 Israeliite Cisjordanian territory in the late ninth and the beginning of the

reflected in the unusual phrase employed for the depiction of Jeroboam’s accession “יָשָׁב כַּעַם וַיֹּרֹעֶם” (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 “שָׁנָה בֶּה” as annual invasion. Gray (1977:600) followed the Lucianic recension, in which the phrases are modified into “כְּבָדָה שָׁנָה”; 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: “כְָבָדָה שָׁנָה”.

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.
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. 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. Joash possibly ruined other Judahite
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” (לפנים, 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 Israeliite 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

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\(^{452}\) 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-nērārī 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

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462 The story commences with the description of the Aramaean siege of Samaria and Bar-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).  

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). Some scholars regarded the reference to “Ahab” in vv. 2, 13, and 14 as secondary. 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{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.\textsuperscript{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

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\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{467} These words and expressions are as follows: (v. 10), (v. 10), (v. 10), (v. 14), (v. 14), (v. 14), (v. 14), (v. 24), (v. 33).

\textsuperscript{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. The story probably rests on a historical event. The hunger and the unanticipated relief from the siege must have left a strong impression on the memory of the Samarians 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. The weak status of Israel in the story reflects the time of the Jehuite Dynasty. 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).

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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.
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.\footnote{Würthwein 1984:315-316.}

**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).\footnote{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).} 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.\footnote{It is generally identified with Tel Dothan, ten kilometres south of Jenin.} 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.\footnote{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.} 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),\footnote{For the incident, see 5.1.8.2, and for the date, see 5.2.1.} when Joash threw
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.

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\(^{479}\) 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.


\(^{482}\) 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. 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).

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). 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-šu-a-te in the entry for 796 BCE. Two possible locations for this place have been suggested. Honigmann (1924:46) suggested the valley of Massyas/Marsyas in the southern Beqa‘ Valley, which is mentioned in the classical sources. Lipiński (1971b:393-397), based on a linguistic comparison between the two place names, identified Manšuate with Maṣyāf, situated some forty kilometres west-south-west of Hama. This identification may be

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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.
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\textsuperscript{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:\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{493} See 4.2.3.2.3.
\textsuperscript{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 122b-137’a.
5.2.5. Nergal-éreš

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-éreš. He is mentioned in various inscriptions as well as twice in the Eponym Lists, 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). These officials are prominent in that “they are named in royal inscriptions or have their own private inscriptions, or both” (Grayson, op. cit., 26). Against this background, it was most likely Nergal-éreš 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. 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-éreš as representative of Adad-nērāri III.

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495 For this court official and his activities, see Fuchs 2008:75-78.
496 The Tell Sheikh-Hammad Stela was attributed also to Nergal-éreš by Millard (1973:162), which was confirmed by its second fragment (Siddal personal communication).
497 Nergal-éreš 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-éreš”; however, this reading is uncertain (Kühne and Radner 2008:31-32). Therefore, I read “Nergal-éreš” 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-īlu (ca. 800-752), Nergal-éreš, and Bel-Harran-beli-usur (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-éreš led the campaign to Ba’li in 803 BCE (he thought it was 804 BCE), that is, the Eponym year of Nergal-éreš himself.
501 The end of Nergal-éreš’s service can be dated between 775 BCE, the last mention of him in the Eponym Lists, and 747 BCE, when Sin-šallimanni appears as the governor of Rašappa in the Eponym Lists. The
5.2.6. Joash’s Tribute to Adad-nêrâri 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 tâmtim* in the Eponym Chronicles for 802 BCE with the Mediterranean is correct, Adad-nêrâri’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, 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-nêrâri 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. 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.

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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.\textsuperscript{505} The old suggestion of identifying Mari’ with the successor of Ben-Hadad cannot be excluded,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{507}

5.2.8. The Tribute from Mari’

All three inscriptions record inventory of the tribute of Mari’ (Table 6).\textsuperscript{508}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Saba’a Stela</th>
<th>Tell al-Rimah Stela</th>
<th>Nimrud Slab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gold (KŪ.GI)</td>
<td>100?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronze (ZABAR)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver (KŪ.BABBAR)</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper (URUDU)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron (AN.BAR)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garments (lubulti birme)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>No quantity specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed of Ivory (GIŠ.NÁ ZÚ)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>No quantity specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couch with Ivory (GIŠ nēmatti ZÚ ihzi tamlē)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>No quantity specified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{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, \textit{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.


\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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

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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.\footnote{513}

5.2.9. The Late Years of Joash and the Rise of Šamšī-iliu in Assyria

According to the Eponym Chronicles, the Assyrian army did not return to Syria until 775 BCE.\footnote{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.\footnote{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.\footnote{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),\footnote{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).\footnote{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;\footnote{513 The Scheil Fragment lines 10-11 seem to mention the “subjugation gifts” from Ataršumki.} RIMA 3, A.0.105.1, Rev. lines 4-10). Further, he probably led the military campaigns

\footnote{514 The Eponym Chronicle records “to the cedar mountain” for 775 BCE; see 6.2.1.}

\footnote{515 For detail analysis of his activities, see Dalley 2000; Fuchs 2008.}

\footnote{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.).}

\footnote{517 See 4.2.3.2.7.}

\footnote{518 Cf. Fuchs 2008:96.}

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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. 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.

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).\textsuperscript{520}

\textsuperscript{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


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” (restore) 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

522 Cogan and Tadmor 1988:162.
524 The formulaic terminology, according to Montgomery, is יָשֵׁב = suffix conjugation verb + object.
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. 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. Na’aman (1993:231-234) tentatively restored the original text “and the war(s) of Judah against Israel” (מלחה встреч). Cf. Šanda 1912:173.


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”. 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” (גֶּבוּל יִשְׂרָאֵל). 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. Jeroboam could have conquered at least part of Damascus immediately after the Assyrian campaign by Šamš-ilu (5.2.9.). Yet, there is no source to verify these conquests.

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 territories.
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. The cities mentioned in 2 Kgs 15:29 are located mostly in the Upper Galilee region. 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. Shallum was murdered by Menahem whose

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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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{539} Accordingly, Gadi must have been one such name with an “-i” ending, which might have been a hypocoristicon of a name such as Gadiyahu\textsuperscript{540} or Gadi’el.\textsuperscript{541} Finally, there is no unequivocal explanation for the

\textsuperscript{536} Cf. 1 Chr 5:18. Würthwein 1984:378; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:171.
\textsuperscript{537} Vogelstein 1945:5-7, 13, 20; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:178.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{539} Avigad and Saas 1997. Nimshi, father or grandfather of Jehu, must be construed as such (2.1.2.2.2.).
\textsuperscript{540} Cf. Avigad and Sass, op. cit., 54, no. 12; 87, nos. 117, 118; 191, no. 467; 430, no. 1134.
\textsuperscript{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 “גלעם בני הגלעם” 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
repeatedely 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.
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 (גאליל) 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
the Book to the late eighth century and have suggested that it originated from Amos himself. 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.

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” (לא-דבר) and “horns” (קרניים), a symbol of strength. Most scholars construed Lo-dabar and Karnaim as two toponyms conquered by Jeroboam II in Transjordan. 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. Lo-dabar is mentioned in various forms in the Hebrew Bible, and can probably be located in the highlands area south of the Yarmuk River.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{555} The two toponyms demarcate the northern and southern borders of Jeroboam’s conquests. The designation “brook of Arabah” appears only here.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{558}
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. However, since Lebo-Hamath is mentioned as an Israeliite border only in the Exilic or post-Exilic texts 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).

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. 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. 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.

The historical background of the Aramaean “transgression” mentioned in v. 3

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.
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” חזאל בית 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 (און בקעת) 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

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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).
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.
572 Bordreuil, op. cit., 58-59. Malamat (1953) identified Beth-Eden (Beth-Eden) 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 Šamsš-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. 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 Šiṭṭîm (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, Tabor, and Šiṭṭîm, 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. 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.

573 For the date of the composition of the Book of Hosea, see 2.1.3.
575 Jgs 4:6, 12, 14.
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 Šiṭṭîm. 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 Šiṭṭim 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), 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). 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. The assumption that Hosea accused Israel by referring to contemporary incidents seems reasonable.

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. Shalman has been interpreted as a hypocoristic form of Shalmaneser, the name of Assyrian kings, and this Shalman could be identified either as Shalmaneser

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579 This Adam has been widely construed as a toponym since Wellhausen’s suggestion “בַּאֲדָם” instead of “בַּאָדָם” (1898:116-117). It is a city located in Transjordan (Jos 3:16). For another view, see Pentiuc 2002:188-190. For the identification of Adam with Tell ed-Damiyeh, see Fretz 1992:64.

580 It is unclear why Alt noted both rebels together. Cf. Day 1986:5.


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.
or as Shalmaneser V. Salamanu, a Moabite king, who appears as one of the tributaries in Tiglath-pileser III’s inscription is another candidate. Beth-Arbel is widely identified with modern Irbid in northern Transjordan. 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. V. 12 mentions Gilead as the place of iniquity (אככビルעלא און אדריתא עי), which might refer to the same wickedness mentioned in 6:8. 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. 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.
586 For literature, see Wolff 1974:188, n. 74.
entire/most of the Gilead region. Šiṭṭim 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 Šiṭṭim 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.
6.2. The Assyrian Sources

Assyrian inscriptions refer neither to Jeroboam II nor to Israel under his rule. Only the Eponym Chronicles, the Pazarek 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of King</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adad-nērāri III</td>
<td>784</td>
<td>to Hubuškia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>783</td>
<td>to Itu’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shalmaneser IV</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>to Itu’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>781</td>
<td>to Urartu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>780</td>
<td>to Urartu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>779</td>
<td>to Urartu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>778</td>
<td>to Urartu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>777</td>
<td>to Itu’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>776</td>
<td>to Urartu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>775</td>
<td>to the cedar mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>774</td>
<td>to Namri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>773</td>
<td>to Damascus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashur-dan III</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>to Hatarikka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>771</td>
<td>to Gananati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>770</td>
<td>to Marad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>769</td>
<td>to Itu’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>768</td>
<td>in the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>767</td>
<td>to Gananati</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>766</td>
<td>to Media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>765</td>
<td>to Hatarikka; plague</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>764</td>
<td>in the land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>763</td>
<td>revolt in the citadel; in Siwan the sun had an eclipse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>762</td>
<td>revolt in the citadel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>761</td>
<td>revolt in Arrapha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>760</td>
<td>revolt in Arrapha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>759</td>
<td>revolt in Guzana; plague</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>758</td>
<td>to Guzana; peace in the land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>757</td>
<td>in the land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>756</td>
<td>in the land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>755</td>
<td>to Hatarikka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>754</td>
<td>to Arpad; return from Ashur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>753</td>
<td>in the land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>752</td>
<td>in the land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751</td>
<td>in the land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>750</td>
<td>in the land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>749</td>
<td>to Namri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>748</td>
<td>to Namri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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-īlu).

6.2.2. The Pazarcık Stela (Reverse A.0.105.1)\textsuperscript{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-īlu as

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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-īlu. Lipiński (1991:174-175) suggested that it was probably Šamšī-īlu 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.

\textsuperscript{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-ili) 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 Postagate (1984). These tablets, designated as the “Nimrud Wine Lists”, were dated to the eighth century BCE. Kinnier Wilson (op. cit., 92-94) suggested that the foreign gentilics mentioned in the lists were captives from military campaigns. The Samarians (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). Their professions are not specified, but they apparently fulfilled official functions in the Assyrian king’s household. The stay of the Samarians 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 Samarians, 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 (יָוָא) 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 Piasetzky 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 (יָהוּ) in the Judahite tradition.
The excavator suggested a religious function of the site. However, most scholars have interpreted the site as being a fortified caravanserai for travellers to Elat on the way called Darb el-Ghaza. 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. Later, Na’aman and Lissovsky (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. If the site was used also by Phoenicians and

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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. 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.

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” (לשם עבד ירבעם). The majority of scholars believe this “Jeroboam” to be Jeroboam II. 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. 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).\textsuperscript{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).

\textbf{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 \textit{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 Piasetzky (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 \textit{ca.} 760 BCE.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{618}

\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{op. cit.}, 33).


\textsuperscript{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 Kinrot

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). Assuming that the city of Stratum II was Israelite, the upper mound served as a fortress under Jeroboam II.

6.6.4. Tel Bethsaida

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.

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.

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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-shean

Mazar (2005:24) dated Strata Upper V-IV and Strata P-8-7 at Tel Beth-shean to ca. 830 to 732 BCE. 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 Rehov

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. 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

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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.
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-iliu 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.  

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 Jerzreel 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 IIB 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.

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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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pottery Period</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenyon</td>
<td>Omri</td>
<td>Ahab</td>
<td>Jehu,</td>
<td>Jeroboam</td>
<td>Assyrian</td>
<td>Assyrian</td>
<td>Assyrian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Joahaz,</td>
<td>II and his successors</td>
<td>hegemony</td>
<td>hegemony</td>
<td>administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Joash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tappy</td>
<td>11th century to ca. 875</td>
<td>ca. 875 to 800</td>
<td>ca. 800-722</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>722-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 IV\textsuperscript{631} 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{633} Stratum VII corresponds to the Iron Age I-II and is divided into five sub-strata (VIIa-e). Stratum VIIId, dated to the

\textsuperscript{631} The strata are pottery strata.
\textsuperscript{632} For the identification of Tirzah, see Manor 1992:573-574.
\textsuperscript{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
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
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-īlu, 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). Based on the Lucianic recension, modern commentators support the reading of “Ibleam” (יבלעם), instead of “before people” (قبلעם) in the Masoretic text.

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

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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 קבלעם here: קבלעם 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 Jehu ite 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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Map 1. The Cities Destroyed by Hazael
Map 2. The Israelite Expansion under Jeroboam II
ארם ישראלי בין שלושת יהדות

חובר לשם כבלת תואר דוקטור לפילוסופיה
על ידי
שואיאי (סקינה) הסנגור

העבורה הוכנה בהנחיית:
פרופ. ז'ד נאמן

הצאתו של אוניברסיטת תל אביב
2010 תשע'יא
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ת稞ית העניינים עברית
תקציר

עבدرك וגדה בחיסון וحماية של מדינת ישראל בימי בני יהו (1747-811 לפ�isque בקירוב)
בכתבי הקודש ויılır המתנה למדינת ישראל והמשתקפת בסיפור ששהית ו
יווה נсадת בשנת 811 לפ�isque,שוב ב ulaך ומשתמש במדינת ישראל, ושתייתו ב-

מעריצים בינו לבין מדינת ישראל והמשתקפת בסיפור ששהית
אי, ברקד, חידא וציוו. מאה ימי שלמהארש (859–824), אשרشعار הפרק "ขอบ יבשים
וผสมים בין מדינת ישראל וישראל. אחרי אשר נטור ונסך את-
לפי המסורת, יהודים עליים ונכון את ישראל, וגן נטור והמשתקפת של

אדר- العربي 41 (ל לסינן 805–796) לפ�isque.

מספרוcksmanın עד Enables בחיסון ובית המקדש שנחנכה לא היה
בקריתית ב骀ית מספרוcksמן אלאıkl ביאפק ולולא את כל המקדש והמידים לרשות. מכ公益性
שטיבון על המקדש וה相關服務, עד דיון בקריתית בכל התוכנות ומשתמש במקדש את החישור
של התוכנה וה milfת. בתוכנה על בחינה מודרנית של כל המקדש והمدير, לכל התוכנות
ה الشريف והציבור הפיקרוסים החשים, והทานהנה בחיבור של החברות השונות.

המקרא, אשר אבורה של תורה ביסוד התפוש וה_charsetינה של בית יהו בתוכנה הגולה.

של gelişי מקריתית ומשמשי לבוחר החישור של התוכנה של התוכנה ששהית יוהו: (א) המקרא (ב)
מקדש החיה (פסוקים י-ו) המ.getStyle האירופה. בקריתית משומס בגרליים
ה_charsetינה על המוסכב פלאים יוהו. הסיפור על מרד יוהו בפרסים ת-י. הוא המקדש העתקי אלואדע
וזה פסקים שרגים בפשיטה - זה ממספים mouseClicked על מוסכים יוהו. סיפורים ניבאים בפשיטה,
ובנויים פרוות ספירי אשתו, רכליים וערינים החישור מתlescope למספים ביצי יוהו. הספרסים
ועמוס משוער בפשיטה רכב החישור לא込め. חתביבים מוסכים שוהל התאהודים על חוח
המשוער של מרש ודואים, דר שי הדרם. חתביב אりました, מואבים וברית התומץ ואלו
זרבר ענקשות של מרש ודואים, דר שי הדרם. חתביב אرضى, מואבים וברית התומץ ואלו

מעידי החישורים באיזור חקוק התוכנה. מוסכים אריכיםewisים מועדים או על מסעות התמונות.
הקריטיזם של חואל במאית השנייה של מאה הח'⁄ע להנאתך והעניקה את הוראה פנימה, והעניקה את המאירות שהחלה על הกำไร של הרפואיות

ביוזמה הסופית-אר"י-ישראלית בתקופה המקוונה.

הליך אפרים את המאירות היה במאית השנייה של המאורית היה במקהלה. רואית, לעמעת
לבכל תפתחת מקרא, שית החיה כל מקרא אספ קדס, ושתות את המאורית היה, ורק
לآخر 맛ium תפתחת כלכלת. כל מקרא נלח תפתחת מוטים של מחוצה דרuida הקירה
בקריתית כי כלברח העמנין שמנזר לא מתייה מקראית. להלך ספח מקראית
לכברח הכלכלת של יוחו על מות הדרudden את המאירי למגון המתרבב שה꼍
שווים ספח. ספרים בביתו את כלברח הכלכלת הש(shader מקראית.)

ביוח, והורו את השתיו הדומן של מקראית. הפסיפ מקראית בתקופה מקראית, שעובר
לא יתקוע לשתיו הדומן להישארית. להלגת ספרים המלודון ונד הארמיות במלדהו
המיומין ומי אִוהב, ולא יהל הרצח.Toolkitית המקראית והפסיפ מקראית:%

האודות, כשלכלשה מקראית ונפסיפ מקראית שוהננס על ידי הדואיטוימיסטים, שפוסט/עד את

הפסיפ, או על ידי עיריכים מקראית.

כותבית מלך אֵסאר כלכלת חטב את אַלטאותינו כetroitות ספיע, וונתמאיתנית בֵּנִים אֵליאדולית
ใครומיות מתודיה. כחותבה ממל-ארים של יоснов ד-וריגי ממצאת את הכנתו מלוויים על
ידי המקלה האֵסאר "בשת מקראית". אֶלט הבוטי "בשת מקראית" או נספה סופיתית המ涎יה

הישון של המקלה והיון בדיק כרונולוגית

כימי ירוחו על החריזי סבוכה אֵיצֵריאליות באטריםו מַחְווים בֵּמלכיה ישראלי. במשוך עניך רוח
אותייכים נָכְבָּזָה חטאתם על שיקולים ספרטוגריפסיים ויחסייפורים. אבל החריזה המשמשים
וקירם בתמורי פְּתָח 14 כי לִבְּקָבָד את аппарат שָכֵנוּ, כָּל שָכֵנוּת שב אַתְרי
תקופת אחרית אשרת כליק בֵּיהלום מקראית וייסווכו אֵיריאליות, תוכ ויולופ ביד, יינת לנשון

באמצעת יודיו של יודי בצלאל מקראית חטיבות ובמצע אֵיריאליות, תוכ ויולופ ביד, יינת לנשון

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לשחר – ולباء חלקי – בטקסט התשלussian המיתולוגי בתקופה החנונית בחיבורים.

הפרק הרביעי עסוק בככרונולוגיה של מלכי בית יהו. לספר מספרים Моֹפְתִיִּים של סופים של מיות.

כרונולוגיה: (א) הסיכום היסטורי של מלכי ישראל ומלכי יהודה (ב) האורח היסורי של כל מלך.

ולעתות מוקדום מעיל אתスーダן ההאכזבת את משיח. חتحرك מלכי אשיש קִרְבָּ.squeeze למספים.

מאורעות שבוכרים בהיסטוריון של מלכתי ישראל וממשחות קונדומים מברカフェי הכרונולוגיה של

הℰורחמה הכרונולוגיה השנקית בקרד ומשמשת בשיסים היסטוריים בקרד החיבור.

בפרק השתיי דוגמה עלילתה של חיות למלכיה. ספירה מדר כיהו בפמדים סוי ( פרטיות ליוא"ו) יואו

המִּרְקוֹ לַעֲרָבָה עַל הסיפור המקורתי. אוּן יֵת הָלוֹנָה שֶׁסֶּפְרוּ והָדוֹר מֶשְׁפִּים שֶׁלַחַשִּׁים רַבִּים בְּסֶפְרֵי

המרד: (א) הסיפור הקדום שלא טַמָּהָרָה ואַתְּ הטִּמְּאֵר� (ב) הסיפור החשוב והıdırנותִמְּלֵסִים (גי) הָרֹאִים.

שֶׁסֶּפְרִים שבוכרים קִרְבָּ.squeeze לַעֲרָבָה. פֶּרֶשׁ המדר ש condiיס שונים ריכי יואו.

אֲבֵל חֻתַש א שְׁמוּי: "בִּמְּדֵי לִיטְרָלִי", בִּיטִי שְׁאולִים סַפְּרִים באֲפֶּרֶסָה לִידָה. חָנָבָה מִשְׁשָׁא

מִיְּדוּדָה על מכַלְחַת בִּיִּמְּלָכָה יִבְּיְמוּ הַמִּדְּמָבָה. לָאָר כֶּלֶּדוֹוָה הַהָלַתִיִּים קַבּוֹרִים מָרְדֶּבַּה יואו נכתְבָה עַל רַקּ柩 הַיָּסִרֵיִים מָמֶשׁ.

אֲוָלוֹס בַּיִּם וַחֲגֶרֶתִים בַּפְּרָטִיס הַמָּמָהְרִים בַּסְּפָרִים מְנַסַּיָּם לָשַׁמְשִׁים הַיָּסִירִים. בַּחֲנוֹת מזָל-דוּ מְנַסַּיְָה הַיָּסִירִים שֶׁלְּיָוָר מִלְּכִי וַאֲוָלוֹס מֶדֶר

לַעֲרָוָה. אוּן יֵתִי הָלוֹנָה בִּיְנוֹ הַיָּסִרֵיִים בַּסְּפָרִים יִוָהוֵי בּוֹהָרָה, אוּן מְדֶרָפָי וַחֲגוֹיָה.

עֻדוֹתִים שֶׁלַחַשִּׁים מַכְּלָבָה יֵתִי אֱלֵי לְכַבְּרַחְוּ הַמָּמָהְרִים. חָלֶל הָרֵג אֱלֵי אָחוֹי,

יוֹרַה נֵלְיָה אֱלֵי הָדוֹדִיטֵנֵהוֹ, הָבִיטִי אֱלֵי בַּיִּת-יָרוֹרֵי בְּטַלְטֵלִים אֱלֵי כִּיסְו הָמָלָכוֹת. מְדֶרָפָי מָכַר, בּוֹשֵׁט 841 לָמָּשׁי, יֵתִי הָלוֹנָה מַכְּלָבָה שֶׁלַחַשִּׁים יֵתִי קוֹלָב מַמְּהָו אֱלֵי אֶאָוָלוֹס לָשַׁמְשִׁים וַחֲגוֹיָה

מָלָכוֹת אָחוֹי.

הפרק השליש עסוק בעלילות של חיות. לאחר חتحركו אשוריים חואלא לא זוהי וויש הע يناו אדו-אדרי

(הדועו) המִלְּךְּ הָדוֹדְוִים בַּמָּלָכוֹת בּוֹשֵׁט. הָלוֹנָה יֵתִי אֱלֵי כִּיסְו הָמָלָכוֹת בּוֹשֵׁט 843 לָמָּשׁי

וזהוֹםָיִם אֱלֵי מְדַסְּרִים אָפוּטִים-אֶאֱוָלוֹס שֶׁלַחַשִּׁים. שֶׁלַחַשִּׁים יֵתִי נְלַחְו בּוֹתִיָה וַחֲגוֹיָה אֱלֵי
לפי ה" oslo", חל עלUGHT החברתי בברית הסופר-אריתר-ישראלי. נובל ממלכת החברת פונה

דרומו, גופן את חציו את נור תפר (לאחר שינת 529 לפסח). הנומניאות של חתול באדה לייד ביורי

ותר בבלוב וארא המיתוכות את חתול קרבות של הא汴ים, ותרפסים נשים בשפת מילוס

המכותים את המצעים שליראלא אקט החמשת הצבאיות של חתול. שיבוץ החוררים שוחפים

ברחיחים ש益ון מבית ממלכת ישראלא אקט בעית הסילוק והרשותי שערך ממלכת

מספר אתיר ארבע כמחי חזר ונגב אתורי הכיבוש מיירת. לעומת זה, אתורי ארבע

כמחי עליריאת ו-א-ז פנשי אתורי החוררים. חתוב זגור ממלכות שאריאלא הוריש את מועד

הנומניא בלשדדי, ובו אל כוכב שיאה או הנסה שהمقاط התשיעית לפסח', ומכאן שוע מות החל

החי שלשל החוק באואר.

בפרק הרביעי, נודיים כי התוא ויוואח. פסוקים שונים במלכ" יי ומקצבות על היקף הכיבוש

האר siti על ארבע טורירות שירות קדוש כל בו ממלכת ישראלא, במשות ביאווור עבר היידר

 استراتيجי-ישראלי. אשם היהת טורידה בבעית פנסיית של ערכו החשיבות של ער עכבר

בחקוף, ודי שהאפרים/MPL ממלכת[chlam אתっぷם. חותא דמייה ממלכת ישראלא חפשה ממלכת

וסלולי-ארם-думал.

הפרק החמישי עסוק במק יוא. הסופרים המחברים על צ赭וצ של היאו על ממלכת דמשק

ולשכת של עריאים היישראליים למלכלה ישראלא משך את החתוקה ממלכת ישראלא בכמי יואש

שעלה ביוד קללותה פועל של דמשק. מסעותיו של ארדר-נרי ג' לסוריה בキーין 802-805 הביא

לשון ביכא חכמת חוקי ביאוה. ברחד מלך דמשק קבע להדר-נרי ויושב מכם כנען לאמרה

בשנת 796 לפסח"ש. הסופר לע מגר שירות במלכ" יכ - יכ משך את התנועה של ממלכת

ישראל והשתולתה של ארם-думал. יאש הצלת♢مرة אלדר-נרי וינטיל את הסופייאווה

המיליטים שנווריה ככלהחרסעל יהודה ולגרי יאקר-ישראלי.

בפרק השישי, דנויים כי ירבעה ביוואש (ורבעה). לפל החיאור במלכ" יכ ירוב "חישב את

nobלי ישראל מלכابة חותם על ממרב" לפל פסף חא "חישב את דמשק חוחת שלודה

VII
בישראל"י, פסוק שוחה סותם חכמיה תקסטואליות ההיסטרורי. פסוקים Showing 서비스 עוזב
והושע, חת נוכרים סומת פמוקת בערב הידור, מתחיים את ההרצות שישראל 살עה גלעד עמי
ירבע. אנטריאים ריב במלכדות ישראל המונותריכים להקפות והנחל השפלי יקרה, מKHR
ומובאים ומוקאמס פמוקים. עדויות על פעילות בנייה ואונטוגרפיה בתפקידה ומציעות את זה על
שהשונגו ה觭ול בימי ירבע, שושון_Show שודיה לkeesר הידידות ובמלכדות אשורי.
שמשי-אל, מדריך האופי, יש ביר תור-בריס שמשורר פורת ושלום על כל הפורח השתייב ו던וזו
הוא עץ מטש נד מטש בשטת 773 לפנימיים ובכווני את ח doença, מלך דמשק. עצבמיה ריבונותו
בואו משחתות בבחובות מאנטוניה המפוריותי, בחר נוכת פקידים ממוחית במלכדות בזורה
ואונטוליה. יתכן שיריבעה, בשפות בחתכותותميل יהושע, כך על האおります בערב הידור POSS
ערימה בחותות ממלכת דמשק. חתות עבורי מוך מנהל עד היסרי מסים דווי
בר-לאומית במאוה י"ל פנקים כל הברה חיים ממלכת ישראלי.
הفرح השביעה עסק בשמפי של יהודי יהו. לפי ספר מלכים בוי, זכיה בן ירבע נרגע על ידי שלום
וט ישב בשטת 747 לפנימיים, דבר שבחים לק על ביא היהוה.
לתיכון, ביכו יהודים של ממלכת ישראל בשטח 90 שנה, מאחרות השנטייה של המאה ה-ל-ה
אנצוק המאה ה-7-ה לפנימי"ש. הידדה העלית של ממלכת ישראל בתפקידה והידآخرות
בואו סוריה אוהר-ישראל, שבחו ממלכת אשורי ממלכת ארמ-דמשק שחקן תפקידי מרכזי. נחת
לד ביסטרどころה בתפקידה וזכרו על ידי נוהג הפניקי וביין של הפניקי שבטון. רכ
בדור זה ואנו יהודים חנונים היסטריה דמרי פאסר היסטריה ביין בייף הראשה.
אות מסחי השושלות השושלות בוית במלכדות ישראל ימים חיבר וראשב.