

Shuichi Hasegawa
Aram and Israel during the Jehuited Dynasty

Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

Herausgegeben von
John Barton · F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp
Reinhard G. Kratz · Markus Witte

Band 434

De Gruyter

Shuichi Hasegawa

Aram and Israel during
the Jehuite Dynasty

De Gruyter

ISBN 978-3-11-028335-8
e-ISBN 978-3-11-028348-8
ISSN 0934-2575

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2012 Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin/Boston

Printing: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen

∞ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

To the memory of my father
Tsutomu Sekine (1935–2001)

Acknowledgements

This work is a revised version of my doctoral thesis “Aram and Israel during the Jehuite Dynasty” written under the supervision of Prof. Nadav Na’aman and submitted to the Senate of Tel Aviv University in December, 2010. The work remains substantially the same as the thesis, with only minor changes being made, mainly the addition of new bibliographical data.

To my supervisor, Prof. Nadav Na’aman, without whom I could never have accomplished what I had started, I wish to express my sincerest gratitude for his patient efforts to help me to complete my dissertation. To me, he has been a wonderful as well as a strict teacher, and to all he is certainly one of the best historians of the history of ancient Israel. I also would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers of the thesis for their insightful comments on an earlier version of it. They helped both to improve the current work and to expand my horizons. For the same reason, my thanks go to the anonymous reviewers from the BZAW series who provided me with valuable advice that improved the work.

This work is an ambitious attempt to integrate studies in three disciplines, biblical studies, Assyriology, and archaeology. The starting point of the work was my MA dissertation “Aram and Israel” written under the supervision of Prof. Yutaka Ikeda (Tsukuba). Since then, various people have helped me develop the skills necessary for this work. In the first years of my studies in Tel Aviv, Prof. Shlomo Izre’el and Prof. Ran Zadok (both Tel Aviv), taught me how to tackle the complexity of the sources. The late Prof. Moshe Kochavi and the late Mr. Gil Covo (both Tel Aviv) taught me the significance of archaeology for reconstructing the history of Israel. During my stay in Heidelberg, I benefited immensely from intellectual conversations and discussions with Prof. Oded Lipschits (Tel Aviv), Prof. Manfred Oeming (Heidelberg), and Prof. Jacob. L. Wright (Emory). The staffs of the Tel Rekhes expeditions and, among them Dr. Yitzhak Paz (Israel Antiquities Authority), have always offered me warm encouragement to complete my work. Prof. Akio Tsukimoto (Rikkyo), to whom I owe invaluable support during the years of my study, especially deserves to be mentioned here. My thanks go to all these people.

I thank the editors of BZAW, who kindly consented to include this work in the series, and Dr. Albrecht Döhnert, Dr. Sabine Krämer, and Ms. Sabina Dabrowski of de Gruyter, who lent me support in publishing this work.

I would like to thank Emiko Sekine, my mother, and Tamiko and Seiichi Hasegawa, my parents-in-law, who have expressed their encouragement and toler-

ance in every possible way. Last, I must especially express my gratitude to my family, Satoko, my wife, Rene and Noa, my beloved daughters, for their boundless patience. I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my late father, Tsutomu Sekine.

May 2012, Morioka

Shuichi Hasegawa

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	vii
List of Tables	xiii
List of Maps	xiii
Abbreviations	xiv
Introduction	1
 1. Chronology of the Jehuite Kings	 8
 2. The Rise of Jehu (841 BCE)	 12
2.1. The Jehu Narrative (2 Kgs 9-10)	12
2.1.1. The OJN and Dtr's Redaction	13
2.1.2. Historical Considerations	28
2.1.3. Hosea 1:4	34
2.1.4. Historical Picture of Jehu's Rise as Reflected in the OJN	35
2.2. The Inscription from Tel Dan	35
2.2.1. Archaeological Context of Fragment A	35
2.2.2. Archaeological Context of Fragment B	36
2.2.3. Physical Join of Fragments A and B	36
2.2.4. Restoration of Text	38
2.2.5. Translation of the Text	40
2.2.6. Historical Analysis	42
2.3. Jehu in the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III	46
2.3.1. Texts	47
2.3.2. Shalmaneser III's Campaign in 841 BCE and Jehu's Rise	50
2.4. The Mesha Inscription and Jehu's Rise	50
2.5. Synthesis	51
 3. The Rise of Hazael and the Aramaean Expansion	 52
3.1. The Assyrian Sources	52
3.1.1. Hazael as Usurper	53
3.1.2. Shalmaneser III's Campaign during His Eighteenth Regnal Year (841 BCE)	54
3.1.3. Shalmaneser III's Campaign in His Twenty-First and Twenty- Second Regnal Years (838-837 BCE)	55
3.1.4. Assyria and Syria-Palestine after the Campaign of 838-837 BCE	58

3.2. The Aramaic Sources	58
3.2.1. The Arslan-Tash Inscription	59
3.2.2. The Nimrud Inscription	60
3.2.3. The Samos Inscription	60
3.2.4. The Zakkur Inscription	62
3.2.5. The Deir 'Alla Inscription	63
3.2.6. The Damascene Hegemony under Hazael and Bar-Hadad ...	65
3.3. Archaeological Data	65
3.3.1. The Low Chronology and Its Validity	65
3.3.2. Archaeological Evidence for Hazael's Campaigns	68
3.3.3. Hazael's Conquests and Building Activities in Southern Levant	74
3.4. The Biblical Source	75
3.4.1. The Anointment of Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha by Elijah (1 Kgs 19:15-18)	75
3.4.2. Throne Change in Damascus (2 Kgs 8:7-15)	76
3.4.3. Hazael's Attack on Gath (2 Kgs 12:18-19)	78
3.4.4. Decline of Israel under Joahaz (2 Kgs 13:3-7)	78
3.4.5. Historical Information in the Description of the Relation- ship between Israel and Aram under Joahaz and Joash (2 Kgs 13:22-25)	80
3.4.6. Hazael and Israel in the Book of Kings	82
3.5. Synthesis	83
4. The Reigns of Jehu and Joahaz (841-798 BCE)	84
4.1. The Biblical Source	84
4.1.1. Dtr's Evaluation of Jehu's Religious Policy (2 Kgs 10:29)	84
4.1.2. The Extent of Hazael's Invasion (2 Kgs 10:32-33)	85
4.1.3. Dtr's Final Assessment of Jehu's Reign (2 Kgs 10:34-36)	86
4.1.4. Dtr's Assessment of Joahaz's Reign (2 Kgs 13:1-2, 8-9)	87
4.1.5. The "Saviour" of Israel (2 Kgs 13:5)	87
4.1.6. Joahaz's "might" (2 Kgs 13:8)	87
4.2. The Assyrian Sources	88
4.2.1. The Campaign of Shalmaneser III in 838-37 BCE	88
4.2.2. An Epigraph on the Black Obelisk (<i>RIMA</i> 3, A.O.102.88)	88
4.2.3. Adad-nērārī III and Syria-Palestine (805-802 BCE)	90
4.3. The Zakkur Inscription	101
4.4. The Mesha Inscription	103
4.5. Synthesis	105
5. The Reign of Joash (799/798-784 BCE)	107
5.1. The Biblical Source	107

5.1.1. Synchronism between Joash and Jehoash (2 Kgs 13:10-13) ..	107
5.1.2. Elisha's Prophecy of Joash's Victory over Aram (2 Kgs 13:14-19)	108
5.1.3. The Moabite Invasion of Cisjordan (2 Kgs 13:20-21)	108
5.1.4. Joash's Recapture of the Israelite Cities (2 Kgs 13:25)	108
5.1.5. Joash's Battle against Amaziah of Judah (2 Kgs 14:8-14)	109
5.1.6. Dtr's Concluding Statement of Joash's Reign (2 Kgs 14:15-16)	110
5.1.7. Dtr's Calculation of Amaziah's Reign (2 Kgs 14:17)	111
5.1.8. Contribution of Prophetic Stories to the History of Joash's Reign	111
5.2. The Assyrian Sources	115
5.2.1. The Eponym Chronicles and the Campaign of Adad-nērārī III against Damascus	115
5.2.2. The Saba'a Stela (A.0.104.6)	117
5.2.3. The Tell al-Rimah Stela (A.0.104.7)	117
5.2.4. The Nimrud Slab (A.0.104.8)	117
5.2.5. Nergal-ēreš	118
5.2.6. Joash's Tribute to Adad-nērārī III	119
5.2.7. Identification of Mari' King of Damascus	119
5.2.8. The Tribute from Mari'	120
5.2.9. The Late Years of Joash and the Rise of Šamšī-ilu in Assyria	121
5.3. Synthesis	122
6. The Reign of Jeroboam II (784-748 BCE)	123
6.1. The Biblical Source	123
6.1.1. Biblical Description of Jeroboam's Reign (2 Kgs 14:23-29) ..	123
6.1.2. The Israelite Territory under Jeroboam as Reflected in the Description of Pekah's Reign (2 Kgs 15:29)	126
6.1.3. Israelite Rule in Gilead under Jeroboam II (2 Kgs 15:10, 13-14, 17, 25, and 29)	126
6.1.4. Contribution of the Book of Amos to the History of Jeroboam's Reign	128
6.1.5. Contribution of the Book of Hosea to the History of Jeroboam's Reign	131
6.1.6. The Extent of Jeroboam II's Dominion according to the Bible	134
6.2. The Assyrian Sources	134
6.2.1. The Eponym Chronicles	135
6.2.2. The Pazarcık Stela (Reverse A.0.105.1)	136
6.2.3. The Nimrud Wine Lists	137

6.3. The Kuntillet 'Ajrud Inscriptions	138
6.4. The Samaria Ostraca	139
6.5. The Seal of Shema'	140
6.6. Archaeological Evidence	140
6.6.1. Tel Dan	140
6.6.2. Tel Hazor	141
6.6.3. Tel Kinrot	142
6.6.4. Tel Bethsaida	142
6.6.5. Tel 'En Gev	142
6.6.6. Tel Beth-Shean	143
6.6.7. Tel Rehov	143
6.6.8. Tel Megiddo	143
6.6.9. Tel Yoqne'am	144
6.6.10. Tel Ta'anach	145
6.6.11. Samaria	145
6.6.12. Tel el-Far'ah (North)	146
6.6.13. Tel Gezer	147
6.6.14. Conclusion	147
6.7. Synthesis	147
7. The End of the Jehuite Dynasty (747 BCE)	148
7.1. The Biblical Source	148
7.1.1. The Murder of Zechariah (2 Kgs 15:10)	148
7.1.2. The End of the Jehuite Dynasty as Fulfilment of YHWH's Words (2 Kgs 15:12)	148
7.2. Synthesis	149
Conclusion	150
Bibliography	152
Maps	190
Indices	192

List of Tables

Table 1. Biblical Chronological Data for the Israelite Kings from Jehu to Pekah	10
Table 2. Chronology of the Jehuite Kings	12
Table 3. The Eponym Chronicles between 805 and 796 BCE	91
Table 4. Tribute from Mari' king of Damascus (measures given in talents = <i>biltu</i>)	121
Table 5. The Eponym Chronicles between 784 and 748 BCE	136
Table 6. Schematic Table of the Suggested Stratigraphy by Kenyon and Tappy	146

List of Maps

Map 1. The Cities Destroyed by Hazael	191
Map 2. The Israelite Expansion under Jeroboam II	192

Abbreviations

<i>ABD</i>	Freedman, D.N. Ed. 1992. <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . 6 vols. New York
<i>ADAJ</i>	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
<i>ADP</i>	<i>Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästinavereins</i>
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
<i>AfOB</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung: Beiheft</i>
<i>Abw</i>	von Soden, W. 1965–1981. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . 3 Vols. Wiesbaden
<i>AION</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJBI</i>	<i>Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
<i>ANESS</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series</i>
<i>AnOr</i>	<i>Analecta orientalia</i>
<i>AnSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>AOAT</i>	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschung</i>
<i>ARM</i>	<i>Archives royales de Mari</i>
<i>ARRIM</i>	<i>Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project</i>
<i>ASOR</i>	<i>American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>ATD</i>	<i>Das Alte Testament Deutsch</i>
<i>ATHANT</i>	<i>Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BARev</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BCSMS</i>	<i>Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies, Bulletin</i>
<i>BHT</i>	<i>Beiträge zur historischen Theologie</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca orientalis</i>

BJS	<i>Brown Judaic Studies</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i> (NF)
BWANT	<i>Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament</i>
BZAW	<i>Beihfte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
BZNW	<i>Beihfte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
CAD	1956—. <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago
CB	<i>Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series</i>
CHANE	<i>Culture and History of the Ancient Near East</i>
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
CTN	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud</i>
DMOA	<i>Documenta et monumenta Orientis antiqui</i>
EI	<i>Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies</i>
FRLANT	<i>Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments</i>
GAG	von Soden, W. 1995. <i>Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik</i> . 3rd edition. Rome
GTA	<i>Göttinger theologischer Arbeiten</i>
HA-ESI	<i>Hadashot Arkheologiyot: Excavations and Surveys in Israel</i>
HAL	Koehler, L. and Baumgartner, W. 1967–1996. <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i> . 5 vols. 3rd Ed. Leiden.
HO	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
HSM	<i>Harvard Semitic Monographs</i>
HSS	<i>Harvard Semitic Studies</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>

JSOTS	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAI 1-3	Donner, H. and Röllig, W. 1962–1964. <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> . Wiesbaden.
KAT	<i>Kommentar zum Alten Testament</i>
KLG I-III	Alt, A. 1953. <i>Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel</i> . Band I-III. München
LAPO	<i>Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient</i>
LHBOTS	<i>Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies</i>
MSLATU	<i>Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University</i>
NABU	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques breves et utilitaires</i>
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEAEHL	Stern, E. Ed. 1993–2008. <i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> , 5 vols. Jerusalem.
OBO	<i>Orbis biblicus et orientalis</i>
OIC	<i>Oriental Institute Communications</i>
OIP	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>
OLA	<i>Orientalia lovaniensia analecta</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i> (NS)
OTE	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
OtSt	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
I R	Rawlinson, H.C. and Norris, E. 1861. <i>The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, I: A Selection from the Historical Inscriptions of Chaldaea, Assyrian and Babylonia</i> . London.
III R	Rawlinson, H.C. and Smith, G. 1870. <i>The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, III: A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria</i> . London.
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RHPR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
RIMA	<i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods</i> . 3 vols. Toronto.
RLA	1928–. <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> . Berlin/Leipzig/New York

<i>SAA</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria</i>
<i>SAAB</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>
<i>SAAS</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria Studies</i>
<i>SBLDS</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series</i>
<i>ScrHier</i>	<i>Scripta Hierosolymitana</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studi epigrafici e linguistici</i>
<i>SHANE</i>	<i>Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East</i>
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
<i>TA</i>	<i>Tel Aviv: Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TThSt</i>	<i>Trierer theologische Studien</i>
<i>TUAAU</i>	Kaiser, O. 1984—. Ed. <i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i> . Gütersloh.
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>VTs</i>	<i>Supplements to Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>WBC</i>	<i>World Biblical Commentary</i>
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZKTh</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>

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, Joahaz, 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 used by one of his officials (Shema').

Assyria had been a dominant power in Syria-Palestine since the time of Shalmaneser III (858–824 BCE). 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-nērārī 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. In investigating 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 Jehuities: 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-nērārī 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) also may 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 Jehuic Dynasty is available. In this study, I will discuss archaeological information acquired from relevant strata in the excavated sites. The investigated sites include the major cities of the Northern Kingdom, such as Samaria (Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924), Tell el-Far'ah (North) (Chambon 1984), Tel Jezreel (Ussishkin and Woodhead 1992; 1994; 1997), Tel Megiddo (Lamon and Shipton 1939; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2000; 2006a), Tel Yokne'am (Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978; 1979; 1983), Tel Beth-Shean (James 1966; Mazar 1993; 2006), Tel Rehov (Mazar 1999), Tel Hazor (Yadin et al. 1958; 1960; 1961; Ben-Tor 1989; Ben-Tor and Bonfil 1997) and Tel Dan (Biran 1994; Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996; Biran and Ben-Dov 2002); also some small sites and border sites such as Tell eṣ-Ṣafī (Boas and Maeir 1998; Maeir 2001), Tel 'En Gev (Tsukimoto, Hasegawa, and Onozuka 2009), Tel Kinrot (Fritz 1990; 1993; Fritz and Münger 2002; Pakkala, Münger, and Zangenberg 2004), and Bethsaida (et-Tell) (Arav 1995; 1999; 2004; 2009).

Aims of the Research

In the late nineteenth century, a new critical approach to the Bible, based on documentary and literary criticism, was adopted in the academic world of biblical research. Wellhausen (1885) hypothesised that what we read in different parts of the Hebrew Bible might have been a projection of the reality that prevailed at the time the text was written. In other words, the biblical narrative about ancient Israel is not accurate contemporaneous history, but rather 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.

A critical approach has also developed in the study of biblical sources for the Jehuite Dynasty. This approach contributes to the clarification of 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 Jehuite Dynasties, whose historical credibility has been 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 for the integration of 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 have 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 have 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 have ascribed the majority to the post-Dtr stage (Stipp 1987; McKenzie 1991; Otto 2001). In addition, since these narratives are supposed to have been handed down orally to the author and to have been 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 Jehuite Dynasty (see Schmitt 1972); he also dated 1 Kgs 20 to the time of the Jehuities (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 to the Northern Kingdom that reflects perspectives different from those of the Book of Kings. Scholars have agreed that some parts of the Book of Hosea originated in the Northern Kingdom in the late eighth century and were later edited by a Judahite scribe (Wolff 1956). The analysis of the book is limited only to several passages (Hos 1:4; 5:1–2; 6:7–8; 10:14; 12:12), for the contents give little information about political events. Some passages of the Book of Amos (Am 1:3–5; 6:13–14) provide us with clues for understanding the territorial extent of the Northern Kingdom in the mid-eighth century BCE. Due to the literary genre of the books of Hosea and Amos, their historical reliability will also be carefully re-evaluated (Koch 1976; Schmidt 1965; Wolff 1964).

Throughout the years, many works have been published that discuss the history of the Jehuities and their relations with their neighbours. Nevertheless, some of these works are not critical enough. Many biblical texts are still open to different interpretations. Moreover, new texts have recently come to light, new archaeological excavations and surveys have been conducted, and recent discussions of the archaeological data have 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 among scholars, and doubts have been expressed about the legitimacy of biblical history from the late tenth to the 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. While the present form of the biblical texts, which emerged only in a later period, presents only the biblical history of Israel, distinct from the historical Israel (Kratz 2000; Witte 2005), historical information, however fragmentary, is certainly embedded in the texts and can be gleaned from them. 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 (Parker 2006); (2) the narratives of Elijah-Elisha; (3) the texts written by the author (Dtr), in 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-nērārī III described his campaigns in 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. Layers of sites displaying destruction 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 dating of archaeological strata is important for this research. There is a controversy among archaeologists about the dating of the 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 in the tenth and ninth centuries BCE (Ben-Tor 2000; Bunimovitz and Faust 2001).