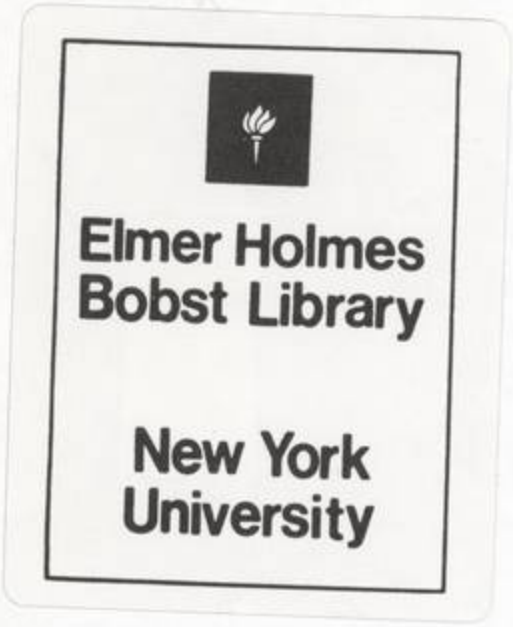
BOB BECKING

THE FALL OF SAMARIA

An Historical and Archaeological Study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THE FALL OF SAMARIA

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

EDITED BY

M.H.E. WEIPPERT

VOLUME II

THE FALL OF SAMARIA

An Historical and Archaeological Study

BY

BOB BECKING

E.J. BRILL
LEIDEN • NEW YORK • KÖLN
1992

DS
121
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.B43
1992
c.1

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Becking, Bob.
The fall of Samaria: an historical and archaeological study / by Bob Becking.
p. cm.—(Studies in the history of the ancient Near East, ISSN 0169-9024; v. 2)
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN 9004096337
1. Jews—History—953-586 B.C. 2. Samaria Region—History. 3. Bible. O.T. Kings, 2nd XVII-XVIII—History of Biblical events. 4. Assyria—History. I. Title. II. Series.
DS121.B43 1992
933—dc20 92-15670
CIP

ISSN 0169-9024
ISBN 90 04 09633 7

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

For Maja

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book contains the largely revised and updated version of Chapter 2 of my dissertation on the fall of Samaria.[1] In it the hypothesis of Tadmor, i.e. that there was a double Assyrian conquest of Samaria is analyzed, confirmed and on some points modified. The research and the writing of this book have been a great pleasure to me and I would like to thank all who have helped me in finishing. Here I will mention only one name, that of my promotor Prof. C. van Leeuwen of the University of Utrecht, who guided the process of my research not only with interest, but most of all with tact and patience.

I consider it as a great privilege that this book is published in the *Studies on the History of the Ancient Near East*. I wish to express my thanks both to Prof. M.H.E. Weippert, the editor of the series, and to Dr F.Th. Dijkema, the Oriental Editor of E.J. Brill. Dr P. Staples improved the English of my translation, so that it became a readable book. Marc Rietveld of the Faculty of Theology at Utrecht, was very helpful in turning the texts on my floppy-discs into a camera ready print.

Bob Becking

Woerden, February 1992

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1 B. Becking, *De ondergang van Samaria*. Historische, exegetische en theologische opmerkingen bij II Koningen 17 (ThD Utrecht 1985). pp. 4-138. The other chapters contain a redaction-critical and theological analysis of 2 Kgs 17:7-23.

INTRODUCTION

The framework of this book is determined by the historical events it discusses. It has been my aim to understand better the process leading to the fall of Samaria. This aim confronted me with a historiographical problem. The sources relating to the events in the 20's of the eighth century BCE are *prima facie* contradictory. I set up my research in order to test the hypothesis of Tadmor[1]. In the second and the third chapter I analyze the relevant sources and their interpretations.

In my conviction historical "events" — if they ever have existed as such — can only be interpreted if viewed as linked to one another. That is why I preface the analysis of the events in 727-720 BCE with the first chapter on the events preceding the fall of Samaria. For the same reasons the discussion of the evidence is followed by an account of the consequences of the fall of Samaria. In chapter 4, I discuss the Assyrian exile, while in chapter 5 remarks on the repopulation of the area are made. By way of an appendix I will review in chapter 6 the written Assyrian sources on the provinces established on the territory of the former Northern Kingdom.

The scarcity of sources make a reconstruction of the *histoire de mentalité* concerning the fall of Samaria impossible. However, I have the conviction that my research supplies a historical framework in which a history of human reactions on the experiences of downfall could be elaborated. Such an outline, however, needs a thorough examination of the intentions of the pre-exilic prophets, the authors of the so-called Deuteronomistic History and of some of the Psalms.[2]

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1 H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 34-39; cf. already H. Winckler, Beiträge zur Quellenscheidung der königsbücher, in: H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 15-20. Tadmor does not refer to winckler's article.

2 In B. Becking, *Bijdragen* 49 (1988), pp. 150-174, an analysis of the redactional layers in 2 Kgs 17:7-23 is given.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographical abbreviations

AAS	African and Asian Studies
AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
ABi	Anchor Bible
AB	Assyriologische Bibliothek
ABL	R.F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
ADD	C.H.W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palestina Vereins
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AHw	W. von Soden, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*
AION	Annali dell'Instituto Orientalle di Napoli
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and literatures
AnBi	Analecta Biblica
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts* relating to the Old Testament, ed. J.B. Pritchard
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
AOAT(S)	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Sonderreihe)
AOB	Acta Orientalia Beligica
AOF	Alt-Orientalische Forschungen
ARAB	D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari
ARU	J. Köhler - A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechts Urkunden*
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute
ATD	das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATD ER	Ergänzungsreihe zum ATD
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BAAF	Bulletin d'Athenaeum Archéologique de France
BAL	R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*
BaM	Bagdader Mitteilungen
BASOR	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BE	the Babylonian Expedition of the university of Pennsylvania
Bibl	Biblica
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society
BIOSCS	Bulletin of the International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies
BiZs	Biblisches Zeitschrift
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BK	Biblische Kommentar
BN	Biblische Notizen
BRL²	K. Galling, *Biblisches Real-Lexicon*, 2. Auflage
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beiheft zum ZAW
CAD	the Assyrian Dictionary of the oriental institute of the university of Chicago

CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
CT	Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
EA	letters from EL Amarna, ed. J. Knudtzon, *El Amarna Tafeln.*
EAEHL	Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land
EH	Europäische Hochschulschriften
EHAT	Exegetisches Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
EI	Erets Israel
ERC	Edition Recherche sur la Civilisation
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GGA	Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeige
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalsitik
HEO	Hautes Études Orientales
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JANESCU	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het voorazia-tisch-egyptisch genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSOTS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplements
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
KAH	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Historischen Inhalts
KAI	H. Donner - W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschrifte.*
KAT^3	E. Schrader, *Die Keilschrifttexte und das Alte Testament*, Giessen ^{3}1902
KB	Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek
LAPO	Litératures Anciennes du Proche Orient
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschsft
MIO	Mitteilungen des Institutes für Orientforschung
MKNAW	Medelingen Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie der Wetenschappen
NCBC	New Christian Bible Commentary
NESE	Neues Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik
NWL	J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud wine-lists* (CTN II)
OAC	Orientis Antiqui Collectio
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OLZ	Orientalische Literatur Zeitung
OIP	Oriental Institute

	Publications
Or NS	Orientalia Nova Series
OTS	Oud Testamentische Studieën
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Society
PEF QS	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PHS	Prophets and Historians Series
PIASH	Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities
PIOL	Publications de l'Institut Oriental de Louvain
PJB	Palestina Jahr-Buch
POT	de Prediking van het Oude Testament
PRU	Cl. Schaeffer, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*
QSJ	Que Sais-Je?
R	H. Rawlinson, *The cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia*
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
RAI	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
RB	Revue Biblique
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
RHA	Revue Hittite et Asiatique
RHPhR	Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
SB	Sources Bibliques
SBL DS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBL MS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien
ScrH	Scripta Hierosylamata
SEÅ	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok
SEL	Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici
Sem	Semitica
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SJOT	Scandinavian Journal for the Old Testament
SRB	Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica
SS	Samaria Sebaste, reports of the joint expedition 1931-1933 and ... 1935
SS NS	Studi Semitici Nova Series
SP SM	Studia Pohl: Series Major
TCL	Textes Cuneiformes du Louvre
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
ThR	Theologische Rundschau
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
UAMP SH	Uniwersytet Im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu Seria Historia
UCOP	University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
UF	Ugarit Forschungen
VAB	Vorder Asiatische Bibliothek
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WdO	die Welt des Orients
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins

ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

Other abbreviations and symbols

A	Texts from Mari with museum number
Ammon	Ammonite
Aram	Aramaic
BCE	Before the Common Era
Can	Canaanite
DtrH	Deuteronomistic History
DtrN	Nomistic redaction in the DtrH
ed(s).	editor(s)
Edom	Edomite
FS	Festschrift
Hebr	Hebrew
Her.	Herausgeber
K	documents excavated at *Kuyunjik*
LXX	Septuagint
LXX^{B}	Septuagint Codex Vaticanus
LXX^{Luc}	Lucianic recension of the Septuagint
LE	Lower edge
Moab	Moabite
MT	Masoretic text
n.	note
ND	documents excavated at *Nimrud*
p(p).	page(s)
Phoen	Phoenician
pl.	plate
Pun	Punic
red	redactor, redaction
Rev	Reverse
Senn	Sennacherib
Sg II	Sargon II
TH	documents from *Tell Halaf*, Guzana
TP III	Tiglat Pileser III
UE	Under Edge
Ugar	Ugaritic
VA(T)	documents in the collection of Vorder Asiatische Texte, Berlin
WSem	West Semitic

CHAPTER ONE

PRELUDE

FROM INDEPENDENT PROSPERITY TO VASSAL-STATE

1.1 Northern Israel: A prosperous state during the reign of Jeroboam II

During the reign of Jeroboam II Northern Israel was a prosperous, independent kingdom.[1] This is intelligible within the context of the international political relations at that time. The Assyrian Empire had not yet reached the dominant position which it obtained half a century later. During the reign of Jeroboam II, Assyria was involved in military struggles with Urartu in the north. The prosperity of the Northern Kingdom becomes evident from archeological findings, for instance at Samaria and Thirza (Tell el far'a north). From the first part of the eighth century BCE more substantial buildings and mansions are known. The ivory-workmanship went through a flourishing time. The prophecies of Amos, who, however, accused the shadowsides of this economic recovery, indicate a period of prosperity. Things changed after the death of Jeroboam II in 748 BCE. Thirty years later, the Northern Kingdom was no longer an independent state. On Israelite territory the Assyrian provinces Samerina, Du'ru, Magidu and Gal'a(d)a were established. Greater parts of the people are lead away into exile and colonists from many provinces in the Assyrian Empire were settled in the area.

The downfall of Samaria was the result of a historical process in which two phases can be indicated:

1. During the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 BCE), the prosperous kingdom of Israel became a much smaller vassal state surrounded by three Assyrian provinces on its former territory.
2. During the reigns of Shalmaneser V (727-722 BCE) and Sargon II (722-705 BCE) the vassal state was transformed into a province within the Assyrian Empire.

Both phases can be subdivided. In the background, the Assyrian policy of

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1 See i.a. M. Haran, *VT* 17 (1967), pp. 266-297.

annexation is visible:[2] an independent state on the border of the Assyrian Empire became voluntarily a tributary vassal-state: i.e. in order to avoid Assyrian military attacks. The payments of tribute provoked anti-Assyrian feelings among the people in vassal-states. When it came to revolts, Assyria answered with military campaigns bringing the areas which revolted into the Assyrian Empire as a province. Sometimes the Assyrians confined theirselves to reducing the area of the vassal-state to a small territory under a pro-Assyrian puppet king. The vacuum of power after the death of an Assyrian king was time and again a fertile soil for anti-Assyrian revolts.

1.2. The campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III against Syria and Phoenicia: Israel becomes a voluntary tributary

The first phase in the process which lead to the fall of Samaria was characterized by indirect contact with the rising Assyrian power. Tiglath-Pileser III undertook a campaign against Syria and Phoenicia in 738 BCE. According to the eponymcalendar Cᵇ1 his goal was to conquer the city of Kullania.[3] This is the Assyrianized name of the capital Kinalua of the neo-hittite kingdom Unqi in northern Syria.[4] Tiglath-Pileser III had, as a result of his campaign against Arpad, as must be supposed, concluded a treaty with Tutamû, the king of Unqi.[5] The annals from palû 8 of Tiglath-Pileser III implicate that Kullania was part of a greater anti-Assyrian coalition of vassal-states and provinces in Syria and Phoenicia. In this coalition some *Az-ri-ja-a-ú* took a leading role. In a section at the time incorrectly

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2 First described by H. Donner, *MIO* 5 (1957), pp. 162-165; Idem, *Israel unter den Völkern*, pp. 1-3, Idem, *Geschichte*, pp. 297-298, and M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 398.

3 Cᵇ1 (ed. A. Ungnad, in: *RlA* II, k. 431):Rev36.
In the Old Testament the city is called כלנה (Am. 6:2) or כלנו (Isa. 10:9).
Because of the inmediate affiliation with the lines on palû 9 in TP III Annals (ed. P. Rost, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 18):157ff the reports in TP III Annals (ed. P. Rost, *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 16-18):90-101, on the campaign against Kullania have to be dated in palû 8 of Tiglath-Pileser III. See the outline of the 'sources' of TP III Annals in H. Tadmor, *Introductory remarks*, p. 19; W. Schramm, *Einleitung*, pp. 129-130, and I. Ephᶜal, *Ancient Arabs*, p. 23 + n. 61.
Earlier proposals to date this campaign either in 743/42 B.C. — by J. Bright, *History*, pp. 252-253; W.W. Hallo, *BA* 23 (1960), pp. 47-48; A. Lemaire, *Histoire*, p. 49, — or in 740 B.C. — by W.H. Shea, *JNES* 37 (1978), pp.43-48 — are therefore improbable.

4 See J.D. Hawkins, *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 81-83.

5 See M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 396. The treaty is mentioned in TP III Annals (ed. Rost, p. 16):92. On the fate of king Tutamû see the letter ND 2696 (ed. H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 17 (1955), p. 153, = F.A. Fales, *Cento Lettere* I, pp. 32-35) and J.D. Hawkins, in: *RlA* V, k. 597-598; *RlA* VI, k. 305-306.

ascribed to the annals[6] the name *Iz-ri-ja-ú* kur*Ja-u-di* was read twice. Both names were regarded as referring to the same person, who was identified as Azarya/Uzzia the king of Judah.[7] On this basis, a leading role for Judah in the coalition of 738 BCE has often been supposed. However, Na'aman has convincingly demonstrated that the fragment K. 6205 is not a part of the annals of Tiglath Pileser III, but must be joined with the fragment BM 82-3-23,131, earlier ascribed to Sargon II. The joined text forms a part of a 'letter to the deity' written by Sennacherib after his campaign against Juda in 701 BCE.[8] Therefore the Azriyau of the Annals of Tiglath Pileser III is nowadays interpreted as rebel from the area of Hamath.[9] As a result of this reconsideration of the sources a Judaean or Israelite interference in the coalition of 738 BCE is very unlikely.

The revolt was put down with force by Tiglath Pileser III. The rebellious areas, being at the time vasssal states, were incorporated as provinces in the Assyrian Empire. Part of the populations were carried away in exile. In Northern Syria, the provinces Kullania and Ḫatarikka

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6 K. 6205 = 3 R 9,2 = TP III Annals (ed. Rost, pp. 18-20):103-119.

7 Cf. H. Tadmor, *ScrH* 8 (1961), pp. 235-271; M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), pp. 32.45 (literature), and H. Donner, *Geschichte*, p. 305. Both Tadmor and Weippert note the possibility, that I/Azriyau was king of the Northern Syrian kingdom Yaudi = Sam'al.

8 N. Na'aman, *BASOR* 214 (1974), pp. 25-39. See also N. Na'aman, *VT* 29 (1979), pp. 61-64; R. Borger, *BAL*² I, pp. 134-135; Idem, *TUAT* I,4, p. 370; Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, pp. 400-401; E. Vogt, *Aufstand*, pp. 21-23; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, pp. 165-166; G.G.G. Reinhold, *Beziehungen*, pp. 210-211; S. Dalley, *VT* 40 (1990), pp.23-24. The join has been doubted by H. Cazelles, *EI* 14 (1978), pp. 70*-78*.
BM 82-3-23,131 has been edited by H. Winckler, in: *Altorientalische Forschungen* II, pp. 570-574 (transcription and translation only). The fragment is ascribed to Sargon II by F.H. Weissbach, *ZDMG* 82 (1928), pp. LVII-LIX; H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 80-84.
W.H. Shea, *JBL* 104 (1985), pp. 404-407, related the joined text with Sennacherib's 'second campaign' in 689 BCE; in my opinion the texts reflects events in 715 BCE (see below).

9 See M. Weippert, in: *RlA* V, kk. 204-205; N. Na'aman, *BASOR* 214 (1974), pp. 36-39; Idem, *WdO* 9 (1977/78), pp. 229-239; Idem, *VT* 29 (1979), pp. 229-230; H. Sader, *Etats Araméens*, p. 234; W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, pp. 180-181+n90; G.G.G. Reinhold, *Beziehungen*, pp. 210-211; S. Dalley, *VT* 40 (1990), pp. 24-26; O. Loretz - W. Mayer, *UF* 22 (1990), p.225n24; Z. Zevit, *VT* 41 (1991), pp. 363-366; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 101-102.
Some scholars, however, still identify this Syrian Azriyau with Azarjah/Uzziah of Judah, cf. besides the outline in S. Dalley, *VT* 40 (1990), pp. 25; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 166; G. Garbini, *History and ideology*, p. 39.185-186n9; H. Cazelles, Guerre, p. 38-39. The ending *-ia* , however, can point at a Hurrian name, cf. for instance *'ūriyyāh* 'the Hittite' (2 Sam. 11:3.6) with Hurrian *'ewrija* 'lord, nobleman, king', cf. M. Vieyra, *RHA* 5 (1938/40), pp. 113-116.

came into being, and in Phoenicia: Ṣimirra, Arqa, Usnu and Siannu.[10] Under the influence of Assyrian military power a large number of kings and rulers of still independent areas bordering on the newly established Assyrian provinces, e.g. in Southern Phoenicia, Southern Syria and Southern Anatolia, paid voluntary[11] tribute to the Assyrian king.[12] Amongst them is *Mi-ni-ḫi-im-me* kur*Sa-me-ri-na-a*. Most probably this is the tribute of 1000 talents of silver that Menahem had to pay to the Assyrian king Pul.[13] According to 2 Kgs 15:20, this tribute was paid by the 'wealthy men in Israel'.

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10 See B. Oded, *ZDPV* 90 (1974), p. 43; K. Kessler, *WdO* 8 (1975/76), pp. 49-63; M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 396.

11 The hypothesis of M.E.W. Thompson, *Situation*, p. 106, that both Israel and Damascus paid tribute uninterrupted since Shalmanassar III and that in 738 BCE only an old situation is continued, is impossible to verify from the sources.

12 The list of rulers paying tribute in 738 BCE is recorded twice:
- TP III Annals (ed. Rost, p. 26):150-154; see M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), p. 34; the occurence of *Mi-ni- ḫi-im-me* kur*Sa-me-ri-na-a* in TP III Annals:151 has been doubted by O. Loretz - W. Mayer, *UF* 22 (1990), p. 225+n26, since it is unclear whether he occured in the original version of TP III Annals. A decision has to wait for a new publication of the inscriptions of TP III.
- TP III Iran-stela (ed. L.D. Levine, *Two stelae*, p. 18) II:19; see M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), pp.29-32; M. Cogan - H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p 336.
  See also L.D. Levine, *BASOR* 206 (1972), pp. 40-42; W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, p. 183; N. Na'aman, *VT* 36 (1986), p. 81 (who relates this list with events in 740 BCE); G.G.G. Reinhold, *Beziehungen*, pp. 211-212.

Two other lists of kings paying tribute ought to be dated in other years of the reign of Tiglath Pileser III:
- TP III Annals (ed. Rost, pp.14-16):85-88; see the unpublished copy of Layard in H. Tadmor, *Introductory remarks*, p. 20; Idem, *ScrH* 8 (1961), pp. 255-256; W. Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 129; M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), pp. 34-36, Idem, Syrienpolitik, 405n20.
  This text is probably a list of kings who paid tribute after the campaign of Tiglath Pileser III in *palû* 3 = 743 BCE, for other possibilities see M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), pp. 35-36; W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, p. 183; G.G.G. Reinhold, *Beziehungen*, p. 206.
- TP III Tontafel (ed. Rost p. 70):Rev7'-13'; cf. H. Donner, *MIO* 5 (1967), pp. 165-166; M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), p. 49; M. Cogan - H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 336; S. Timm, *Moab*, pp. 308-320; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 40-44.
  This text lists kings who paid tribute after the campaign of 734 BCE against Gaza; cf. H. Tadmor - M. Cogan, *Bibl* 60 (1979), p. 505+n48; N. Na'aman, *VT* 36 (1986), p. 81; S. Timm, *Moab*, pp. 314-315 (732/1 BCE); S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 43.

13 See 2 Kgs 15:19. This relation has unconvincinlgy been disputed by O. Loretz - W, Mayer, *UF* 22 (1990), pp. 221-231. *Pulu* was the Babylonian throne name of Tiglath Pileser III in late cuneiform sources and in the Ptolemaic Canon dating from Hellenistic times; see i.a. O. Loretz - W. Mayer, *UF* 22 (1990), pp. 228-229. On this tribute see also W. Dietrich, *Israel und Kanaan*, pp. 87-88; K.A.D. Smelik, *Converting*, pp.26-27, who without argument states that the actual tribute was less than 1000 talents of silver.

According to Yadin[14], Donner - Röllig[15] and Shea[16] the ostraca found in Samaria which according to their inscription have to be dated in the ninth and tenth year of an unnamed king, are part of the administration of this tax-levy; see also the discussion between Rainey, Yadin and Aharoni[17]. On paleographic grounds Lemaire[18] has demonstrated, that the ostraca belong to the period 778-744 BCE. Therefore, Jaroš[19] considers them as the administration of deliveries to the court from the time of Jeroboam II. Shea[20] now even thinks that the ostraca from Samaria stem from the period of king Joas (± 800 BCE). Rainey disputes the traditional view that the ostraca formed a tax-archive and dates them in the period of Joash adn Jeroboam II.[21] It must be remarked, namely, that in the ostraca from Samaria silver is not mentioned and that only agricultural products were registrated, which were ment for house-hold use.[22] Taking everything into account, I do not think that the ostraca from Samaria, in one way or another, refer to the taxation under Menahem.

It is highly probable that the taxation sharpened existing internal contrasts in Samaria and the Northern Kingdom, between poor and rich as well as between different political factions.[23]

1.3. Intermezzo: 737-735 BCE Beginning of the Syro-Ephraimite war.

Between the campaign of 738 BCE and the succesive payings of tribute by e.g. Menahem of Israel and the following campaign of Tiglath Pileser III against the area of Syria and Palestine, there was a period in which the political events in the Northern Kingdom were not determined in the first

14 Y. Yadin, *ScrH* 8 (1961), pp.9-25.

15 H. Donner - W. Röllig, *KAI* II, p. 183.

16 W.H. Shea, *IEJ* 27 (1977), pp. 18-23.

17 A.F. Rainey, *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 62-63; Y. Yadin, *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 64-66; Y. Aharoni, *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 67-69.

18 A. Lemaire, *Ostraca Hébreux* I, p. 36-84; see also H. Donner, *Geschichte*, pp. 283-284; A.F. Rainey, *BASOR* 272 (1988), pp. 69-74, dates the ostraca somewhat later: 784 and 783 BCE.

19 K. Jaroš, *Geschichte*, p. 41; and F.M. Cross, *AUSS* 13 (1975), pp. 7-10; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections*, p.12; Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, pp. 377-380; K. Jaroš, *Hundert Inschrifte*, p. 57; K.A.D. Smelik, *Dokumente*, pp. 50-60.

20 W.H. Shea, *ZDPV* 101 (1985), pp. 9-20.

21 A.F. Rainey, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), pp. 91-94; Idem, *BASOR* 272 (1988), pp. 69-74.

22 See B. Rosen, *Tel Aviv* 13-14 (1986/87), pp. 39-45

23 So H. Jagersma, *Geschiedenis*, p. 221; G.G.G. Reinhold, *Beziehungen*, p. 213.

place by the attitude towards the Assyrian Empire. In the years 737-735 BCE the military attention of Tiglath Pileser III was demanded by campaigns in Media and Urarṭu.

Menahem died in 738 BCE. After the short-lived government of his son Pekahja (738-736 BCE), power in Samaria was taken over, through a revolution, by Pekah, the son of Remaljahu.[24] According to 2 Kgs 15:27 he reigned for twenty years. When these twenty years are reckoned from his revolt in 736 BCE, then great problems with the chronology occur. So, for example, Pekah would still have been king in 722 BCE, which is the traditional date for the end of the Northern Kingdom. Therefore one ought to reckon in this period of the history of Israel with the possibility of co-regencies and partisan-datings.[25] In 736 BCE Pekah's reign in Samaria began. It is, however, most probable that he made arrangments to date events from his period of power in Samaria in the archives of the palace on which the book of Kings is based, calculating from the moment on which he was chosen partisan-leader. Since Pekah was dethroned in 732 BCE, it is probable that he assumed the leadership over rebellious groups in 752/751 BCE. 2 Kgs 15:25 states that Pekah was supported in his rebellion by a guard of Gileadites. That makes it possible to see in him an exponent of a Transjordan political party. Since Pekah assumed his role as leader of the rebellion already in 752/51 BCE, it can be assumed that contrasts between the court in Samaria and Transjordan political parties, between 'Manassites' and 'Gileadites', already existed at the end of the reign of Jeroboam II.[26] Although these Transjordanian parties may have had their representatives in Samaria.[27]

The driving force behind the revolt of Pekah in 736 BCE must have been the Aramaic king Raẓyān of Damascus. [28] After the incorporation of even larger areas in Northern Syria in the Assyrian Empire in 738 BCE, Raẓyān became the most powerful Aramaic sovereign. Besides, he made use of the absence of Tiglath Pileser III and the Assyrian armies in the

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24 2 Kgs 15:25; cf. M. Geller, *VT* 26 (1976), pp. 374-377; N. Na'aman, Forced participation, p. 92; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 70.74.108-109, however, dates the revolt of Pekah in Tishri 734 BCE.

25 See i.a. J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, pp. 64-65; W.H. Shea, *IEJ* 26 (1976), p. 24; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections*, p. 14.

26 The existence of an independent Transjordan kingdom, so T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections*, p. 13, is hard to prove. It does not occur in the lists of rulers who paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser III.

27 According to N. Na'aman, *VT* 36 (1986), p. 76, Pekah was a high official at the court of Samaria.

28 In the Old Testament רצין; on the spelling of his name see M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), p. 46 +n83; W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, pp. 181-182 (lit.); S. Timm, *Moab*, p. 315n38.

West during the period 737-735 BCE by trying to enlarge his sphere of power and influence.[29] Traces of his politics can be found in the so-called 'Syro-Ephraimite war'.[30] Oded has pointed rightly to the fact that this war commenced already during the reign of Jotham, before 734 BCE (2 Kgs 15:37).[31] The Syro-Ephraimite war is therefore not to be seen as a reaction to the occupation of the coastal strip of Israel by Tiglath Pileser III in 734 BCE.[32] The Syro-Ephraimite war had as its goal the enlargement of the influence of Damascus in the area of Syria and Palestine. Oded is right when he supposes, that Raẓyān had the leading role.[33] In all the Biblical sources he is called first before Pekah of Israel. According to the eponym-calendar Cᵇ1 the campaigns of Tiglath Pileser III of 733 and 732 BCE were directed against Damascus.[34] The expression נחה ארם על אפרים (Isa 7:12) may refer to the superior political power of Damascus.

From two summary inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser III[35], it becomes

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29 See B. Oded, *CBQ* 34 (1972), pp.159-164; M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, pp. 396-397; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections*, pp. 16-19; N. Na'aman, Forced participation, pp. 91-94.

30 Sources in the Old Testament: 2 Kgs 15:37 and 16:1-20; cf. Isa 7-8.
The classic view of the events, as formulated by J. Begrich, *ZDMG* 83 (1929), pp. 213-237, was superseded by the research of B. Oded, *CBQ* 34 (1972), pp. 153-165; recently R. Bickert, *ZAW* 99 (1987), pp. 361-384, has argued on the basis of arbitrary literary-critical operations on Isa 7 and 2 Kgs 16 that the so-called Syro-Ephraimite war was no more than a never executed Aramaic plan to attack Jerusalem. Bickert's arguments are far from convincing particularly; especially because he paid almost no attention to the extra Biblical evidence.
S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp.74-90, has elaborated a well argumented literarry-critical subdivision of the material now in 2 Kgs 16. The most important of his remarks is the observation that the report on the cultic reform of Ahaz originally had no relations with the report on the Syro-Ephraimitic crisis. Consequently, the cultic reform of Ahaz should not be treated as a result of the events in 734-632 BCE.

31 B. Oded, *CBQ* 34 (1972), pp. 153-165; see also N. Na'aman, Forced participation, p. 94; H. Cazelles, Guerre, p. 41. According to J. Begrich, *ZDMG* 83 (1929), p. 214, the note in 2 Kgs 15:37 is historically misleading and without value; see also R. Bickert, *ZAW* 99 (1987), pp. 361.363-364 (a late addition); E. Ben-Zvi, *ZAW* 102 (1990), pp. 100-105.

32 Contra A. Alt, Erster Feldzug, pp. 150-162; B. Otzen, *ASTI* 9 (1977/78), p. 102; Idem, Israel, p. 255; H. Donner, *Geschichte*, p. 306; G.G.G. Reinhold, *Beziehungen*, p. 216.

33 B. Oded, *CBQ* 34 (1972), p. 163, see also A.H.J. Gunneweg, *Geschichte*, p.103; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 69.

34 Cᵇ1 (ed. A. Ungnad, in: *RlA* II, p. 431)Rev 41-42.

35 - TP III Kleine Inschrift (ed. Rost, p. 78):6'-8';
- TP III ND 4301+:Rev 3-4.
The text ND 4301+ is a summary inscription which can be reconstructed on the basis of joins of different fragments and by comparison of parallel reports; see the outline by M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), p. 37n36; cf. S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 56-62; H. Cazelles, Guerre, p. 35. Recent translation: R. Borger, *TUAT* I,4, pp. 376-378. The reverse is formed by a join of

clear that the frontier between Aram and Israel in 732 BCE was more towards the South, viz. near Abel Beth-Maachah in Galilea and at Ramoth-Gilead in the Transjordan. This fact leads to the conviction that Raẓyān had forced Pekah with military pression into a coalition. But is also proposable that Pekah had to cede territory for help from Damascus during the revolt in 736 BCE. How and why Hiram II became part of the coalition[36] is still unclear.

Already during the reign of Jotham the coalition conquered territory from Judah, most probably in the Transjordan areas. After the enthronement of Ahaz as sole ruler over Judah in 734 BCE, the capital Jerusalem was attacked, albeit without succes.

1.4. The campaign of Tiglath Pileser III in 734 BCE

The eponym-calendar Cb1 mentions a campaign *a-na* KUR(*māti*) *Pi-liš-ta* 'to the land of the Philistines' for Tiglath Pileser III in 734 BCE.[37] A report on this campaign is lacking in the annals of Tiglath Pileser III[38], but it is mentioned in three summary inscriptions.[39] This campaign had both an

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ND 4301 + 4305 (ed. D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 18 [1956] pp. 117-123 + Pl XXII-XXIII) with k. 2649 = CT 35, 39 bottom = TP III Kleine Inschrift III (ed. Rost, p. 86):1-5. This join was proposed by B. Oded, *JNES* 29 (1970), p. 178n6, and R. Borger, in: K. Galling, *Textbuch*[2], p. 57. The reverse of ND 4301+ is for a great part parallel to, but not identical with TP III Kleine Inschrift I; cf. H. Tadmor, *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 114-122; E. Vogt, *Bibl* 45 (1964), pp. 350-354.

S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 65-67, disputes the view of Tadmor that the Syrian-Damascene border was relatively northern.

Ever since E. Schrader, *Kritik der Inschriften*, p. 13, these kind of texts are called 'Prunkinschriften' or 'display-inscriptions' suggesting that their main goal was to decorate the walls in the palaces of the Assyrian kings. Not all these inscriptions, however, had this decorative function. The texts contain a non-chronological survey of the deeds of a king. Therefore the form-critical definition 'summary-inscriptions' is more at stake; cf. H. Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973), p. 141; N. Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), p. 68n2; K.L. Younger, *Conquest accounts*, p. 290n99; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 26.

36 See TP III ND 4301+ [note 35]:Rev 5; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 58-59.

37 Cb1 (ed. A. Ungnad, in: *RlA* II, p. 431):Rev 40.

38 Contra M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 93n355, who quotes as a source for the events in 734 BCE: TP III Annals (ed. Rost, p.34):197f; and W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, 186n166, who does not adequately distinguish between the sources for 734 and 733/32 BCE. In my opinion TP III Annals:197-210 describe events in 733 and 732 BCE, while TP III "Annals":211-228 are part of a summary inscription unjustly ascribed by Rost to the Annals, see M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 406n25; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 28-31.37-40; H. Cazelles, Guerre, p. 34.

39 - TP III Kleine Inschrift I (ed. Rost, pp.78-80):8'-15';
- TP III ND 400 (ed. D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 13 [1951], p. 23):1'-18'; cf. E. Vogt, *Bibl* 45

economic and a military-strategic goal. The Assyrians wanted control over the overseas-trade via the Phoenician harbour-cities as well as control over trade with Egypt and the caravan-routes to the Arabian penninsula. This becomes clear from protectionistic remarks in a New-Assyrian letter[40] and from the fact that after the campaign an Assyrian commerce centre was established in Gaza.[41] The fact that, as a result of the campaign, differing Arabian tribes paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser III for the use of Gaza as a staple-market[42], points in the same direction. The military-strategic goal of Tiglath Pileser III was to prevent Egyptian intervention in the area of Syria and Palestine.[43]

The campaign went as follows: the Assyrian armies marched from Northern Phoenicia southwards along the coast of the Mediterranean. Before reaching Gaza, a battle was fought with an unnamed king.[44] It is not impossible that Pekah of Israel or Ahaz of Judah is meant. The question is bound up with the conquest of Gezer by Tiglath Pileser III.

This historical event is not mentioned in the annals and summary inscriptions of the Assyrian king, but is known from the legend in an Assyrian relief.[45] Gezer had been in Israelite territory since Solomonic

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(1964), pp.348-350; N. Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), p. 69; R. Borger, *TUAT* I,4, pp. 375-376; cf. S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 44-56.
- TP III ND 4301+ [note 35]:Rev 13-16; see S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah* , p. 61.

For a synopsis of these texts see H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 315.

40 ND 2715 (ed. H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 17 [1955], p. 127) = J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, pp. 390-392; cf. H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur* p.315; B.L. Beck, *International roles*, pp. 146-147.

41 As can be concluded from TP III ND 4301+ [note 35]:Rev 16; cf. M. Elat, *JAOS* 98 (1978), pp. 26-28; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 70-71.

42 This fact is mentioned in three summary inscriptions:
- TP III Tontafel (ed. Rost, p. 72):Rev3'-5';
- TP III Kleine Inschrift I (ed. Rost, p. 82):27'-33', and
- TP III "Annals" (ed. Rost, p.36-38 [see note 38]):218-225.

The economic interest behind the campaign is noted by H. Tadmor, *BA* 29 (1966), p. 88; B. Oded, *ZDPV* 90 (1974), pp. 45-47; B. Otzen, *ASTI* 9 (1977/78), pp. 100-102; Idem, Israel, pp.254-256; M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 407n51; N. Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), pp. 68-70; I. Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, pp. 33-36.90-91; E.A. Knauf, *Ismael*, pp. 3.71-74; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 39. According to Eph'al the politics of Tiglath Pileser III were directed in getting control over the northernmost stations along the Arabian caravan-routes.

43 So: H. Spieckermann, *Juda*, pp. 327-330; G.G.G. Reinhold, *Beziehungen*, p. 214.

44 See TP III ND 400 [note 39]:10'-13'; cf. M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, p. 98n9; I. Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, p.30: possibly with Damascus, a Phoenician city or Israel; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 49-50 leaves the question open, but excludes Israel as a possibility.

45 A.H. Layard, *Monuments* I, Pl. 62. The drawing of the relief, which is now lost, is reedited by R.D. Barnett - M. Falkner, *Sculptures*, Pl. LXII; cf. H.D. Lance, *BA* 30 (1967), p. 43

times, but it is unclear whether the city belonged to Israel or Judah.[46] The fact, that Gezer was part of the Assyrian Empire in the middle of the seventh century BCE, as becomes clear from two Assyrian judicial documents[47], supports the opinion that Gezer was by the time of its conquest part of the Northern Kingdom. One can defend the view that the Assyrians incorporated Gezer as a part of the Northern Kingdom in the newly established Assyrian province Du'ru.[48] But it is also possible to approach the question from 2 Chron 28:20. This historical notice from a later date, which may go back to an old tradition, reports an attack of Tiglath Pileser III on Ahaz of Judah. This attack could have been the siege and conquest of Gezer. In this connection the strategic location of Gezer as controlling the entrance to the Judaean hill-side must be mentioned.[49]

One way or another, the conquest of Gezer had a deterrent effect on Ahaz, king of Judah. Most probably this conquest lead him to an alignment with the Assyrian king. When Ahaz asked Tiglath Pileser III later for assistence, he used a standard phrase - 'I am your servant and your son' (2 Kgs 16:7) - which supposes an existing vassal relationship.[50] That opens the possibility, that Ahaz under the influence of Assyrian power became a vassal already in 734 BCE. When the fall of Gezer is dated to 734 BCE, the picture of the Assyrian campaigns in 734-732 BCE becomes more clear. On the map of Wäfler[51] concerning this period, the campaign of *733 BCE* is extended into Gezer and Askelon. From the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser III relating to 734 BCE, a siege of Askelon is unknown. From the reports on the events in 732 BCE it can be concluded, however, that Askelon had made a treaty with Assyria earlier than 732 BCE.[52] The

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Fig. 5; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, pp. 23-27; J.F. Brug, *Philistines*, p. 38fig8b.

46 Literature in M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 23n84; W.G. Dever, in: *EAEHL* II, pp. 428-433. According to H. Cazelles, *EI* 14 (1978), p. 78*, Gezer was Judahite before 734 BCE; N. Na'aman, *Borders and districts*, p.111-115.181-184, however, argues that Gezer was Ephraimite territory.

47 Edited by R.A.S. Macalister, *Excavations of Gezer* I, pp. 22-29 and Fig. 1-3; recent revision by B. Becking, *JEOL* 27 (1981/82), pp. 76-89; cf. R. Reich - B. Brandt, *PEQ* 117 (1985), pp.41-54; R. Zadok, *BiOr* 42 (1985), pp. 567-570. See below Chapter 5.

48 So B. Becking, *JEOL* 27 (1981/82), pp.88-89.

49 See H.D. Lance, *BA* 30 (1967), pp. 34-36.

50 So: T. Veijola, *Königtum*, p. 61; H. Tadmor - M. Cogan, *Bibl* 60 (1969), p. 505; P. Kalluveetil, *Declaration*, pp. 129-135; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 187; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 87-88; but see P.R. Ackroyd, Ahaz and Hezekiah, pp. 249-251.

51 M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 26.

52 Cf. TP III Annals (ed. Rost, p. 38-40):235-239; M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 398; N.

concluding of this treaty can be proposed as a result of the campaign of 734 BCE, which was not only directed against Gaza, but against the whole of the Philistine area.[53] This implies that the campaigns in 733 and 732 BCE were restricted to military operations in Southern Syria, Galilea and Gilead and that Tiglath-Pileser marched alongside Gezer and Askelon in 734 BCE.

The texts relating to 734 BCE speak in the main of Gaza. The city was captured. Remarkably, the Philistine ruler Hanun, who first fled to Egypt, is after all maintained on the throne: yet as a vassal. The Assyrians established a market-place in Gaza and then marched southwards to the Egyptian frontier, where a memorial stela was erected.[54] As a result of this campaign the Northern Kingdom lost its coastal strip. In this area the Assyrian province of Du'ru was later established.[55] After the campaign, a group of vassals in Syria and Palestine paid tribute to the Assyrian king. Raẓyān of Damascus and Pekah of Israel are lacking in this otherwise fragmentary list.[56] Hence, one can conclude that both states were not in the Assyrian sphere of influence. At the end of 734 BCE, Judah was a tributary vassal-state attacked by Aram and Israel.

Through the complexity of the political relations, the Syro-Ephraimite war assumed an anti Assyrian character. Therefore, Tiglath Pileser III was also forced to respond positivily to Ahaz' request for assistence. During the next two years the Assyrian king undertook a campaign against Damascus and Israel.

1.5. Tiglath Pileser III's campaign in 733 and 732 BCE

Jaroš and Weippert assume that the campaign of 734 BCE had as a second goal to cut off all possible help from Egypt for the anti Assyrian coalition.[57] This has been denied by Otzen, who incorrectly thinks that the Syro-Ephraimite coalition was formed after the annexation of Dor.[58] Although the now-known texts are silent about Egyptian help for the

Na'aman, *VT* 36 (1986), pp. 71-74.

53 Cf. C^{b}1 [note 34]:Rev40; and M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 397; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 50-51.

54 TP III ND 400 [note 39]:18'; the stela is unfortunately not recovered.

55 See below Chapter 5.

56 TP III Tontafel (ed. Rost, p. 72):Rev7'-12'; cf. above note 15; M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 397; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 40-44; contra H. Spieckermann, *Juda*, p. 227n1.

57 K. Jaroš, *Geschichte* , p. 43; M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 397.

58 B. Otzen, *ASTI* 9 (1977/78), p. 102; Idem, Israel, p. 255; see also M.E.W. Thompson, *Situation*, pp. 112-113; G.G.G. Reinhold, *Beziehungen*, p. 216.

coalition and, besides, Egypt played by then no leading role, it is not impossible that Tiglath Pileser III aimed at creating a buffer between Egypt and the rebellious areas in Syria and Palestine. It is, as I will now show, too much to claim that the Syro-Ephraimite war came to an end already in 734 BCE.[59]

Ahaz of Judah, who was threatened from all sides: by Aram and Israel in the North, by Edomites from the South-East[60], in earlier days by the Philistines in the West[61] and possibly by the Assyrians from the North-West, had subjected himself voluntarily after the Assyrian display of power at Gezer. Then, or perhaps later in 734 BCE, he asked for help from the Assyrians against Aram and Israel. Tiglath Pileser III was willing to accede to his request.

The eponym-calendar Cb1 mentions a campaign against Damascus in both 733 and 732 BCE.[62] This makes it clear, that Raẓyān played the leading part in the coalition and that Tiglath Pileser III was in the first place aiming at the conquest of Damascus. The reports on the campaigns in the inscriptions are fragmentary.[63] In two geographically ordered summary inscriptions only the final results are mentioned.[64] These data evoke the following picture. The military operations did not lead to a battle in the open field. The Assyrians were forced to take succesive cities by siege. This makes it comprehensible that it took Tiglath Pileser III two years to bring the coalition to its knees. It cannot be excluded that the Assyrian army split up into two parts.[65]

In the same period Tiglath Pileser III waged a war with queen Shamshi of Arabia, who was ruling over trading nomadic tribes. Tiglath Pileser III defeated her in a battle near Mount *Sa-aq-qu-ri*. This mountain, which is not mentioned in other sources, has to be located in the hinterland of the Transjordan areas. The Arabic sovereign saved her life, but she had to

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59 So M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 397; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 53-55.

60 2 Kgs 16:6 and 2 Chr 28:17; see i.a. J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, p. 632+n.e and 633+n.b; H. Tadmor - M. Cogan, *Bibl* 60 (1979), p. 496-499.

61 See 2 Chr 28:18; the event might be dated in the period of co-regency of Jotham and Ahaz.

62 Cb1 (ed. A. Ungnad, in: *RlA* II, p. 431):Rev 41-42.

63 TP III Annals (ed. Rost, pp.34-36.38-40):197-210.229-240. The fragmentary report TP III "Annals" (ed. Rost, p. 38; [note 38]):227-228 does not belong to the annals.

64 - TP III Kleine Inschrift (ed. Rost, pp.78.80;):6'-8'.15'-19';
- TP III Nd 4301+ [note 35]:Rev3'-4'.9'-11'.
See S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 59-60.

65 So M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, pp.23-27.

accept a political supervisor and she became tributary to Assyria.[66]

1.5.1. The conquest of Damascus

Of the military activities in the Damascus area little is known. The fragmentary reports in the summary inscriptions harmonize to such an extent, however, that they can be interpreted as different versions of the same report:

> *[māt Bīt]* $^{\text{p}}$*Ḫaza'ilī rapšu ana siḫiršu ultu š[ad Amma]nana adi libbi* $^{\text{URU}}$*Gal'ada u* $^{\text{URU}}$*Abil[makka] ša pāṭi māt Bīt* $^{\text{p}}$*Ḫumria ana mišir māt Aššur utirra šut rešēja bēlē-piḫātu elišunu aškun*[67]
>
> The extensive 'house of Hazael'[68] from the Ammanus[69]-mountain-range to Gal'ad(d)a and Abil(maka)[70] on the frontier of the 'house of Omri' I added to the Assyrian Empire, a commander-in-chief I appointed as governor over them.

Abil(maka) - previously read: Abilakka - is to be identified with אבל בית מעכה 'Abel Beth-Maachah' in Northern Galilea.[71] 'Gal'ad(d)a' refers to

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66 Reports on this war are only found in summary inscriptions:
- TP III Kleine Inschrift I (ed. Rost, p. 78):19'-26';
- TP III ND 400 [note 39]:24'-27';
- TP III ND 4301+[note 35]:Rev17'-22';
- TP III Tontafel (ed. Rost 72):Rev2', and
- TP III "Annals" [note 38]:213-217.

A synopsis of these texts is to be found in I. Eph^{c}al, *Ancient Arabs*, pp. 33-36. See also E.A. Knauf, *Ismael*, p 3n16; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 37-39.55-56.61-62.

67 Following — to a large extent — the reconstruction of H. Tadmor, *IEJ* 12 (1962), p. 118. See H. Sader, *Etats Araméens*, p. 262.

68 *Bīt Ḫaza'ili* is Damascus. [...]- *li* can not be filled up with [*Na-ap-ta*]-*li*, contra F. Hommel, *Geschichte*, pp. 664-665; D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, § 815, but with [É-*Ḫa-za-'i*]-*li*, see H. Tadmor, *IEJ* 12 (1962), p.114; P. Höffken, *ZAW* 94 (1982), p.413; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 174; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 57.63n167.

69 This reading makes more sense than the conjecture of H. Tadmor, *IEJ* 12 (1962), p. 118: Lebanon.

70 Read with H. Tadmor, *IEJ* 12 (1962), p. 114: *A-bi-il-ma*](?)-*ka*], but this reading, however, is doubtful. M. Weippert, *GGA* 224 (1972), p. 152, suggests: *A-bi-il-*siṭ-*ṭi* . This place name is comparable with אבל שטם. This last Israelite resting place before the crossing of the Jordan river (Jos. 3:1) seems to be too far South to be the frontier between Aram and Israel in 733-732 BCE. For the name Gal'ad(d)a: M. Weippert, *GGA* 224 (1972), p. 152.

71 Already suggested by E. Schrader, *Keilschrifttexte*, p.144; see the commentaries on 2 Kgs 15:29; K. Galling, *Textbuch*, p. 57n4; W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, p. 188; W.G.

רמות גלעד 'Ramoth-Gilead' in the Transjordan area. Both cities mark the frontier between Aram and Israel in 733-832 BCE. Besides, the reference to these two border-cities makes it clear that Raẓyān had annexed territories in Northern Galilea, Basan and in the Transjordan area.[72]

It is known from the Annals that Tiglath Pileser III conquered different cities and carried away the population into captivity: Ḫadara, Irma, Kuruṣṣa and Mituna.[73] From the inscription on a relief the conquest of the city Astartu is known.[74] It is unclear if Tiglath Pileser III himself conquered the capital city Damascus. Most probably, a high military officer captured the city after a siege, which actually lasted for 45 days, after Tiglath Pileser III had left battlefield.[75] During the capture of the city Raẓyān was done to death.[76] In the territory of the former kingdom of Aram, four Assyrian provinces were established: Dimašqa, Ṣūbat, Man-

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Dever, 'Abel-Beth Ma'acah, pp. 215-216. The identification is disputed by S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 66, who thinks more of an 'Abel of Acco'; see also I. Ephᶜal, Samarians, p. 37.

72 See H. Tadmor, *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 118-122; W. T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, pp. 188-189.

73 TP III Annals (ed. Rost, p. 36-38):205-208; cf. W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, pp. 187-188; H. Sader, *Etats Araméens*, pp. 259-262; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 29.30.

74 R.D. Barnett - M. Falkner, *Sculptures*, Pl. LXIX-LXX; cf. M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 118+n599. In the Old Testament the city is called עשתרות; cf. Egypt. ᶜ*strt* (cf. S. Aḥituv, *Toponyms*, pp. 72-73), Ugar. ᶜ*ṯrt* (KTU 1.100:41; 1.108:3; RS 1986/2235:17 [ed. P. Bordreuil, *CRAIBL* 1987, p. 298]), El Amarna *Aštartu* (EA 197:10; 256:21), nowadays Tell ᶜAštara; cf. D. Kellermann, *ZDPV* 97 (1981), pp. 45-61; S. Timm, *Moab*, pp. 58-59; C. Uehlinger, *Weltreich*, p. 378.

75 TP III Annals (ed. Rost, p. 34):202, in a new reading, see H. Tadmor, in a footnote in A.R. Millard and H. Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973), p. 63n20; see H. Sader, *Etats Araméens*, p. 268. This reading has not been taken over by S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 25.
G. Smith, *TSBA* 2 (1873), p. 331, has proposed a reading ^{uru}*Da[-ma š-qa ka-šid* ... for the entry on 728 BCE in the eponym-calendar, interpreting this as an indication for a conquest of Damascus in 728 BCE, which would imply that the city Damascus resisted the Assyrian power for five more years after it had been cut off from the surrounding countryside. Against this interpretation it should be noted that in more official inscription from the period under consideration Damscus was always written as *Di-ma š-qa*
Correctly, O. Lorezt - W. Mayer, *UF* 22 (1990), p. 223, point to the fact the formulation in the eponym calendar *ana* ^{KUR}*Di-maš-qa* (C ᵇ1Rev:42) does not imply the conquest of the city which would have been described as ^{KUR}*Di-maš-qa ka-šid*. Since Damascus is mentioned as a province in the inscriptions from the reign of Sargon II, they conclude that Damascus was conquered by Shalmaneser V. The assumption that the city was captured by an Assyrian military officer, perhaps after 732 BCE, seems to fit better in the general reconstruction of the events, see also S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 25.72.

76 Cf. 2 Kgs 16:9. G. Smith, *ZÄS* 7 (1869), p. 14, mentions an inscription from Nimrud on which Sir H. Rawlinson had read a report on the death of Raẓyān. The text, unfortunately, got lost, cf. M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 397; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 189.

suāte and Qarninī.[77]

1.5.2. Operations in Israel

More détails are known about the Assyrian military operations in Israel. The Annals of Tiglath Pileser III mention some Israelite cities which were conquered and whose population was carried away into captivity.

1.5.2.1. Assyrian sources

231 ... x captives from the city of [...]-bara; 625 captives from the city of [...]
232 [... captives from the city of] Hannathon; 650 captives from the city of Qa[...
233 captives from the city of Jo]tbah; 656 captives from the city of Ir[.....]
234 ... people together with their possessions [...] ... the cities of Aruma and Merum [...][78]

All these cities can be located in Galilea:

- [...]-*ba-ra-a*
  Difficult to identify.

- *Ḫi-na-tu-na*
  Can be equated with חנתון (Josh 19:14) in Southern Zebulon. The city is already mentioned in the Amarna letters EA 8:17 and 245:32; nowadays: Tell al-Badawîya.[79]

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77 The province Ṣūbat, Hebr. צבה, is already mentioned in letters from the eighth century in which the governor Bēl-Iqbi reports on Arabs in the borderland of Ṣūbat (ABL 414 = SAA I, 177; ABL 953 = SAA I, 178, and CT 53,10 = SAA I, 179). The other three are at first mentioned in lists of Assyrian provinces from the seventh century BCE, cf E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, pp. 68-69; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p.26; M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 398. On Manṣuāte see R. Zadok, *WdO* 9 (1977/78), p. 56.

78 TP III Annals (ed. Rost, p. 36):231-234; cf M. Cogan - H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 175.335; within the context it is reasonable to add the preceding line TP III Annals:230 to É-[*Ḫu-um-ri-ia*] "the house of Omri", i.e. the Northern Kingdom of Israel; cf. H. Cazelles, *EI* 14 (1978), p. 73*; I. Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, p. 24; N. Na'aman, *Borders and districts*, p. 125; contra R. Borger, *TUAT* 1,4, p. 377; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 35.

79 Cf. Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, pp. 69.178 +n104.190; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 25n98; H. Cazelles, *EI* 14 (1978), p. 73*. R. Zadok, *WdO* 9 (1977/ 78), p. 40, remarks that the shift /ā/ > /ō/ in this name already took place in (or even before) the Amarna period. On

- *Qa[-na*

A city *Qa-nú-u* is known from EA 204:4, as well as Κανὰ from the New Testament (John 2:1.11; 4:16; 21:2). An identification with קנה in Aser (Josh 19:28) is also probable. But within the context of the Annals of Tiglath Pileser a location near *Ḫi-na-tu-na* חנתון is the most plausaable i.e. modern Ḫirbet Qānā.[80]

- *[Ia-]aṭ-bi-ti*

Probably יחבה (2 Kgs 21:19), to be equated with Ἰωταπάτα (Josephus, Bellum III 141-339) and nowadays Ḫirbet Ǧefāt.[81]

- *Ir-[u-na(?)]*

Tadmor reads here *Sa*[...].[82] *Ir*[*-u-na*(?)] can probably be equated with יירון (Josh 19:38). An Itinerary from Ebla mentions a Galilean place-name *Úr-an*, which was identified by Shea with יירון.[83]

- *A-ru-ma*

An identification with ארומה, which was situated near Sichem (Judg 9:41), is less probable than Ḫirbet er-Ruma east of Tell al-Badawîya/ חנתון/*Ḫi-na-tu-na*.[84]

- *Ma-ru-um*

Is this the city מרום (Josh 11:5.7) on the shore of the Lake of Huleh? A location on the hillside of Galilea is, however, also possible.[85]

EA 8, see now N.P. Lemche, *Canaanites*, pp. 33-34.

80 See Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, p. 390; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 25n96; S. Aḥituv, *Toponyms*, p. 123.

81 Cf. W.F. Albright, *JBL* 58 (1939), pp. 184-185; Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, pp. 390.415; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 25n95.

82 M. Cogan - H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 174.

83 Itinerary from Ebla (ed. G. Pettinato, *Or NS* 47 [1978], pp. 50-73):No 95; cf. W.H. Shea, Eblaite geographical atlas, p. 596. For other possibilities see: H. Cazelles, *EI* 14 (1978), 73*; Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, pp. 62-63.134.390.

84 Cf. Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, pp. 390.415; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 25n95 + map on page 26; N. Na'aman, *Borders and districts*, p. 125.137.

85 So: Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, pp. 230-232.390; M. Weippert, Nomadenquelle, p.263; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 25n93 + map on page 26; N. Na'aman, *Borders and districts*, p. 119-143.

1.5.2.2. Old Testament sources

The author of 2 Kgs 15:29 describes the same events, but from an Israelite perspective.

בִּימֵי פֶקַח מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	In the days of Pekah, king of Israel,
בָּא תִּגְלַת פִּלְאֶסֶר מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר	Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria,
וַיִּקַּח אֶת־עִיּוֹן	came
וְאֶת־אָבֵל בֵּית־מַעֲכָה	and took Iyyon
וְאֶת־יָנוֹחַ וְאֶת־קֶדֶשׁ	Abel-Beth-Maachah
וְאֶת־חָצוֹר	Janoah, Qedesh
וְאֶת־הַגִּלְעָד וְאֶת־הַגָּלִיל	and Hazor
כָּל אֶרֶץ נַפְתָּלִי	— Gal'd(d)a and Galilea,
וַיַּגֶל אֹתָם אַשּׁוּרָה׃	all the land of Naftali —.
	He exiled them to Assyria

This texts mentions the deportation of Israelites to Assyria and quotes the conquest of a few cities:

- עיון Iyyon

Iyyon is in the North of Galilea, cf. 1 Kgs 15:20 and nowadays Tell ad-Dibbin near the Marǧ ᶜAiyun.[86]

- אבל בית מעכה Abel-Beth-Maachah

This city is mentioned as frontier place in the summary inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser III concerning the Southern border of Aram. In 733 BCE Abel Beth Maacah [Abil(maka)/Abilakka] was on the Northern border of Israel. Therefore the Northern Iyyon was by the time of its conquest located in the territory of Damascus. Abel-Beth-Maachah, also referred to in 2 Sam 20:18 and 1 Kgs 15:20, is nowadays Abīl al-Qamḥ.[87]

- ינוח Yanoah

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86 Cf. Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, p. 389; M. Cogan - H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 174; S. Ahituv, *Toponyms*, p. 120.

87 Cf. H. Tadmor, *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 114-115; Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, p. 389; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 25n90; W.G. Dever, 'Abel-Beth-Ma'acah, pp. 207-222; M. Cogan - H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 174.

An Itinerary from Ebla mentions a city *I-na-ḫu*.[88] An El Amarna letter refers to a place called *Ja-nu-'a-mu*. Both can be identified with ינוח and modern Yānūḥ. There exist, however, two places with this name: one in the Galilean hill-country[89] and one ten kilometers East of Tyre[90]. This last city is stationed alongside the route of the *via maris* ('route to the sea', Isa 8:23), which according to Rainey, lead from Dan via Abel Beth Maacah to Tyre. In giving the preference to this second Yānūḥ a picture of this campaign of Tiglath Pileser III arises, in which he — in his attack on Northern Israel — first concentrated on the economic and strategic important *via maris*.[91]

- קדש Qedes

A city with this name in Naphtali is mentioned in Josh 12:22; 19:37; 21:32 and Judg 4:6.11. It is not clear whether all these texts refer to the same place. קדש in 2 Kgs 15:29 can be identified with Tell Abu Qudeis.[92]

- חצור Hazor

This city in Naphtali is known from the Mari letters[93], an Itinerary from Ebla[94] and from the El Amarna letters. It is mentioned many times in the Old Testament and can be equated, as is generally accepted, with Tell al-Qidāḥ.[95]

A later redactor added to 2 Kgs 15:29 the summary report that Tiglath Pileser III had conquered Gilead, Galilea and the whole of the land of Naphtali. Archeological traces of destruction which might go back to this campaign, are found at Dor, Hazor, Tell Qedesh, Tell Abu Qudeis, Kin-

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88 Itinerary from Ebla [note 81]:No 190.

89 Cf. Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, pp. 125.389; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 25n94. J. Kaplan, *IEJ* 28 (1978), pp.159-160, suggests an identification with Giv'at ha-šoqet (near the upper Huleh-valley).

90 Cf. A.F. Rainey, *Tel Aviv* 8 (1981), p. 147.

91 Cf. A.F. Rainey, *Tel Aviv* 8 (1981), esp. pp. 146-148.

92 With E. Stern, in: *EAEHL* III, pp. 702-703, contra M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 25 n92. According to W.F. Albright, *BASOR* 140 (1955), p. 35, the city is mentioned with the name *Qidiš* in a New-Babylonian letter.

93 ARM VI, 23; VI, 78; VII, 236 and A 1270 (ed. G. Dossin, *RA* 64 [1970], pp. 97-106). On ARM VI, 78:5-6 see A.L. Oppenheim, *JNES* 13 (1954), p. 147. On the occurence of Hazor in the letter from Mari: ARM XXVI, 375:25, see A. Malamat, Hazor, pp. 117-118.

94 Itinerary from Ebla [note 81]:No 98.

95 Cf. i.a. Y. Yadin, *Hazor*; S. Aḥituv, *Toponyms*, pp. 116-117.

nereth and Megiddo.

Irvine has elaborated a provocative line of thought according to which Tiglath Pileser III conquered these territories not from Israel, but that they were at that time in Syrian-Damascene possession. Both his view and the classical reconstruction of the events tally the sources available. We must wait for new, decisive evidence.[96]

1.5.2.3. Revolts in Samaria and Askelon

Anti-Assyrian revolts broke out in Samaria and Askelon after the conquest of Damascus in 732 BCE.[97] Pekah and Mitinti were dethroned by Hoshea and Rūkibti respectively. Hoshea probably made use of the military weakness of Samaria with king Pekah waging war in the North against the Assyrians. Both the Old Testament and the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser III state that Hoshea obtained power by a revolt. From a recent collation of TP III 4301+:Rev12' it becomes clear that Hoshea paid a tribute in [... Sar]rabanu to Tiglath Pileser III.[98]

This collation is of great importance for the chronology of the reign of Hoshea. The Assyrian king besieged Sarrabanu in 731 BCE.[99] Presumably, Hoshea paid tribute to achieve formal recognition as soon as possible for his government from Assyria.[100] This all implies that 731 BCE can be looked at as the first year of Hoshea. The consequences of this synchronism

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96 S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, pp. 34-35.39-40.66-68.

97 The revolt in Samaria is mentioned in two summary inscriptions:
- TP III Kleine Inschrift 1 (ed. Rost, p. 80):17'-18', and
- TP III ND 4301+ [note 33]:Rev 9-11.

TP III Annals (ed. Rost, p. 38-40):235-239 — cf. S. Timm, *Moab*, p. 315n39; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 35 — refers to the rebellion in Askelon. Cf. M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 398; N. Na'aman, *VT* 36 (1986), pp. 71-74.

98 On the text see note 35. Collation of P. Hulin in: R. Borger und H. Tadmor, *ZAW* 94 (1982), p. 246; cf. G.W. Jones, *1 & 2 Kings*, p. 545; N. Na'aman, *VT* 36 (1986), pp. 71-73; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p.57n141.59-60; H. Cazelles, Guerre, p. 44. The tribute of Hoshea to Tiglath Pileser III is also mentioned in TP III Kleine Inschrift I (ed. Rost, p. 80):18'-19'; cf. R. Borger und H. Tadmor, *ZAW* 94 (1982), p. 245.

99 For the date of this campaign against Babylonia cf. H. Tadmor, *Introductory remarks*, pp. 15.18; W. Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 131; R. Borger und H. Tadmor, *ZAW* 94 (1982), pp. 247-248.
The siege of Sarrabanu is mentioned in TP III Inscr. on Plates from Nineveh I (ed. Rost, p. 42):8 and TP III Tontafel (ed. Rost):15.

100 So: R. Borger und H. Tadmor, *ZAW* 94 (1982), p. 249; N. Na'aman, *VT* 36 (1986), pp. 73-74. Perhaps, the remark in the summary inscription TP III "Annals" (ed. Rost, p. 38):227-228 — Samaria alone I l[ef]t — refers to this new situation.

for the date of the fall of Samaria will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the territory of Israel three Assyrian provinces were established: Du'ru on the Mediterranaean coast, Magidu in the North and Gal'ad(d)a in the Transjordan. Du'ru and Magidu are mentioned in Assyrian lists from the seventh century BCE,[101] in which Gal'a(d)a does not occur. However, Isa 8:23 and Ezek 48:17-18 make it clear that such a province must have been in existence.[102]

Hoshea became king over a strongly reduced and subservient 'Israel'. He was destined to be the last of the Northern kings. As compared with the flourishing-time under Jeroboam II the king had already lost political power, economic influence and territory. I see three main causes for those losses:

1. The superior power, both military and economic, of the expanding Assyrian Empire. This expansion was no longer stopped by the Urartaean kingdom and there was no balance produced by an equal power in Egypt.
2. Internal political contrasts and conflicts. The already existing contrasts between 'Gileadites' and 'Manassites'[103] were sharpened when the question arose how to respond to the Assyrian power. It seems, that Tiglath Pileser III had been able to commit the 'Manassite' party to the Assyrian power. Menahem, Pekahja and Hoshea, presumably forced by the circumstances, turned the 'Manassites' into a pro-Assyrian group. The vassal-relationship provoked a reaction from the 'Gileadites'. It is àlso a matter of political logic that they turned in the anti-Assyrian camp. The love of liberty was, however, oppressed by the Assyrian military might. A similar love of liberty would become the cause for the final downfall of Samaria during the reign of Hoshea.
3. This love of liberty was idealistic and noble, but had also economic motifs. The payment, year after year, of tribute to Assyria must have been a heavy burden upon the Israelite economy.

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101 See below Chapter 5.

102 Cf. H. Tadmor, *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 121-122; B. Oded, *JNES* 29 (1970), p. 175; M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, pp. 98-99 +n10; M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 398.

103 This labelling of the two groups should be preferred above the partition into Israelites and Canaanites by W. Dietrich, *Israel und Kanaan*, esp. pp. 84-88, which implies an acknowledged definition of both socio-ethnic groups. See als N.P. Lemche, *Canaanites*, pp. 14-16, for criticism of the position held by Dietrich.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM VASSAL-STATE TO ASSYRIAN PROVINCE

MESOPOTAMIAN SOURCES

2.1. The problem

In recent studies on the history of Israel the fall of Samaria is described in vague terms. To mention two of them: Soggin notes a discrepancy between the Assyrian annals, which ascribe the fall of Samaria to Sargon II, and the biblical texts, which mention Shalmaneser V as the conqueror and which are probably right;[1] Clauss states that shortly before his death in 722 BCE Shalmaneser V captured the city, but a campaign of punishment of Sargon II was necessary afterwards.[2]

This vagueness reflects the fact that, in the inscriptions from Mesopotamia, two different claims for the conquest of Samaria can be found. In the Babylonian Chronicle it is stated that the Assyrian king Shalmaneser V (727-722 BCE) destroyed Samaria. On the other hand his successor Sargon II (722-705 BCE) claims to be the conqueror eight times in his inscriptions. The historical-chronological problem involved in this twofold claim has generally been resolved in four ways:

1) by arguing that Bab Chron I i:28 does not refer to a conquest of Samaria and therefore ascribing the conquest to Sargon II;
2) by supposing that the fall of Samaria took place so late in the reign of Shalmaneser V or even after the death of the king that Sargon II too could claim the conquest;
3) by agreeing with a hypothesis of H. Tadmor, which will be described below or;
4) by dating the ravaging of Samaria mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle in the first year of Shalmaneser V and by interpreting the other data in such a way that Sargon II brought to an end a siege already initiated by Shalmaneser V.

I will evaluate these solutions by discussing the relevant inscriptions.

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1 J.A. Soggin, *History*, pp. 229-230.

2 M. Clauss, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 119.

2.2. *Babylonian Chronicle I i:27-32*

This chronicle[3] sums up facts and events from the period between the reigns of the Babylonian kings Nabu-naṣir (747-734 BCE) and Shamash-shumu-ukin (668-648 BCE) The text — in its most recent form copied in year 22 of the Persian king Darius — transmitted older and trustworthy information, being based on information from eponym-lists and astronomical diaries. Col. i:27-32 describes the reign of Shalmaneser V.

27 iti AB(*Ṭebētu*) UD(*ūm*) 25 *Šul-man-a-šá-red ina* kur *Aš-šur*
28 {*u* URI(*Akkādī*)}ki[4] *ina* AŠ.TE.DÚR-*ab*(*kussê ittašab*) uru *Šá-m/ba*[5]-*ra-'-in iḫ-te-pi*

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29 MU(*šattu*) 5 *Šul-man-a-šá-red ina* iti AB(*ṭebēti*) NAM.MEŠ(*šimāti*)[6]
30 5 MU.MEŠ(*šattē*) *Šul-man-a-šá-red* LUGAL-*ut*(*šarrut*) KUR(*māti*) URI*ki*(*Akkādî*) kur *Aš-šur*
31 iti AB(*ṭebētu*) UD.12.KAM(*ana ūmi 12*) LUGAL.GIN(*Šarru-ukīn*) *ina* kur *Aš-šur ina* AŠ.TE.DÚR-*ab*(*kussê ittašab*)
32 *ina* BÁR(*Nisanni*) pd AMAR.UD.A.MU(*Marduk apla iddina*) *ina* TIN.TIRki(*Bābili*) AŠ.TE.DÚR-*ab*(*kussê ittašab*)[7]

27 On the 25th day of the month of Tebet Shalmaneser in Assur
28 {and Akkad} ascended the throne. He destroyed Samaria.

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29 Year 5: Shalmaneser died in the month Tebet.

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3 Text CT 34, 43-50, most recent edition A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, pp. 69-87; cf. H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 39. There is one main text BM 92502 (A) which can be added to the fragments B (BM 75976) and C (BM 75977).

4 Although there is room for the geographical indication *u Akkādi* the words are omitted in the recent redaction of the chronicle, cf. A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, p. 73n.

5 The cuneiform sign can be read both *ma* and *ba*. Cf. *ma* in uru *Ḫi-ri-im-ma* (ii:25) and *ba* in uru *Sar-ra-ba-*[*nu*] (ii:22).

6 NAM.MEŠ, the Babylonian noun *šimtu* stand as an ellipse for *ina/ana šimātīšu* '(to go) to one's destiny', i.e. die a natural death. See G. Steiner, *Or NS* 51 (1982), p. 242. This implies, that Shalmaneser V died a natural death and not on the battlefield or during a revolt, thus Sargon II is not an usurper, with N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), p. 218n37, contra H. Tadmor, History and ideology, pp. 26-29; S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 33. Tadmor later revised his opinion by assuming that Sargon II was a prince but yet an usurper.

7 Text CT 34, 43-50 I:27-32. Recent edition by A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, pp. 69-87. For a translation see K. Galling, *Textbuch*, Nr. 29; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* , p. 336; S. Timm, *WdO* 20-21 (1989-90), pp. 64-65.

30 Shalmaneser ruled over Assur and Akkad for five years.[8]
31 In the month Tebet Sargon ascended the throne in Assur.
32 On New-Years day Marduk-apla-iddina ascended the throne in Babylon.

Some scholars argue that in Bab Chron I i:28 ^{uru}*Šá-ba-ra-'-in* should be read instead of ^{uru}*Šá-ma-ra-'-in*. In that case the text provides information about the conquest of a city סברים (Sibraim) or ספרויים (Sefarvaim) by Shalmaneser V[9] and there are no problems in ascribing the conquest of Samaria to Sargon II. Arguments for this position are:

- In Neo-Assyrian texts Samaria is always written with an /s/ and not with a /š/.[10]
- The editor of the Babylonian Chronicle would not have had any interest in telling the fall of a small city in Palestine.[11]

Tadmor has argued, however, that neither Sibraim nor Sefarvaim are found in Mesopotamian sources.[12] It would be strange if the Babylonian Chronicle referred to a relatively unknown city. Besides Hebrew /š/ is rendered in Assyrian with a /s/. The Babylonian Chronicle, however, is a Babylonian text and not an Assyrian one. In Babylonian inscriptions Hebrew /š/ is rendered with a /š/.[13] With Tadmor I do not see any reason why ^{uru}*Šá-ma-ra-'-in* should not be identified with Samaria.[14]

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8 A five year reign for Shalmaneser V is also apparent from the Eponym-calendar C[b]3 (k. 3202, ed. A. Ungnad, *RlA* II, p. 432):6'-11', cf. *ARAB* II, § 1198; from the Babylonian king-list A (ed. CT 36,25) iv:9, cf. A.K. Grayson, in: *RlA* VI, pp.90-96, and from the Assyrian king-list (ed. I.J. Gelb, *JNES* 13 [1954], p.223)iv:26, cf. A.K. Grayson, in: *RlA* VI, pp. 101-115.

9 See for instance F. Delitzsch, *Literarisches Zentralblatt* 38 (1887), Sp 1290; J. Halévy, *ZA* 2 (1887), pp. 397-402; H. Winckler, Geschichte und Geographie, p. 63, and the discussion in H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 39-42; S. Timm, *WdO* 20-21 (1989-90), pp.65-66.
סברים is mentioned in Ezek 47:16; ספרויים in 2 Kgs 17:24.

10 For the orthography of Samaria in Neo-Assyrian texts see S. Parpola, *Toponyms*, pp. 302-303.

11 So H. Winckler, in: *KAT*[3], p. 63.

12 H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), 39-42. The identifications of R.Zadok, *JANESCU* 8 (1976), p. 117, with ^{uru}*Sá-par-ri-e* in *Bît-Amukani* and G.R. Driver, *EI* 5 (1978), 18-19*, with *Sippar* are problematical.

13 Cf. H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 39-42; the same holds for Aramaic cf. שמרין (Ezra 4:10) and שמרן Elephantine Papyrus (ed. A. Cowley, *Aramaic papyri*) No. 30:29 and in the Papyri from Wadi ed-Dâliyeh (see F.M. Cross, *BA* 26 [1963], pp. 110-121) for instance Sam Pap 2 (ed. F.M. Cross, Report, p. 25):12.

14 His view has been adopted by among others E. Vogt, *Bibl* 39 (1958), p. 536; W.W. Hallo, *BA* 23 (1960), p. 51; A. Jepsen, *VT* 18 (1968), p. 43; J.A. Brinkman, *Political history*, p.

For the interpretation of the text two questions are important:

1) Is there a hint in the text to the date of Shalmaneser's capture of Samaria?
2) What is the exact meaning of *ḫepû*?

The first question was raised by Winckler and repeated recently by Na'aman.[15] They pay attention to the following observations. The text of this chronicle is organized in a chronological order. Transverse lines mark separated units in the text. Within these units each and every event is dated according to the official regnal periods of the Babylonian king concerned. The capture of Samaria is positioned in the textual unit on the accession of Shalmaneser V. Winckler and Na'aman conclude that consequently *Šá-ma-ra-'-in iḫ-te-pi* refers to an event in the accession-year of Shalmaneser V which was 727 BCE. However, this argument is not convincing. As far as I can see the words *Šá-ma-ra-'-in iḫ-te-pi* form the only instance in the Babylonian Chronicle which is *not* introduced by the formula MU X "in the *x*th year: ...". Bab Chron I iv:34ff for instance introduces events in the accession-year of Shamash-shumu-ukin explicitly with MU.SAG "in the accession year". That leads me to suppose that the authors of the Babylonian Chronicle found in their sources an undated note on the capture of Samaria by Shalmaneser V. Bab Chron should be regarded as an important historical source for the conquest of Samaria at some period or other in the reign of Shalmaneser V. An exact date cannot be concluded from this chronicle.

But does the text state that Shalmaneser V captured or conquered the Northern Israelite capital city of Samaria? Na'aman presupposes that the Assyrian verb *ḫepû* was used in the Babylonian Chronicle in the connotation "to plunder/ to ravage" and that it refers to military actions against extensive areas, not against cities as such. According to Na'aman *ḫepû* is not used in this Chronicle to indicate the destruction of walls after a siege.[16] I have my doubts on this interpretation of *ḫepû*.

244; K. Jaroš, *Geschichte und Vermächtnis*, p. 46; I. Ephʿal, Israel: fall and exile, p. 187; N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), p. 215n27.

15 H. Winckler, *ZA* 2 (1887), pp. 351-352; N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 210-211.

16 N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), p. 211.

This Assyrian verb has as general meaning in G "To break, scatter, conquer, ruin"[17] The verb is used to describe the ruination of countries and cities.[18] In the Babylonian Chronicle I the verb is used several times. From the parallels in the royal inscriptions it becomes clear that it denotes the ruination of cities and/or countries and that it does not refer to a Pyrrhic victory.

i:21 Tiglath Pileser III devastated Bit-Amukani.

// TP III Tontafel (ed. Rost, p. 60):25: Bit-Amukani ... *ab-bul aq-qur ina* IZI *aš-rup* ' ... I disturbed and devastated, I burned it with fire'.

// TP III Plate inscription (ed. Rost, p. 44):11 KUR *É-A-mu-ka-an-ni ki-ma da-a-a-aš-ti* ' ... I trodded down as with ploughing'.

i:44 Marduk-apla-iddina devastated an unknown city.

ii:25 Sennacherib devastated Hirimma and Hararatum

// Senn Annals (ed. D.D. Luckenbill, *Annals*, p. 26) I:58-59 with parr. *i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit-ma e-du ul e-zib* '(the inhabitants of Hirimma) I brought down with swords. Nobody could escape'.

ii:38 Sennacherib devastated and plundered Nagitu and some other cities.

// Senn Annals (ed. D.D. Luckenbill, *Annals*, p. 38) IV:45 'the cities in this surrounding *ab-bul aq-qur ina* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu a-na* DU_6 *u kar-me ú-tir* I disturbed and devastated, I burned with fire and I changed into ruins and wilderness'.

iii:11 = ii:38.

This short semantic analysis brings to the conclusion that Bab Chron I i:28 refers to an actual capture of Samaria: rather than to a military campaign which had as target only the pacification of a rebellious region.[19]

2.3. The claims of Sargon II

2.3.1. The texts

Sargon II claims the conquest of Samaria several times in his inscriptions. Six of them will be discussed in this section. For reasons which will become clear later, two texts will be discussed later on.

2.3.1.1. Sargon II Display inscription :23-25

17 See both *AHw* p. 340, and *CAD H*, p. 173.

18 E.g. ND 2603 (ed. H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 17 [1955], pp. 32-33):8'.15'; Sg II Annals (ed. Winckler):381 = (ed. Lie):454; Senn Annals (ed. D.D. Luckenbill, *Annals*, p. 137):36.

19 Against N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 211.215-216; see S. Timm, *WdO* 20-21 (1989-90), p. 67.

The great Display inscription, excavated at Ḫorsabad, provides information about Sargon's military activities. The text has been framed in a geographical way and does not have a chronological intention. Four versions with only minor differences were found in Rooms IV, VII, VIII and X. In 23-25 the conquest of Samaria is referred to.

23 uru*Sa-me-ri-na al-me ak-šud*
24 20 + 7 IGI(*limmū*) 2 ME(*mê*) 90 UKÙ.MEŠ(*nišū*) *a-šib* ŠÀ(*libbi*)-*šu aš-lu-la* 50 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ(*narkabtū*) *ina* ŠÀ(*libbi*)-*šu-nu ak-ṣur-ma ù si-it-tu-ti i-nu-šú-nu ú-šá-ḫi-iz* lú*šu-ut* SAG-*ia*(*šūt-rēšija*) *eli-šú-nu áš-kun-ma* GUN(*biltu*) LUGAL(*šarre*) *maḫ-re-e*
25 *e-mid-su-nu-ti*[20]

23 I besieged and conquered Samerina.
24 27,290 people,[21] who lived in its midst, I carried away.
50 chariots I gathered from their midst.
The bereaved I taught proper behaviour.[22]
I appointed my commissioner over them.
The levy of the former king
25 I laid upon them.

According to this text Sargon II conquered Samaria and lead a large number of people into captivity. The instructions for *inū*, i.e. for pro-Assyrian conduct, may imply a punitive expedition after the breach of the treaty. The text does not give a starting-point for dating campaign and conquest.

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20 Texts: P.E. Botta, *Monument* IV, t. 97 (Room IV); t. 122-123 (Room VII); t. 138a (Room VIII) and t. 145,2 (!) and 3 (!) (Room X). The inscription from Room X is the least damaged one and has been edited by H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, n. 64 and 65.
Transcription and translation: H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, pp. 100-101; F.E. Peiser, Inschriften Sargon's, pp. 54-55.
Translation: D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, § 55; *ANET* p. 284; H. Tadmor, Decline, rise and destruction, p. 136; J. Briend - M.-J. Seux, *Textes*, No. 35B; S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), pp. 34-35; R. Borger, *TUAT* I,4, pp. 383-384; O. Carena, *Resto*, p.33; S. Timm, *WdO* 20-21 (1989-90), p. 73.

21 Sg II Nimrud Prism (ed. C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 [1954], p. 178) IV:31 numbers [2]7,280 deportees.

22 *aḫāzu* (Š) *inū*: 'to teach proper behaviour', i.e. to live in fear of the Assyrian Gods and king; cf. Sh.M. Paul, *JBL* 88 (1969), pp. 73-74; M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, p. 51; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 8; G.W. Ahlström, *Administration*, p. 8. See Codex Ḫammurabi V, 18. Contra S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 35, who translates "I allowed ... to pursue their own skill".

2.3.1.2. Sargon II Inscription on the palace doors IV:31-32

In the palace of Sargon II in Ḫorsabad inscriptions were found on the plaster-work of the doors. Together they form a group of five different texts, all in more than one version. These five texts all differ in size. They all relate in a non-chronological way the exploits of Sargon II. Samaria is only mentioned in text four.

31 *ka-šid* uru*Sa-me-ri-na*
32 *ù gi-mir* KUR(*māt*) É(*bēt*)-*Ḫu-um-ri-a*[23]

31 (Sargon II is the) conqueror of Samaria
32 and the whole land of the house of Omri.

This text confirms the claim of Sargon. Dates or details, however, are not given.

2.3.1.3. Sargon II Display inscription from room XIV:15

Besides the above-mentioned Display inscription from the palace at Ḫorsabad another Display inscription was found in Room XIV which also describes Sargon's exploits.

15 ...] *aš-lul* uru*Ši-nu-uḫ-tú* uru*Sa-mir-i-na ù gi-mir* KUR(*māt*) É(*bēt*)-*Ḫu-um-ri-ia*[24]

15 ... I plundered Shinuchtu, Samerina and the whole land of Omri.

It is a remarkable fact, that 'Samerina and the whole land of Omri' are mentioned in one line with uru*Ši-nu-uḫ-tú* in Cilicia which Sargon con-

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23 Text IV has been edited by P.E. Botta, *Monument* III, t 16-16quater, with duplicates in t 4.6.7.11.12.17-19; H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, t. 38-40, and R. Borger, *BAL*², p. 322-326.
Transcription: R. Borger, *BAL*² I, pp. 60-63.
Translation: D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, § 99.
Var.: *ka-a-šid*; uru*Sa-mir-i-na*; *gi-*[*mi-*]*ir*; *É-Ḫum-ri-a*.

24 Text P.E. Botta, *Monument* III, t 68, = H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, n 54, and P.E. Botta, *Monument* IV, 160 (Room XIV,5) = H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, n 57. Usually the text is quoted according to the edition of F.H. Weissbach, *ZDMG* 72 (1918), pp. 161-185.
Transcription and translation: H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, pp. 82-83.
Translation: D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II § 80; *ANET*, p. 285.
The conjunction *ù* is missing in Botta, III, t. 68:15.

quered during a campaign in his fourth *palû* = 718 BCE.[25]

2.3.1.4. Sargon II Nimrud prism IV:25-41

Fragments of inscribed prisms were unearthed during excavations at *Kalḫu* - Nimrud. Most of them contains inscription of Sargon II. Except for three smaller fragments[26], the other material formed part of a long non-chronological text:

ND 2601 + 3401 + 3417 = text D
ND 3400 + 3402 + 3408[27] +3409 = text E

Texts D and E overlap; both being incomplete versions of one text. Col. IV:25-41 mentions the conquest of Samaria in detail.

25 [lú.uru*Sa-*]*me-ri-na-a-a ša it-ti* LUGAL(*šarre*)
26 [...]*-ia a-na la e-peš ar-du-ti*
27 [*ù la na-*]*še bil-ti*
28 [...] *ig-me-lu-ma e-pu-šu ta-ḫa-zu*
29 [*i-n*]*a e-mu-uq* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ(*ilanī rabutī*) [EN.ME]Š-*ia* (*bēlîja*)
30 [*it-*]*ti-šú-nu am-da-ḫi*[*-iṣ-ma*]
31 [2]0 + 7 IGI(*limmu*) 2 ME(*mê*) 80 UKÙ.MEŠ(*nišū*) a-di GIŠ.GI[-GIR. MEŠ(*narkabtū*) ...]
32 *ù* DINGIR.MEŠ(*ilanī*) *ti-ik-li-šú-un šal-la-*[*ti-iš*]
33 *am-nu* 2 ME(*mê*) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ(*narkabtū*) *ki-ṣir* LUG[AL-*ti-ia* (*šarrūtija*)]
34 *i-na lib-bi-šú-nu ak-ṣur-ma*
35 *si-it-ta-ti-šú-nu*
36 *i-na qí-rib* KUR(*māti*) *Aš+šur u-šá-aṣ-bit*
37 uru*Sa-me-ri-na ú-tir-ma eli šá pa-ni*
38 *u-še-mi* UKÙ.MEŠ(*nišē*) KUR.KUR(*matāti*) *ki-šit-ti* ŠU.II-*ia*(*šepêja*)

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25 See Sg II Annals (ed. Winckler):42-45 = (ed. Lie):68-71, and Sg II Iran stela (ed. L.D. Levine, *Two stelae* , p. 36) ii:17-18; cf. H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 86n262; M. Wäfler, *OrNS* 52 (1983), p. 184.

26 — ND 3404, that contains two virtually unreadable columns;
— ND 3406, that belongs to Nimrud prism VIII, without joining, however;
— ND 3411, part of a horizontal cylinder in Babylonian cuneiform, this text is related to Sg II Cylinder inscription (ed. D.G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte*, pp.1-12.30-40) and Sg II "K" 1660 (ed. H. Winckler, *Sammlung* II, 4). See C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p.175.

27 In itself two pieces.

39 *i-na lib-bi ú-še-rib* lú*šu-ut* SAG-*ia*(*rēšīja*)
40 lúEN.NAM(*bēl paḫati*) *eli-šú-nu áš-kun-ma*
41 *it-ti* UKÙ.MEŠ(*nišē*) KUR(*māti*) *Aš+šur am-nu-šú-nu-ti*[28]

25 [The inhabitants of Sa]merina, who 28) agreed[29] 25) with a king
26 [hostile (?) to][30] me, not to endure servitude
27 [and not to br]ing tribute
28 [to Ashur (?)], did battle.
29 [Wit]h the power of the great gods, my [lord]s[31]
30 [aga]inst them I foug[ht].
31 [2]7,280 people, together with [their] chariots,
32 and the gods, in which they trusted, as spoil[32]
33 I counted. With 200 chariots for [my] royal force[33]
34 from them I formed a unit.
35 The rest of them
36 I settled in the midst of Assyria.
37 I repopulated Samerina more than before.

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28 Text: C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), Pl XLV and XLVI
Transcription and translation: C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), pp. 179-180; H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 34; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, pp. 349-350.
Translation: E. Vogt, *Bibl* 39 (1958), p. 537; K. Galling, *Textbuch*, Nr. 30; J. Briend - M.-J. Seux, *Textes*, No 36; M. Mallowan, Samaria, p. 156; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 166; S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 36; O. Carena, *Resto*, p. 33; N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 209-210.
See M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, p. 50; I. Eph'al, Samarian(s), p. 38.

29 From *gamālu itti* 'to agree with'; with: O. Carena, *Resto*, p. 33; contra S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 36; R. Borger, apud H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 349, who reads *ik-me-lu-ma*, from *kamālu itti* 'zornen gegen/to become angry' with LUGAL [*alik panī*]*ja* 'my royal predecessor' as object. *kamālu* occurs only in religious texts with gods as subject (CAD K, p. 109; AHw, p. 430). Na'aman reads line 28: [*lemut*]*ti ig-me-lu-ma* "they repayed evil; they treated badly" (N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 [1990], pp. 209-210+n10) and compares the expression with Westsemitic גמל רעה, but admits that the idiom has no parallel in Akkadian literature.

30 In relation to the interpretation of *igmeluma* the proposal of C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 179; O. Carena, *Resto*, p. 33, to read [*na-ki-ri(?)*]-*ia* is the most convincing.
Other proposals: [LÚ.KUR]-*ia* (H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 [1958], p. 34); [*alik panī*]-*ia* (R. Borger, apud H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 349; S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 [1985], p. 36; N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 [1990], pp. 209-210).

31 The reading [EN.ME]Š-*ia* is prompted by the context.

32 The adverbialis *šall ā*[*ti š*] must be added in view of the sentence structure; cf. C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 179; H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 34.

33 The Assyrian expression *kiṣir šarrūti* refers to the 'standing force directly under the king's command'; cf. J.N. Postgate, Economic structure, p. 211; B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 52; F. Malbran-Labat, *Armée*, p. 60.113.161.

38 People from countries, conquered by my hands,
39 I brought in it. My commissioner
40 I appointed as Governor over them.
41 I counted them as Assyrians.

This part of the Nimrud prism recalls Display inscription:23-25. Some sentences and phrases have parallels in Sg II Annals:11-17. There is no reason, however, to regard them as complementary texts, as copies of a lost original[34] or even to unite them into one text.[35] Sg II Display inscription:23-25 and Nimrud prism IV:25-41 are two differing descriptions of — I assume — one event. On Sg II Annals:11-17, see below.

A difficult point in this text is the interpretation of the slightly damaged opening lines of the section. Some scholars read in line 26: [*ālik pāni*]-*ia*, which they construe as an adjectival adjunct to LUGAL in line 25: "the king my [predecessor]".[36] As noted above this reading yields grammatical problems. Besides, it suggests that Sargon II was surpressing a rebellion that had already broken out during the reign of his predecessor.[37] This is, however, not in accordance with the other evidence relating to the year 720 BCE, which suggests that after the death of Shalmaneser V a new anti-Assyrian coalition was formed. According to my interpretation, Sg II Nimrud prism IV:25-41 refers to this anti-Assyrian conspiracy; the coalition lead by Ilubi'di of Hamath.[38] Since the Nimrud prism is not chronologically ordered[39] this cannot be proved from the original literary context, but must be verified with reference to other sources.

Sg II Nimrud prism IV:25-41 gives five important details on the fall of Samaria.

1. The deportation of [2]7,280 inhabitants of Samaria. One part was assumed into the royal Asyrian army, together with its 200 chariots.[40]

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34 So H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p.37.

35 Cf. M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, p. 50.

36 R. Borger, apud H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 349; S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 36; N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 209-210.

37 This is a major point in the view of N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 209-210.

38 C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 181-182, rightly rejects the possibility of a conspiracy under the leadership of an Egyptian tartânu Re'e. On the anti-Assyrian coalition see below in the discussion on the Assur charter.

39 H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 36.

40 See below Chapter 4.5.

The others were settled in the heartlands of Assyria.[41]

2. After the conquest the city was rebuilt.[42]
3. People from all parts of the Assyrian Empire were brought into the area.[43]
4. Israel/Samerina is no longer a tributary vassal-state, but a province in the Assyrian Empire.[44]
5. A remarkable fact is given by line 32: the spoils of war contained even 'the *gods* in which they trusted'. In the Neo-Assyrian Empire gods — i.e. their images — were regularly deported.[45] To the vanquished this was a religious humiliation. The gods in which they had trusted appeared to be less protecting than they had hoped. The removal of these gods was related to the introduction of the cult of the Assyrian gods.[46] According to Gadd the fact that god*s* were carried away from Samaria is 'doubtless interesting evidence for the polytheism of Israel'[47]. The expression *ilānī tiklīšu(nu)* might have been a literary *topos* in descriptions of the conquest of a city, which — by implication — does not have to refer to reality.[48] Yet it is more probable that it refers here to reality and thus confirms both the use of images in the religion of Samaria and the actual polytheism in Northern Isral, which were both condemned by the prophets Amos, Hoshea and Micah 6-7.[49]

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41 See below Chapter 4.6.

42 On archaeological grounds a rebuilding of the city is doubtful, cf. H. Weippert, in: *BRL*², p. 266.

43 Cf. 2 Kgs 17:24 and see below Chapter 5.

44 See H. Donner, *MIO* 5 (1957), pp. 162-165; Idem, *Israel unter den Völkern*, pp. 1-3, Idem, *Geschichte*, pp. 297-298; M. Weippert, Syrienpolitik, p. 398.

45 Cf. M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, pp. 119-127; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 348n92.

46 So with convincing arguments H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 352, against J.W. McKay, *Religion*; M. Cogan, *Imperialism*.

47 C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 181.

48 So K. Galling, *Textbuch*, p. 60n1; M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, p. 104.
The expression occurs in Sg II Annals (cf. H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, p. 233); Sg II Nimrud Prism (ed. C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 [1954], p. 186) VI:61, and Sg II Letter 8th campaign (F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne*, = W. Mayer, *Sargons Feldzug*):415.

49 Cf. J.H. Tigay, *No other gods*, p. 35; contra S. Timm, *WdO* 20-21 (1989-90), p. 77, although Tigay's main thesis that the epigraphic finds and the Israelite onomasticon indicate to a correction of the prophetic view that Israel's religion was mainly polytheistic, should be doubted since it is based on two disputable assumptions: 1) every *Yh(wh)* and *'l* in the onomasticon refers to the same deity; 2) the presence of a theophoric element in a personal name is an indication for the religious (and not the ethnic) background of the name-givers.
I prescind from the question of the authenticity of the Lucianic Version of the LXX in 2 Kgs

2.3.1.5. Sargon II Cylinder inscription:19-20

This text is known in four almost identical copies. The inscription records the founding of the new capital Dur-Sharruken. An outline of the exploits of Sargon II is likewise given.

19 *mu-ri-ib* KUR(*māt*) É(*bēt*)-*Ḫu-um-ri-a rap-ši ša i-na* uru*Ra-pi-ḫi*
Š1.Š1(*taḫta*) kur*Mu-uṣ-ri* GAR-*nu-ma*(*aškunuma*) p*Ḫa-a-nu-un*
LUGAL(*šar*) uru*Ḫa-zi-ti*[50] *ka-mu-us-su ú-še-ri-ba* uru*Aš+šur*
20 *ka-šid* lú*Ta-mu-di* lú*I-ba-di-di* lú*Mar-si-ma-ni* lú*Ḫa-ia-pa-a ša si-it-ta-šú-nu in-ni-it-qa-am-ma ú-šar-mu-ú ki-rib* KUR(*māt*) É(*bēt*)-*Ḫu-um-ri-a*[51]

19 (Sargon, who) subjected the extensive land of the house of Omri,
who inflicted a defeat upon Egypt at Raphia,
who brought Hanun, the king of Gaza, to Assur,
20 who gained the victory over the Tamudi, the Ibadidi, the Marsimani (and) the Hajapa,
who drived their bereaved
and settled them in the land of the house of Omri.

This non-chronological text relates the conquest of Samaria together with the battle at Raphia in 720 BCE, where Sargon defeated Hanun of Gaza despite Egyptian aid for the Philistine king. Line 20 mentions the repopulation of the Assyrian province of Samerina with Arab tribes also referred to in the Annals.[52] This repopulation is dated in the Annals in *palû* 7 = 715 BCE.[53]

18:34, where the words 'and where are the gods of the land of Samaria?' are inserted in the speech of Rabshake; see recently M. Anbar, *BN* 51 (1990), pp. 7-8.

50 Var.: TEN(*te*, *ti*$_7$) and *temen*.

51 Text: I R, 36-37 = H.Winckler, *Sargon* II, t. 43.
Transcription and translation: F.E. Peiser, Inschriften, p. 42; D.G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 33.
Translation: D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II § 118; O. Carena, *Resto*, p. 33.

52 Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed. Lie):120-123, cf. N. Na'aman and R. Zadok, *JCS* 40 (1988), p. 43; see below Chapter 5.2.

53 Cf. H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 78.

2.3.1.6. Sargon II Bull inscription:21

In Dur-Sharruken — Ḫorsabad pairs of bulls were excavated all inscribed with the same text, mentioning the heroic acts of Sargon II.

21 *ša-pi-in* ^{uru}*Sa-me-ri-na ka-la* KUR(*māt*) É(*bēt*)-*Ḫu-um-ri-a*[54]

22 (Sargon is the) usurper of Samaria and the whole land of the house of Omri.

Historical or chronological conclusions are impossible on the basis of this text.

2.3.2. The historical solution

Among those who accept the reading ^{uru}*Šá-ma-ra-'-in* in Bab Chron I i:28 and its identification with Samaria, many regard the note in Sarg II Annals:11-17 as a historically trustworthy indication that Sargon II conquered the city in his first regnal year.[55] The other texts of Sargon II are understood as parallel witnesses giving more detailed information about the destruction of the city, the deportation of (parts of) the population, its repopulation with foreign settlers and the booty taken by the Assyrian king. The historical problem is then solved by the supposition that the fall of Samaria took place late in the reign of Shalmaneser V or early in the reign of Sargon II. I.e. a date which could produce a claim for both kings to be the conquerer of the Israelite city.[56]

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54 Texts: P.E. Botta, *Monument* III, t 22-66. D.G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 13-19, edits only one inscription, i.e. from a pair of bulls now in the Louvre = P.E. Botta, *Monument* III, t 48-49.
Transcription and translation: D.G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 40-41.
Translation: D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II § 92.

55 For a discussion on this text see below.

56 See H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 33-39, for older literature. The position is formulated by H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern*, pp. 65-66; A.H.J. Gunneweg, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 104; M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 237; A. Lemaire, *Histoire*, p. 50; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 324n45; Y. Aharoni, *Land der Bibel*, p. 393; E. Würthwein, *Bücher der Könige*, p. 394; H. Donner, *Geschichte*, p. 315; D.L. Christensen, *VT* 39 (1989), p. 149. See also J.A. Soggin, *History*, pp. 229-230; M. Clauss, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 119; O. Margalith, *VT* 41 (1991), pp. 313-314; I.M. Diakonoff, Cities of the Medes, p. 13.

2.4. *A twofold conquest*

About thirty years ago H. Tadmor elaborated the hypothesis of H. Winckler.[57] In short: there was not *one* event with *two claims*, but Samaria was actually conquered twice. To make this supposition plausible Tadmor pays attention to a hitherto unmentioned text of Sargon II. In the Assur-Charter of Sargon II a campaign against the west in Sargon's second *palû* = 720 BCE is described in which Samaria is mentioned.

17 ... PDING[IR-*bi-i'-di*(*Ilubi'di*)]
18 lú[*Ḫa*]-*ma-ta-a-a la* EN(*bēl*) GIŠ.GU.ZA(*kussî*) *la ši-nin-ti* É.GAL (*ekalli*) *ša ina* SIPA-*ut*(*rē'ût*) UKÙ.MEŠ(*nišī*) *ši-mat-s*[*u*(*?*)-*nu*(*?*) *la*(*?*) *X X X-ma*]
19 *a-na* [d]*Aš+šu*[*r*] KUR-*šú*(*mātīšu*) UKÙ.MEŠ-*šú*(*nišīšu*) ḪUL-*t*[*u*] (*lemnuttu*) *la* [D]U_{10}.GA-*tú*([*ṭ*]*abtu*) *ú-ba-'u-ú-ma il-qa-a ši-ṭ*[*u-ti* ...]
20 [u]ru*Ar-pa-d*[*a* u]ru*Sa-me-ri-n*[*a*] *ú-*[*p*]*aḫ-ḫir-m*[*a*] *a-na i-di-šú ú-tir-r*[*a* ...]
21 [... *a*]*ṣ*(?) [B]E(?) [*i*]*d*(?)-*du*[*k*]-[*m*]*a na-piš-t*[*ú*] *u*[*l*] *e-z*[*ib* ...]
Edge 22 [...] x x x x x x [*a*]*š-š*[*i*]-*m*[*a*] *aš-šú ka-šad* kur*Ḫ*[*a*]-*ma-t*[*i* ...]
23 [*ša* kur*A-mu*]*r-r*[*e*] DA[GAL]-*ti*(*rapašti*) *am-ḫur-m*[*a*] d*Aš+šur* DINGI[R ...]
Rev. 24 [*ikribī*(*?*)-*ia*(*?*) *i*]*š-me-m*[*a*] *il-qa-a su-pi-ia u*[*m* ...]
25 [KASKAL(*ḫarrān*) kur*A-m*]*ur-re-e ú-šá-aṣ-bit* kur*Ḫa-*[*ma-ta* ...]
26 [...] x *m*[*u*] *ṣa-at šá lam-du ta-ni-t*[*i* ...]
27 [UKÙ.MEŠ(*nišī*)(?) kur*A-m*]*ur-re-e a-na* ŠU.II-*ia*(*šēpêja*) *ú-šak-ni-*[*iš* ...]
28 [*a*]*-na* [U]RU-*ia*(*ālîja*) uru*A-šur ub-la-m*[*a*...[58]

17 ... Il[ubi'di[59]

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57 H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 34-39; cf. H. Winckler, Beiträge zur Quellenscheidung der Königsbücher, in: H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 15-20. Tadmor does not refer to Winckler's article.

58 Sg II Assur-Charter:17-28. The text was first edited by H. Winckler, *Sammlung* II, No1, see also his *Forschungen* I, p. 403-405. A reedition on the basis of the original has been published by H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 37 (1975), pp. 11-20 + Pl IX.
Translation: D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, § 133-135, R. Borger, *TUAT* I,4, p. 387.

59 The name of this king is spelled alternately *Ilu-bi'di* and *Jau-bi'di*.
A. Malamat, *JNES* 22 (1963), p. 7, interprets *Jau-* as a JHWH-istic theophorous element, which consequently confirms his view of Israelite influence in Syria. This view was taken over by M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 166, but modified by S. Dalley, *VT* 40 (1990), p. 27.31, who doubts Israelite influence, but thinks that a God YHWH was

18 of] Hamath, who had no right to the throne, who was not duly in the palace, who in the shepherdship over his people, did [not] attend [their fate. But][60]
19 with regard to the god Assur,[61] his land and his people searched the bad, not the good. He treated [them(?)] with disdain.
20 He gathered Arpad and Samerina. Brought (them) at his side.
...
21 ... he[62] killed and he did not leave a living soul ...
22 ... [unto Assur] I raised [my hands][63] and to conquer H[a]math
...
23 [from the wide westland] I went to meet him. Assur, the [great] god ...
24 heard [my prayer][64] and acceded to my appeal ...
25 [the way[65] to the wes]tland I let [them] turn. Ha[math ...]
26 ... earlier times, who had learned fame ...
27 [The inhabitants of the wes]tland I made bow before my feet ...
28 [T]o the [c]ity of Assur I brought [them].

This text refers to the anti-Assyrian rebellion under the leadership of Ilubi'di of Hamath. After the death of Shalmaneser V, internal contrasts in Assyria were flourishing. The new king, Sargon II, knew how to ward them off by re-establishing certain privileges for the inhabitants of the

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worshipped in North Syria in the midst of the eighth century BCE. See now Z. Zevit, *VT* 41 (1991), pp. 363-366.
E. Lipiński, *VT* 21 (1971), pp. 371-373, suggests the name to have been ᵖDINGIR-*ia-ú-bi-'i-di* or in a contracted form ᵖDINGIR-*bi-'i-di*, from Aramaic *'ilu-jahû-bi-'idi* = אלו־יהו־בי־ער 'God will appear as my witness'. In a private communication M. Weippert suggested to me (June 1981) an original form ᵖ*I-lu-bi-'-di* or ᵖDINGIR-*ia-ú-bi-'-di*, the latter can be read both ᵖᵈ*Ia-ú-*... and ᵖ*Ilu-ia-ú-*... Both interpretations imply, that the name does not contain a YHWH-istic theophorous element.

60 For the additions in the end of line 18 see: H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 37 (1975), p. 14.

61 See H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 37 (1985), p. 18.

62 Following the suggestion of H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 37 (1975), p. 18, to read *iddukma* (3.m.s.) and not a 1.c.s. form; contra D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, § 134. Not Sargon, but Ilubi'di is subject. The actions of the Assyrian king against the rebellions are described in lines 23-25.

63 WIth H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 37 (1975), p. 18, contra H. Winckler, *AOF* I, p. 403.

64 [*ikribû(?)-ia(?)* ..., so H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 37 (1975), p. 14.

65 [KASKAL ... this meaningfull proposal of H. Winckler, *AOF* I, p. 403, has been followed by D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, § 134; H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 37 (1975), p. 14.

capital city and by restoring the tax-exemption of the temple.[66] Internal problems restrained him from campaigns against foreign enemies. In fact there were several rebellious vasals: Humban-nigash in Elam[67], Marduk-apla-iddina in Babylonia[68], Hanunu in Gaza[69] and a coalition under the leadership of Ilu-bi'di in Syria-Palestine. It is not clear which countries belonged to this coalition. In any case: Hamath, Arpad, Ṣimirra, Damascus and Samerina and probably Ḫatarikka.[70] After Sargon II had put down the internal political unrest, he went to war in his second *palû* = 720 BCE. In an inconclusive battle he assailed the king of Elam.[71] Then he went to the West and defeated the combined forces of the coalition in a battle near

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66 See Sg II Assur Charter:29-43; cf. H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), 37; H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern*, 106; H. Tadmor, History and ideology, p. 27; S. Timm, *WdO* 20-21 (1989-90), pp. 72-73.

67 See Sg II Assur-Charter:16-17, and Babylonian Chronicle I i:33-37.

68 See R.J. van der Spek, *JEOL* 25 (1977-78), p. 57 +n10.

69 See for instance Sg II Annals (ed. H. Winckler, p. 6):27-31 = (ed. A.G. Lie, p. 8):53-55; and Sg II Display inscription (ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, p. 100):25-27.

70 Sources on this rebellious coalition and the Assyrian powerfull answer to it:
- Sg II Annals (ed. H. Winckler):23-31 = (ed. A.G. Lie):23-57;
- Sg II Cyprus-stela (ed. L. Messerschmidt/A. Ungnad, *VS* I, No 71):51-65; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 317, gives a few additions to this text on the basis of an unpublished stela of Sargon II from Hamath;
- Sg II Display inscription (ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, p. 100):25-27;
- Sg II Iran-stela (ed. L.D. Levine, *Two stelae*, p. 68) II:4-12;
- Sg II Nimrud inscription (ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, p. 168-170):8;
- Sg II Asharna-stela (ed. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 30 [1933], p. 54-55) B and C;
- Sg II Nimrud prism (ed. C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 [1954], pp. 179-180) IV:25-49
- Sg II Assur Charter;
- Sg II Cylinder inscription (ed. D.G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 34):25;
- Sg II Report on the building of temples (ed. R.C. Thompson, *Iraq* 7 [1940], p. 87):18-20;
- Sg II Borowski-stela (ed. W.G. Lambert, in: *Ladders to heaven*, p. 125) II:1-19;
- Eponym calendar C⁰4 (ed. A. Ungnad, *RlA* II, k. 433):Rev 1'.

The letter of Bêl-duri, governor of Damascus, to Sargon II (SAA I, No. 171) refers to another Ilu-bi'di. Probably Zech 9 is also referring to this event.
Recent literature: H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern*, pp. 106-108; H. Tadmor, *BA* 29 (1966), pp. 90-91; B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 46; E. Vogt, *Aufstand*, p. 15; S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), 34; R.L. Beck, *International roles*, pp.149-150.

71 The sources describe this battle from differing perspectives:
- Sg II Annals (ed H. Winckler, p. 6, = A.G. Lie, p. 6):21-22, and Sg II Nimrud inscription (ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, p. 168):7;
- Babylonian Chronicle I i:33-37 and
- Marduk-apla-iddina Nimrud-stela (ed. C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 15 (1973), p. 123):17-18.

See H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 37-38; A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, p. 238; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 325n45.

Qarqar.[72]

On this historical basis, Tadmor argues that the other references in the inscriptions of Sargon II also refer to the conquest of Samaria by Sargon II in 720 BCE. This assumption presents no problem; because the texts of Sargon II are not chronologically anchored accept for the Annals. In a fragment belonging to the description of Sargon's accession-year and his first regnal year presumably the conquest of Samaria is mentioned:

11 [... *r*]*i*(?)/*šú-na-a-a* [...]
12(?) ...
13(?) ...

14 [... *mu-*]*šak-ši*[73]-[*id*] *er-nit-ti-ia* [...]
15 [... *á*]*š-lu-la* 50 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ(*narkabtū*) *kì-ṣir* LUGAL*ru-ti-ia* (*šarrūtîja*) *i-na* [...]
16 [... *ù-*]*tir-ma eli pa-na ú-še-mì* UKÙ.MEŠ(*nišī*) KUR.KUR(*mātāti*) *ki-šat-*[*ti* ...]
17 [...] *ma-da-at-tu ki-i šá Áš-su-ri e-mid-su-nu-ti*[74]

11 ... inhabitants [of ...r]ina(?) ...
12(?) ...
13(?) ...
14 ... who made me reach my wish for battle ...
15 ... I] plundered, 50 chariots for my royal forces
16 ... I re-established and made it greater than before; people from all countries ...
17 ... a tax I laid upon them as if they were Assyrians[75] ...

Like others, Tadmor augments the fragmentary description of the conquest

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72 Sg II Annals (ed. H. Winckler, p. 6 = A.G. Lie, p. 6):24.

73 Against A.G. Lie, *Annals*, p. 4, who reads *šid*; the sign *ši* is clearly to read.

74 Text P.E. Botta, *Monument* , IV Pl 79 Salle II,2 (=11-13) and Pl 70 (=14-17), see also H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, t 1 and t 2 (the edition of Winckler should be regarded very critically).
Transcription and translation: H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, p. 4-5; A.G. Lie, *Annals*, pp. 4-7.
Translation; D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, § 4; *ANET*, p. 284; R. Borger, *TUAT*, I, 4, p. 379.

75 According to M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, pp. 50-51; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 313n15, this is the heaviest form of tribute.

in lines 14-17 from the details in Sg II Nimrod Prism IV:25-41.[76] He then argues that the conquest of Samaria by Sargon II is antedated into the period of Sargon's Accession-year and his first regnal year. Like other Assyrian kings Sargon II dated an important military event back to the very first beginning of his reign for ideological reasons.[77] Historically speaking such an event could not have taken place because of the internal opposition Sargon II met after the death of Shalmaneser V. Taking the information in the Babylonian Chronicle I i:27-32 for historically trustworthy Tadmor arrives at the hypothesis that Samaria was actually conquered twice: for the first time in the final days of the reign of Shalmaneser V and for a second time by Sargon II after the rebellion under the leadership of Ilu-bi'di of Hamath in 720 BCE.[78]

2.4. *Evaluation*

In my opinion the hypothesis of Tadmor fits the evidence the best, three additional remarks should be made, however. The first will support his view. The second is a correction to strengthen his case. The third is meant as a modification of the year of the conquest by Shalmaneser V.

2.4.1. No new evidence and falsification

The view of Tadmor has the character of a scientific hypothesis. It is not possible to falsify this thesis using the available evidence. Tadmor has taken into account the Mesopotamian material known to him. Since 1958 five

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76 H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 34. M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, pp. 49-50, considers Sg II Annals:11-17, Sg II Nimrud Prism IV:25-41 and Sg II Display inscription:23-25 as three versions of one text.

77 H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 34-39; H. Tadmor, History and ideology, pp. 14-25.

78 H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 34-39; cf. H. Winckler, Beiträge zur Quellenscheidung, pp. 15-20. Tadmor does not refer to the article by Winckler.
Tadmor has been followed by (among others): E. Vogt, *Bibl* 39 (1958), pp. 535-541; W.H. Hallo, *BA* 23 (1960), p. 51; J. Bright, *History*, p. 274; A. Jepsen, *VT* 18 (1968), p. 43; N. Na'aman, *BASOR* 214 (1974), p. 33n34 [but see N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 206-225]; K. Jaroš, *Geschichte*, pp. 46-47; M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, p. 100; Idem, *JBL* 97 (1978), p. 40n1; I. Eph'al, Israel: fall and exile, p. 187-188; M. Weippert, in: *RlA* V, k. 203; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections*, pp. 29-31.33 (in a modified form); J.C. Trebolle, *Salmanticensis* 28 (1981), p. 147n17; B. Becking, *JEOL* 27 (1981-82), pp. 76n1.79+n24; E. Vogt, *Aufstand*, pp. 14-15.28-29; M. Weippert, Relations, p. 99; M. Cogan, *VT* 38 (1988), p. 287n6; S. Dalley, *VT* 40 (1990), pp. 26-27.
Tadmor has repeated his hypothesis in: Idem, Decline, rise and destruction, p. 136; Idem, Chronology, pp. 57-58; Idem, History and ideology, p. 20, and M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, pp. 198-201.

new texts of Sargon II have been published. They give no new information, however, about this matter and cannot be used for a falsification of his theory.

- Sg II Asdod stela gives information on the campaign of 712 BCE against Philistea.[79]
- Sg II Iran stela; this slightly damaged text gives in II:1-12 details on the rebellion under Ilu-bi'di, which were already known from other texts.[80]
- Sg II Malatya-fragment reports on events during campaigns against Babylon.[81]
- Sg II Bull inscription; a fragment from the museum in Genua parallelling the already known Bull inscription:77-93.[82]
- Sg II Borowski stela informs on the aftermath of the conquest of Hamath by Sargon II. 6,300 'guilty Assyrians' were settled in the new province, on which a heavy tribute was laid.[83]

In the Old Testament the fall of Samaria is described in 2 Kgs 17:3-6 and 18:9-11. These traditions mention only one conquest. According to the kind of the traditions handed down in the book of Kings and the span of time between the event(s) and the date of the final redaction by the deuteronomistic author(s), this fact needs not to be seen as a falsification of Tadmor's view. It is possible to suppose that during the process of transmission the account of a double conquest has merged into a single one.

These considerations confirm the view that Samaria was indeed conquered twice.

2.4.2. Does Sg II Annals:11-17 really refer to Samaria?

The second point is that I doubt whether Sg II Annals:11-17 refers to the conquest of Samaria by the Assyrian king. The problem is yielded by the broken line 11. The generally accepted reading is ... *r]i-na-a-a* [... . This reading would imply that inhabitants of a city ending in *-rina* became

79 Text: M. Dothan, *Ashdod* I, t XCVI, and II, pp. 192-197. On this campaign see Z. Kapera, *Rebellion*.

80 Text: L.D. Levine, *Two stelae*, p. 35.

81 Text: G.R. Castellino, in: *Malatya* III, pp. 69-73 + Tav LXVII.

82 Text: M.S. Biga, *Or NS* 48 (1979), pp. 476-477 + Pl xxxii. On the Bull inscription see D.G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte*.

83 Text: W.G. Lambert, in: *Ladders to heaven*, Text 83 = p. 125.

victims of an Assyrian military operation. Winckler suggested that this fragment could be augmented by Sg II Display inscription:23-25, discussed above.[84]

On the basis of this addition it is generally assumed that Sargon II claims the conquest of Samaria in Annals:11-17 and that line 11 should be added to ^{uru}*Sa-me-r]i-na-a-a*. For three reasons I do not agree with this addition and its implications.

1. First the addition ^{uru}*Sa-me-r]i-na-a-a* is not the only possibility. In Neo-Assyrian texts 13 other cities and villages whose names end in *-rina* also occur:

Ak-ba-ri-na[85]
Ak-ka-ba-ri-na[86]
Di-bi-i-ri-na[87]
Ḫa-u-ri-na[88]
Ḫu-ra-ri-na[89]
Ḫu-zi-ri-na[90]
Im-mi-ri-na[91]

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84 H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, p. 4. This suggestion is generally accepted, with the exception of S. Timm, *WdO* 20-21 (1989-90), pp. 74-75.

85 An Elamite village conquered by Ashurbanipal during his eighth campaign, cf. Assurb Annals (ed. Streck, VAB VII, II, p. 62)VII:63. On the chronology of Ashurbanipals campaign against Elam see A.K. Grayson, *ZA* 70 (1981), pp. 227-245; P.D. Gerardi, *Elamite campaigns*.

86 A Babylonian village reconquered by Sennacherib on the Elamite king during the seventh campaign: Senn Annals (ed. D.D. Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, p. 40)IV:68 and in the Walter's Art Gallery inscription (ed. A.K. Grayson, *AfO* 20 [1963], p. 90:30). Cf. R. Zadok, *WdO* 16 (1985), p. 44; cf. K.L. Younger, *Conquest accounts*, pp. 114.231.

87 An Elamite city mentioned in the report on Assurbanipals seventh campaign (Streck, VAB VII, II, p. 42) IV:117.

88 An important city in the area of Hauran, cf. J.N. Postgate, in: *RlA* IV, p. 176.

89 A city in the Arabian desert mentioned in the report of the ninth campaign of Ashurbanipal (Streck, VAB VII, II, p. 72):107, and VAT 5600+ (M. Weippert, *WdO* 7 [1973-74], pp. 74-75) III:46.

90 A greater city in the area of Harran, to be identified with Sultantepe; cf. J.N. Postgate, in: *RlA* IV, k. 535.

91 A small place of unknown location attested in C.H.W. Johns, *Doomsday book*, p. 12, II:4.10, and in a document from Nimrud ND 2728 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 [1961], p. 46):13.

Kid-ri-na[92]
Qa-ab-ri-na[93]
Sa-a'-ra-ri-na[94]
Saḫ-ri-na[95]
Sa-aḫ-ri-na[96]
Ṣi-ri-na[97]
Zu-uḫ-ri-na[98]

This observation suggests that the probability of the addition uru*Sa-me-r]i-na-a-a* needs to be argued more firmly. As Tadmor has shown, an argument cannot be supported by the other reports of Sargon's conquest of Samaria because the texts in which they are present lack a chronological order. The main argument for the view that Sg II Annals:11-17, Display inscription:23-25 and Nimrud prism IV:30-41 should be treated as versions of the same texts or as describing the same event, is the fact that the description of the conquest in Sg II Annals:14-17 has parallels on the level of phraseology in the other texts in which it is mentioned.[99] This brings me to my second argument.

2. Lines 14-17 of the Annals contain four sentences in which the conquest of a city is described. The expressions are formulated in general terms. They have many parallels in the inscriptions of Sargon II:

1. 50 chariots for the royal forces.

In the inscriptions of Sargon II the following seizures of chariots are

92 A city conquered by Sennacherib on his 'first' campaign, Annals:37.

93 An Elamite city conquered by Ashurbanipal during his eighth campaign, Annals:56.

94 A hamlet in the vicinity of Arba'il in the Assyrian heartlands mentioned in texts from the time of Adad-Nirari III, see E.F. Weidner, *AfO* 21 (1966), pp. 35-41.44.

95 A Babylonian city mentioned in the geographical list K. 4384 = 2 R 53, 1 I:9.

96 A Babylonian place mentioned in the report on the 'first' campaign of Sennacherib Annals:38, perhaps the same place as *Saḫ-ri-na*.

97 An Assyrian place known as the city of provenance of a witness Ubru-Sin in the judicial document ADD 1156 = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No 423 = SAA VI, 23:Rev7 [727 BCE].

98 A village in Babylonia mentioned in a document from Sippar (BM 50695+, J.A. Brinkman and D.A. Kennedy, *JCS* 35 [1983], p. 31); cf. R. Zadok, *WdO* 16 (1985), p. 56.

99 See A.G. Lie, *Annals*, p. 4; H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, p. 4; H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 34; M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, pp. 49-50.

mentioned:

300	chariots	from	Hamath	Cyprus stela I:57
200	chariots	from	Hamath	Display inscription:35
200	chariots	from	Samaria	Nimrud prism IV:32-33
200	chariots	from	?	Borowski stela II:1
150	chariots	from	Kummuhu	Display inscription:116
100	chariots	from	Tabal	Nimrud prism V:27-28
100	chariots	from	Tabal	Display inscription:32
100	chariots	from	Tabal	Annals:176[100]
50	chariots	from	Gargamesh	Annals:75[101]
50	chariots	from	Gargamesh	Display inscription from Room XIV:44
50	chariots	from	Samaria	Display inscription:24
30	chariots	from	Shinuhtu	Display inscription:28
...	chariots	from	Gargamesh	Nimrud prism IV:21

Note that the number of chariots seized from Samaria is not similar in Sg II Nimrud prism IV:32-33 and Sg II Display inscription:24 and that other cities are mentioned from which 50 chariots were captured and that in all inscriptions round numbers are used.

2. Re-establishing a conquered city.

Many cities conquered by Sargon II were re-established afterwards. The phrase 'I made it greater than before' occurs twice in the inscriptions: in Sg II Nimrud prism IV:37-38, where Samaria is mentioned, and in a passage from the Annals[102], which refers to the area near the Uqnu-river in Babylonia.

3. Deportations from other conquered areas.

The phrase 'peoples from all countries, conquered by my hand, I brought there' occurs at different places in the inscriptions:

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100 Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed. Lie, p. 32):202 = (ed. Winckler, p. 30):176.

101 Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed. Lie, p. 12):75 = (ed. Winckler, p. 10):75.

102 Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed. Lie, p. 50 [C_1]):14 = (ed. Winckler, p. 46):277.

to Asdod	Annals:227[103]
to Ellipi	Annals:71-72[104]
to Harhar	Display inscription:62
to Philistea	Display inscription:108
to Samerina	Nimrud prism IV:38-39
to Tabal	Annals:177[105]
to Tall Garimmu	Annals:188[106]

4. Tribute as if they were Assyrians.

The phrase by which Sargon states that he imposed a tax upon the inhabitants of conquered areas and newly-formed provinces 'as if they were Assyrians' occurs in his inscriptions in differing forms:

up	Asdod	Annals:227-228[107]
up	Gamgum	Display inscription:89
up	Gargamesh	Iran stela II:22
up	Hindanu	Annals:264[108]
up	Tabal	Annals:178[109]
	in general	Annals:10 (prologue)
	in general	Inscriptions on the aftersides:12-13[110]

Besides it should be noted that this element is phrased in a different way both in the Display-inscription and the Nimrud-prism:

Nimrud Prism IV:41 "I counted them as if they were Assyrians".

103 Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed. Lie, p. 40):261 = (ed. Winckler, p. 38):227.

104 Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed. Lie, p. 16):97-98 = (ed. Winckler, pp. 14-16):71-72.

105 Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed. Lie, p. 32):302 = (ed. Winckler, p. 30):177.

106 Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed. Lie, p. 34):214 = (ed. Winckler, p. 32):188.

107 Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed. Lie, p. 40):362-363 = (ed. Winckler, p. 38):227-228.

108 Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed. Lie, p. 48):329 = (ed. Winckler, p. 44):264.

109 Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed. Lie, p. 34):204 = (ed. Winckler, p. 30):178.

110 On the backside of sixteen inscription of Sargon II a summary-inscription describing the exploits of the Assyrian king is written.
Text: P.E. Botta, *Momument*, t. 164-179; H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, t. 40 (the main text).
Transcription and translation: H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, pp. 164-167 (idem).
Translation: D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II §§ 103-105.

Display inscription:24-25 "The tribute of the former king I laid upon them".

These parallels show that is neither self-evident nor plausible that *...r]i-na-a-a* refers to (inhabitants of) Samaria. The phraseology used appears to be appropriate for the description of the conquest of any city by the Assyrian king.[111] By way of a final remark I want to point to the phrase *mušakšid ernittîja* which occurs further in the inscriptions of Sargon II only three times in summary inscriptions.[112] These passages contain a general laudation to Shamash, who is said to have helped Sargon, but this is not related to any specific event. It is interesting to note that *mušakšid ernittîja* occurs as an epitheton of Nergal in the epilogue of the Codex Ḫammurabi LI:24-39.

2.4.3. Should ... *r]i-na-a-a* be read ?

Examining the conscientious text-edition of Botta[113] I made an interesting observation. The cuneiform sign rendered by Winckler, Lie and others as the broken end of RI (standing nail with a 'Winkelhaken') is in fact the sign ŠÚ. To the left of this sign there is so much space, that — in my opinion — it cannot be interpreted as the right end of a broken sign. This observation yields an implication and a complication.

It implies, that ... *r]i-na-a-a* should not be read and that Samaria is not mentioned here. It complicates the interpretation of Sg II Annals:11. Primarily I thought *šú-na-a-a* to be the ending of the indication of inhabitants of a city. I could find, however, only one rather obscure, Urarṭian locality ending in *-šuna*. I.e. *Kipšuna*, now Gefše[114]. Another possibility would be to see in *šú* the suffix 3.m.s. of a noun or a verb, but which word begins with *na-a-a*?

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111 Cf. also the theses of J. Renger, Neuassyrische Königsinschrifte, pp. 109-128; and the research of K.L. Younger, *Conquest accounts*, pp. 69-124.

112 Sg II Cylinder inscription (ed. D.G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 34.38):43.67, and in Sg II Bull inscription (ed. D.G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 44):83.

113 On Botta see for instance F.H. McGovern and J.N. McGovern, *BA* 49 (1986), pp. 109-113.

114 See Shamshi Adad V, Kalhu stela (1 R, 29):46; Shalmaneser III Ashur texts (ed. E. Michel, *WdO* 1 [1947/49], p. 262):10; the letter CT, 53, 37+ = SAA V, No. 108:8; the sale contracts ADD 359 = ARU 372 = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No. 153 = SAA VI, 202:5; and ADD 360 = ARU 373 = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No. 152 = SAA VI, 201:4.

2.4.4. Conclusions

These three observations function as arguments against the conclusion that the city, whose conquest is described in Sg II Annals:11-17 — whether or not antedated — cannot be identified. In my opinion the text is not putting into words a claim of Sargon II that he conquered Samaria during his accession-year or in his first *palû*.

This fact suggests a correction for the hypothesis of Tadmor. It is no longer necessary to assume antedating for ideological reasons. The fact that in my view the inscriptions of Sargon II only refer to a conquest in 720 BCE should be seen as strengthening the fore of the hypothesis of Tadmor.

In the introduction to this chapter, I pointed to a fourth possibility for the reconstruction of the historical events that lead to the fall of Samaria. Recently Na'aman has called in question the validity of the two-conquests theory. In his opinion Bab Chron I i:28 refers to an event in the accession year of Shalmaneser V and consequently cannot be combined with 2 Kgs 17:6a. Further, he states that there is no convincing evidence for a conquest by Shalmaneser V in 723 or 722 BCE. He therefore gives full weight to the claims of Sargon II. In his view of the events Na'aman supports the hypothesis that Sargon II surpressed in 720 BCE a rebellion of the Israelites, which already started during the reign of Shalmaneser V.[115] Some of his arguments are — as I hope I have made clear above — not convincing. His other arguments are related to the Old Testament evidence. Therefore, the evidence from the Old Testament will be analyzed in the next chapter.

115 N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 206-225. S. Timm, *WdO* 20-21 (1989-90), pp. 71-72, too dates the conquest of Samaria by Shalmaneser V in the beginning of the reign of the Assyrian monarch. This date, however, is based on the unprovable surmise that Shalmaneser V campaigned against the southern Babylonian Bît Adini during the final years of his reign.

CHAPTER THREE

FROM VASSAL-STATE TO ASSYRIAN PROVINCE

OLD TESTAMENT SOURCES

3.1. 2 Kings 17:3-6 and 2 Kings 18:9-11

3.1.1. The texts

Up to now, I have hardly taken the data from the Old Testament into account. I leave aside the allusions of the Prophets — Hoshea, Isaiah, Micah — to the events. They cannot be considered as historical sources, although they give an insight into the 'history of mentality' relating to ruin and destruction. The fall of Samaria is described twice in the book of Kings i.e. in 2 Kgs 17:3-6 and 18:9-11. Both texts are partly parallel.

2 Kings 17

3Against him(=Hoshea)
Shalmaneser, the king of
Assyria, marched.
4The king of Assyria found
out a conspiracy[1] at Hoshea,
who had sent messengers to So[2],
the king of Egypt, and who
had not brought the tribute to
the king of Assyria

2 Kings 18

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1 שׁקר. LXX (ἀδικίαν) misread שׁקר instead of שׁקר. Cf. H. Hrozny, *Abweichungen*, p. 62, for an outline of such reading failures in LXXKgs.

2 סוא is not a personal name or a geographical entity, but should like 'Pharaoh' be compared with an Egyptian title viz. for the "son of the king", see for instance R. Krauss, *BN* 11 (1980), pp. 29-31.
From the complete literature on the interpretation of סוא see S. Yeivin, *VT* 2 (1952), pp. 164-168; R. Borger, *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 49-53; H. Goedicke, *BASOR* 171 (1963), pp. 64-66; W.F. Albright, *BASOR* 171 (1963), p. 66; D.B. Redford, *JSSEA* 11 (1981), pp. 75-76; D.B. Redford, Relations, p. 203n56 (סוא = *s3w* [Sais]); S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 33; D.L. Christensen, *VT* 39 (1989), pp. 140-153; G.W. Ahlström, *SEÅ* 54 (1989), pp. 5-19; N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 216-217.

the king of Assyria
— as from year to year —[3].
The king of Assyria took him
captive[4] and let him put in irons
in prison.
5

The king of Assyria marched[5]
throughout the whole land.
He marched against Samaria.
He besieged it

6In
the ninth year of
Hoshea
the king of Assyria
captured Samaria.
He exiled
Israel to Assyria. He let them dwell
in Halah, Habur,
the river of Gozan, and in
the cities of the Medes.

9In the fourth year of Hezekiah,
which is the seventh year of Hoshea,
the son of Ela, the king of Israel,
Shalmaneser,
the king of Assyria marched

against Samaria.
He besieged it.
for three years.
10After three years
they[6] captured it.
In the sixth year of Hezekiah,
that is the ninth year of
Hoshea, the king of Israel,

Samaria was captured.
11The king of Assyria exiled
Israel to Assyria. He brought them
to Halah, Habur,
the river of Gozan, and to
the cities[7] of the Medes.

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3 LXX^{B} (ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ εἰκείνῳ 'in that year') has a significant text, which according to J.C. Trebolle, *Salmanticensis* 28 (1981), pp. 141-144, goes back to an older form of the Hebrew text.

4 ויעצרהו. LXX^{B} probably read ויצרדו and LXX$^{L^{ac}}$ ויערצו. Therefore it is more plausible to suggest a misreading in the Old Greek texts, than to assume traces of an older textual tradition, contra J.C. Trebolle, *Salmanticensis* 28 (1981), p.145.

5 E. Würthwein, *Könige*, p. 392n3, reads על in stead of ויעל.

6 MT, LXX$^{L^{ac}}$ and the Targum read a plural form, while a great part of the LXX-tradi-tion, Peš, Vulg and Symm have a singularis probably as accommodation on 2 Kgs 17:5.

7 The main tradition of the LXX takes ערי as proper name: καὶ Ὄρη Μηδῶν. Some Old Greek manuscripts have a noun derived from this proper name: ἐν ὄροις (c_2); ἐν ὀρεσι (bore$_2$) or καὶ ἐν ὄρεσι (123). J. Gray, *I & II Kings*^{2}, p. 652, therefore suggests to translate here 'in the mountains of Media'. The MT is supported by Symm, Vulg and Pešh. C.F. Burney, *Notes*, pp. xxviii-xxix, gives an outline of passages in LXXKings, where Hebrew words, which were incomprehensible to the translators, are transliterated in Greek script. Taking everything into account, there are no reasons to change the MT.

3.1.2. Tradition-historical remarks

It seems that two traditions are woven together here:

1. 2 Kgs 17:3-4 with no parallel in 2 Kgs 18.
2. 2 Kgs 17:5-6 and 18:9-11 are for the greater part in parallel.

It can be assumed that the common texts in 2 Kgs 17:5-6 and 18:9-11 derive from one tradition or archive notes. I agree with the scientific tradition that 2 Kgs 17:3-4 was written on the basis of the archives or annals of the Northern Kingdom and that 2 Kgs 17:5-6//18:9-11 were formed by using material from in the archives of Jerusalem.[8] Both texts should therefore be treated as independent traditions. In my opinion both 2 Kgs 17:5-6 and 18:9-11[9] were written in their present form or incorporated into the Deuteronomistic History in the time of Josiah[10], although I have no other argument for this hypothesis than a conceptual one: it fits within the scheme of a double-redaction of the Deuteronomistic History. 2 Kgs 17:3-4 may reflect an earlier stage of DtrH, i.e. a 'proto-deuteronomistic' history from the time of Hezekiah.[11] Before turning to the chronological problem I will make some remarks on the contents of these traditions.

3.2. Traditions from the archives of Israel

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8 See already H. Winckler, Beiträge zur Quellenscheidung, p. 20; M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, p. 78; J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, p. 641; R.D. Nelson, *Double redaction*, pp. 61-62; J.C. Trebolle, *Salmanticensis* 28 (1981), pp. 137-139; G.W. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* II, pp. 542-543.
Different views has been developed by G.W. Vera Chamaza, *BiZs* 33 (1989), pp. 222-233, who suggested 2 Kgs 18:5-6.9-12 to be a later, (post)exilic Dtr addition to a more original Reformbericht (2 Kgs 18:1-4.7+20:20-21); C. Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit*, pp. 108-117, who accepts a complicated tradition-historical process underlying the texts; N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 212-213.219-222, who interprets 2 Kgs 17:3-6 as a textual unit from an exilic Deuteronomist and 2 Kgs 18:9-11 as an interpretative addition from a later redactor (possibly DtrN); S. Timm, *WdO* 20-21 (1989-90), p. 63, states that all proposals to determine different layers in the text are unconvincing.

9 The literary-critical subdivision of 2 Kgs 18:9-11 by C. Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit*, pp. 101-106, produces no argument against the assumption, that the content of both tradition goes back to the Judaean annals. N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 212-213, undervalues the fact that 2 Kgs 17:5-6 and 18:9-11 are largely parallel accounts.

10 For a recent survey of the Deuteronomistic History and its problems see: A.D.H. Mayes, *Story of Israel*; H. Weippert, *ThR* 50 (1985), pp. 213-249; S.L. McKenzie, *Trouble*, pp. 1-19.

11 Cf. "RI" in the concept of H. Weippert, *Bibl* 53 (1972), pp. 307-323.

The exegesis of this passage is disputed. Some interpret verse 3a as a 'Sammelbericht', 3b as a prolepsis and 4 as a motivating flashback: 'the king *had found* a conspiracy ...'.[12] In this view the breaking of the treaty by the vassal Hoshea, i.e. by invoking help from Egypt, had been the immediate cause of *one* campaign of the Assyrian king leading to a three year siege. From a syntactical point of view there are, however, no reasons for such an assumption. 2 Kgs 17:3-4 contains a narrative chain of *wayyiqṭol*-forms[13], which describes a series of succeeding acts. Which implies that it is probable that 2 Kgs 17:3-4 is a chronological description of events, or, more strictly spoken, events presented by the author in a chronological framework. The truth of this framework will only become clear by a comparison with other sources. The relevant facts are as follows:

1. Even before Hoshea's conspiracy with Egypt there was an Assyrian campaign against Samaria. This means that Hoshea took the succession to the throne after the death of Tiglath Pileser III in 727 BCE to be an opportunity to throw off the yoke of vassaldom and that the new Assyrian King Shalmaneser V reacted with a military campaign at the beginning of his reign.[14] Such a campaign is not known from the Assyrian sources.[15] This can be ascribed to the lack of royal inscriptions of Shalmaneser V.[16] This fact, however, makes historical conclusions uncertain. Isa 14:28-32 probably refers to an anti-Assyrian revolt in the area of the Philistines in 727

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12 E.g. H.A. Brongers, *II Koningen*, p. 162; J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, p. 639.642.

13 The *qaṭal*-form עלה (3a) is caused by inversion stressing the adverbial עלי. The *qāṭal*-forms שלח and העלה (4) are part of a subordinate clause.

14 So H. Winckler, *ZA* 2 (1887), pp. 351-352; S. Herrmann, *Geschichte*, p. 310; H. Goedicke, *WZKM* 69 (1977), p. 2; M. Mallowan, Samaria, p. 155; A. Lemaire, *Histoire*, p. 50; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections*, pp.28-29; E. Würthwein, *Könige*, p. 57; N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 213-216; contra: H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern*, p.64. E. VOGT, *Aufstand*, p. 14, dates both the Philistine and the assumed Israelite rebellion to 726/25 BCE. The historical reconstructions of K. Jaroš, *Geschichte*, p. 45, and H. Cazelles, *Histoire*, p. 171, do not exclude an Assyrian campaign in 727 BCE.

15 Except when one accepts the interpretation of Bab Chron I i:28 by H. Winckler, *ZA* 2 (1887), pp. 351-352, and N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 210-211, who think that *Šamara'in iḫtepī* refers to an event in the accession year of Shalmaneser V.

16 The only texts known are eight cuneiform inscription engraved on weigths in the form of a lion inscribed with the name of Shalmaneser V in different spellings, ed. C.J.M. de Vogué, *CIS* I, 3-12; partly translated by C.H.W. Johns, *ADD* II, pp. 258-261, and F.H. Weissbach, *ZDMG* 61 (1907), p. 401. CT 37, 23 — ascribed to Shalmaneser V by D.D. Luckenbill, *AJSL* 41 (1924/25), pp. 162-164; Idem, *ARAB* I, §§ 829-830; B.L. Beck, *International roles*, p. 149 — is almost certainly an inscription of Esarhaddon, cf. B. Meissner, *AfO* 3 (1926), pp. 13-14; R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 32. See W. Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 140; A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, p. 242.

BCE.[17] There might have been a connection between this revolt and the rebellion in Samaria.

2. After the campaign of 727 BCE Hoshea became a vassal again.[18]
3. Thereafter Hoshea sought contact with 'So, the king of Egypt'. סוא is not a personal name or a geographical entity, but should, like 'Pharaoh' be compared with an Egyptian title viz. for the "son of the king".[19] It was probably Pi(ankhy) who conspired with Hoshea. Hoshea was looking for help in an anti-Assyrian rebellion.[20] It is not impossible to assume that he was forced to do so under the pressure of anti-Assyrian movements.
4. Meanwhile he stopped payment of the yearly tribute to Assyria.
5. Punitive measures were not delayed. Hoshea was captured by the Assyrian king. His imprisonment appears to be the result of an Assyrian campaign. The precise relation between the capture of the king and the conquest of the city is, however, not clear. Gray assumes that Hoshea would have left the city in order to open for himself peace-negotiations with Assyria.[21] The capture of Hoshea is the last detail from the annals of Israel, at least as far as they were taken over by the author of 2 Kgs 17:3-4.

In the view of this tradition the fall of Samaria should be imputed to a system of action and reaction; i.e. to the repeated political revolts in Israel and the reaction with the military power of Assyria. The name of the king who campaigned against Samaria is Shalmaneser (V). Whether or not he also conquered the city does not become clear from this tradition.

3.3. Traditions from the archives of Judah

Both 2 Kgs 17:5-6 and 18:9-11 present a chronologically ordered picture of events leading to the fall of Samaria.

1. The Assyrian king marched against Samaria. A motive for this campaign is not given. 2 Kgs 18:9 mentions Shalmaneser as the Assyrian king who laid

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17 This interpretation of Isa 14:28-32 is suggested by J. Begrich, *ZDMG* 86 (1933), pp. 66-79; cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, pp. 577-579; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections*, pp. 2.112; G.R. Hamborg, *VT* 31 (1981), pp. 149-150; N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), p. 214. For other suggestions for the date of Isa 14:28-32, cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*; H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern*, pp. 111-113; Idem, *Geschichte*, p. 318: 720 BCE.

18 This is suggested by the idiom ישב מנחה, which is an expression of vassal-relationship; cf. J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, p. 643; T. Veijola, *Königtum*, pp. 61-62; I. Riesener, *Stamm* עבד, pp. 19.43.142-143; P. Kalluveetil, *Declaration*, pp. 66.73.115n6.

19 See above note 2.

20 Cf. N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 217-218. S. Timm, *WdO* 20-21 (1989-90), p. 81, assumes that Hoshea was looking for equestrian help.

21 J. Gray, *I & II Kings* pp. 639-640.

siege to Samaria. The name is not apparent in 2 Kgs 17:5. The author of the first phase of the DtrH might have left out the name of the king, since he was already mentioned in 2 Kgs 17:3. This leads to the conclusion that in the annals of Judah, Shalmaneser V was mentioned as the king who laid siege to Samaria.

2. The siege lasted for three years. This long duration was caused by the strategic location of Samaria and by the defensive buildings constructed by Ahab and Omri.
3. The city was conquered in the third year of the siege. The phrasing of 2 Kgs 17 implies that the same king who besieged Samaria, was also its conqueror. 2 Kgs 18:10 is more vague. According to this text the city was taken not by the king but by an unspecified "they". Probably the author of the second phase of the DtrH knew from some source or tradition that there were some problems in ascribing to Shalmaneser V the conquest of the city.
4. After the conquest (a part of) the population was carried away into captivity.[22]
5. 2 Kgs 17:6 dates the fall of Samaria to the ninth year of Hoshea. The author of 2 Kings 18 brought the events within the chronology of Hezekiah. This produces the following picture:

	2 Kings 17	2 Kings 18
Beginning of the siege	{Hoshea 7}	Hezekiah 4 = Hoshea 7
Capture of Samaria	Hoshea 9	Hezekiah 6 = Hoshea 9

The trustworthiness of these dates has been doubted by Na'aman on the basis of literary-critical considerations. He regards them as later historical deductions on the part of the Deuteronomistic historian.[23] This is not convincing. First, Na'aman does not give any literary-critical argument for his opinion. Second, he makes a category mistake. Except when it can be proved that the numbers for the reigns of the kings in the Book of Kings are part of a deliberate and meaningful compositional scheme and therefore can be considered as "invention" of the redactors, the dates in the Book of Kings can only be considered as untrustworthy when they can be falsified by contemporaneous evidence. That means that as long as the numbers given in the Book of Kings coincide with

22 See below Chapter 4.

23 N. Na'aman, *Bibl* 71 (1990), pp. 220-222.

Mesopotamian or Egyptian data there are no reasons to suspect them. In the next paragraph I will try to investigate the dates of the fall of Samaria within the chronology of the Ancient Near East.

3.4. Anchoring in history

As a starting point, I take the rebellion that broke out in Samaria and Ashkelon during the campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 BCE. Pekah and Mitinti were driven from the throne by Hoshea and Rukibti.[24] From a recent collation of Tiglath-Pileser III ND 4301+:Rev12' it appeared that the new king Hoshea paid tribute to his Assyrian overlord in ... *Sa*]*rrabanu*.[25] This collation is of great chronological importance. The Assyrian king besieged Sarrabanu during his campaign in Babylonia in 731 BCE.[26] It is possible that Hoshea paid this tribute in 731 BCE to secure the formal recognition of his reign.[27] This leads to the synchro-nism that the first full regnal year of Hoshea must have been autumn 732 - autumn 731 BCE.

These observations are relevant for the chronology of Hoshea. The years Hoshea 7 and 9 are then to be dated in 725 and 723 BCE; which means that the fall of Samaria took place in 723 BCE, i.e. in the reign of Shalmaneser V, but not in his final year.

I will now turn to the chronology of Hezekiah to see if this date for the conquest of Samaria fits the data of his reign. According to 2 Kgs 17:1 Hoshea became king in the twelfth year of Achaz. Supposing that he ascended the throne after the revolt in the summer of 732, the twelfth year of Achaz must have been spring 732 - spring 731 (or autumn 733 - autumn 732). The regnal years of Achaz were probably reckoned from the moment of his co-regency with Jotham and not from the moment of his undivided rule after the death of Jotham. Ahaz reigned for 16 years. His 16th year, the year of his death, is consequently spring 728 - spring 727 BCE (or autumn 729 - autumn 728).

The accession-year of Hezekiah is not the same as the year of Ahaz's death. According to 2 Kgs 18:1 Hezekiah ascended the throne in the third year of Hoshea i.e. autumn 730 - autumn 729 BCE. This calculation suggests that Hezekiah became co-regent in Ahaz's 15th year.

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24 See above Chapter 1.5.

25 Collation of P. Hulin in: R. Borger und H. Tadmor, *ZAW* 94 (1984), p. 246, adopted by G.W. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, p. 545; N. Na'aman, *VT* 36 (1986), pp. 71-74; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 57n141.

26 On this campaign see: H. Tadmor, *Introductory remarks*, pp. 15.18; W. Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 131; R. Borger und H. Tadmor, *ZAW* 94 (1982), pp. 247-248.

27 See R. Borger und H. Tadmor, *ZAW* 94 (1982), p. 249; N. Na'aman, *VT* 36 (1986), pp. 73-74.

This means that the fourth year of Hezekiah must have been the period spring 725 - spring 724 BCE (or autumn 726 - autumn 725). The fall of Samaria, dated in 2 Kgs 18:10 in Hezekiah's sixth year, therefore took place in the period spring 723 - spring 722 BCE (or autumn 724 - autumn 723): probably in the summer of 723 BCE. This date fits the above mentioned chronology of Hoshea and can be confirmed by a remark on the other chronological data in 2 Kings 18.

2 Kgs 18:13 mentions an Assyrian military campaign against Jerusalem which took place in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah. The textual fragment 2 Kgs 18:13-16 is generally held to be a trustworthy primary source.[28] But then the text is taken as a starting point for complicated chronological reasoning leading to the conclusion that this source (2 Kgs 18:13-16) takes 715 or 714 BCE to be the first year of Hezekiah. The fourteenth year of Hezekiah must then have been 701 BCE, in which year the well known expedition of Sennacherib took place.[29] But then we must assume two differing systems of dating events from the reign of Hezekiah.

In my chronological scheme, the fourteenth year of Hezekiah was the period between spring 715 and spring 714 B.C (or autumn 716 - autumn 715). From the inscriptions of Sargon II a relatively peaceful campaign against southern Palestine in 715 BCE is known.[30] This campaign is wrongly dated in 716 BCE by Tadmor.[31] The aim of the campaign seems to be the strengthening of the border with Egypt. It is, however, not impossible, that Sargon II, or his son Sennacherib, who held a high military rank[32], went to Jerusalem to secure the paying of tribute. In my opinion this transaction is the one referred to in a summary-inscription of Sargon II where he says that it was:

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28 Cf. i.a. E. Vogt, *Aufstand*, p. 24.

29 Thus many of the scholars referred to below in note 35.

30 Sources for this campaign:
- Sg II Prism fragment VA 8424 (ed. E.F. Weidner, *AfO* 14 (1941/44), p. 43) II:1-11; cf. H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 77-78; N. Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), p. 71n6.
- Sg II Prism fragment ND 3411 (ed. C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 199):11-12.
- Sg II 'Nineveh-prism' IV:1-8; cf. H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 77n182.97-92; N. Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), p. 71n7.
- Sg II Annals from Ḫorsabad (ed Lie, pp. 20-22):120-123 = (ed. Winckler, p. 20):94-97.

See also H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern*, p. 108.
It is not impossible that the text K. 6205+ (see N. Na'aman, *BASOR* 214 [1974], pp. 25-39) refers to events in 715; cf. S. Timm, *Moab*, p. 337n19.356n50 (712 BCE).

31 H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 78; see also M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 28; N. Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), p. 71.

32 See H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), 78; A.K. Jenkins, *VT* 26 (1976), 296.

mu-šak-niš kur*Ja-ú-da*[33]

'He who subjected Judah'

The Š of the verb *kanāšu* 'to make subject' need not refer to a military campaign at all.

In the complex problems of Sennacherib's campaign or campaigns against Jerusalem and the description in 2 Kgs 18-20//Isa 36-39//2 Chron 32 Jenkins seems to be right. In my opinion there were 'two campaigns': one in 715 BCE and one in 701 BCE, the second one being well documented in the inscriptions of Sennacherib. Jenkins dates Hezekiah's fourteenth year in 714 BCE and connects the campaign mentioned in 2 Kgs 18:13 with the expedition of an Assyrian commander-in-chief against rebellious Asdod, which, however, took place in 712 BCE.[34] In my opinion Sennacherib's "first" campaign, which took place in Hezekiah's fourteenth year, has to be dated in the summer of 715 BCE. If this is correct all the chronological data from 2 Kgs 18 fall into place. I avoid here the discussion which elements in 2 Kgs 18-20//Isa. 36-39 refer to 715 and which to 701 BCE.[35]

3.5. Conclusions

The review of the relevant Old Testament sources yielded both an affirmation of the dates in the Book of Kings and a second correction to the hypothesis of Tadmor. The affirmation of the data means that the negative view of Na'aman is not convincing. The dates coincide with the Near Eastern chronology. However, I must make one exception. 2 Kgs 17:6b//18:11b does refer to the

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33 Sg II Nimrud inscription (ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, t 48 = A.H. Layard, *Inscriptions*, No. 33-34):8. Translation: H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, p. 168; D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, § 137.

34 For the campaign against Asdod see M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, pp. 28-32 (sources and literature p. 31n117); Z. Kapera, *Rebellion*; M. Weippert, Relations, p. 99+n27; N. Na'aman and R. Zadok, *JCS* 40 (1988), pp. 43-44; B.L. Beck, *International roles*, pp. 151-153; S. Timm, *Moab*, pp. 334-337.

35 From the literature on Sennacherib's campaign(s) against Judah and its (their) description(s) in the Old Testament and the Assyrian sources I mention: C. van Leeuwen, *OTS* 14 (1965), pp. 245-272; B.S. Childs, *Assyrian crisis*; R.E. Clements, *Deliverance*, pp. 9-27; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, pp. 42-53; S. Stohlmann, Judaean exile, pp. 147-175; H. Tadmor and M. Cogan, *EI* 16 (1982), pp. 198-201; P.R. Ackroyd, Ahaz and Hezekiah, pp. 247-259; W.H. Shea, *JBL* 104 (1985), pp. 410-418; K.A.D. Smelik, *OTS* 24 (1986), pp. 70-93; A. van der Kooij, *ZDPV* 102 (1986), pp. 93-109; E. Vogt, *Aufstand*; F.J. Gonçalves, *Expédition*; A. Laato, *SJOT* 2 (1987), pp. 49-68; G. Garbini, *History and ideology*, pp. 44-47; I.W. Prowan, *Hezekiah*; C. Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit*; E. Ruprecht, *ZThK* 87 (1990), pp. 33-66; S.L. McKenzie, *Trouble*, pp. 101-109; N. Na'aman, Forced participation, pp. 94-96; K.A.D. Smelik, *Converting*, pp. 123-128.

deportations by Sargon. In my opinion the deuteronomistic author of 2 Kgs 17:6b//18:11b, living at least a century after the events, was no longer aware of the double conquest of Samaria and consequently conflated all of the events and attributed them to one king.

The second correction to the hypothesis of Tadmor holds that the first conquest of Samaria did not take place in Shalmaneser's fifth year (summer 722 BCE), but should be dated in 723 BCE.

All my observations and remarks lead to the following reconstruction of the chronology of the final years of the Northern Kingdom:

727	Punitive expedition by Shalmaneser V, Hoshea again a vassal
725	Beginning of the siege of Samaria
723	Conquest of Samaria by Shalmaneser V
722/721	Succession of Sargon II to the throne in Assyria
	Anti-Assyrian coalition in the West
720	Campaign by Sargon II
	Battle at Qarqar
	Annexation of Samerina as an Assyrian province, deportation and repopulation of the area.

Another correction of the hypothesis of Tadmor is given by Laato[36], who reconstructed the chronology of the events in the following way:

722 BCE	= Hoshea 7	= Hezekiah 4	= devastation by Shalmaneser V
720 BCE	= Hoshea 9	= Hezekiah 6	= capture of Sargon II

His view is provocative, since he relates the 'three year siege' of Samaria to the theory of a double conquest. The implications of his view, however, create many new problems. Complications are caused by counting back to the accession/first year of Hoshea, which should then be 728 BCE and by counting forward to Hezekiah's fourteenth year which would be 712 BCE. To avoid this he must either assume different chronological systems within the Book of Kings, or accept miscalculations by a later redactor. In fact he assumes both.[37] Which implies, that there is no consistency in his chronological proposal.

3.6. An archaeological side-step

The campaigns of Tiglath Pileser III, Shalmaneser V and Sargon II have left dir-

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36 A. Laato, *ZAW* 98 (1986), pp. 216-219.

37 A. Laato, *ZAW* 98 (1986), p. 216.218.

ect and indirect traces on the former territory of the Northern Kingdom, These traces have partly been recovered during archeological excavations. Here, only a short stock-taking is undertaken. The subject is worth a study on its own.[38] The traces mentioned are difficult to date exactly. From the stratigraphy of the excavations it becomes clear that they are from the second part of the eighth century BCE. On the basis of combination with written sources it is, for instance plausible to ascribe the destructions in the area of Galilee to the armies of Tiglath Pileser III.[39] However, to date with Toombs and Hallo the violent destruction of Stratum VII in Shechem in 725 BCE and, consequently, interpret it as an indication that Shalmaneser V already marched that early in the hill-country of Samaria and not as late as 722 or 720 BCE, is both an example of theory-loaded observation and of over-asking the archaeological evidence.[40]

Traces of destruction and devastation have been found in:

1. Galilee

- Dan. This city has been conquered, but remained inhabited. The acropolis kept its cultic function.
- Dothan. The Israelite city from Stratum II (eighth century BCE) was destructed. According to Stratum I, the city was rebuilt during the Assyrian period, but has been occupied only for short times. In this Stratum Assyrian ceramics were found which resembled contemporary material from Kalhu-Nimrud, Tell el-Far'a North and Samaria.
- 'En-Gev. Layers 1-1* in this place are to be dated in the eighth century BCE on the basis of the pottery. After that the place was abandoned, but no traces of devastation were found.
- Hazor. In 2 Kgs 15:29 Hazor is mentioned as one of the cities conquered by Tiglath Pileser III. In Layer V, which is to be dated after an earthquake[41], the citadel of the city is strengthened with an additional wall to the West, the South and the East of the city. In spite of these defensive works, the city was captured. The walls were covered with a layer of circa one meter of ash and ruins indicating a destruction of the city. Layer IV shows a much smaller, not-defended occupation. In Layer III, seventh century BCE, traces of Assyrian defence-structures were uncovered. In Area B in this Layer

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38 For the different excavations one is referred to the summaries in *EAEHL* and *BRL*² with the literature quoted there; see also the outline in E. Stern, *BiAr* 38 (1975), pp. 25-54.

39 See recently Z. Gal, *Tel Aviv* 15-16 (1988-1989), pp. 62-64.

40 H.C. Kee and L.E. Toombs, *BiAr* 20 (1957), p. 99; W.W. Hallo, *BiAr* 23 (1960), p. 51; see also T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 29, who dates the destruction of some parts of the hill-country of Ephraim in 724 BCE.

41 Probably to be related to the earthquake Amos refers to.

traces of an Assyrian fortress from the seventh century BCE were found.[42]

- Tell Qedesh. An archaeological survey showed that this city was occupied in the Iron Age. Next, objects from the Hellenistic period were found. Probably, Tell Qedesh is to be identified with Qedesh mentioned in 2 Kgs 15:29.
- Tell Abu Qudeis. This place between Ta'annak and Megiddo should probably be preferred above Tell Qedesh in the question of the identification of Biblical Qedesh. According to Layers VII-IV, Tell Abu Qudeis was occupied in the Iron Age, but next to that the place was abandoned for a long period.
- Kinnereth. This place on the shores of Lake Galilee has only been partly excavated. In Iron Age II-C the city increased in importance, but it was destructed in the second part of the eighth century BCE.
- Megiddo. The Israelite occupation in Layer IV-A, eighth century BCE, has been devastated. Layer III shows some traces of the rebuilding of the city. In this Layer two structures were found, who were identified as Assyrian administrative buildings.[43]
- Lower Galilee. On the basis of surveys in the area Gal has concluded the emptiness of the Lower Galilee from the end of the eighth century BCE to the beginning of the Persian period.[44]

2. The coastal strip

- Tell Shiqmona. In this city, 1.3 km South of Cape Carmel, 'Town C' was devastated during the second half of the eighth century BCE. The much smaller 'Town D' was destructed a small period later. Consequently, one could argue that the destruction of 'Town C' was due to Tiglath Pileser III's campaign in 734 BCE, while the devastation of 'Town D' could be related to the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 BCE.
- Dor. There are traces that a 'first wall' was devastated during the eighth century BCE.[45]
- Tell Qaşile. The Israelite harbour near the mouth of the river Yarkon was inhabited in the eighth century BCE according to Layers VIII and VII. Although no traces of destruction were found, the following phase of occupa-

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42 See Y. Yadin, *Hazor*, pp. 191-194.

43 See R. Amiram and I. Dunayevsky, *BASOR* 149 (1958), pp. 25-32; S. Yeivin, Divided Kingdom, p. 176.

44 Z. Gal, *Tel Aviv* 15-16 (1988-1989), p. 64.

45 See E. Stern, *IEJ* 37 (1987), pp. 6-14.

tion of the tell is in the Persian period.[46]

- Tell Kudadi. The wall of an eighth century Israelite fortress was excavated, who was covered with a double layer of fire remains indicating to a destruction.
- Gezer. The city was occupied by the Israelites since 950 BCE. Layer VI was destructed during the eighth century BCE. The next Layer V, first half of the seventh century BCE, was only scarcely inhabited. Two Neo-Assyrian legal documents stem were found in this Layer, most probably in the context of an Assyrian administrative building.[47]

It is tentative to relate these traces to the campaign of Tiglath Pileser III in 734 BCE along the Mediterranean coast.

3. The hill country of Ephraim

- Bethel. In Bethel, no traces of destruction or fire from the eighth century BCE were recovered, although the local altar has been restored during the Assyrian period.[48]
- Thirza. This former capital of the Northern Kingdom has been recovered in Tell al-Far'a North. On the basis of the pottery excavated, Layer II should be dated to the eighth century BCE. This Layer was completely devastated. The walls were demolished and the city-gate blocked, so that in Layer I an open, undefended city remained. Ceramics of Assyrian origin have been found in this Layer.
- Shechem. Layer VII has violently been destructed in the second part of the eighth century BCE. In Layer VI the city was scarcely inhabited. An inscribed seal from the sixth century BCE has been uncovered with an Hebrew inscription מבן.[49]
- Samaria. In the periods V and VI, middle of the eighth century BCE, some changes and reparations in buildings of the foregoing, much richer, period could be indicated. In several places in the city, period VI is covered with a thick layer of ash and ruin.[50] It is actually impossible to decide whether this layer should be related to Shalmaneser V or Sargon II. The walls of Samaria were not demolished, but remained in service during the periods

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46 Cf. A. Mazar, *IEJ* 36 (1986), pp. 1-15.

47 The documents will be discussed in Chapter 6. On the archaeological context see: R. Reich - B. Brandt, *PEQ* 117 (1985), pp. 41-54.

48 See 2 Kgs 17:28?

49 Cf. B. Oded, *Mass-deportations*, p. 22.

50 J.W. Crowfoot, K.M. Kenyon, E.L. Sukenik, *Buildings*, pp. 110-112.

VII and VIII.[51] The rebuilding of the city, referred to in Sg II Nimrud prism IV:37, is uncertain on the basis of archaeological evidence. Most probably, the remains of the occupation in this period have been reused in the Persian period. Ceramics of Assyrian origin have been found in this period.[52] Four inscriptions in cuneiform character have ben unearthed from this period.

The traces of destruction in the hill-country of Ephraim could be related to the campaigns of Shalmaneser V and/or Sargon II. The special position of Bethel is remarkable.

The archaeological evidence is not able to clarify the historical chronological problem discussed in this chapter. However, the traces of destruction as such indicate the fact that the Assyrian conquest actually took place. The general decrease in population and the emptiness of formerly inhabited places should be interpreted as referring to both the loss of man-power as a result of the war and a lack of balance in the Assyrian policy of deportation.

In the next Chapters the consequences of the downfall of Samaria will be discussed, i.e. the deportation of inhabitants of Samaria (Ch. IV) and the repopulation of the area (Ch. V). Finally, I will review Assyrian documents on the province Samerina in the last Chapter.

51 J.W. Crowfoot, K.M. Kenyon, E.L. Sukenik, *Objects*, pp. 97-98.

52 N. Avigad, *EAEHL* IV, p. 1046.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEPORTATIONS

4.1. The Assyrian system of deportation

The inscriptions of Sargon II and the Old Testament both mention the deportation of the inhabitants of Northern Israel. Likewise, the repopulation of the area is referred to in both sources. The political instrument of deportation and repopulation had long been practiced in ancient Egypt and by the Hittites. Many Mesopotamian kings too employed this instrument; but only in the period of the reign of Tiglath Pileser III and the Sargonides was it been practiced on a large scale.[1]

According to Oded the aim of the Assyrian system of deportation was threefold: political, military and economic. Politically: to break the anti-Assyrian resistance in the provinces and on the borders of the Empire. Militarily: to strengthen the Assyrian army. Economically: to bring craftsmen to the central areas of Assyria and to enlarge the working class in the agricultural areas. In the deportation of (parts of) the population of Israel all these three factors play a role as will soon become clear. After 720 BCE there was no revolt in the Assyrian province of Samerina. The political aim was seemingly attained. In this chapter I will refer to sources which show that Israelites were incorporated into the Assyrian army. Assyrian sources mention Israelites who lived in important agricultural areas (Halah, Gozan). In Assyria proper, Israelites lived as craftsmen in Dur Sharruken and Nimrud.

The Assyrians practiced the two-way system of deportation. The (partly) depopulated country was repopulated with captives and deportees from elsewhere in the Assyrian Empire.[2] This was also the case after the conquest of Samaria. In a repopulated area the Assyrians made no dif-

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1 Cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections* , p. 10; H. Klengel, in: *RlA* VI, k. 246; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, pp. 316-318.

2 Cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 27-29. This system is referred to in the second Aramaic (or Yaudic) votive-stele of Panamuwwa II (KAI 215:)14:

ובנת.מוקא.שמש.יבל.מערב.ובנת.מערב.יבל.מו[קא.ש]מש

'The daughters of East he (Tiglath Pileser III) brought to the west; the daughters of the West he brought to the E[as]t.' On this inscription see now H. Sader, *Etats Araméens*, pp. 172-176.

ferences between the different elements of the population. Autochtones and allochtones had the same rights and (fiscal) duties.[3] From Assyrian sources it becomes clear that deportees could take different social positions.[4]

In the next sections I will try to find traces of the Israelites in the assigned areas. I must remark that it is not always possible to trace a former Israelite or his/her descendant on the basis of Hebrew-like personal names in Assyrian inscriptions. Many personal names known from the Old Testament are common among other people who spoke West-Semitic languages.[5] Uncertainty on the ethnographic background of a person is always mentioned in the following paragraphs. An Israelite background is assumed in personal names ending in the theophoric element *-ja-u/ú*.[6]

> Schiffer thought that in a large number of cuneiform inscriptions from Kannu the theophoric element *-a-u* = YHWH was to be read and that these names were born by deportees from Israel or their descendants. It is clear, however, that in these names A.U = *Apla-addu* and refers to the deity Aflad.[7]

4.2. Halah

According to 2 Kgs 17:6 and 18:11 deportees from Israel were brought to Halah, which can be identified with the area of *Ḫalaḫḫu* lying Northeast of the Assyrian heartlands.[8]

In the Assyrian royal inscriptions there is no reference to a deportation to this area. There is, however, one document which could indicate the presence of Israelites in *Ḫalaḫḫu*. In the legal document ADD 755 *Ḫalaḫḫu* is twice mentioned (ADD 755:2.4). This text contains three Westsemitic personal names, which were possibly born by Israelites: *Aḫi-ia-qa-mu*; *Ba-ra-*[*ki*] and *Ḫa-an-ni-i*.

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3 Cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 84.

4 Cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 115.

5 See on this: B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 11-16; H. Tadmor, Aramaization, p. 460n5; R. Zadok, *Jews*, pp. 22-27.

6 Cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 13-14; M. Weippert, in: *RlA* V, k. 250; R. Zadok, *Jews*, pp. 7-22.

7 S. Schiffer, *Spuren*; see also L. Gry, *Le Muséon* 35 (1922), pp. 153-185 and 36 (1923), pp. 1-26.

8 *Ḫalaḫḫu* is already mentioned in Middle-Assyrian documents. E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 112, identifies it with Tell al-'Abbāsīya; see also B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 86; J.N. Postgate, in: *RlA* IV, k. 58. H.A. Brongers, *Il Koningen*, p. 163, incorrectly identifies חלח with Kalḫu/Nimrud.

Aḫi-ia-qa-mu

Hebr	אחיקם	In the Old Testament e.g. 2 Kgs 22:12.14; Jer 39-43; ostracon Arad H 31:5; two seals of unknown provenance one from the eighth century BCE[9] and one ± 700 BCE[10]

Ba-ra-[ki]

Hebr	ברכיה	e.g. 1 Chr 3:20
	ברכיהו	e.g. 2 Chr 28:12 and ostracon Arad H 22:1
Aram	ברכי	on a seal ± 700 BCE[11]
WSem	*Ba-ri-ki*	a member of the cavalry in Nimrud CTN III 99 ii:24

Ḫa-an-ni-i

Hebr	//	חן; חנו; חנן; חנני (OT)
	חנה	on a seal from the vicinity of Lakish ± 700 BCE[12]
Aram	חנן	on a seal from the eighth century[13]
WSem	*Ḫa-an-ni-i*	a witness to a land transaction from Nimrud, mid eighth century BCE, CTN III 66:5.19

Aḫi-ia-qa-mu could be a Hebrew personal name and probably is a deportee from Northern Israel.[14] The two other names and the Aramaic words on a contract relating to the sale of a vineyard ...]כרם סעמתיך[... 'vineyard of Saamtik' — ADD 522 = ARU 380 — point at the presence of Westsemitic deportees in Halah.

Two Neo-Assyrian letters show that fields in Halah belonged to the king.[15] The Assyrian king parcelled out those fields partly to the high functionaries and the priests of the temple. From the contract of the sale of land, ND 23, it also becomes clear that Halah had an agricultural function.[16] Besides, a Neo-Assyrian letter shows that the inhabitants of Halah were obliged to perform *dullu*-duties.[17]

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9 Ed. N. Avigad, *IEJ* 13 (1963), Pl 34.

10 Ed. P. Bordreuil et A. Lemaire, *Sem* 29 (1979), p. 74.

11 Ed. L. Delaporte, *Catalogue*, No A 733.

12 Ed. J.R. Bartlett, *PEQ* 108 (1976), Pl. 8.

13 Ed. L.G. Herr, *Scripts*, p. 50.

14 Positive: S. Schiffer, *Spuren*, p. 16.29; B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 15.70-71.93.

15 ABL 421 = S. Parpola, *Letters*, pp. 80.114, and ABL 480 = SAA I, No. 106; cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 70.

16 ND 23; edited by J.N. Postgate, *Archive*, Pl 46 and p. 98, No. 64.

17 ABL 1180 = J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, pp. 294-296 = SAA I, No 143. *dullu* refers to a duty

Taking all the evidence together it is not impossible that Israelites were taken as deportees to Halah where they worked on the royal estates, or on land belonging to a temple or a private citizen. In each case they co-operated in the food supply for the Assyrian heartlands. They could have participated in *dullu*-duties.

4.3. Habur, the river of Gozan

2 Kgs 17:6 and 18:11 mention the Habur, the river of Gozan, as an area to which Israelites were deported. The Habur is a branch of the Euphrates now called *nahr khabour* in North-East Syria.[18] The ancient city of Gozan was located on the upper reaches of this river.[19] In the report of a messenger of Sennacherib in which he tried to persuade Hezekiah to give up the resistance of Jerusalem, several peoples are mentioned who were conquered by Sennacherib or his predecessors. One of them is Gozan (2 Kgs 19:12). This could justify the assumption that Gozan, like Hamath and Arpad, was conquered by Sennacherib's immediate predecessor.

Assyrian sources, however, point out that the area of Guzana had already been part of the Assyrian Empire in the second millennium BCE.[20] The Assyrian network was enlarged in 895 BCE by Adad-Nirari II, who overthrew the rebellious Aramaic king Abi-Salamu of Bīt-Baḫiani.[21] In the ninth century BCE Guzana was an Assyrian province with an indigenous dynasty as becomes clear from the bilingual inscription on the image of Adad-It'i from Tell Fekherye.[22] In this area the Assyrians had been confronted by several revolts. The eponym-calendar shows that Ashur-

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to work for the king. In Halah this meant the digging and the upkeep of the canals aiming at a better irrigation of the land and the delivery of straw; cf. J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, pp. 81.83.226-228; B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 70-71.86.

18 Assyrian: ^{na4}*Ḫa-bur*, cf. S. Parpola, *Toponyms*, pp. 138-139; Old Aramaic: חבור Bilingual inscription from Tell Fekherye (ed. A. Abou-assaf, P. Bordreuil, A.R. Millard, *Statue*, p.41) Aram:16.

19 Assyrian: *Gu-za-na*, cf. S. Parpola, *Toponyms*, p. 139; Old Aramaic: גזן Bilingual inscription from Tell Fekherye (ed. A. Abou-assaf, P. Bordreuil, A.R. Millard, *Statue*, p.41) Aram:6.7.13; now *Tell ḥalaf*, cf. B. Hrouda, in: *RlA* V, k. 54.

20 The 'network paradigm' of M. Liverani, *SAAB* 2 (1988), pp. 81-98, is convincing. The Habur/Middle Euphrates area must be considered as in principle Assyrian, though local Aramaic (and Neo-Hittite) rulers were trying to enlarge their isolated territories. See also H. Sader, *Etats Araméens*, pp. 22-30.

21 Adad-Nirari II Annals (ed. O. Schroeder, in *KAH* III, 84):100-103; see H. Sader, *Etats Araméens*, pp. 4-5; cf. H. Kühne, *BaM*, 11 (1980), pp. 44-70.

22 Adad-It'i calls himself מלך 'king' in the Aramaic part of the inscription, but *šaknu* 'governor' in the Assyrian section; cf. M. Liverani, *SAAB* 2 (1988), pp. 88-89.

Nirari III and Ashur-Dan II put down rebellions in 808 and 759-758 BCE.[23] Inbetween those two campaigns, there was a period of prosperity for Guzana, which was the time of the pro-Assyrian governor Mannu-ki-Ashur, as becomes clear from the witnesses in his archive excavated at Tell Halaf.[24] It is not impossible that the messenger of Sennacherib refers to events in 759-758 BCE.

The area around Guzana formed in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE the Assyrian province *Guzana*. It was an area which paid tribute to the Assyrian homeland in the form of rye, barley and live stock.[25] The deportation of Israelites to this area is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon II. However, traces of the deportation are found in Assyrian letters and legal documents.

1. ADD 234 = ARU 523 = SAA VI, 34

A legal document on the sale of slaves from 709 BCE.[26] The list of witnesses contains West-Semitic names, some of which are considered to be Israelite: *Pa-ka-ḫa*; *Na-ad-bi-ja-ú* and *Bi-in-di-qí-ri*.[27]

Pa-ka-ḫa

Hebr	פקח	King of Israel; 2 Kgs 15:25-37; Isa 7:1.
	פקח	On a jar from Hazor.[28]
Aram	פקח	On a seal from Jericho, mid eighth century BCE.[29]
Assyr	*Pa-ki-ḫi*	CTN III, 99 i:2, a soldier of a high rank, ± 710 BCE.
	Pa-ka-ḫa	ABL 102 = SAA I, 65:4.Rev3

23 C^{b}1 (ed. A. Ungnad, in: *RlA* II, k. 428.430):8.Rev11-12, and C^{b}2 (ed. A. Ungnad, in: *RlA* II, k. 432):Rev18-19; see H. Sader, *Etats Araméens*, p. 10.

24 Ed. by E.F. Weidner, in: *Tell Halaf*, p. 8-46; for joins and new collations of the Halaf documents see F.M. Fales, *ZA* 69 (1979), pp. 192-219. See also ND 2672 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 [1961], p. 42; J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, pp. 387-389):16-18.

25 Cf. E.F. Weidner, in: *Tell Halaf*, pp. 6.29; B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 86. See also the documents from Tell Halaf TH 1.3.4.40.58.59 (a join with TH 79; cf F.M. Fales, *ZA* 69 [1979], pp. 210-203) and the letters ABL 43 (recent edition S. Parpola, *Letters*, pp. 262-265), ABL 633* = CT 53, 46 (see below) and ABL 167 = SAA I, 128:14-18. Rev3-9.

26 See now Th. Kwasman, *Legal documents*, pp. 408-409.

27 B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 12; M. Weippert, in: *RlA* V, k. 248; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 32; R. Zadok, *Jews*, p. 35, consider *Pa-ka-ḫa* and *Na-ad-bi-ja-ú* to be North-Israelite deportees. R. Zadok, *WdO* 9 (1977/78), p. 53, relates *Bi-in-di-qí-ri* with Biblical בדקר. Th. Kwasman and S. Parpola, *Legal transactions*, p. 38 read *bi-in-di-ki-ri*.

28 Ed. F. Vattioni, No. 4.

29 Ed. K. Galling, *ZDPV* 64 (1941), No. 8.

Na-ad-bi-ja-ú

Hebr	נדביה	1 Chron 3:18
	נדביהו	Ostracon from Arad H 39:3

Bi-in-di-qí-ri

Hebr	בדקר	Officer of Jehu, 2 Kgs 9:25
	בן דקר	1 Kgs 4:9
Ugar	*bn dqr*[30]	

These parallels show that only *Na-ad-bi-ja-ú* can be considered with certainty as an Israelite deportee.

2. ABL 633 + k. 11448 = CT 53, 46[31]

A letter to king Esarhaddon[32] from an unknown correspondent. The absence of the usual letter-formulae suggests that this letter was part of a greater correspondence; the content, however, forms a unit.[33] The letter was not written by the governor or the official writer of Guzana. In view of its contents it is not impossible to assume that it was written by the Assyrian 'secret service' in order to inform the central power. The letter mentions rebellious events, which might be identified with the rebellion of Sasi in Harran.[34]

The letter opens with an enumeration of the names of six men and one woman (1-5) who were servants of the governor. In the rest of the letter their sins and misdeeds are described.

Lines 6-20 tell us about *Kutî* and *Tutî*. They were both Assyrians.[35] In addition to an older case already known to the king, they had both commited fraud when collecting taxes.

Line 26 mentions the crime of the chariot-driver *Qurdî*.

In the next section (27-Rev9) two people are mentioned both with an Is-

30 Cf. F. Gröndahl, *Names*, p. 125.

31 A join by K. Deller; cf. J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 287, which shows that in the edition of Harper obverse and reverse of ABL 633 were mistaken one for another. The entire text is edited by S. Parpola in CT 53, 46. Transcription and translation: F.M. Fales, *AfO* 27 (1981), pp. 142-146; J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, pp. 287-289 (lines 6-20 only); F.M. Fales, *Cento lettere* I, pp. 118-125.148-152.

32 Cf CT 53, 46:Rev5 PAŠ+*šur*-PAP.AŠ.

33 Cf. F.M. Fales, *AfO* 27 (1981), p. 142n7; F.M. Fales, *Cento lettere* I, pp. 118-125.148-149

34 On this revolt see M. Dietrich, *Aramäer Südbabyloniens*, pp. 50-56. Many of the texts cited by Dietrich are now edited in CT 54; see also ABL 1217:Rev4' cf. S. Parpola, *Letters*, p. 238; K. van der Toorn, *RB* 94 (1987), p. 89.

35 On these names see F.M. Fales, *AfO* 27 (1981), p. 145.

raelite name: *Ni-ri-ja-u* 'the inspector of the assets'[36] and *Pal-ṭí-ja-u*, presumably his slave or servant.[37]

Ni-ri-ja-u		
Hebr	עריה//	"YHWH is (my) light", name of the father of Jeremiah's
	נריהו	scribe Baruch
	נריהו	Lakish letter I:5; Arad H 31:4; on a scaraboide[38]; on a bulla from Jerusalem[39], and on seals[40].
	נריה	on a jar from Beersheba, eighth century BCE[41]
Pal-ṭí-ja-u		
Hebr	פלטיה	Neh 10:23; 1 Chron 3:21; 4:42
	פלטיהו	Ezek 11:1.3; on a seal ± 700 BCE[42], and on a bulla from Jerusalem[43].

Both men functioned as advisors of the governor, who wanted to appoint a new *šaknu*. The advice of *Nērîjahu* and *Palṭîjahu* in this question is not clear, no more than its political implications. From the continuation in the letter it becomes clear that (a section of) the elders of the city, under the leadership of a certain Adad-sākā, do not want a new *šaknu* at all. They trust the current official *Aššur-zēr-ibni*. Since this part of the inscription is somewhat damaged, it is not possible to determine its exact meaning. The question remains open whether or not the two Israelite deportees were involved in a political intrigue against the central Assyrian power.

The next paragraph (Rev9-34) describes the attempt of *Tarasî*, the official writer of Guzana, his wife *Zaza* and their son to take advantage of the absence of *Aššur-zēr-ibni* in order to organise a coup d'état.

The writer of this letter mentions that all these facts came to his knowledge through the mediation of ^{p}*Ḫal-bi-šú* ^{uru}*Sa-mir-i-na-a-a* and of

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36 ^{lú}GAL.NÌG.KA$_9$.MEŠ = *rāb nikassî*; cf *AHw*, p.789b: 'Abrechnungsrevisor'.

37 F.M. Fales, *AfO* 27 (1981), p. 143; Idem, *Cento lettere* I, p. 118, presumes that he was the slave of *Nēri-jāhû*. The text has only *L[Ú ..., which could have been followed by many possible titles.

38 Ed. by P. Bordreuil et A. Lemaire, *Sem* 32 (1982), pp. 22-23.

39 Ed. Y. Shiloh, *IEJ* 36 (1986), p. 29:36.

40 F. Vattioni, No. 19.50.56.255.281.422.

41 Ed. *Inscriptions reveal*, No. 119.

42 Ed. P. Bordreuil et A. Lemaire, *Sem* 32 (1982), p. 24.

43 Ed. Y. Shiloh, *IEJ* 36 (1986), p. 29:23.

pBar-ur-ri, a priest from Sam'al. Albright[44] reads the first name pḪal-du(?), and compares it with Hebrew חֶלֶד[45]. However -bi-šú is clearly to be read. The Assyrian name points at the process of assimilation of deportees, who in the meantime remained aware of their ethnological roots.[46]

3. Tell Halaf documents.

In sixteen Assyrian and five Aramaic legal documents deriving from the Guzana area from the period 648-612 BCE[47] Westsemitic personal names were in use. This is an indication both of the presence of deportees and of the survival of the indigenous Aramaic onomasticon. Israelite deportees are mentioned in two texts.

TH 111:

> 1On the first day of the month Kislev 2Bēlbarakki, 3the son of Nanî 4must bring 3Dajana(fDa-a-a-na) 4(and) give (her) to Usi'(pÚ-si-'i). 5If he does not bring the woman (and) has not given (her), 6then Bēl-barakki 7must give to Usi' 6three pounds of silver.
> 8-16(Colophon and witnesses).

Da-a-a-na is a Westsemitic personal name.

WSem	*Da-a-a-na-a*	CTN III 86:4
Hebr	דינה	the daughter of Jakob Gen 30:21; 34; 45:25

From the context in TH 111 — she was the wife of Us'i — it can be concluded, that she was a descendant of the Israelite deportees.[48]

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44 W.F. Albright, *BASOR* 149 (1958), p. 36n25.

45 Cf now Hebr. חלדי; Arad H 25:5 and the Assyrian name *Ḫaldi* in CTN III 22 ii:11'.

46 According to F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl, *Tijdvak*, p. 20; B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 14.71; H. Tadmor, decline, rise and fall, p. 138; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 32; R. Zadok, *Jews*, p. 37; H. Tadmor, Nineveh, p. 205, *Nērî-jāhû*, *Palṭî-jahû* and *Ḫalbišu* are deportees from Northern Israel. I. Eph'al, Samarian(s), p. 43, tries to relate *Ḫld (a)bišu* with a non-semitic ethnic stratum known from the ostraca from Tell Jemmeh and interprets him as an example of 'people of foreign origin who were transferred to the province of Samirina, as well as their descendants', yet living outside the boundaries of the area.

47 The Asyrian documents are edited by A. Ungnad, in: *Tell Halaf*, pp. 47-65; the Aramaic by J. Friedrich, in: *Tell Halaf*, pp. 70-78; see now E. Lipi ński, *Studies* I, pp. 114-142; R. Degen, *NESE* 1 (1979), pp. 49-57; E. Lipiński, Archives, pp. 340-348.

48 Cf. T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 32.

Ú-si-'i is a cuneiform rendering of the Hebrew name הושע Hoshea.[49]

TH 102. This deed on the loan of money and barley refers to *Ia-a-bi* (Rev4). This name reminds to Hebr. יואב, but might as well be Aramaic.[50]

4. Brussels archive.

Lipiński has noted the Israelite name *A-za-ri-iá-u* on a clay tablet in the Brussels archive related to Guzana.[51]

These data point at the presence of Israelites on the banks of the Habur. They were brought there for economic reasons. The documents from Tell Halaf reveal the importance of the area for the production of food. Besides, there existed estates of the Crown in the vicinity.[52] The deportees from Northern Israel were presumably set to work on estates so that the food-supply to Assyria proper would not stagnate.The letter ABL 167 = SAA I, 128 mentions people who deserted from royal estates. There are no Westsemitic names in this letter.

Guzana remained an Assyrian province until 612 BCE. After the fall of the Assyrian Empire there existed for the time a Babylonian colony in Guzana as becomes clear from the Neo-Babylonian judicial documents TH 117-120.[53]

4.4. The cities of the Medes

In what is now called Iran, there existed in the times of Sargon II different states or confederations of states: Manna, Media, Ellipi and Elam. These countries could rise to power as a result of the waning rule of the kingdom of Urartu in the North. The Medes were an ethnic group related to the ancient Persians, who used to speak an Indo-Europaean language. They are

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49 See K. Tallquist, *Names*, pp. 48.224; and the same name in documents from Kalhu/ Nimrud ND 2629 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 [1961], Pl XX and p. 39):10 and CIS II, 17 = ADD 229 = ARU 64 = SAA VI, 111:3.
Usi' of TH 111 is considered to be Israelite by B. Maisler, *BIES* 15 (1949/50), pp. 83-85; A. Ungnad, in: *Tell Halaf*, p. 62; B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 103; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 32; R. Zadok, *Jews*, p. 37.

50 So A. Ungnad, in: *Tell Halaf*, p. 50.

51 E. Lipński, Archives, p. 346. The texts will be edited by P. Garelli.

52 See the letters ND 2800 (ed. H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 28 [1966], Pl LIV and p. 191) and CT 53, 2 = SAA I, 233; cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 72; G. van Driel, *BiOr* 27 (1970), pp. 168-175.

53 Edited by A. Ungnad, in: *Tell Halaf*, pp. 66-69.

mentioned for the first time in the report on the third campaign of Shamshi-Adad V.[54] From the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser III and Sargon II it is clear that the Medes did not achieve the status of a single state during the eighth century BCE.

Tiglath Pileser III campaigned twice in the area: in 743[55] and in 737 BCE[56]. He occupied parts of the area and deported people from and to Media. The consolidation of Assyrian power in Media was a historical proces that took place during the reign of Sargon II. He campaigned several times in areas in the East of his Empire. A punitive expedition against the cities Shundahul and Dardukka was undertaken in 719 BCE. Those cities rebelled against the pro-Assyrian vassal king Iranzu of Manna. Both cities were razed to the ground and their population was carried away into captivity.[57]

In 716 BCE Sargon marched again to the territory of Manna, which was North of Media. His aim was the submission of the rebellious vassal king Ullusunnu. After the humiliation of Ullusunnu[58], Sargon II is victorious against other kings.[59] In the report on the conquest of the city Harhar it is mentioned, that the Assyrian king brought people from areas conquered by him as deportees to this city.[60] The Iran-stela lacks this detail.[61] It is not impossible that the repopulation of the area took place at a later time, i.e. in the period between the writing of the Iran-stela and the

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54 Shamshi-Adad V Annals = I R 30,III:27-33; cf. D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* II § 720.
Earlier, it has been supposed that the Medes were already mentioned in 855 BCE on the basis of an incorrect reading of a passage in Shalmaneser II Black Obelisk (ed. A.H. Layard, *Inscriptions*, t. 87-98):121; cf. I.M. Diakonoff, Cities of the Medes, p. 14. E. Michel, *WdO* 2 (1955), p. 156, confirmed that ^{kur}*A-ma-da-a* should be read and that the text refers to the Syrian city of Hamath.

55 TP III Annals (ed. Rost, p. 8):28-36; cf. M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), pp. 32-33; I.M. Diakonoff, Cities of the Medes, pp. 15-16.

56 Cf. L.D. Levine, *Two stelae*, pp.14-15. The Iran-stele of TP III, edited by Levine, was erected during this campaign; cf. M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), pp. 26-53; I.M. Diakonoff, Cities of the Medes, p.16.

57 Sg II Annals (ed. H. Winckler, p. 8):32-39 = (ed. A.G. Lie, p. 8):58-65; Sg II Iran-stela (ed. L.D. Levine, *Two stelae*, pp. 34-36)II:13-16.

58 Sg II Annals (ed. H. Winckler, pp. 12-14):59-63 = (ed. A.G. Lie, p. 14):85-89. See also the letter CT 53, 250 = SAA V, 220; I.M. Diakonoff, Cities of the Medes, pp. 16-17.

59 Sg II Annals (ed. H. Winckler, pp. 14-16):63-74 = (ed. A.G. Lie, pp. 14-16):89-100; Sg II Iran-stela (ed. L.D. Levine, *Two stelae*, pp. 36-40) II:24-46; Sg II Prism VA 8424 (ed. E.F. Weidner, *AfO* 14 (1941/44), p. 41) A:1-22; Sg II 'Nineveh-prism (ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, Pl 45) III:1-33.

60 Sg II Annals (ed. H. Winckler, pp. 14-16):71-72 = (ed. A.G. Lie, pp. 14-16):97-98.

61 Cf. Sg II Iran-stela (ed. L.D. Levine, *Two stelae*, pp. 38-40) II:41-46.

date of the final redaction of the Annals. The report in the Annals from Ḫorsabad on the campaign of 716 BCE ends with the remark that 28 heads of Median city-states paid tribute to Sargon II.[62] As a result of the campaign in 716 BCE the Assyrian sphere of influence in Media had become greater than before. Deportations to Media are mentioned, but the texts are silent about the deportation of Medes. This is not impossible, however, in view of the Assyrian system of "two ways deportations". Na'aman and Zadok interpreted some Indo-European names on an ostracon from Tell Jemmeh in the South of Judah as traces of Median deportees to Palestine.[63]

Sargon II campaigned against Urartu in 714 BCE. During the preliminary stage he marched through the territory of Manna and Media where several kings paid tribute to him.[64]

The Assyrian army marched to Media once more in 713 BCE. The immediate cause was a rebellion in Southern Ellipi. King Dalta, a vassal of Assyria, was pushed away from the throne by anti-Assyrian rebels. The Assyrian army[65] entetered the land and sets Dalta back on his throne.[66] The inscriptions mention the fact that, linked to this campaign, 45 kings of the Medes paid tribute to Assyria: probably as declaration of their dependency.[67] It is not clear whether the payments were preceded by military actions. The growing number of sovereigns paying tribute to Assyria is an indication of the increase of Assyrian influence in Media. The sources do not mention deportation or repopulation for the year 713 BCE.

But they are mentioned in the so-called Cyprus-stela. This is a display inscription from the final days of the reign of Sargon II, ordered not chronologically, but in a geographical way. In it the exploits of the Assyrian king are recounted. Among other things the conquest of the areas

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62 Sg II Annals (ed. H. Winckler, p.16):74 = (ed. A.G. Lie, p.16):100.

63 N. Na'aman and R. Zadok, *JCS* 40 (1988), pp. 38-42; the texts from Tell Jemmeh are edited by J. Naveh, *IEJ* 35 (1985), pp. 11-15.

64 Sg II Letter to the deity (ed. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne*, pp. 8-10 = W. Mayer, *Feldzug*, pp.70-72):39-41; Sg II Annals (ed. H. Winckler, pp. 20-22):101-102 = (ed. A.G. Lie, p.22):127-128.

65 Probably without the king; cf. the eponym-calendar C^{b}1 (ed. A. Ungnad, in: *RlA* II, k. 433):Rev9 [... ^{lú}]GAL.MEŠ *ina* ^{kur}*El-li-pi*; cf. H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 85-86.

66 Sg II Annals (ed. H. Winckler, p. 28):157 = (ed. A.G. Lie, p. 30):183-184; Sg II 'Nineveh-prism' (K. 1671+ [ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, Pl 45] + Sm. 2022 [ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, pl 45] + k. 1668+ [ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, Pl 44])V and VI; Sg II Nimrud Prism (ed. C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 [1954], p. 177) III:42-53.

67 Sg II Annals (ed. H. Winckler, p. 28):165-167 = (ed. A.G. Lie, p. 30-32):192-194; Sg II 'Nineveh-prism' (K. 1668+ [ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, Pl 44]) VI:14'-41'; Sg II Nimrud Prism (ed. C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 [1954], p. 177) III:54-56.

of Karalla, Shurda, Kishishim, Harhar, Media and Ellipi is mentioned. The stela records that Sargon II deported people from the land of Ḫattu = Syria and Palestine to the areas mentioned.[68] In view of the *Genre* of the stela no conclusion can be made on the date of this deportation. In view of the campaign of Sargon II discussed above it is most probable that it took place in 716 BCE. As appears from 2 Kgs 17:6 there may have been Israelites under the deportees. The "cities of the Medes" referred to in the Old Testament might have been some of the city-states which paid tribute to Sargon II. The deportation from Israel should be dated in 720 BCE. Consequently it took a few years for the deportees to reach their final destination.

In the "cities of the Medes" the Israelite deportees might have been set to the task to "strenghten the eastern (...) borders of the empire and protect them against invasions (...)".[69]

A few Neo-Assyrian letters report events in the border areas of Media, e.g. ABL 94, 126, 129, 159, 173 , 243 = SAA V, 126 and 251 = SAA V, 53. In these letters there are no traces of Westsemitic deportees. Maybe there is a trace of an Israelite in a seal of uncertain provenance, bought in Persia.[70] The inscription of the seal, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, can be dated to the first half of the seventh century BCE[71]:

מאש בן מנח הספר

The script is Israelite, the personal names have Westsemitic paralllels.

מאש

Hebr

The name as such is not attested before. Bordreuil interprets the name as a Hif part of the verb אוש/איש: *מאש "donné". אוש/איש has the same meaning as נתן cf. MTJob 12:10 with 11QPsaPlea:3-4.

Timm interprets the name in analogy to the Phoenician/ Punic as a noun from the same root with a prefixed *mēm*,

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68 Sg II Cyprus-stela (ed. L. Messerschmidt/A. Ungnad, *VS* 1, 71):29-36; cf. I.M. Diakonoff, Cities of the Medes, p. 17. See also Sg II Report on the building of temples (ed. R.C. Thompson, *Iraq* 7 [1940], p. 87):18-20.

69 B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 70; cf. H. Tadmor, Decline, rise and destruction, p. 127; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 200.

70 Edited by P. Bordreuil, *Syria* 52 (1975), pp. 107-118.

71 P. Bordreuil, *Syria* 52 (1975), pp. 109-113: Israelite script of *circa* 700 BCE; L.G. Herr, *Scripts*, p. 130, No. 110: middle of the seventh century BCE.

meaning "gift".[72]
It is also possible to read מאש and interpret the name as a hypocoristicon of *מאשיהו, that name, however, would be unusual "YHWH has disdained (me)". There exists, however, a Hebrew personal name מאס on a seal impression from Lakish[73] and on a seal from the seventh century BCE.[74]

Moab מאש In the seal לפלטי בן מאש דמזכר.[75]
//כמשמאש On a seal.[76]

מנח

Hebr מנח Cf. Judg 13. Bordreuil, however, interprets the name as a form of מנוחה meaning "gift", like מַנָּחָה מאש has not been found as a personal name.[77]

The region of Media was not a permanent part of the Assyrian Empire. Time and again there were rebellions leading finally to independency. In 612 BCE the Medes were fighting under Scythian leadership but alongside the Babylonians to make an end to the Assyrian Empire.[78]

4.5. Military

Throughout the whole of its existence the Assyrian army constantly suffered from a lack of new manpower; either to compensate for its losses or for its ever growing territory to be controlled. Soldiers and officers were recruited from all parts and peoples of the Empire. Moreover, soldiers and equipment from conquered vassal-states were incorporated into the Assyrian forces.[79] That this was also the case after the fall of

72 P. Bordreuil, *Syria* 52 (1975), p. 117; S. Timm, *Moab*, p. 167n13.

73 F. Vattioni, *Bibl* 50 (1969), No. 50.

74 Ed. P. Bordreuil et A. Lemaire, *Sem* 29 (1979), pp. 74-75.

75 Ed. by M.A. Taleb, *ZDPV* 101 (1985), pp. 21-29; see S. Timm, *Moab*, pp. 217-219.

76 Ed. N. Avigad, in: FS N. Glueck, p. 290; see now S. Timm, *Moab*, pp. 166-167.

77 P. Bordreuil, *Syria* 52 (1975), pp. 117-118. The personal name on the Moabite scaraboide seal Vattioni, No. 11, מנח is uncertain an can be read as **manoaḥ* ; cf. S. Timm, *Moab*, pp. 245-246.

78 For a recent review of the sources — and their interpretations — on this 'tripartite coalition' see now S. Zawadzki, *Fall of Assyria*, pp. 64-98.

79 See e.g. W. Manitius, *ZA* 24 (1910), pp. 185-224; J.N. Postgate, Economic structure, pp.

Samaria can be concluded from the following evidence.

1. Sg II Nimrud-prism IV:33-34.

33 ... 2 ME(*mê*) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ(*narkabtū*) *ki-ṣir* LUG[AL-*ti-ia*(*šarrūtija*)]
34 *i-na lib-bi-šú-nu ak-ṣur-ma*[80]

33 ... With 200 chariots for [my] royal army[81]
34 from them I formed a unit.

After the conquest of the city 200 chariots were incorporated into the royal Assyrian forces. Presumably chariots with their drivers are meant.

2. An Assyrian list of commanders.

Recently Dalley and Postgate have published a group of texts which can be characterized as the administration of the cavalry of the Assyrian army.[82] Two texts from this corpus — No. 99 and 108 — give an outline of the commanders of the cavalry during a roll-call before or after one of the campaigns of Sargon II against Babylonia in 710-708 BCE.[83] From these texts it becomes clear that there existed in the Assyrian cavalry a Samaritan cohort. In fact this cohort is the only one mentioned after its geographical provenance. This is consistent with the assumption that the

209-210; B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 48-51.108; I. Eph^cal, Warfare, pp. 104-105; F. Malbran-labat, *Armée*, pp. 89-101; S. Dalley & J.N. Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser*, pp. 17-22.35-37, and the texts mentioned in these publications. Instructive are the letters CT 53, 87 = SAA I, 223 and ABL 218 = SAA I, 155 (on Philistines in Arbela).

80 Text: C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), Pl XLV and XLVI
Transcription and translation: C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), pp. 179-180; H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 34; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, pp. 349-350.
Translation: E. Vogt, *Bibl* 39 (1958), p. 537; K. Galling, *Textbuch*, Nr. 30; J. Briend - M.-J. Seux, *Textes*, No 36; M. Mallowan, Samaria, p. 156; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 166; S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 36.
See M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, p. 50.

81 The A2ssyrian expression *kiṣir šarrūti* refers to the 'standing force directly under the king's command'; cf. J.N. Postgate, Economic structure, p. 211; B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 52; F. Malbran-Labat, *Armée*, p. 60.113.161.

82 S. Dalley & J.N Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser*, No. 85.98-118. The editors do speak about 'horse lists', but meanwhile indicate that the drivers too were registrated, cf. S. Dalley & J.N. Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser*, pp. 17-22; S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), pp. 31-49.

83 The editors of the texts hold different views on the question whether the texts should be dated before or after a campaign; cf. S. Dalley & J.N. Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser*, pp. 21-22. See S. Timm, *WdO* 20-21 (1989-90), pp. 79-80.

Northern Israelites were famous for their chariot-driving and their ability to use Nubian horses.[84] In CTN III 99 ii:16-23 the commanders of the Samaritan cohort are enumerated:

16	p*Ib-ba-da-la-a*	p*Da-la*-PAP
17	p*Ja-u-ga-a*	p*A-tam-ru*
18	pPAP(?)-*id-ri*	p*Ab-di-mil-ku*
19	pEN.BÀD	p*Na-ar-me-na-a*
20	p*Gab-bi-e*	p*Sa-ma*(?)-*a*
21	[p]PAP*id-ri*	p*Ba-ḫi-e*
22	pPAP-*i-ú*	PAP(*gimir*) 13 uru*Sa-miri-ni*
23	ŠU pdPA.U.GIN-*in*[85]	

The Samaritan cohort according to line 23 "under the control of Nebu-belu-ukin", can be seen as the remnant of the chariot brigades captured by Sargon II.[86] According to the editors all personal names in this fragment are Westsemitic. This view must be modified.[87]

Two of the names are Israelite:[88]

Ja-u-ga-a	*יהו־גאה	"YHWH is exalted"
Hebr	//גאואל	Num 13:15

PAP(*āḫi*)-*i-ú* Probably a copyists error for PAP-*ia-ú* = **Aḫi-yāhû*, and maybe the same person as PAP-*ia-ú* mentioned twice in this archive (CTN III 113:13 and 118:10), see also אוחי a deportee in Nimrud.

One name has a typical Canaanite background:

Ab-di-mil-ku

Can		EA 123:37; 203:3
Hebr	עבד מלך	Isa 38:7-12; 39:16

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84 S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), pp. 31-49.

85 = ND 10002 ii:16-23 // ND 9910 (=CTN III, No. 108) iii:34-41.

86 See also S. Dalley & J.N. Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser*, p. 177

87 S. Dalley and J.N. Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser*, p. 117; R. Zadok, *BiOr* 42 (1985), p. 567n1: all names except *Atamru* and *Bēl-dūri* are Westsemitic. See the critical remarks by I. Eph'al, Samarians, pp. 41-42; F.M. Fales, *SEL* 8 (1991), pp. 103-104.

88 See also: I. Eph'al, Samarian(s), p. 42.

Phoen	עבדמלך	KAI 35:3[89]
WSem		ADD 1040:5 a Phoenician(?)[90] deportee
Aram	עבדמליך	KAI 253:2 (Hatra)

Some names seem to be Westsemitic:

Ib-ba-da-la-a
WSem *'ab(bā)* "father"[91]

Da-la-PAP(*aḫi*)
Hebr //אלדלה// on a seal[92]
//דליהו// on a seal[93]

Gab-bi-e
Hebr verb גבה "to be high"

Sa-ma-a
Probaly the same person as the ^{lú}*murabbânu ša mār-šarri* "horse breeder/trainer for the son of the king" mentioned in Neo-Assyrian legal documents.[94]
WSem verb שמע "to hear"

Ba-ḫi-e

Some names are more likely to have been Assyrian or Babylonian:

A-tam-ru
PAP(*Aḫi*)-*id-ri*
EN.BÀD(*Bēl-duri*)

The name *Na-ar-me-na-a* is difficult to interpret. Maybe it contains the

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89 For the Punic inscriptions see F.L. Benz, *Names*, p. 155.

90 Cf. F.L. Benz, *Names*, p. 345.

91 Cf. R. Zadok, *BiOr* 42 (1985), p. 567n1.

92 S. Moscati, *Epigraphia*, p. 58, No. 20.

93 N. Avigad, *FS R.R. Hecht*, p. 122, No. 5.

94 ARU 59 = Th. Kwasman, *Legal documents*, No. 360:20 (688 BCE); ARU 186 = Th. Kwasman, *Legal documents* , No. 358:25 (688 BCE); ARU 201 = Th. Kwasman, *Legal documents*, No. 361:25 (688 BCE); ARU 554 = Th. Kwasman, *Legal documents*, No. 362:16' (688 BCE). According to B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 107, he was a Westsemitic deportee. S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), pp. 40-41, thinks he was of Israelite origin, had friendly relations with the royal family and was the riding instructor of one of the sons of Sennacherib.

Westsemitic element נער 'servant'[95], or it is the name of a deportee from the unknown city of Narmena.

The Samaritan cohort is to be regarded at as the remnant of the chariot brigades captured by Sargon II. Some of the commanders may be deportees from Northern Israel. It is remarkable that ten years after the fall of Samaria this cohort had an international character. In my opinion, this is another indication of the Assyrian policy of mixing up deportees from different peoples in order to avoid anti-Assyrian rebellion. Eph'al, however, has pointed to the fact that a time span of about 10 years is rather short for the process of the ethnic mixing of a military cohort. He interprets this fact as an indication for a meaning of 'Samarian' as 'people of foreign origin who were transferred to the province of Samirina, as well as their descendants', yet living outside the boundaries of the area.[96] The argument of the time span makes this interpretation less convincing, since there was even less time to bring Assyrians to the province of Samirina (after 720 BCE!) and then to let return some of them or their descendants to the Assyrian heartland.

3. ABL 1009:Rev3-4

This Assyrian letter from the period after Sargon II[97] contains the enumeration of an army-unit. This unit also had an international character. Israelites were also members of it:

Rev 3 *Sa-miri-*[98]*na-a-a* p[...
4 *Sa-miri-na-a-a* p[...

As appears from the deteminative in the broken part of the inscription, there were the personal names of Israelites inducted into the Assyrian army and probably even their ranks.

4. ADD 234 = ARU 523 = SAA VI, 34.

This text has already been discussed above. The witness *Na-ad-bi-ja-ú* holds the position of lúDIB kusPA.MEŠ = *mukkil appātê* "chariot-driver".[99]

95 So R. Zadok, *BiOr* 42 (1985), p. 567n1: "servant (*n'r*) of *Mny*" (an assumed fortune deity); the name is certainly not Hebrew, cf. I. Eph'al, Samarian(s), p. 42.

96 I. Eph'al, Samarian(s), pp. 40.42.

97 See the reference to Dur-Sharruken in Rev24; I. Eph'al, Samarian(s), p. 44, prefers —without argument — the reading Dūr-Sin-aḫḫe-erība.

98 The cuneiform sign MIR can be interpreted as *miri*.

99 Cf. M. Weippert, in *RlA* V, k. 248.

This position was probably equal to that of a ^{lú}KIR$_4$.DIB.AN.ŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ = *kartap sīsê*[100] who was the second in command on an Assyrian chariot.[101]

5. Rab-Shaqe

Tadmor and Zadok interpret the fact that the Assyrian officer, רב־שקה, during the siege of Jerusalem was able to speak Judaean as an indication that he was a deported Israelite who had made a career in the Assyrian army. This assumption is difficult to test since the name of the officer is unknown. Besides, it is quite possible that the Assyrians learned other languages for reasons of diplomacy.[102]

6. ND 2803:Obv II 27'

According to Weippert[103] this text mentions the presence of Israelites in the Assyrian army. From the context, however, it becomes clear that the text describes payings of tribute in natura.[104]

4.6. Cities in the Assyrian Mainland

In the Nimrud-prism IV:35-36 Sargon II reports that he brought deportees from Samaria *ina qereb* ^{kur}*Aššur* 'to the mainland of Assyria'. Halah, Gozan at the banks of the Habur and the cities of the Medes can hardly be localized in the mainland of Assyria. Therefore it is probable that at least some of the exiled from the Northern Kingdom were brought into areas in the centre of the Assyrian Empire where Sargon II could have used them as craftsmen and artisans.[105] This assumption can be supported by the presence of Israelites in some cities of Assyria proper.

4.6.1. Dur Sharruken

100 Compare ABL 1345+ = CT 54, 37:17 with ABL 445:7; see also M. Dietrich, *Aramäer Südbabyloniens*, pp. 52.53 +n4 .

101 See F. Malbran-Labat, *Armée*, pp. 118-119.

102 H. Tadmor in G.W. Ahlström, *Administration*, p. 68 +n117; R. Zadok, *Or NS* 51 (1982), p. 392; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* p. 230; H. Tadmor, *EI* 20, p. 251. See, however, C. Uehlinger, *Weltreich*, pp. 487-488, and the remarks of G. Garbini, *History and ideology*, pp. 44-47, against the historicity of the exceptional knowledge of the Assyrian officer of Westsemitic languages.

103 M. Weippert, in *RlA* V, kk. 203-204; I. Eph'al, Samarian(s), p. 44.

104 Text edited by B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 (1961), Pl. XXIX and p. 56. Weippert's reading of Rev II 27': *a-na* ^{kur}*Sa-me-ri-na-a-a* [*š*]*a ina* ^{uru}*Su-*[... is preferable to that of Parker.

105 Cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 56.

For the building of his ostentatious palace at Dur Sharruken, Sargon II brought captives and artisans from all parts of his empire to the new capital.[106] Beside the clear report in the royal inscriptions there may be a reference to this in some administrative texts.[107] Among the craftsmen there might have been some Israelite captives or deportees. Clear indications to this, however, are lacking.

4.6.2. Kalhu = Nimrud

In Kalhu/Nimrud traces of deportees from different Assyrian provinces, vassal-states and captured territories are found.[108] Furthermore, the Annals of Sargon II report that, after his victory over Mutallu of Kumuhu, Sargon II deported people from this kingdom on the upper reaches of the Euphrates to Kalhu/Nimrud.[109] A deportation of Israelites is not mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions. However, traces of the presence of Israelite deportees are demonstrable.

4.6.2.1. ND 10150

In Nimrud an ivory plate with an inscription in ancient Hebrew script was excavated:

1. [... ו.ב[...].יפת [..]י ...]
2. [... חרי.ממלך.גדל.ו .....]
3. [..... א.ומחו [...] א .....][110]

Remarks on the text:

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106 Sg II Annals (ed. Winckler, p. 70):414-416 = (ed. Lie, p. 74):8-10; Sg II Display inscription (ed. H.Winckler, *Sargon* I, p. 128):153-155; Sg II Cylinder inscription (ed. D.G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte*):72-74; Sg II Display inscription from room XIV (ed. F.H. Weissbach, *ZDMG* 72 (1918), pp. 161-185):49-53.

107 Cf. ABL 190 = SAA I, No. 124 (on Marqasians); ABL 193 = SAA V, No. 71; ABL 485+ = CT 53, 22 = SAA I, No. 62; ABL 704+ = CT 53, 95 = SAA V, No. 34; ABL 1065; ABL 1177 = SAA I, No. 39; ABL 1442 = SAA I, No. 159; CT 53, 188 = SAA V, No. 296; CT 53, 369; CT 53, 506 = SAA I, No. 168; CT 53, 741; CT 53, 748; cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 31.56.61; C. Uehlinger, *Weltreich*, p. 516n4.

108 Cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 31.61.

109 Sg II Annals (ed. Winckler, p. 66):395-398 = (ed. Lie, pp. 70-72):6-9; cf. the letter ND 2442 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 [1961], Pl. XIII and p. 26-27):7'.

110 Edited by A.R. Millard, *Iraq* 24 (1962), Pl XXIVa and pp. 45-49. Cf. M.E.L. Mallowan, *Nimrud*, Pl 576 and p. 595; W. Röllig, *NESE* 2 (1974), pp. 45-46; J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook* I, pp. 19-20.

1	..]יפתח	A Q or Hi ipf of a verb Xפת
2	]חרי[.	can also be read as]חדי[.; maybe originally]אחרי 'behind me'.
	מלך.גדל	probably a translation of Assyrian *šarru rābu* 'the great king' and a reference to Sargon II or one of his descendants.
	מ ... ו	*min w*ᵉ a merismus 'from ... to'.
2-3		This line has been interpreted as maledictio formula[111]. The reconstruction of this formula is, however, very uncertain.

Although the contents of the inscription are rather unclear, the finding in itself indicates that there were Israelites living in Kalhu/Nimrud at the end of the eighth century BCE. The date of the inscription is, however, problematical. Some date the inscription relatively early: Cross and Herr in the first part of the eighth century BCE and Gibson circa 750 BCE.[112] With such an early date it could be assumed that the ivory plate was part of the booty taken by the Assyrians after the fall of Samaria.[113] The script of the inscription, however, resembles most the ostraca from Tell Qaṣile[114] and the inscription from the tunnel of Siloam.[115] These inscriptions should be dated at the end of the eighth century BCE. The question of whether the inscription on an ivory plate from Nimrud was written in Israel — and taken as booty — or during the Assyrian exile cannot be answered.

4.6.2.2. ND 10303

In Kalhu/Nimrud a small inscription in Old Hebrew script on an animal figurine in ivory was excavated. Millard reads the text as זלא and interprets it as a personal name related to יזליה (1 Chron 8:18).[116]

4.6.2.3. ND 6231

An interesting inscription was found in Kalhu/Nimrud on a potsherd which was inscribed on both sides in differing Aramaic scripts:

111 A.R. Millard, *Iraq* 24 (1962), pp. 45-49; K.A.D. Smelik, *Dokumente*, p. 62.

112 L.G. Herr, *Scripts*, p. 80; J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook* I, p. 19.

113 J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook*, p. 19; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 32; K.A.D. Smelik, *Dokumente*, p. 62.

114 Ed. B. Maisler, *IEJ* 1 (1950/51), p. 204.

115 KAI 189; cf. W. Röllig, *NESE* 2 (1974), p. 46.

116 Text: A.R. Millard, *Iraq* 24 (1962), fig. 2a and p. 49; cf. W. Röllig, *NESE* 2 (1974), p. 47; A.R. Millard, Fitter's marks, p. 45; G. Herrmann, *Ivories* I, p. 220; II No 1138.

I Convex

1.	... ב]נענאל	אלנר.בנמחם
2.	[ח]ננאל.בנענאל	אלנר.בנ[XX]אל
3.	מנחם.בנבידאל	.זכראל.בנצנר
4.	שבאל.בנעזא	נדבאל.בנחנן
5.	חננאל.בנחזאל	
6.	גנא.בנמנחם	

II Concavex

1.	מנחם.בנאלישע
2.	אלנר.בנשכאל
3.	אינדב.בנחני
4.	אלחמך.כבס
5.	עכבר.בלנחן

Remarks on the text:

I 1 מחם	Probably a miswriting of מנחם[117]
I 2 בנ[XX]אל	Jackson reads בנ[ם]כאל which is very uncertain.[118]
II 4 כבס	בן "son (of)" is lacking; כבס could be the name of the father, but also a nickname.
II 5 בלנחן	this reading is preferable.[119]

The ostracon contains two lists of Westsemitic personal names. Although the script is Aramaic, the persons listed in this text are not Aramaeans since the Canaanite word בן rather than the Aramaic בר "son" is used. According to Segal and Vogt the ostracon lists Phoenicians and Israelites.[120] Albright considers the text to be a list of deportees mainly from Northern Israel. The presence of some Phoenician personal names is explained by pointing

117 Cf. J.B. Segal, *Iraq* 19 (1957), p. 141; E. V(ogt), *Bibl* 39 (1958), p. 115; W.F. Albright, *BASOR* 149 (1958), p. 33n3; K.P. Jackson, Personal names, pp. 513.514; Idem, *Language*, p. 65.

118 K.P. Jackson, Personal names, pp. 513; Idem, *Language* , p. 65

119 Cf. W.F. Albright, *BASOR* 149 (1958), p. 34n15; contra J.B. Segal, *Iraq* 19 (1957), p. 142 (בלמחן); S. Segert, *AAS* 1 (1965), pp. 149-150 בלמחן by partial assimilation from בן־מחן).

120 J.B. Segal, *Iraq* 19 (1957), pp. 144-145; E. V[ogt], *Bibl* 39 (1958), pp. 114-115.

to the aboriginal Canaanite population of Northern Israel.[121] Bordreuil pointed out that ten of the twenty-one personal names in the Nimrud-ostracon do have parallels in the Ammonite onomasticon.[122] Over and above that he relates the observation that in the Nimrud-ostracon many names have the theophoric element אל with the fact that in the Ammonite onomasticon this theophoric element too is dominant. His conclusion is that the Nimrud-ostracon is a list containing names of deportees from Northern Israel as well as from the Trans-jordanian areas. Naveh carried the scholarly opinion a step further by surmising that all the persons mentioned in the inscription were Ammonites. To him it is not clear whether they came to Kalhu/Nimrud as deportees, craftsmen or as merchants.[123]

Recently I have argued that this ostracon cannot be regarded as a list of Ammonites.[124] Naveh, Jackson and Israel presupposed that the text lists persons from *one* people or *one* country. They overlooked, however, an important principle in the Assyrian politics of deportation. One of the targets of the Assyrians was to mix up conquered peoples in order to avoid new rebellions.[125] In my article I listed a series of equivalents and parallels to the names in the Nimrud-ostracon from the Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic, Hebrew, Ammonite, Moabite, Edomite and Aramaic onomasticon.[126] The only conclusions which can be drawn from all the parallels is that the list in its entirety cannot be related to only one people or one language. The text can not be interpreted as only-Ammonite or only-Israelite. The inscription contains a list of men from differing Westsemitic peoples. If they were deportees — as can readily be assumed[127] — then we have another confirmation of the Assyrian politics of deportation mentioned above.

The purpose of listing these people is revealed by the location of the potsherd. Dalley pointed to the fact that it was excavated in the same building

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121 W.F. Albright, *BASOR* 149 (1958), p. 35; see also S. Segert, *AAS* 1 (1965), p. 151; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 32.

122 P. Bordreuil, *RHPhR* 59 (1979), pp. 31-317; see also I. Eph'al, Israel: fall and exile, p. 343n39.

123 J. Naveh, *Maarav* 2 (1979-80), pp. 163-171; K.P. Jackson, Personal names, pp. 507-525; Idem, *Language*, pp. 63-67; N. Na'aman and R. Zadok, *JCS* 40 (1988), p. 45; F. Israel, *UF* 21 (1989), pp. 233-235.

124 B. Becking, *ZDPV* 104 (1988), pp. 59-67.

125 Cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 43-48.

126 B. Becking, *ZDPV* 104 (1988), Abb. 1 and pp. 61-66.

127 Although they might have come to Kalhu as merchants or soldiers; cf. S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), pp. 31-49.

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as the cavalry and horse lists from Fort-Shalmaneser.[128] Maybe ND 6231 is a list of soldiers/deportees of a lower rank in the Assyrian army. The room in which ND 6231 was excavated had been in use as a store-room.[129] That supports the assumption that the people listed in the Nimrud-ostracon might have served as foragers in the Assyrian army.

4.6.2.4. ND 10304

A mythological figurine in ivory was also excavated at Kalhu/Nimrud. It is the companion to the piece inscribed with צלא. On the backside the personal name אלישע was written in ancient Hebrew script.[130] The personal name occurs in Westsemitic languages.

Ammon	אלישע	On seals.[131]
	אלשע	On a seal.[132]
Phoen	אלשע	On a seal.[133]
Hebr	אלישע	Siloam-inscription (KAI 189):4.7; Ostraca from Samaria 1 (KAI 183):4.7 and 41:1; Ostracon from Arad H 24:15.19-20.
	אלישע	OT
WSem	אלישע	Ostracon ND 6231 from Nimrûd

On the basis of the ancient Hebrew script it is by no means impossible that Elisha — probably the owner or the maker of the figurine — was an Israelite deportee.

4.6.2.5. Administrative texts

In some administrative texts from Kalhu/Nimrud Israelite or probably

128 S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 32.

129 Cf. J.B. Segal, *Iraq* 19 (1957), p. 145: "wine-store".

130 Edited by A.R. Millard, *Iraq* 24 (1962), Pl. XXIVb and p. 49; cf. M.E.L. Mallowan, *Nimrud* II, fig. 579 and p. 598; W. Röllig, *NESE* 2 (1974), pp. 46-47; A.R. Millard, Fitter's marks, p. 45; G. Herrmann, *Ivories* I, p. 220; II No. 1137.

131 - K. Galling, *ZDPV* 51 (1928), pp. 234-236 = F. Vattioni, *Bibl* 50 (1969), 41 = L.G. Herr, *Scripts*, p. 64 Nr 15 = M. Hestrin - R. Dayagi, 108;
- F. Vattioni, *Bibl* 50 (1969), 117 ;
- F. Vattioni, *Bibl* 50 (1969), 317; cf. P. Bordreuil, *Catalogue*, No. 81 and P. Bordreuil, in: *Der Königsweg*, p. 168, Nr. 184;
- A. Lemaire, *Sem* 33 (1983), pp. 20-21, No. 6.

132 - F. Vattioni, *Bibl* 50 (1969), 115.

133 F. Vattioni, *AION* 31 (1981), No.71.According to A. Lemaire, *Syria* 62 (1985), p. 44, the seal is Ammonite, but see F. Israel, *Syria* 64 (1987), p. 145.

Israelite personal names occur.

Difficult to date are:

U-si-i' on a list of messengers some of whom are ill and most of whom have Assyrian names.[134]

Hebr הושע see above the discussion of Gozan TH 111:7.

Ḫi-il-qi-a-u mentioned in a text, which is probably a list of the distribution of prisoners of war.[135]

Hebr חלקיה 2 Kgs 18:37// חלקיהו 2 Kgs 18:18.26.

חלק(י)הו on a bulla from the area of Hebron[136] and on a seal[137]

Ḫi-il-qi-ja mentioned in the same text (II:6; IV:4), a short from of the same name.

Gír-ja-ú mentioned in the same text.[138]

Hebr //גרה Gen 46:21; a hypocoristicon of גריהו

...]גרין Arad H 64:1

גריהו on a seal.[139]

From the beginning of the seventh century BCE are known:

Me-na-ḫi-me a winess in a payment-contract.[140]

Mu-nu-uḫ-ḫi-ma a witness in a judicial proces.[141]

Mi-i-nu-ḫi-me one of nine witnesses in a contract for the sale of a slave for 72 shekels.[142]

Mi-nu-uḫ-ḫi-ma one of the six witnesses in a contract for the sale

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134 ND 2629 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 [1961]. Pl. XX and p. 39):10; cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 107; R. Zadok, *Jews*, p. 36.

135 ND 2443+2621 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 [1961], Pl XIV and XX, and pp. 27-28) I:3'; cf. H. Tadmor, Nineveh, p. 265.

136 Ed. R. Hestrin - M. Dayagi, *IEJ* 24 (1974), pp. 27-29.

137 Ed. P. Bordreuil et A. Lemaire, *Sem* 26 (1976), p. 53.

138 ND 2443+ I:10'. According to H.Tadmor, Aramaization, p. 462; R. Zadok, *Jews*, pp. 35-36, the name refers to an Israelite deportee.

139 Ed. R. Hestrin - M. Dayagi, *Seals*, No. 63.

140 ND 2079 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 16 [1954], Pl. IV and p. 33):9.

141 ND 2095 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 16 [1954], Pl. V and p. 36):10.

142 ND 2328:35 not published; cf. B. Parker, *Iraq* 16 (1954), pp. 33.49.

of barley.[143]

Menahem is a common Westsemitic personal name.[144] This fact makes it difficult to determine whether the persons mentioned were Israelite deportees.

Ja-şu-ri a witness.[145]

From the middle of the seventh century BCE are known:

Ra-pa-'a-ja-ú a witness in a contract for the sale of barley.[146]

Hebr	רפיה	1 Chron 3:21; 4:42; 7:2; 9:43; Neh 3:9.
	רפא	Samaria ostracon 24:2.

Nim-ja-ú a witness in the same transaction.[147]

4.6.2.6. Nimrud bronzes

In some inscriptions on bronze objects from the eighth century BCE excavated at Kalhu/Nimrud Israelite personal names are attested:

אחיו[148] Ahia

Hebr	אחייה	OT
	אחיהו	Ostracon from Ramath Rahel[149]; Ophel ostracon[150]; Lakish ostracon 3:17.
	PAP-*ja-ú*	In ADD 176+ = SAA VI, 61:4 (Nineveh, see below) and CTN III 99 i:2 (military Kalhu/ Nimrud)

סמכיה[151]

Hebr	סמכיהו	1 Chron 26:7

143 ND 2076; not published; cf. B. Parker, *Iraq* 16 (1954), pp. 33.49.

144 See B. Becking, *ZDPV* 104 (1988), pp. 62-63.

145 H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 17 (1955), pp. 126-131; cf. H. Tadmor, Nineveh, p. 265.

146 ND 2339 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 16 [1954], p. 58):1.2; Cf. R. Zadok, *Jews*, p. 37.

147 ND 2339 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 16 [1954], p. 58):13; cf. R. Zadok, *Jews*, p. 37.

148 R.D. Barnett, *EI* 7 (1967), p. 4; 5,fig.3, no 75; no 4, Pl III; cf. M. Heltzer, *PEQ* 110 (1978), p. 9; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 22.

149 Ed. K. Jaroš, *Hundert Inschriften* , p. 68.

150 Ed. S.A. Cooke, *PEF QS* 65 (1924), pp. 183-186.

151 R.D. Barnett, *EI* 7 (1967), p. 4; fig. 3. no 89; p. 7, no 3; Pl VII, 2; cf. M. Heltzer, *PEQ* 110 (1978), p. 9.

	סמכיה	on a bulla from Jerusalem.[152]
	סמכיהו	Lakish ostraca 4:6; 13:2.

מוקר[153]

Hebr	מוקר	in a Judaean list of tax-payers from the late monarchical period. The finding of the name in this tax-archive made an Arabic background for מוקר as suggested by Heltzer less probable.[154]
Pun	מקר	in an inscription from El Hofra from the third century BCE[155]

In addition to these Israelite names there are some personal names on the Nim-rud bronzes which have, however, a common Westsemitic character and cannot be considered as names of Israelite deportees.[156]

4.6.2.7. An Egyptian cartouche

In the North-West palace at Nimrud in the corridor between rooms V and VI an ivory panel was excavated. This panel was depicted with sitting figures with in their midst a cartouche with a royal-name in Egyptian hieroglyphs.[157] It is difficult to equate the name in the cartouche with a known Egyptian king: *'wbnw-Rc*. Lenormant suggested to interpret the name as Hebrew אבנר 'Abner'.[158] Rawlinson believed he had found the name of an Assyrian king there, but gives no suggestions.[159] Barnett equals *'wbnw-Rc* with Jau-bi'di, the king of Hamath who was leading the anti-Assyrian rebellion in 720 BCE. He refers to the interchangability of /d/ and /r/ in the Hittite-hieroglyphic script.[160] In my opinion the identity of *'wbnw-Rc* is too uncertain to determine his ethnographic background.

4.6.2.8. Soldiers and officers

For a discussion of exiled Israelites on duty in the Assyrian army see

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152 Y. Shiloh, *IEJ* 36 (1986), p. 29:7.

153 R.D. Barnett, *EI* 7 (1967), p. 5; np 353;6;7, no 15; Pl I,1; cf. M. Heltzer, *PEQ* 110 (1978), pp. 7-8.

154 I. Beit Arieh, *PEQ* 115 (1983), p. 105:3.

155 Ed. by A. Berthier - R. Charlier, *El Hofra*, p. 151, No. 245.

156 For a discussion of these names see M. Heltzer, *PEQ* 110 (1978), pp. 1-9.

157 R.D. Barnett, *Catalogue*, Pl VIII and p. 177 (with literature).

158 Lenormant, *BAAF* 6 (1886); [I could not find this publication].

159 G. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, p. 373.

160 R.D. Barnett, *Catalogue*, p. 185; Idem, *Iraq* 25 (1963), p. 81.

above.

4.6.3. Nineveh

In this city, which was made capital by Sennacherib, Westsemitic personal names are found, some of whom could indicate the poresence of Northern Israelite deportees or their descendants.

p*Maḫ-si-ia-a-ú*		one of five witnesses to a contract for the loan of money from 681 BCE[161]
Hebr	מחסיהו	Jer 32:12; 51:59
	[מחס]יהו	ostracon from Arad H 23:6
	[י]מחס	on an ostracom from Samaria.[162]

pPAP-*ia-ú* This *Aḫu-jāhû* is mentioned in an interesting text which I give here in translation:

1 In pla[ce of their seal]s they placed their fingernails.
2-3 Fingern[ail of Zaku]rî, fingernail of Dukur-ili, owners (s) of the man being sold.

(four fingernail impressions)

4-7 Baḫianu has contracted and released Mannu-ki-Arbail, son of Ahu-jahu, [fr]om Zakurî and from Dukur-ili [for] 30 minas of copper.
8 [The money] is paid completely.
8-9 That man is [purchased] and acquired.
9-10 Any revocation, lawsu[it, or litig]ation is void.
10-12 Whoever, at any [time in the fu]ture, lodges a complaint shall pay [x mi]nas of silver.
12 The man is red[eemed]
13-14 [(Guarantee) against an attack] of epilepsy for 100 days (and against) crime forever.[163]

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161 ADD 30 = ARU 254 = Th. Kwasman, *Legal documents*, No. 377 = SAA VI, 47:10

162 Cf. A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions*, p. 248.

163 On these guarantee clauses see B. Becking, *JEOL* 27 (1981-82), p. 83; F.M. Fales, *SAAB* 1 (1987), P. 17 No. 1:6-7.

17-27 (seven witnesses, date, eponym [700 BCE], scribe)[164]

Ahi-jahu's son Mannu-ki-Arbail was apparently redeemed from guilt-slavery by Baḫianu. Mannu-ki-Arbail is a common Neo-Assyrian name.[165] This name-giving is an early trace of the process of assimilation in the Assyrian exile.

pDINGIR*ia-a-ú* occurs in a contract of sale from the late Neo-Assyrian period, which informs about the sale of Ummi', the maid of Elijah, to Akullanu, the captain of the Assyrian crown prince of those days.[166]

Hebr [אלייה]ו OT
אליהו in an inscription from the Ofel[167]; on a seal from the seventh century BCE[168]; on a scaraboide from circa 700 BCE[169]; on a seal from Gezer from the beginning of the seventh century BCE[170].

p*A-zar₄-ia-ú* in an undated text, Azarja holds the position of a lú*qur-būtu* "gate-keeper", who was a high-ranking official in the Assyrian court-bureaucracy.[171]

p*Mi-na-ḫi-me* in a contract with an unreadable date, in which Menahem sells three maids to the sister of the governor. From the Aramaic inscription in the lower edge (מנחם) one might conclude that this Menahem had Aramaic roots, but the Aramaic script may also indicate the fact

164 ADD 176 + 323 = ARU 630 + 469 = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No. 50 = SAA VI, 61; join by R. Borger, *Handbuch*, p. 301; cf. F.M. Fales, *SEL* 8 (1991), p. 112.

165 Cf. J.J. Stamm, *Namensgebung*, p. 84.

166 ADD 312 = ARU 467 = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No 131:5'.9'.

167 Ed. K.M. Kenyon, *PEQ* 100 (1968), Pl xxvii C.

168 Ed. P. Bordreuil et A. Lemaire, *Sem* 29 (1979), p. 73.

169 Ed. P. Bordreuil et A. Lemaire, *Sem* 32 (1982), p. 24.

170 Ed. C. Glaesser, *BASOR* 220 (1975), pp. 63-66; on the provenance of the seal see M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 95 (9179), P. 174n6.

171 ADD 993 III:3; on the function see J.N. Postgate, *Archive*, p. 38; I. Eph'al, Israel: fall and exile, p. 190; B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 106; M. Dietrich, *Aramäer Südbabyloniens*, p. 44; S. Parpola, *OLZ* 74 (1979), p. 32.

that the Assy-rian clerks used this kind of script.[172]

pÚ-si-' in a bill of sale from 680 BCE. Some Simadi bought from Arad-Ishtar:

3 pÚ-si-' 2 SAL.MEŠ-šú
4 fMe-'-sa-a fBa-di-a
5 pSi-ga-ba pEN.KASKAL-tak-lak
6 2 SAL.DUMU.MEŠ-šú
7 PAP 7 ZI.MEŠ

UE דגח הושע
LHE [() ש]ארדע 2 + 5 ג.ענש? 1? + 5? [()][173]

Hoshea, his two wives: Me'sa and Badyah; Sigaba; Bel-Harran-Taklak; his two daughters. In total seven people.
Deeds of Hoshea (plus?) six, a t(otal?) of seven people, belonging to Arad-Ish(tar).

Hoshea being an Israelite name,[174] his two wives could be deportees too.

Me-'-sa-a
Hebr maybe a hypocoristicon of *מאסיהו

Ba-di-a
Hebr בריה "in the hand of YHWH", Ezra 10:35; on a seal.[175]
בריו Ostracon from Samaria 58:1

PAP-*ia*-[*ú* (?)
DINGIR-*ia*-[*ú* (?)

Both names, Aḫi-jā[hu] and Ili-jā[hu], occur in the contract for the lease of land.[176] The field adjacent to their properties is sold, presumably to Abiram sister of the queen-

172 ADD 245 = ARU 81 = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No. 2 = SAA VI, 250:1.6. See now F.M. Fales, *Epigraphs*, pp. 183-184.

173 III R 46,6 = ADD 229 = ARU 64 = CIS II, 17 = F.M. Fales, *Epigraphs*, pp., 142-154 = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No. 302 = SAA VI, 111.

174 F.M. Fales, *Epigraphs*, pp. 142-145.

175 Ed. F. Vattioni, No. 393.

176 ADD 70 = ARU 115 = J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 176, = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No. 3 = SAA VI, 252 :6-7. Th. Kwasman and S. Parpola, *Legal transactions*, p. 201, suppose to read the first name as Ahi-ya[*qar*].

mother Naqija. It is possible to add their names to full YHWH-istic theophoric element. However, the text is broken at this point.

4.6.4. Unknown

In the British Museum in London there is a seal of unknown provenance with an inscription in Aramaic script from the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century BCE:

חנניה בן תריה[177]

The personal names indicate an Israelite background.

תריה "YHWH is watchfull"
Hebr //תיריא 1 Chron 4:16
חנניה
Hebr חנניה e.g. Jer 28 and Dan 1.
חנניהו ostraca from Arad H 3:3; 16:1; 36:4; and on seals.[178]

From the Persian period, Judaean seal-impression in Aramaic script are known.[179] However, the script of this particular seal does not permit a post-exilic date. Therefore Herr bears in mind the possibility that this seal belonged to a deportee from Northern Israel who stayed somewhere in Assyria. Against this view it can be argued that

(a) the provenance of the seal is uncertain; and that
(b) if an Israelite deportee was in the position to have his own seal, he would probably have made one with an Ancient Hebrew inscription or in the form of the Assyrian roll-seals.

4.7. Three persons

At the end of this survey I will discuss three persons of whom it has been argued that they belonged to the Israelite deportees or their descendants.

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177 Edited by L.G. Herr, *Scripts*, p. 35 and aramaic seals fig 19, No. 64.

178 - ed. L.G. Herr, *Scripts*, p. 103;
- ed. N. Avigad, *IEJ* 14 (1964), Pl. 44;
- ed. K. Galling, *ZDPV* 64 (1941), No. 76; 78.

179 Ed. N. Avigad, *Bullae*; see also J. Naveh, *BASOR* 203 (1971), pp. 27-32.

1. Naqî'a

The mother of Asarhaddon, who was a wife of Sennacherib, had a Westsemitic name: f*Na-qi-'-a* in addition to her Assyrian name with the same meaning: f*Zakūtu*. She played an important role in the Assyrian court for many years.[180]

De Liagre Böhl considered her to be an Israelite princess.[181] Others suggests an Aramaic[182] or — more cautiously — a Westsemitic background.[183] However, it is not possible to trace her background more precisely. The perso-nal name has a parallel neither in the Old Testament nor in Westsemitic inscrip-tions. In Hebrew an adjective נקי/נקיא is known and in Aramaic the noun נקיה "purification".[184] From a contract for the lease of land from 674 BCE the name of her sister is known: fAD-*ra-mi* = *Abi-rāmi*.[185] This name, however, is common Westsemitic and does not help in identifiing precisely the ethnographic background of Naqî'a.

Abirām

Hebr	אבירם	e.g. Num 16; 1 Kgs 16:34
	אברם	Gen 11-17; on seals[186]
Ammon	אברם	on a seal from the first half of the eighth century BCE[187]
Ugar	*A-bi-ra-mu*	PRU III 240
	'abrm	PRU V 95:2.4
	'ibrm	PRU V 22:17
WSem	AD-*ra-mu*	ADD 72 = SAA VI, 272:11, an exile (?) at the Assyrian court, eponym for the year 677 BCE
	f*A-bi-ra-mu*	a woman in a text from Kalhu/Nimrud which is difficult to read and to interpret, CTN III 144:5

180 As becomes clear from the Neo-Assyrian Zak ûtu-treaty (ABL 1239+ = SAA II, 8); from a query to the sun god on the appointment of a confidant (J.A. Knudtzon, *Gebete*, No. 130 = SAA IV, No. 151); from a query on her illness by her son Esarhaddon (J.A. Knudtzon, *Gebete*, No. 101+ = SAA IV, No. 190); from the legal document ADD 645 = ARU 14; from the collection of Neo-Assyrian oracles IV R², 61 = k. 4310 V:12-25 (see M. Weippert, Prophetien, pp. 71-115; and from the building-inscription k. 2745+ (ed. R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, pp. 115-116). See on her J. Bonquet, Koningin-moeder, pp. 184-187.

181 F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl, *Tijdvak*, p. 21.

182 P. Garelli, Araméens, p. 444.

183 L Waterman, *Royal correspondence* III, p. 327; H. Tadmor, Aramaization, p. 449.

184 Papyri from Elphantine (ed. A. Cowley, p. 72):15.16.

185 ADD 70 = ARU 115 = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No. 3:12.

186 D. Diringer, *Iscrizione*, pp. 222-223.

187 Ed. A. de Ridder, *Collection*, No. 2519.

The evidence in its entirety shows that an Israelite descent of Naqî'a/Zakutu can neither be excluded nor proved.

2. Nahum

Van der Woude considers the book of the prophet Nahum to be a letter written in exile. In his opinion a deportee from Northern Israel wrote this letter to Judah and Jerusalem during of the uprising of Shamash-shumu-ukin against his younger brother king Assurbanipal.[188] This provocative interpretation has not been adopted by other scholars[189] and does not reckon with the fact that the book of Nahum is not written in the literary form of a letter. The usual formulae are absent.

3. Tobith

In Tob 1:1-2 the exiling of a pious Jew from the tribe of Naftali in the times of Shalmaneser is mentioned. However, the book of Tobith has been written that late that information of this kind can be considered as reliable. Besides, the author of the book of Tobith has assimilated all kinds of biblical traditions as literary motifs in his reworking of the Ahiqar-legend. It is very unlikely that he drew on independent traditions from the Assyrian exile.

4.8. Conclusions

According to the author(s) of 2 Kgs 17:6 and 18:11, Israelites were carried away into exile to Halah, Gozan on the banks of the Habur and to the cities of the Medes. The search for traces of this Assyrian exile confirmed this report. There are consequently no reasons to doubt its historicity. From the evidence surveyed it can be added that Israelites were incorporated into the Assyrian army and that some deportees were brought to cities in the Assyrian heartlands. I will conclude this chapter with a few remarks.

On religion. In the Assyrian exile the former Israelites went on to give their children names with YHWH as a theophoric element. But there are also traces of assimilation to the Assyrian culture and to its religion.

On quantity. The number of about 50 persons surveyed above is very low in relation to the number of more than 27.000 deportees mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon II. However, not everyone in the Assyrian empire was in such a position that he would be mentioned by name in an

188 A.S. van der Woude, *OTS* 20 (1977), pp. 108-126.

189 See recently B. Renaud, *ZAW* 99 (1987), pp. 198-219; Idem, *Michée - Ssophonie - Nahum*, pp. 261-323; K. Seybold, *Profane Prophetie*, pp. 15-16.

Assyrian inscription. On the other hand the relative low number of Israelite deportees traced back might be an indication of the process of assimilition to the culture of Assyria. It can be surmised that during this process parents increasingly gave their children non-YHWH-istic and even Assyrian names.[190]

On social position. From the evidence collected it might be concluded that, although some or even many Israelite deportees were forced into lower social positions, some of the exiles attained important positions in the Assyrian army and others were in a position to appear as witnesses in contracts and judicial procedures. That means that a one-dimensional image of the Assyrian exile is a denial of the historical facts. Although the deportees were apparently not allowed to return to their homeland and had no political power, they lived to a certain amount in liberty.[191]

190 A comparable tendency is present among the Aramaeans within the Neo-Assyrian Empire; cf. F.M. Fales, *SEL* 8 (1991), pp. 112-113.115.

191 See also B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 115; compare the remarks by F.M. Fales, *SEL* 8 (1991), p. 115.

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CHAPTER FIVE

REPOPULATION

5.1. 2 Kings 17:24

The Old Testament reports the repopulation on behalf of the Assyrian king of the Assyrian province of Samerina with exiles from Babylon, Kutha, Avva, Hamath and Sepharvaim. According to Oded such a repopulation of an Assyrian province had as its goal "to ensure economic stability, to provide and increase reliable sources of food and to enrich the state treasuries".[1] In addition, the repopulation of the area had as its goal the military-political reinforcement of the Western border of the Assyrian empire. In this chapter I will discuss the areas from which deportees were carried to Samerina. I am also curious as to whether even more people were punished with deportation to Samerina (5.2.).

5.1.1. Babylon

After the death of Shalmaneser V, who was both king of Assyria and Babylonia, Merodach-Baladan exploited the internal political unrest which confronted Sargon II. He conquered the Babylonian throne. According to the inscriptions of Sargon, this was against the will of the Assyrian Gods.[2] It might also have been against the will of the people.[3]

Not until the second half of his reign did Sargon II have the opportunity to wage war against Babylonia namely in his *palû* 12, 13 and 15, which were 710, 709 and 707 BCE. The discrepancies in the reports on these campaigns in the annals of Sargon II, in the Babylonian Chronicle and in the Eponym-calendars have been solved satisfactorily by Van der Spek in the following reconstruction:

710 BCE	*palû* 12	Campaign against Merodach-Baladan. Sargon II conquers Babylon. Investiture on the Babylonian throne.

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1 B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 67.

2 Sg II Annals (ed. Winckler, p.38):235-236 = (ed. Lie, p. 42):267-268; Sg II Nimrud prism (ed. C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 [1954], p. 186) VI:14-17; Sg II Malatya-fragment (ed. G.R. Castellino, in: *Malatya* III, p. 71):6.

3 So: R.J. van der Spek, *JEOL* 25 (1977-78), p. 57+n10.

		Participation in the *akitu*-festival. Merodach-Baladan withdraws to Dûr-Jakin.
709 BCE	*palû* 13	Siege of Dûr-Jakin not leading to a conquest. The life of Merodach-Baladan is spared after negotiations.
707 BCE	*palû* 15	After Merodach-Baladan allegedly broke the treaty Dûr-Jakin was besieged by the Assyrian generals and definitively conquered. In the meantime, Merodach-Baladan fled to the marshlands of southern Babylonia.[4]

Sargon II was uncontested ruler over Babylonia from 707 BCE. Babylonians, who were imprisoned by Merodach-Baladan, were redeemed. Accomplices of the dissipated rebellious king were carried away into exile. The inscriptions of Sargon II do not mention the areas to which they were deported.

Sg II Nimrud Prism VI gives a brief report. It mentions the deportation of inhabitants of fifteen Babylonian cities without indicating the areas to which they were deported.[5] Maybe some of them were taken to Samerina.

It is also possible that 2 Kgs 17:24 refers to deportees who were exiled from Babylon in later times. Sennacherib punished Babylonians with deportation to unknown areas.[6] According to Ezra 4:1-2, Babylonians were deported to Samerina during the reign of Esarhaddon.[7] The report in Ezra has, however, no support in Assyrian or Babylonian inscriptions.

A third possibility is that Babylon in 2 Kgs 17:24 is a collective noun. According to Zadok the four other cities have to be located in Babylonia.[8] In that case the verse should be translated: "The king of Assyria brought people from Babylonia, namely from Kutha, Avva, Hamath and Sepharvaim ...". An objection to this interpretation is based on 2 Kgs 17:29-31. Here, it is stated that not only the inhabitants of the four cities made images of their deities but the Babylonians did that as well. In that phrase Babylon

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4 R.J. van der Spek, *JEOL* 25 (1977-78), pp. 56-66; see also J.A. Brinkman, Babylonia, pp. 223-250; H. Tadmor, *SAAB* 3 (1989), pp. 25.28.

5 Sg II Nimrud prism (ed. C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 [1954], pp. 186-187) VI:50-62; parallel with Sg II Malatya fragment (ed. G.R. Castellino, in: *Malatya* III, pp. 71-72):15-17; cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 119. A deportation in 720 BCE — so T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 29 — seems very unlikely.

6 See Esarh Babel-texts epis. 37 (ed. R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 25):12-24.

7 Maybe the redactional gloss in Isa 7:8 refers to this event.

8 R. Zadok, *JANESCU* 8 (1976), pp. 113-126; Idem, *BiOr* 42 (1985), pp. 568-569; see already K. Galling, *PJB* 31 (1935), p.83n1.

is not to be construed as a collective noun but has the meaning of a specific town. Besides, the precise location of Sepharvaim in Babylonia is not without doubt, see below.

In conclusion it can be said that the report in 2 Kgs 17:24 cannot be reconciled with data from Assyrian inscriptions. If one regards Sargon II as the deporting king, then the deportation should be dated in 709 or 707 BCE. Anyhow, the repopulation took place no sooner than ten years after the fall of Samaria.

5.1.2. Kutha

Kutha is now *Tell ibrāhīm*, Northeast of Babylon.[9] This city was a center of the cult of Nergal from ancient times.[10] The city is mentioned nowhere in the inscriptions of Sargon II, but occurs in some letters from his reign:

- ABL 1071:6.Rev4.7, a damaged and incomprehensible letter;
- ND 2452:22 and ND 2623:21.23, letters from civil servants on the transport of cereals and the maintenance of the irrigation-system: both to be dated to the reign of Sargon II.[11]

From ND 2623 it becomes clear that Kutha had to pay tribute to Assyria. The conclusion that this payment was the result of the conquest of the city by Sargon II, who by that time might have exiled part of the population,[12] is premature, since it cannot be confirmed by the Annals. Furthermore, Tiglath Pileser III had incorporated Kutha — together with some other Babylonian cities — into his empire. It can be assumed that Kutha was tributary from that time onwards.[13]

A conquest of Kutha accompanied by deportation is known from 703 BCE. Sennacherib undertook his 'first campaign' in that year against Merodach-Baladan who was again in rebellion. Like other cities Kutha was conquered after a siege and the population was carried away into exile. The place of their deportation is not mentioned.[14] Maybe some of them were brought to Samerina.

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9 Cf. D.O. Edzard - M. Gallory, in: *RlA* VI, kk. 384-387.

10 Cf. E. von Weiher, *Nergal*, pp. 6.99.103-106; 2 Kgs 17:30.

11 Ed. by H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 18 (1956), Pl. XI and pp. 50.51; see also p. 56.

12 So T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 31 (in 720 B.C.).

13 TP III Tontafel (ed. Rost, p. 56):11; it is not quite clear if a victory is meant.

14 Senn Annals (ed. D.D. Luckenbill, *Annals*, p. 25):41 and (pp.49-51):15-26. Cf. L.D. Levine, *JCS* 34 (1982), PP. 29-40.

5.1.3. Avva

The name of this city is vocalized Ivvah in 2 Kgs 18:34; 19:12 and Isa 37:13. For a long time Avva was considered to be a location in Syria.[15] Šanda thought of an Elamite city *ʿama*.[16] Following G.R. Driver, Zadok argued that Avva should be identified with ^{uru}*A-ma-a* a city near the Uqnu river in Babylonia.[17] This city is mentioned once in the Annals of Sargon II, namely in the report on the campaign of 709 BCE in the phase that preceded the battle with Merodach-Baladan. While the king stayed in the Northern city of Dûr-Nabû, several cities were conquered in the area around the Uqnu-river. The aim of this military operation was presumably to prevent the Elamite king Shutruk-Naḫḫunte helping Merodach-Baladan. ^{uru}*A-ma-a* is one of the cities whose population is carried away into exile.[18]

In the report on his 'first campaign', Sennacherib mentions the conquest of 33 cities in the area of Bît-Dakkuri, which is the same vicinity as the area around the Uqnu-river. In the Annals a city called ^{uru}*Ḫa-ú-a-e* is mentioned.[19] Probably this city is identical with ^{uru}*A-ma-a* written in the more indigenous Aramaic spelling, which is also found in the Old Testament. This assumption can be supported by an observation of Zadok that in a later document from Nippur the placename is written ^{uru}*A-ú-a*.[20] A deportation is not referred to in the annals of Sennacherib. Consequently 2 Kgs 17:24 might refer to the deportation by Sargon II of inhabitants of the Babylonian city ^{uru}*A-ma-a*.

According to Na'aman, Havvim (Josh 18:23) was obviously named after the exiles from Avva deported by Sargon II.[21]

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15 See the outline of J. Montgomery H.S. Gehman, *Kings*, p. 472; J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, p. 651.

16 A. Šanda, *Könige*, p. 255; J. McKay, *Religion*, p. 124n10, points to the fact that an Elamite city Awan had been a religious center for a long time.

17 G.R. Driver, *EI* 5 (1958), p. 18*; R. Zadok, *JANESCU* 8 (1976), pp. 120-121 — in the phonetics of the Semitic languages /m/ and /b/ are interchangeable; N. Na'aman and R. Zadok, *JCS* 40 (1988), p. 44.

18 Sg II Annals (ed. Winckler, p. 46):273-277 = (ed. Lie, p. 50):10c-14; the text can be addited from the parallel report in P.E. Botta, *Monument* IV, Salle XIII:7 = t. 157; for the historical background see R.J. van der Spek, *JEOL* 25 (1977-78), p. 57.

19 Senn Annals (ed. D.D. Luckenbill, *Annals*, p. 52):37; cf. R. Zadok, *WdO* 16 (1985), p. 57.

20 *BE* 8, 28; cf. R. Zadok, *JANESCU* 8 (1976), P. 120.

21 N. Na'aman, *Borders*, p. 239n47; N. Na'aman and R. Zadok, *JCS* 40 (1985), p. 45.

5.1.4. Hamath

It has generally been accepted that Hamath in 2 Kgs 17:24 can be identified with the well-known Neo-Hittite/Aramaic city of Hamath on the Orontes.[22] Against this not entirely unreasonable assumption important arguments can now be urged.

1) Hamath and Samaria were allies in the rebellion of 720 BCE. It would have been politically inept on the part of the Assyrians to exile people to areas with which they had been cooperating during the conspiracy.
2) Assyrian inscriptions point out that inhabitants of the Syro-Hittite Hamath — especially soldiers — were exiled to the heartland of Assyria.[23]

Therefore it seems better not to equate Hamath with the Syro-Hittite city, but to think in terms of another Hamath, perhaps a city somewhere in Babylonia.[24] The annals of Sargon mention in the same context as ^{uru}*A-ma-a* a city called ^{uru}*A-ma-tu*.[25] This place in the area of the Uqnu-river was also conquered by Sargon II and its inhabitants were carried away in exile. The city *Amatu* was conquered again by Sennacherib on his 'first campaign'.[26] Since Sennacherib did not exile people from *Amatu* it can be assumed that 2 Kgs 17:24 refers to a deportation in the reign of Sargon II.

5.1.5. Sepharvaim

The place called Sepharvaim (2 Kgs 17:24; 18:34; 19:13; Isa 36:19; 37:13) has been equated with Sibraim, which, according to Ezek 47:16 was located in Syria.[27] Sibraim has been identified with *Šá-ba-ra-'-in* (Bab

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22 See — among others — K. Galling, *PJB* 31 (1935), p. 83; J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, p. 651; A. Lemaire, *Histoire*, p. 50; J. McKay, *Religion*, p. 69; A.K. Jenkins, *VT* 26 (1976), p. 290; T.A. Boogaart, *Reflections on restauration*, p. 31; H.M. Barstad, *Amos*, pp. 162-163; J. Day, *Molech*, p. 46.

23 Sg Display inscription (ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, pp. 102-104):35-36; Sg II Iran stela (ed. L.D. Levine, *Two stelae*, p. 34) II:11; the letter ND 478 (ed. J.N. Postgate, *Archive*, p. 36); the letter of Bēl-Dûri ND 2645 (ed. H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 17 [1955], p. 137 = SAA I, No. 171; CTN III 110 ii:1'-11'; ND 2646 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 [1961], p. 15). Cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 31.61.64n173.

24 As has been done by G.R. Driver, *EI* 5 (1958), pp. 18-19*; R. Zadok, *JANESCU* 8 (1976), p. 117; B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, pp. 64n173.117; N. Na'aman - R. Zadok, *JCS* 40 (1988), p. 44.

25 Sg II Annals (ed. Winckler, p. 46):274 = (ed. Lie, p. 50):11.

26 Senn Annals (ed. D.D. Luckenbill, *Annals*, p. 52):37; for the historiographic problems of this campaign see L.D. Levine, *JCS* 34 (1982), pp. 29-40.

27 J. Montgomery H.S. Gehman, *Kings*, p. 472; H.A. Brongers, *II Koningen*, p. 168; J.

Chron I i:28). As noted above, this line in the Babylonian Chronicle has to be read as *Šá-ma-ra-'-in*.[28] This observation, however, does not mean that an equation Sibraim = Sepharvaim is impossible.

Driver wanted to identify Sepharvaim with Sippar.[29] The annals from Ḫorsa-bad mention a conquest of Sippar by Sargon II in *palû* 13. This conquest must be seen as an act of liberation from the yoke of Merodach-Baladan.[30]

Zadok localizes Sepharvaim in Babylonia. For him the place is probably identical with ^{uru}*Sí-pí-ra-i-ni*. This placename occurs in the Murashu archives from Nippur.[31] The same place is also known from the annals of Sennacherib, but then in the Neo-Assyrian spelling: ^{uru}*Šá-par-ri-e*.[32] In the report of the 'first campaign' this place is mentioned as one of the conquered cities in the area of Bît-Amukkani. It is known that Tiglath Pileser III had carried away inhabitants of Bît-Amukkani to Assyria.[33] From the annals from Ḫorsabad it becomes clear that the inhabitants of Bît-Amukkani paid tribute to Sargon II in *palû* 12 = 710 BCE.[34] During the reign of Sargon II a deportation is not mentioned. In the area of Bît-Amukkani, Aramaic tribes had been settled from ancient times.[35]

The problem of locating Sepharvaim is linked to the question of the background of the deities worshiped by the deportees from Sepharvaim: אדרמלך and ענמלך "the Sepharvites burned their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech (2 Kgs 17:31).

'anammelek is a composite name with the elements Anu(m) or An and

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Gray, *I & II Kings*, p. 652.

28 H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 39; see above Chapter 2.

29 G.R. Driver, *EI* 5 (1958), pp. 18-19*.

30 Sg II Annals (ed. Winckler, p. 58-60):359-360 = (ed. Lie, p. 64):8-9; cf. Sg II Display inscription (ed. H. Winckler, p. 96):5; Sg II Nimrud prism (ed. H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 16 [1954], p. 186) VI:63-67; Sg II Malatya fragment (ed. G.R. Castellino, in: *Malatya* III, p. 72):18-19.

31 Text *PBS* 2/1, 117:7; cited by R. Zadok, *JANESCU* 8 (1976), p. 117.

32 Senn Annals (ed. D.D. Luckenbill, *Annals*, p. 53):45.

33 TP III Plate inscription (ed. Rost, p. 44):11-12; TP III Tontafel (ed. Rost, p. 60):25; Bab Chron I (ed. A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*) i:21; KAI 233:15; cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations* , pp. 3.51-52.

34 As appears from Sg II Annals (ed. Winckler, p. 52):301-302 = (ed. Lie, p. 56):376-377, and Sg II Display inscription (ed. H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, p. 100):21-23, Bît-Amukkani was an area conquered by Sargon II; see also his letter on military operations in the area ABL 1292 = SAA I, No. 18 .

35 See M. Dietrich, *Aramäer Südbabyloniens*, p. 4.

the Westsemitic Melek/Moloch. Anu(m) can be interpreted as the Mesopotamian God of heaven. But it is more probable to relate it with the Phoenician masculine counterpart of Anat: An.[36] Gray assumes that there was syncretism in the religion of the Sepharvites.[37] In view of this syncretism the local background of the composite deity cannot be established. It has been looked for from Southern Babylonia[38] to Phoenicia.[39]

As early as the nineteenth century, it was proposed that *'adadmelek* should be read instead of *'adrammelek*.[40], which allegedly linked the name to the Aramaic/ Westsemitic storm-god (H)Adad/Addu and/or to the enigmatic deity Adad-Milki.[41] Adad-Milki can be a theophoric element in Neo-Assyrian personal names.[42] His occurence in Neo-Assyrian legal documents is disputed.[43] His character as a deity who demands the burning of children, is not established. Since the versiones antiquae do not support the proposed change, and in view of the fact that it does not solve the problem there is no argument to change of the name אדרמלך. Moreover, the critical apparatus of BHK3 points to the tradition of a group of oriental manuscripts reading *'adarmelek* which is an epitheton-like name meaning 'exalted king' or the like. The root אדר occurs in Phoenician and Hebrew and means in both languages: "to be high, exalted, mighty" comparable to Ugaritic *'ṯr*. In the Old Testament YHWH is said to be אדיר "exalted, mighty".[44] The root אדר occurs in Phoenician names:

בעל אדר	A deity, already mentioned in the inscription of the son of Shipit-baal (KAI 9:B 5, circa 500 BCE) and known from Punic and Neo-Punic inscriptions (KAI 112:2; 115:2; 138:1; 162:1) and as Baliddir or Baldir in Latin inscriptions from Africa (CIL VIII 19121—23; 5329).
**mlk 'dr*	In Μάλκανδρος, Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 15-16, whose son was

36 In the personal name בענן 'son of An' in an ancient (11th century BCE) inscription from the Lebanon KAI 22 Rev; cf. J. Day, *Molech*, p. 45+n55.

37 J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, p. 654.

38 G.R. Driver, *EI* 5 (1958), p. 19*; R. Zadok, *JANESCU* 8 (1976), pp. 115-117.

39 S.A. Kaufman, *JNES* 37 (1978), p. 102n9.

40 For the first time by P. Jensen, *ZA* 13 (1898), p. 333n1.

41 On Adad-Milki see now J. Day, *Molech*, pp. 41-46 (lit).

42 Cf. K. Deller, *Or NS* 34 (1965), pp. 382-386; M. Weinfeld, *UF* 4 (1972), pp. 144-145; R. Zadok, *JANESCU* 8 (1976), p. 116.

43 Negative: S.A. Kaufman, *JNES* 37 (1978), pp. 101-109; J. Day, *Molech*, pp. 41-43; positive: K. Deller, *Or NS* 34 (1965), pp. 382-386; M. Weinfeld, *UF* 4 (1972), pp. 144-145.

44 Cf. G.W. Ahlström, in: *ThWAT* I, kk. 78-81.

burnt by the Goddess Isis.[45]

אדרמלך The name of a king of Byblos in Phoenicia (fourth century BCE)[46]

In conclusion it must be said that a Phoenician background of the deity Adarmelech/Adrammelech is presumable.

In connection with the remarks on the background of Anammelech the location of Sepharvaim in Phoenicia is more probable than in Southern Babylonia. However, two reservations must be made. First, a Phoenician place-name resembling Sepharvaim is unknown. Second, Assyrians kings have deported Phoenicians, but — as far as is known — not to Israel or the area of Samerina.[47] The identification of Sepharvaim is still, therefore, enigmatic.

In 2 Kgs 19:36 another אדרמלך is mentioned, namely the murderer of Sennacherib. According to Parpola a new reading of the Assyrian letter ABL 1091 the event from the Old Testament is affirmed. The personal name in 2 Kgs 19:36, however, is a corruption of *Arad-Mu(l)lisse/Mullēšu*.[48]

5.1.6. Conclusions

Four of the five cities mentioned in 2 Kgs 17:24 can be located in Southern Babylonia.[49] It is a remarkable fact that in addition to larger cities such as Babylon and Kutha smaller localities are also mentioned. Data relating to the areas of provenance would have come to the authors of the Book of Kings orally from the deportees or their descendants. The survey confirms for the greater part the reliability of such data in the Book of Kings.

5.2. Arab tribes

In the annals from Ḫorsabad another group is mentioned which was exiled

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45 Cf. J. Ebach - U. Rösterswörden, *UF*, p. 224 +n30-34; J. Day, *Molech*, p. 45.

46 On a coin ed. G.F. Hill, *Catalogue*, p. 96 = F. Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 11 (1971), pp. 182-183.

47 Tiglath Pileser III exiled Phoenicians from Kashpuna, Siannu, Ṣimirra and Ushnu to Ulluba on the upper reaches of the Tigris; Sennacherib and Esarhaddon carried away inhabitants of Sidon to Assur.

48 S. Parpola, Murderer, pp. 171-182.

49 Slightly modifying the view of R. Zadok, *JANESCU* 8 (1976), pp. 113-126; Idem, *BiOr* 42 (1985), pp. 568-569.

to Samerina:

120 lú*Ta-mu-di* lú[*I-ba*]-*di-di*
121 [lú]*Mar-si-ma-*[*ni*] lú*Ḫa-ia-pa-a* kur*Ar-ba-a ru-ú-qu-ti a-ši-bu-ut mad-ba-ri ša* lú*ak-lu* lú*šá-pi-ru la i-du-ma*
122 *ša a-na* LUGAL(*šarri*) *ia-im-ma bi-lat-su-un la iš-šu-ma i-na* GIŠ. NIR(*tukulti*) d*Aš+šur be-li-ia ù-šam-qit-su-nu-ti-ma si-it-ti-te-šu-nu as-su-ḫa-am-ma*
123 *i-na* uru*Sa-me-ri-na ù-šé-šib*[50]

The Tamudi, Ibadidi, Marsima[ni] and Hajapa, who live in distant Arabia, in the desert, who knew[51] neither overseer nor commander, who never brought tribute to any king; with the help of Assur, my Lord, I defeated them. I exiled their remnant. I settled them in Samaria.

According to the annals from Ḫorsabad the events are dated in *palû* 7 = 715 BCE. Tadmor, however, wrongly dates the repopulation in 716 BCE.[52] Sargon II waged a relatively peaceful campaign in the Sinai-area and on the Egyptian border in 715 BCE.[53] It can be assumed that, as a result of this campaign, Sargon II sent the earlier-conquered Arabs to the area of Samerina.

Not much is known about these Arab tribes. They are supposed to be nomadic. Except for the Tamudi they can be regarded as Midianite tribes. The Tamudi, Ibadidi and Marsimani can be traced until the fourth century CE.[54] The Hajapu, who can be equated with Old Testament עפה, had to pay

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50 Text: P.E. Botta, *Monument* IV, t. 75; H. Winckler, *Sargon* II, No. 8.
Transcription and translation: H. Winckler, *Sargon* I, pp. 20-21; A.G. Lie, *Annals*, pp. 20-23; E.A. Knauf, *Midian*, p. 85n395.
Translation: J. Briend - M.J. Seux, *Textes*, No. 39A; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p.337.
The same event is reported in Sg II Cylinder inscription (ed. D.G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 4):19-20 — see above Chapter 2.3.1.5. — and Sg II Cylinder inscription from Nimrud (ed. H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 16 [1954], p. 199):18.
See M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, p. 104+n29; I. Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, pp. 36-39.105-111.

51 With M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 337, I consider the Arab tribes as the subject and not as the object of *idûma*.

52 H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 78.

53 See above Chapter 3.3.5.

54 Cf. I. Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, pp.62-88,216-217.218.230; E.A. Knauf, *Ismael*, pp. 74-90. 96.109, Idem, *Midian*, pp. 79-80.83-85.

tribute to Tiglath Pileser III.[55] This fact exposes Sargon's claim to have conquered a people who never before felt the Assyrian yoke (line 122) to be pure ideology. It can be assumed that they controlled the caravan-trade on the Arab peninsula.

According to Eph'al it is doubtful whether there were ever military engagements between the Assyrians and these Arab tribes. In his view, the text reflects a spontaneous settlement of (semi-)nomadic tribes in the territory of the Assyrian province Samerina which was tolerated by the Assyrians.[56] In favor of his view is the fact that no campaign of Sargon II against the Arabs is known.

However, from the letters ABL 547 = SAA I, 82 and ABL 88 = SAA I, 84 it becomes clear that military engagements between Assyria and Arab tribes did indeed take place. ABL 547 — a letter from Tabsil-Esharra, governor of Assur to Sargon II — reports Arab raids on the border near the Euphrates.[57] ABL 88, from the same author, reports the ravaging by Arabs of the city of Sippar.[58] In other letters referring to the Arabs: ABL 414 = SAA I, No. 177; ABL 953 = SAA I, 178; CT 53, 10 = SAA I, No. 179, the governor of Zobah reports on Arab penetration in the West.[59] It is, naturally, uncertain if these Arabs are the same as the Arab tribes mentioned in the annals from Ḫorsabad. But is not impossible to suggest that Sargon II reacted to the reports of Tabsil-Esharra and his governor in Zobah with a military action — be it under his own command or under the command of an Assyrian officer — against the Arabs leading to their deportation to Samerina.

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55 TP III "Annals" (ed. Rost, p. 36):219. See G.G.G. Reinhold, *Beziehungen*, p. 215; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, p. 39.

56 I. Eph'al, *JAOS* 94 (1974), p. 13; Idem, *Ancient Arabs*, pp. 105-111.

57 ABL 547; recent collations of I. Eph'al, *JAOS* 94 (1974), p. 116n393; and K. Deller, in: I. Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, p. 113n34; are worked into the new edition of Parpola in SAA I, No. 82.

58 ABL 88 = SAA I, No. 84:Rev3-5: *ma-a a-ta-a* ^{kur}*Ár-bá-a-a ḫu-ub-tu ša* ^{uru}*Si-par* "why are the Arabs ravaging Sippar"; cf. K. Deller, *Or NS* 31 (1962), pp. 187-188; I. Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, pp. 59.115-116; F.M. Fales, *Cento lettere*, pp. 137-138.

59 Cf. I. Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, p. 96.

CHAPTER SIX

ASSYRIAN DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE ASSYRIAN PROVINCES SAMERINA, DU'RU, MAGIDU AND GAL'A(D)DA

6.1. Introduction

In comparison, the period between the fall of Samaria and the end of the Assyrian Empire is scantily documented. There are only a few documents which shed light on the Assyrian provinces in the former territory of Northern Israel. The authors of the Book of Kings concentrate on Judah after 2 Kgs 17: consequently giving no information on the Northern territories. As far as I can see there were no more rebellions in the Assyrian provinces after 720 BCE. The royal inscriptions of the Sargonides do not inform about a campaign against Samerina. Therefore, it can be concluded that it was a peaceful area and a loyal province.[1] I will now survey the Assyrian sources relating to the provinces Samerina, Du'ru, Magidu and Gal'a(d)a.

6.2. Sources

6.2.1. Lists

The provinces are mentioned in different lists.

6.2.1.1. Eponym-lists

The following governors are known:

PUR.GIN.PAP	*Nabû-kēnu-uṣur*	of Samerina	690 BCE[2]
PUR.20.PAP.MEŠ	*Nabû-šar-aḫḫešu*	of Samerina	646 BCE[3]

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1 Cf. B. Oded, *Mass deportations*, p. 47n34.

2 Eponym-calendar B (ed. A. Ungnad, in: *RlA* II, k. 427):Rev9.

3 See M. Falkner, *AfO* 17 (1954-56), pp. 104.113-114.118; with on page 104 an outline of the different spellings of this name in Eponym-calendars, colophons, juridical document and the like.

PTA.dU-*ani-nu*	*Itti-Adad-aninu*	of Magidu	(no date)[4]

The names of the governors have a general Mesopotamian background. Maybe they were appointed from the people deported to the area, but it is more probable to surmise that they originated from the Assyrian aristocracy of higher officials.

6.2.1.2. Lists of provinces

In some Assyrian lists of provinces, the provinces in the territory of the former Northern Kingdom are mentioned too. Sometimes these lists give an outline of the tributes the different provinces had to pay to their Assyrian overlord.

1. K. 152
   In II:3'-4' of this list uru*Sa-mi-ri-na*; uru*Du-'u-ru* and uru*Ma-gi-du* are mentioned. The context is too vague for conclusions. It is remarkable that the areas are determined as cities.[5]
2. K. 276
   Line one might be added to [uru*Sa-*]*miri-na*. From the context it can be deduced that in this list the yearly taxes were recorded. The level of the tribute from Samerina is, unfortunately, no longer readable. From line 6 it can be deduced that the province of Magidu had to pay 15 *biltû* of *xx*. When these taxes and tributes had to be paid is not known.[6]
3. K.4384
   Line II:6 mentions the province *Du-ru*.[7]
4. K. 9996
   Line 3' mentions uru*Ma-gi-*[*du*].[8]
5. A Nimrud-list
   In a fragmentary list from Kalhu/Nimrud:10 perhaps uru*Ma-*[*gi-du (?)*

4 Eponym-calendar C*3 (ed. A. Ungnad, in: *RlA* II, k. 436) IV:11; cf. M. Weippert, in: *RlA* V, k. 203.

5 K. 152 = 2 R 53, 4 = ADD 919; for a transcription see E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 54.

6 K. 276 = 2 R 53, 3 = ADD 951; for a transcription see E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 54-55; for a recent reedition J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, pp. 322-323.

7 K. 4384 = 2 R 53, 1; for a transcription see E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 52-53; for a recent reedition M. Weippert, *Edom*, Text 16.

8 K. 9996 = ADD 952.

... should be read?[9]

6. K.14252
Weippert remarks that in the unpublished text k. 14252 I:4' (Cat. Spl. 80 Nr 813) Samerina is mentioned.[10]

From these lists, whose dating is difficult, the existence of the provinces is apparent. It also becomes clear that they have a quite normal position in the Assyrian Empire.

6.2.1.3. CTN III 90

The obverse of this Nimrud document contains the enumeration of different *nāmurtu*-taxes. The inscription on the reverse seems not to be related to this. Lines 14-21 catalogue cities and persons which had to supply in total 97 animal-skins. From Samerina 12 skins were expected (12 uru*Sa-me-ri-na*). It is not clear whether the skins were part of a tribute or whether they were merchandise. The inscription cannot be dated exactly, but originates from the reign of Sargon II.[11]

6.2.2. Royal inscriptions

The vassal-treaty between Esarhaddon and king Baal of Tyre records that the inhabitants of uru*A-ku-u* and uru*Du-'-ri* were still citizens of the Assyrian Empire in the time of Esarhaddon.[12]

6.2.3. Letters

Some Assyrian letters shed further light upon the provinces under discussion.

1. ABL 1201 = SAA I, No. 220

1 *a-na* p.dPA.BÀD.PAP
2 IM(*ṭuppu*) p*A-ri-ḫi lu* DI-*mu*(*šulmu*)

9 Ed. by J.N. Postgate, *Iraq* 32 (1970), Pl. XXVIII.

10 M. Weippert, in: *RIA* V, k. 203.

11 Ed. S. Dalley & J.N Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser*, No. 90, Pl. 21 and pp. 16.152-154; cf. J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 150. The reference to Samerina is in line 15.

12 Esarh Treaty with Baal of Tyre (ed. R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 108, = SAA II, No. 5) III:19.

3 *a-na* DUMU-*ia*(*marîa*)
4 *ina* UGU(*muḫḫi*) ŠE-*nu-sa-ḫi ša* KUR(*māt*) *Sa-mir-na-a-a*
5 EN(*bēl*) *ṭ*[*è*]-*e-mu lu-te-re*
6 *šúm-mu i-*[*ba-áš*]*ši šúm-mu la áš-šú*
edge 7 *ina* UGU(*muḫḫi*) ŠÀ-*bi-ni*(*libbini*) *lu* DÙG.GA(*ṭiābū*)
rev 1 EN(*bēl*)-*pi-qi-ta-te qa-a-lu*
2 *i-za-zu la il-lu-ku dul-la-šú-nu*
3 *e-pu-šú la ṭè-mu : ni-ša-kan-šú-nu*
4 *ki-i an-ni-ma* TA*.MU.IM.MA(*šaddaqdiš*)
5 *a-du-na-kan-ni ina* UGU(*muḫḫi*) *e-ri-bi*
6 *a-ta-na-ḫar-ka e-ri-bu-ma*
7 *la nu-še-ri-ib*
8 *ú-ma-a ṭè-mu te-ri*
9 *šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši*
10 *šum-ma la ba-aš-šu*[13]

To Nabû-dura-usur from Arihi. Good health to my son!
In relation to the corn tax[14] of the land of Samerina, my master should send a report — whether it exists or not — so that our heart is good about it. The officials are passive. they stay where they are. They do not go to their work. We cannot give them orders.
I have been petitioning you since last year[15] until now in this very manner about the income, we have not brought in any income whatsoever. Now send a report — whether it exists or not!

This letter makes clear that the corn taxes were not always delivered on time. Although their functions are not mentioned, it can be assumed that both Nabû-dura-usur and Arihi were officials in the administration of the taxes and the tributes.

2. CT 53, 388

Recently Parpola has published a letter from the period of Sargon II/

13 ABL 1201 = SAA I, No. 220. R.H. Pfeiffer, *State letters*, p. 80, gives an incorrect transcription and translation; recent editions: J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 298 (who leaves line 10 = rev3 untranslated); F.M. Fales, *Cento lettere* I, pp.102-105.138-140.

14 On this type of tribute see B. Parker, *Iraq* 25 (1963), p. 99; J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, pp. 174-179; F.M. Fales, *Cento lettere*, p. 102; I. Eph'al, Samarian(s), p. 44.

15 TA* MU.IM.MA; in *MSL* V, 65:195 MU.IM.MA is equated with *šad-daq-qat*; therefore TA* MU.IM.MA can have the meaning of the adverbialis *šaddaqdiš*; cf. K. Deller, *Or NS* 33 (1964), p. 90.

Sennacherib, which is rather difficult to read and interpret.

	1'	X *ú* GA GIŠ
	2'	GIŠ.A X *ú a-ša* $^{lú}U_4$-[...]
	3'	*i-na* AN+ŠAR^{ki} *it-ta-*[*šab*]
	4'	[*im-t*]*a-lik* ^{d}U *a-*[ ]
	5'	[*it-ta-*]*bi-it* LUGAL
	6'	PA *ib-ra-*[*a(?)*]
	7'	X NA AN
	8'	$^{p(?)}$*Ma-aš-*[ ]
Edge	1	*ka-lú-ma ina*
	2	x-*e-šu qab-*[*bi*]
	3	RA IL
	4	*-ni-šu in*[*a*]
Rev l		*-a-a*
	2	
	3	
	4	BAR ŠA AG (?)
	5	*a-na* É-*Ḫu-*[*um-ri-a-a* (*Bēt-Ḫu*[*mrîa*)]
	6	*al-lak-ma* A SÎ
	7	*al-lak* 12 ^{lú}GAL.[ ]
	8	20 RA.MEŠ

In view of the fragmentary character of this inscription a translation is quite impossible. It is remarkable that Samaria is referred to as É-*Ḫu-*[*um-ri-a-a*.[16] This description was used until 720 BCE as an indication of the Israelite Kingdom. After 720 BCE Samaria is only called É-*Ḫu-*[*um-ri-a-a* in reports on the fall of the city. Consequently, it can be assumed that CT 53, 388 is prior to the fall of Samaria. Perhaps lines Rev5-6 "To the land of the house of O[mri ...] I went" could be related to the Assyrian reaction on the participation of the inhabitants of Samaria in the coalition under Iaubi'di?

3. CT 53, 458 = SAA I, No. 255

This letter dates from the period of Sargon II or Sennacherib. The text is damaged but less so than the previous one.

	1'	[ ] X *ša ina* [ ]

16 Cf. also R. Zadok, *BiOr* 42 (1985), p. 567n1.

2' [lú*EN-*pi*-]*qit-te ina* UGU(*muḫi*) ŠE.N[UMUN.MEŠ (?)]
3' [*u*]*b-te-šú* X *k*[*a*]
4' [ ] *a-ta*-[ ]
5' [ ] *a* [ ] X [ ]
Edge 6' [ ] X *iš-šap-la-ma-a* X [ ]
7' *il-la-ka i-lab-b*[i_4]
8' *šá 'u-ur-tú* GIŠ.ŠU.NIR(*šurinnu*) [ ]
9' ÍD(*nār*) TA* IGI(*pān*) uru*Sa-me-r*[*i-na*]
Rev. 1 1-*et ši-i* PÚ(*būrtu*) *ina* ŠÀ-*bi*(*libbi*) *gab-b*[*i*]
2 *ú-ta-me-di is-sa-aḫ-lu-š*[*i*]
3 [*ú*]*-di-ni la ú-gam-me-ru* ur[u]
4 [ ] ZI.MEŠ(*napšutū*) TA* lú*!*za-ku-e* [ ]
5 [U]RU.MEŠ(*alāni*) *e-ta*-[ ]
(rest broken away)[17]

1'-2' ...]which in [... an of]ficial in charge of the seed g[rain ...
3'-5' (untranslatable)
6'-8' [...] he made flat [...] he came and beleaguered [...] dirt [...] emblem [...]
9'-Rev.3 The river in front of Samar[ia ...[18]], there is one cistern. In the whole region [...] I have constructed. They have filtered[19] [the water]. They have not yet finished. The ci[ty ...]
Rev.4-5 [...] living souls with cleaned (soldiers (?)) [...] cities [...]

This letter seems to be a report from the battle front to the king or a high-placed officer. Lines 7'-Rev.3 could be construed as a description of measures taken before or during the siege of Samaria. It is also possible, however, to read line 7' as the report of the siege of another city. In that case, line 9'-Rev.3 can also be read as a description of Assyrian measures taken after the fall of Samaria. A reliable water-supply was of great

17 CT 53, 458 = SAA I, no. 255; S. Parpola, *OLZ* 74 (1979), p. 35, gave a transcription of lines 9'-Rev.3.

18 The addition of S. Parpola, *OLZ* 74 (1979), p. 35; Idem, *SAA* I, p. 198: [*e-tab-la*] "the river has dried up" is arbitrary.

19 *iššaḫlušunu* is not from the verb *saḫāḫu* "transfix, riddle, tunnel"; but with S. Parpola, *OLZ* 74 (1979), p. 35; Idem, *Correspondence* I, p. 198, considered as a Neo-Assyrian dialectal form of the verb *šaḫāḫu* "to filter". In the Assyrian itinerary VAT 9968 (ed. E.F. Weidner, *AfO* 21 [1966], p. 44):13' the same expression occurs: PÚ ... *il-ta-aḫ-lu* "the water from the wells ... they filtered".

importance both for the besiegers and beleaguered, and for the conquerors.

4. CT 53, 38 = SAA V, No. 291

In an interesting letter from the reign of Sargon II the deliverance of bricks to, amongst others, Samaria and Megiddo is mentioned.

12' [LUG]AL(*šarru*) EN(*bēl*) *i-qa-bi*
13' [*ma-a a-na man*]-*ni* SIG$_4$.ME(*libittū*) *x x*
edg 14' [*ta*]-*a-din*
15' [40?-*lim*] *a-na* uru*Ar-pad-d*[*a*]
16' [40?-*lim a-n*]*a* uru*Sa-mi*[*r-na*]
rev 1 [40?-*lim a-na*] uru*Ma-gi-d*[*u-u*]
2 [PAB(*gimir*) 1?-*me*]-20-*lim* TA*(*issu*) IGI(*pān*) *li-bit* MAN(*šarri*)
3 [*ù* PAB(*gimir*) 30-*lim* T]A*(*issu*) IGI(*pān*) p*Na-a'-di*-DINGIR(*ilu*)
4 [PAB(*gimru*)-*ma* 1?-*me*]-50-*lim* SIG$_4$.MEŠ(*libittū*) *a-ti-din*
5 [*ù*(?)] SIG$_4$.MEŠ(*libittū*) *ša* LÚ*.GAL.URU.MEŠ(*rab ālāni*) MAN (*šarri*)
6 [*ša* LUG]AL(*šarru*) EN(*bēl*) *iš-pur-an-ni ur-ta-me*

I will give a translation of the full letter as it can be reconstructed:

2' [...] 56 courses of bricks [...] 3' [...] he extracted [...] 4'-5' [He wrote t]o him: "Why did you extract [...]?"
6'-9' [He said: "The re]st of the work I am doing [is ...; I ....]ed *from* him [*x*] bricks, but he is still busy glazing the [... bricks(?)]
10'-11' I am [now(?)] sending the [...]s of the br[ickwork o]f this wall [to the king], my lord.
12'-13' [Probably(?)] the king, (my) lord might say: "To whom have [you] given bricks?"
14'-Rev3 [*40*,000] to Arpad, [*40*,000 t]o Sama[ria *40*,000 to] Megiddu, in total: [*1*]20.000 from the king's entourage, [and in total *30*,000 f]rom Na'di-ilu.
4-6 [That is: in all] I have given out [*1*]50,000 bricks; I have not calculated, [however,] the bricks of the royal village managers [about which the ki]ng, (my) lord, wrote me.
7-13 [The ki]ng, (my) lord, knows that the eunuchs and the royal entourage, from [whom] I have taken the bricks I have given [to] the commanders, are going to petition the king. The king, (my) lord, may do as he deems best. [The ki]ng, (my) [l]ord, knows that [I have] in past [days given brick]s to the k[ing's] entourage.

14 [...] the ki[ng's wo]rk [...]

It seems to me that this letter was written by someone who was in charge of the distribution of bricks for building activities. I interpret this letter as an indication that bricks were sent to the capital cities of Assyrian provinces for the construction of administrative centres. The letter reflects a conflict of interests. The unknown official, writer of the letter, had to steer cautiously a middle course between the interests of the governors of the provinces and the interests of those responsible for the construction of the new palace for Sargon in Dur Sharruken.

There is, however, a second possible interpretation: Arpad, Samaria and Magiddu do not refer to Assyrian provinces in the west, but to groups of laborers deported from the territories mentioned working to construct Sargon's new palace.

The first interpretation would indicate the interest of solid buildings in Samaria and Magiddu, which underscores the special position of these provinces within the Assyrian empire. The second interpretation then would give an example of Northern Israelite deportees at Dur-Sharruken.

6.2.4. Documents excavated at Samaria

During the excavations of Samaria four written documents relating to the period of Assyrian domination have been uncovered.

1. Inscription on a bulla with the royal Assyrian seal.

a-na ^{d}A[*š-šur-id-di-i*]*in*[20]

(belonging) to A[ssur-iddi]n

Presumably the name of an Assyrian deportee to whom a royal(?) letter was written.

2. An order in court

1 [*šu*]*m-ma ina lib-bi* UD.10.KAM

20 Ed. by G.A. Reisner, in: G.A. Reisner, C.S. Fisher, D.G. Lyon, *Samaria* I, Pl. 56a and p. 247. Cf. A. Alt, *PJB* 37 (1941), pp. 102-104. According to J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 22, the inscription contains the address of a sealed letter, not the name of the owner of the seal. On the royal Assyrian seal see A.R. Millard, *Iraq* 27 (1965), pp. 12-16.

2 *ša* ITINE(*āb*) PU.GUR-*šal-lim*
3 DUG_4-*bi*(*qabbi*) P*A-a*-PAP.MEŠ
4 *a-na* LÚGAL.URU.MEŠ(*rab ālāni*)
5 [*it*]-*ta-din* GU_4.MEŠ(*alpi*) 6 ANŠE.MEŠ(*emāri*) 12 X[21]

1-5 When Nergal-shallim[22] gives a command on the tenth day of the month Ab, then Aja-ahhe shall give to the city-counsellor 6 oxen and 12 + *x* donkeys.

P*A-a*-PAP.MEŠ; ALT recognized in this name the theophoric element *Aja*, the beloved of the sun-god of Sippar.[23] Several objections to this interpretation must be urged.

1. In the name the determinative ^{d} is wanting before Aja.
2. The conjectural interpretation of Aja-ahhe: 'Aja has brothers' is less significant.
3. *ajja* is better understood as a pronomen interrogativum, consequently the name means: 'where are the brothers?'.[24] Such a name is known from Assyrian contracts.[25]

Aja-ahhe was presumably a cattle keeping deportee living in Samerina who who had to pay taxes to the local government. The background of this paying is not quite clear. Perhaps Aja-ahhe was careless in paying his part of the tribute? But it is also possible that this courtorder was related to debts of totally different kind. Nergal-shallim was a local official. His function seems comparable to that of a modern usher.

3. A cylinder-seal with inscription

1 na_4KIŠIB(*kunukku*)
2 *šá* ^{pd}UR-*za-bi-*[*il(?)*]
3 LÚ[ ]
4 ÌR(*ardu*) *šá* ^{pd}[ ]

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21 Ed. by G.A. Reisner, in: G.A. Reisner, C.S. Fisher, D.G. Lyon, *Samaria* I, Pl. 56b and p. 247. According to Reisner and A. Alt, *PJB* 37 (1941), pp. 102-104, the text represents a letter; however, it is better to interpret it with M. Weippert, in: *RlA* V, k. 204; H. Weippert, in: *BRL*[2], p. 267; J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 59, as an 'order in court'.

22 G.A. Reisner, in: *Samaria* I, p. 247, reads -*tal-lim*.

23 A. Alt, *PJB* 37 (1941), p. 103.

24 E. Lipiński, *Syria* 44 (1967), pp. 253-280; R. Zadok, *WdO* 9 (1977), p. 52.

25 ADD 3 = ARU 283 = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No. 346 = SAA VI, 264:10; ADD 294 = ARU 49 = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No. 109:Rev2' [a farmer]; ADD 308 = ARU 57 = Th. Kwasman, *Documents*, No.120:2.

5 lúŠAB.TU[R(*šamallû*)]
6 d[UR(*Nabû*)]
7 d*Taš-me-tum*
8 dŠÚ(*Marduk*)
9 d*Ṣar-pa-ni-tum*
10 *a-na* EN(*bēl*) ^{na_4}KIŠIB(*kunukki*)
11 *lik-ru-ub*[26]

Seal of Nabu-zabi[l], the ... , servant of ..., the apprentice. May [Nabu], Tashmetu, Marduk and Sarpanitu bless the owner of this seal.

Both the enumeration of the most important Gods of the Babylonian pantheon and the theophoric element *Nabû* indicate a Babylonian background. It should, however, be noted that Nabu was the God of the art of writing. Furthermore, this inscription makes clear that there was someone in Samerina who was able to teach cuneiform script to others. I assume that he was the one who made this seal for his servant Nabu-zabi[l].

4. Fragment of a royal inscription

In Samaria a small fragment of an Assyrian stela was unearthed. The inscription should be ascribed to Sargon II.[27] Like other Assyrian kings, Sargon II placed stelae in the capital cities of conquered countries.[28] The inscription on the stela from Samaria is too fragmentary to interpret.

6.2.5. Legal documents from Gezer

After the conquest by Tiglath Pileser III in 734 BCE, Gezer became part of the Assyrian Empire. Presumably it was a part of the province Du'ru. In Gezer two Neo-Assyrian legal documents have been excavated.

1. Gezer 1

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26 Ed. by O.R. Gurney, in: J.W. Crowfoot, K.M. Kenyon, E.L. Sukenik, *Objects*, Pl XV and p. 35. The inscription on the seal is in positive. Consequently a print would be in the negative. That leads to the supposition that this seal was only made for decorative functions and was not supposed to be used by the owner.

27 Ed. by O.R. Gurney, in: J.W. Crowfoot, K.M. Kenyon, E.L. Sukenik, *Objects*, Pl. II and III, and p. 35; cf. *Inscriptions revealed*, No. 46.

28 Cf. i.a. L.D. Levine, *Two stelae*, pp. 51-57. Stelae of Sargon II were unearthed in Larnaka, Asdod, Asharna, Samaria and in Iran.

1 ^{na_4}KIŠIB(*kunukku*) ^{pd}ŠÚ.SU A [ ]
2 ^{na_4}KIŠIB(*kunukku*) ^{pd}AD.SU A [ ]
3 PAP(*naphar*) 2 LÚ.MEŠ(*awīli*) EN.É.MEŠ.A.ŠÀ.[MEŠ
(*bēli bītī* <*u*> *eql*[*ī*]
4 É(*bīt*) ^{p}*Lu*-PAP.MEŠ *a-di gi-i-*[*mir-te-šú*]

(four seal impressions)

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5 ^{*lú}ÙKU.MEŠ(*nišī*) ^{p}*Ṭu-ri-*^{d} *A-a* 2 SAL.MEŠ-*šú*(*sinništīš*)
DUMU-*šú*(*mārišu*)
6 3 *LÚ [ ] MEŠ
7 2 GIŠ [ ] GA
8 [ ]-*a-a*
9 [ ]-*ia-qar*
10 [ ]
Rev. 1' [*kaspu*] [ ]
2' *ú-ta-ra* X X X [ ]
3' *la i-laq-qe ṣi-bit be-e*[*n-n*]*u*
4' *a-na* 1 ME(*mē*) u_4*me sa-ar-tú a-na kal* u_4*-me*
5' ^{iti}SIG$_4$(*Simani*) UD.17.KAM *lim-mu ša* EGIR(*urkītu*)
6' ^{p}*Aš-šur*BÀD.PAP ^{*lú}EN.NAM(*šaknu*) ^{uru}*Bar-ḫal-zi*

7' IGI ^{p}*Zak-ki-i* IGI $^{p<p>iti}$AB-*a-a*
8' IGI ^{p}EN.A.AŠ IGI ^{pd}ŠÚ.PAP^{ir} U[RU]
9' IGI ^{p}*Ḫar-ú-a-ṣi* ^{*lú}*ḫa-za-nu* [ ]
10' IGI ^{p}*Bur-ra-pi-i'* ^{*lú}DAM.[GÀR(*tamkaru*)]
11' IGI ^{p}NUMUN.DU DUMU(*mar*) $^{p.iti}$AB-[*a-a*]
12' IGI ^{p}DÙG^{ga}.DIN IGI ^{p}*Si-i'*-[ ]
13' IGI ^{p}*Man-nu-ki*-LÌM.AN IGI ^{p}[ ]
14' IGI ^{p}NUMUN-*ú-tu*[29]

1 Seal of Marduk-eriba, son of ...
2 Seal of Aba-eriba, son of ...
3 Totally: two men, owners of houses (and) field[s].
4 The estate of Lu-ahhu in its enti[rity]

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29 Edited — after preliminary studies of Pinches, Sayce, Johns and Conder — by R.A.S. Macalister, *Gezer* I, pp. 22-27. Recent reedition on the basis of a photograph of the original tablet now in the Arkeoloji Müsezi Istanbul by B. Becking, *JEOL* 27 (1981-82), pp. 80-86.89; see the remarks of R. Zadok, *BiOr* 42 (1985), pp. 567-569.

(four seal impressions)

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5 The slaves: Turi-Aja; his two wives; his son;
6 three people [ ]s
7
8
9
10

Rev. 1' The money [*x*-fold to the owner]
2' he shall return. [In his case he may plead]
3' but he will not recieve. (Guarantee against) an attack of epilepsy
4' for 100 days, (against) crime for ever.
5' Siwan, the seventeenth, of the year after that of
6' Assur-dura-usur, governor of Bar-Halzi.

7' Witness: Zakki; witness: Tebetaja;
8' witness: Bel-apla-iddina; witness: Marduk-nasir [from] the ci[ty of ...]
9' witness: Har-wasi, the mayor;
10' witness: Bur-rapi'; the estate-[agent;]
11' witness: Zer-ukin, son of Tebetaja;
12' witness: Tabta-uballit; witness: Si-[ ]
13' witness: Mannu-ki-Arbela; witness: [ ]
14' witness: Zer-utu.

From the clauses in Rev.1'-4' it becomes clear that Assyrian legal rules were in force. Rev. 1'-2' refers to the usual clause regulating a financial punishment for breach of the contract.[30] 2'-3' are a common clause stating that there is no juridical redress. 3'-4' form guarantee-clauses giving the buyer an insurance against the loss of the slaves by an attack of epilepsy for a period of 100 days. Furthermore, he is protected against the consequences of the possibility that one of the slaves might have committed a crime. The personal names in the tablet give an insight into the mixed population of the city. The names have parallels in the Assyrian, Babylonian, Aramaic an Egyptian onomastica.

For a survey of the names and their ethnographic parallels I refer to my reconsideration of

30 Cf. J.N. Postgate, *Documents*, § 2.1.3b.

the text[31] to which I add:

PAD.SU	Aba-eriba	see also CTN III 17:4; 99 iv:24; 101 ii:15; 108 Rev. i' 8;
P*Ṭu-ri-*^{d}*A-a*		see also CTN III 99 ii:15; 108 iii:31; and a remark by Zadok[32]
P*Zak-ki-i*		Zadok prefers the reading *Zag-gi-i*, which might have either a Hebrew-Aramaic or an Arab background;[33]
PEN.A.AŠ	Bel-apla-iddina	cf. NWL 3 ii:23;
PNUMUN.GIN	Zer-ukin	cf. CTN III 7:14; 9:19; 53:6';
P*Man-nu-ki-*LÌM.AN(*Arbela*)		cf. CT 53,324 = SAA V, No. 269:10
PNUMUN*ú-tu*	Zer-utu	cf. NUMUN-*ti* in CTN III 121:4.

2. Gezer 2

A second inscription from Gezer contains the contract for a parcel of land which changed hands in 649 BCE.

1 na_4KIŠIB(*kunukku*) P*Na-tan-ja-u*
2 EN.A.ŠÀ(*bēl eqli*) SÌ-*a-ni*(*tadāni*)

(three seal impressions)
---
3 É(*bīt*) [X B]ÀN(*sutu*) A.ŠÀ(*eqli*)
"SUḪUR"(*ṭeḫi*) P *Si-ni-i*
4 [ ] "SUḪUR"(*ṭeḫi*) [P *Si*]-*ni-i*

Rev. 1' IGI P[X] IGI (?) [ ]
2' IGI PGÎD.SIG.SUKKAL.GIŠ
3' IGI PNUMUN.GIN
4' IGI PU.GUR.20.PAP
5' itiZÍZ(*Šabaṭu*) UD.4.KAM
LEdge 6' *lim-mu* PPAP.AN-*a-a*
7' *lúGAR(*šaknu*) kur*Gar-ga-mis*[34]

1 Seal of Nathan-jahu

---

31 B. Becking, *JEOL* 27 (1981-82), pp. 82-86.

32 R. Zadok, *WdO* 9 (1977/78), p. 47.

33 R. Zadok, *BiOr* 42 (1985), p. 569.

34 Ed. by R.A.S. Macalister, *Gezer* I, pp. 27-29; recent reedition B. Becking, *JEOL* 27 (1981-82), pp. 86-88; cf. the remarks of R. Zadok, *BiOr* 42 (1985), pp. 567-570.

2 owner of the land being sold

(three seal impressions)
---
3 A plot of [x *su*]*tu* of the field adjacent to that of Sini.
4 [ ] adjacent to Sini.

Rev. 1' Witness: ... ; witness (/): ... ;
2' witness: GÌD.SIG.SUKKAL.GIŠ;
3' witness: Zer-ukin;
4' witness: Nergal-shar-usur.
5' Shabatu the fourth

LEdge 1 of the year of Ahi-ilaya,
2 governor of Gargamish.

The inscription makes clear that in the Assyrian provinces the transfer of properties even of the indigenous population, was possible. This implies that the institution of private property certainly existed in the Assyrian period. To whom Nathan-jahu sold his land is as unclear as the reason for the transaction. The text implies that Israelites could adopt a normal position in the province. The background of the personal names mentioned in the text indicate to a mixed population. Nathan-jahu is Israelite; Sini, Egyptian; Zer-ukin and Nergal-shar-usur, Assyrian or Babylonian. GÌD.SIG.SUKKAL.GIŠ is an incomprehensible name.[35]

6.3. Conclusions

In the sources discussed, a picture of the history of the Assyrian provinces on the territory of the former Northern Kingdom begins to emerge; albeit fragmentarily. The area participated in the *pax assyriaca* in the times of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Chastened by Assyrian threats, conquests and deportations, the area became loyal to the Assyrian power; although the letter ABL 1201 shows that the paying of tribute or taxes sometimes was delayed. The area remained under Assyrian control until the dismantling of the power-structures of Nineveh and the simultaneous territorial expansion of Judah under Josia. After the battle near Megiddo the area was subsequently incorporated into the Babylonian Empire.

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35 See B. Becking, *JEOL* 27 (1981-82), pp. 87-88. On Nergal-shar-usur see now CTN III 99 i:6; iii:1; 100 iii:4'; 103rev. ii:18. GÌD.SIG.SUKKAL.GIŠ might be the name of a deportee from Media.

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