

When *did* Shoshenq I Campaign in Palestine?*

Peter James and Peter van der Veen

As argued elsewhere (in Centuries of Darkness and now in many other papers, including some in this volume), Shoshenq I – founder of the 22nd Dynasty – was not the Shishak who invaded Judah c. 925 BC. In our opinion, genuine dead-reckoning from the highest attested years from the monuments (see e.g. James & Morkot and Thijs in this volume), epigraphical dating (for example the Byblite finds of early 22nd-dynasty sculptures with Phoenician inscriptions – see van der Veen, ‘Early Iron Age Epigraphy...’ in this volume) and the archaeology of Megiddo (see Chapman also in this volume), show that Shoshenq I must have been a pharaoh of the mid to late 9th century BC rather than the 10th. In this case, what reflection might there be of his campaign in biblical or extra-biblical records?

Introduction

The old idea that Shoshenq I’s toponym list from the Bubastite portal (for illustrations see Dodson in this volume) was merely derived from those of earlier Egyptian conquerors was long ago challenged (Simons 1937, 101) and is now agreed to be debunked (see Kitchen 1986, 432, n. 49) – in fact this list proves to be one of the *most* original compositions of this genre. A number of analyses have also shown that Shoshenq I’s placename list focusses on the Negev and northern Israel, rather than Judah (for references see conveniently Bimson, ‘Shishak and Shoshenq...’ in this volume). Another outdated idea, that the list reflects an itinerary of towns actually *destroyed* by Shoshenq, is surely far-fetched (James 2002, 177). Shoshenq’s list contains over 150 names! In the same vein, in the case of the extensive lists of other pharaohs (such as that of Thutmose III, whose great list includes some 350 toponyms – see Simons 1937, 199-122) there is, quite simply, no possibility that destruction or even military assault (as opposed to submission) was always involved (see e.g. Hoffmeier 1989, 187-188).

The exact meaning and purpose of such toponym lists still requires much further study.^[1] In some cases, for example the inclusion of Assur (Assyria) in lists of Amenhotep III^[2], we are dealing with claims that (from our perspective) look like mere exaggeration – the intention was presumably

to show that, having received the appropriate gifts, this Pharaoh could represent northern Mesopotamia as a tributary state. There is no question here of Amenhotep III having ‘destroyed’ Assyria or a single town in it. The reference to Assur here shows that such lists sometimes included countries or cities which a pharaoh could claim to have at least ‘neutralised’ and which were no longer a threat to Egypt. Still, the character of the Amenhotep III lists is very different from that of Shoshenq I. As noted above, Shoshenq’s list was certainly not copied from those of earlier pharaohs, while all the place-names involved as far as they can be identified are in Palestine, the Negev and in Transjordan. It is hence reasonable to assume that they either reflect towns which paid tribute and/or which were captured by some means, either by threat or aggression. By one means or another Shoshenq could claim to have them under his control. The presence of a Victory Stela of Shoshenq I at Megiddo (see Chapman 2009 and Chapman in this volume) proves beyond doubt that his army reached at least this far north. The very existence of the Victory Stela and the text accompanying the toponym list from the Bubastite Portal which refers to the defeat of ‘Asiatics’ (see below) make it fairly certain that battles were involved and that force was needed to take control of at least some of the towns listed.

We thought it necessary to discuss briefly the above caveats as much of the literature merely *assumes* that the toponym list reflects straightforward conquest or even destruction of sites. The situation is likely to be more complex. Yet – for the reasons outlined above – while some of the towns on Shoshenq’s list may have merely submitted without military conflict, it *is* reasonable to assume that the list represents the itinerary of a (largely) aggressive campaign. This poses a problem for the conventional chronology. If Shoshenq I was the biblical Shishak why would he have attacked many towns in northern Israel, within

* Our thanks to John Bimson for reading and Marinus van der Sluijs for commenting on earlier drafts; Peter James is indebted to the Mainwaring Archive Foundation for their kind support of his research.

[1] See Kitchen 2009, 129-135. See also, for instance, Grimal 2008, 56-64. Also see the entire volume on the subject in which this article was published: Adrom, Schlüter & Schlüter (eds) 2008.

[2] For instance Edel & Görg 2005, 20-23, 33, 43, 128-130.

the kingdom of his vassal and protégée Jeroboam? (See Bimson, ‘Shishak and Shoshenq...’ in this volume.)

A similar difficulty might seem to apply to a revised model, in which Shoshenq I campaigned in Palestine sometime in the mid-to-late 9th century. As noted elsewhere in this volume (van der Veen & James, ‘Zerah the Kushite...’), the alliance between Egypt and the northern kingdom continued long after the time of Jeroboam I, indeed down to its last ruler Hoshea (late 8th century BC). For example the Egyptians sent a small force to join Ahab of Israel and the coalition of Syrian kings that faced the Assyrians at the battle of Qarqar in 853 BC. Given this, who were the ‘Asiatics’ that Shoshenq claimed to have defeated?

The Aramaean domination of Israel

Relations between Israel and Syria were soon to change after 853 BC. Under Ahab’s successors (and perhaps under Ahab himself), the kings of Damascus made repeated raids into northern Israel, not just ravaging territory but annexing numerous cities into their mini-empire. For example, we are told in 2 Kings 7:6 that at the time of the prophet Elisha (c. 850-830 BC or possibly later) the Aramaeans besieged Samaria.^[3] As if by a miracle, the Aramaeans heard the sound of horses and chariots approaching, upon which they fled. The narrator explains that the Aramaeans feared that the Israelite king had hired ‘the kings of the Hittites’ and ‘the kings of the Egyptians’ to rescue them. It seems therefore that the Egyptians were still considered to be the allies of the Israelites at this time.^[4]

The domination of northern Israel by Hazael and his son Ben-Hadad ‘III’ (Bar-Hadad) is a major theme in the biblical accounts of the reigns of Jehoram and his successors Jehu and Jehoahaz (see Miller & Hayes 1986, 262-263, 287, 288, 297-302). Even Samaria was besieged, possibly twice. The domination of the northern part of the kingdom of Israel by the Damascene kings is not only mentioned in the Bible: it is confirmed by a stela discovered at Tel Dan, site of one of the northernmost cities of Israel.^[5]

[3] For brief discussion of the historical context of this siege see Miller & Hayes 1986, 262-263.

[4] In the light of the reference to the Hittites, a number of scholars have argued that the reference to the kings of Egypt in 2 Kings 7:6 must be taken as a mistake and must be understood as Muşri (i.e. from the land of Muşur), a northern people related to the Hittites and Aramaeans in 1 Kings 10:28. For this view see e.g. Wiseman 1993, 211-212. But as Neo-Hittites and Egyptians fought side by side at the battle of Qarqar in 853 BC and as Egypt is nearer the territory of Israel, we feel that the traditional reading has much to commend it. In a similar vein, some scholars have suggested that the 1000 soldiers from Muşri at the battle of Qarqar also came from the northern land of Muşur, but this view has been rightly criticised by Kitchen 1986, 325 & n. 454, arguing that it should more simply be translated as ‘from Egypt’.

[5] For a detailed discussion on the reconstruction and

Written in an Aramaean dialect, the stela was most likely set up by Hazael of Damascus in the late 9th century. It demonstrates that the Aramaeans were in control of Dan at this time, and also claims a successful campaign against a king of Israel and his ally the king of Judah (‘of the house of David’). The name of the Israelite king is broken ([...] ram), but its restoration as ‘Jehoram’, the name of Ahab’s son and successor, is probable, given that no other king of Israel bore this name element.^[6] Hazael claims to have killed both kings, going on to devastate various towns and laying siege to a city which may well have been Samaria.^[7] Hazael of Aram-Damascus is probably also referred to on yet another old Aramaic basalt stela fragment found at Tell Afis in central Syria, in association with a personal name partially preserved in the next line containing the Israelite/Judahite divine element *yhw*.^[8] The broken name could be restored as Jehoram (of Israel), Ahaziah (of Judah), Jehu (of Israel) or even Jehoahaz (of Israel).^[9]

It is probable, then, that the cities which Shoshenq I claimed to have seized in northern Israel were not in the control of the Israelites but the Aramaeans. In the lower chronology argued in *Centuries of Darkness*, Shoshenq I would have ruled during the last third of the 9th century BC.^[10] Straightforward dead-reckoning arrives at a date

reading of the stela fragments see Reinhold 2003, 121-155.

[6] A somewhat later date for the stela has been proposed by Athas 2005, who besides his excellent treatment of the inscription suggests a different reconstruction of the existing fragments (see especially his p. 191). But his reconstruction has not been accepted by other scholars. For a brief criticism of Athas’ work, primarily based on the historical connection between Hazael and the Israelite/Judahite kings, see Rollston 2010, 51-53.

[7] So also Athas 2005, 193 (line A 13).

[8] Mazzoni, 1998, 9 and fig. 5. Most recently also Amadasi Guzzo 2014, 54-55.

[9] Younger 2007, 139. If the name is to be reconstructed as Jehu, one would expect that the available waw was succeeded by an *aleph*, which is possible, but this is uncertain as the traces of the following letter on the left edge of the fragment could equally well be those of another character. Amadasi Guzzo (2014, 55) also considers the name [Jeho]’ahaz. The latter’s doubts, however, that an Israelite king would have been mentioned on a stela from central Syria (as no such confrontation is known in this region) are of course baseless. For it is understandable that Hazael – after defeating his southern neighbours – set up various stelae in Syria (evidently also at Tell Afis/Hazrak (biblical Hadrach) and one of the towns belonging to Zakkur of Hamath as mentioned in his stela inscription, see Unger 1980, 85) commemorating his military accomplishments including the wars against Israel/Judah.

[10] *Centuries of Darkness* (James *et al.* 1991, 256) suggested a provisional date for the beginning of the reign of Shoshenq I c. 810 BC. The authors have long felt that this date is too low: a date nearer c. 840-835 BC would be a reasonable estimate on present evidence. See Morkot & James and Thijs in this volume.

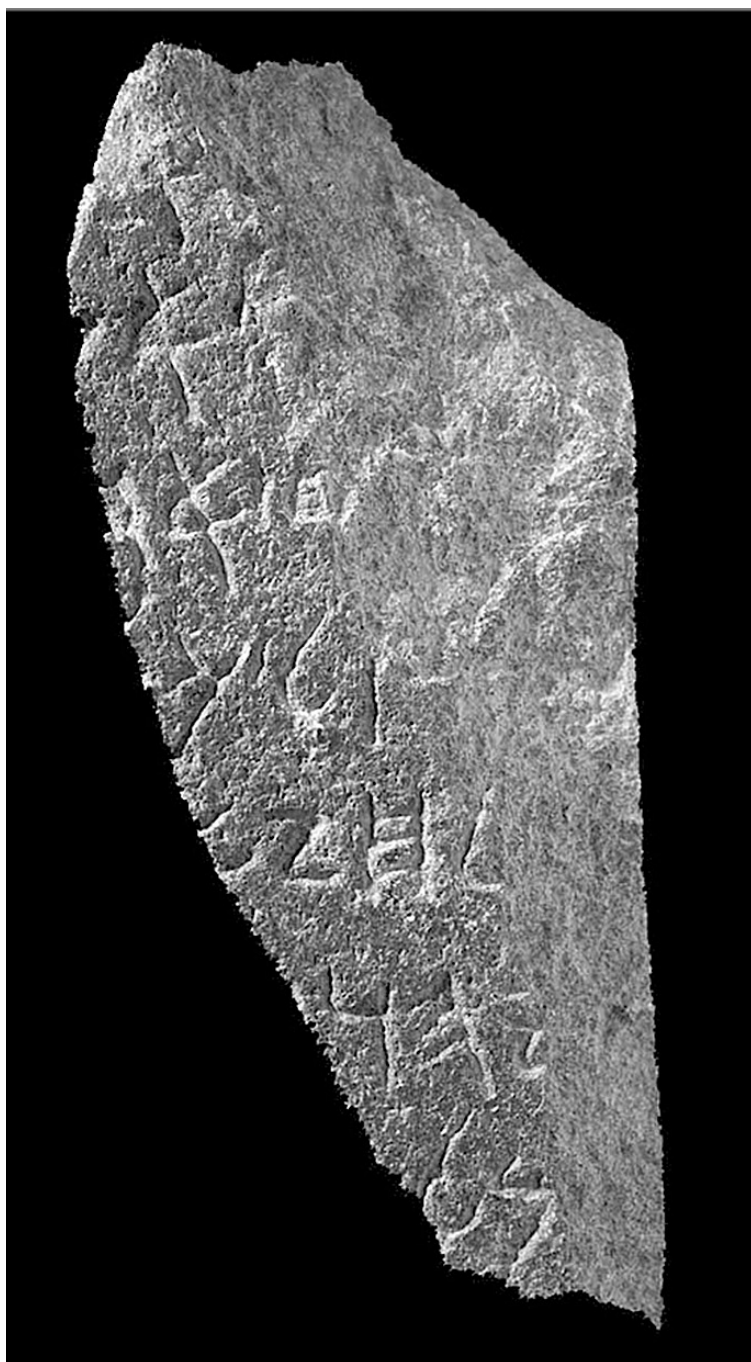


Figure 1. Stela fragment from Tell Afis with a probable reference to Hazael of Damascus and to an Israelite or Judaeen royal person, whose name contains the divine -yhw element. (Photography courtesy of S. Mazzoni.)

of c. 808 or (more likely) c. 818 BC for the last year of Shoshenq I (see Morkot & James in this volume). This would place his first year in 829 BC or (again more likely) c. 839 BC. But, as stressed, these are notional figures as there is the likelihood of ‘hidden’ co-regencies (for example between Takeloth I and Osorkon II). This would mean that Shoshenq’s Levantine campaign, which took place in his year 21 (or possibly a few years earlier – see Dodson in this volume) would have fallen between c. 818 and 808 BC.

As noted above, it is likely that the enemies faced by Shoshenq I in northern Palestine were not Israelites, but the Aramaeans who were occupying the region. In other words, Shoshenq I would be continuing to support the ‘old alliance’ begun with the northern kingdom under Jeroboam I in the 10th century BC. The Bible (2 Kings 13:7) records the miserable military state of Israel in the late 9th century, under king Jehoahaz:

Nothing had been left of the army of Jehoahaz except fifty horsemen, ten chariots and ten thousand foot soldiers, for the king of Aram had destroyed the rest and made them like the dust at threshing time.

The situation changed dramatically when an unnamed deliverer or saviour helped the Israelites against the Aramaeans (2 Kings 13:4-5):

Then Jehoahaz sought Yahweh’s favour, and Yahweh listened to him, for he saw how severely the king of Aram was oppressing Israel. Yahweh provided a deliverer for Israel, and they escaped from the power of Aram. So the Israelites lived in their own homes as they had before.

The clear inference is that the Israelites were able to reoccupy towns that had been conquered by the Aramaeans (under Hazael). The usual understanding of this passage is that the ‘deliverer’ was the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (see e.g. Miller & Hayes 1986, 298, 300-301). He subdued Damascus in 804 BC, so it is assumed that as a ‘knock-on’ effect this weakened the power of the Aramaeans, enabling the Israelites to reoccupy some of their towns. But this idea does not quite ring true considering the poor state of the Israelite forces

at the time, and there is certainly no suggestion from the Assyrian records that Adad-nirari III moved further south than Damascus in order to ‘liberate’ northern Israelite towns from Aramaean control or to assist the Israelites in any way.

With these considerations in mind, it was suggested in *Centuries of Darkness* that Shoshenq I, rather than Adad-nirari III, could have been the enigmatic ‘deliverer’ who helped Israel against the Aramaeans during the reign of Jehoahaz.^[11] Gershon Galil’s chronology for the Hebrew kings places the accession year of Jehoahaz in 820/819. Using his dates the campaign of the anonymous saviour could well have been that of Shoshenq I.

[11] Albeit in a short note – see James *et al.* 1991, 385, n. 134.

‘Mitanni’ in the 9th century BC

Support for the idea that Shoshenq’s enemies were not Israelites but Aramaeans comes from the (unfortunately) laconic account of his campaign inscribed at Karnak, accompanying his famous toponym list. In his address to Amun, Shoshenq refers to the enemy in general terms as Asiatics (*Amu*) but also uses the more specific term Mitanni:

I have struck for you those who rebelled against you, suppressing for you the Asiatics. The armies of Mitanni – I have slain those belonging to them beneath your sandals... (tr. Ritner 2009, 204).

a) Shoshenq’s reference to Mitanni

Most scholars, including Henry Breasted (1906, 349, §710; cf. Kitchen 1986, 435, n. 55) have considered Shoshenq’s reference to the land of Mitanni as a simple anachronism or mere rhetoric – as the usual assumption is that Mitanni as a political entity had disappeared at some point near the end of the Late Bronze Age. So Breasted: ‘No towns so far north can be found on the list. The reference to Mitanni is unquestionably drawn from older inscriptions...’ Likewise, Simons (1937, 90): ‘The only distinct name of a conquered enemy is Mitanni, which suffices to show the ahistorical and stereotyped character of these texts.’ Such objections, while understandable, suffer from two weaknesses. First, Shoshenq’s brief account only refers to repulsing the *armies of* Mitanni, ‘those belonging to them’, and not to an invasion of Mitanni *per se*. Second, they overlook the tendency of the Egyptians to use their own traditional terminology rather than that in current use in the Levant: they continued to use terms such as Djahi, Retenu, etc. for Palestine even at times when the kingdoms of Israel, Judah, Moab, Aram (at Damascus), existed.

Further, Görg has shown that the toponym Mitanni also appears on a statue of Thutmose III (CG 42192) usurped and re-engraved by the early 22nd-dynasty ‘king’ and high priest Maakheperre Shoshenq (‘Ilc’), who added a short topographical list (the Asiatic row on the left side containing only five names). While it is extremely unlikely that the meagrely attested Shoshenq Maakheperre – it is even a matter of dispute whether he was ‘officially’ a king – led any campaigns, it is still significant that Mitanni appears at the top of his list of Asiatic names (Görg 2005, 6), presumably echoing the fairly recent achievement of Shoshenq I in defeating the ‘armies of Mitanni’.

Outside of Egypt the continued use of the term Mitanni, after its alleged collapse as a political entity, is shown by an Assyrian inscription in which king Tiglath-pileser I boasts of hunting of wild bulls ‘in the country of Mitanni’ (Luckenbill 1926, 86, §247). On the conventional chronology this Assyrian king reigned c. 1115-1077,

though the *CoD* chronology would place him roughly a century later.^[12]

Thus, as Ritner (2009, 211) rightly notes: ‘Despite frequent remarks on the anachronism of this reference to the defunct *political* entity of Mitanni (e.g., Breasted 1906-7, 4:349 §710), the term may well have survived as a general *geographic* reference (for remote Asia)...’ Mitanni was used by the Egyptians synonymously with Naharin or Nahrima (‘land of the rivers’), a broad geographical term for the region of the northern Euphrates. After the demise of the Mitannian empire the region became the heartland of the Aramaean expansion, as reflected in the biblical name Aram Naharaim (‘Aram of the two rivers’).^[13]

b) Mitanni and Hazael’s Aramaean confederacy

If indeed the name Mitanni was still used (at least as a *geographical* term) in the time of Shoshenq I, one wonders what political entity led the ‘Mitannian’ troops he claims to have defeated. Two possible candidates come into play. An alternative term for Mitanni in many cuneiform texts (for example El Amarna letters 20:17; 29:49) is Hanigalbat which later became the name for the northeastern province of Assyria – so it is possible that Shoshenq I was referring to Assyria. But the second candidate is perhaps the more probable one. As we have noted above, the old Mitannian area of domination corresponds in strict terms to the area to the west (northern Syria) and east of the Euphrates – subsequently inhabited by the northern Aramaean tribes of the alliance led by the king of Aram-Damascus during the ninth century BC.

While the tribes of the Hanigalbat region paid tribute to Adad-nirari II, Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, it was King Hazael of Damascus who incorporated the armies of the region into his own. Even his predecessor Ben-Hadad is said to have commanded an army that included contingents of some thirty-two kings who came with him to besiege Israel’s capital Samaria in the reign of Ahab (1 Kings 20:1). If the context is correct and the episode relates to Ahab and Ben-Hadad II (and not later kings as often argued), then this huge coalition of Syrian kings was already under Damascene control before 853 BC.^[14] The questions of textual criticism and biblical micro-chronology on this matter are beyond the present

[12] Likewise, the revised Mesopotamian chronology of Pierce Furlong, which works along similar lines to that proposed in *CoD*, dates Tiglath-pileser I to 1030-992 BC. See Furlong 2010, 230, Table A.

[13] For discussion of the nature and dating of the Aramaean settlement in this region see Szuchman 2009.

[14] According to 1 Kings 20:34, Ben-Hadad the king of Damascus made a peace treaty with Ahab, while Ahab with Jehoshaphat of Judah would fight once more against the Aramaeans at Ramoth-Gilead in 1 Kings 22. According to Galil (1996, 34) Ahab died in the winter of 853/2, i. e. soon after the battle of Qarqar.

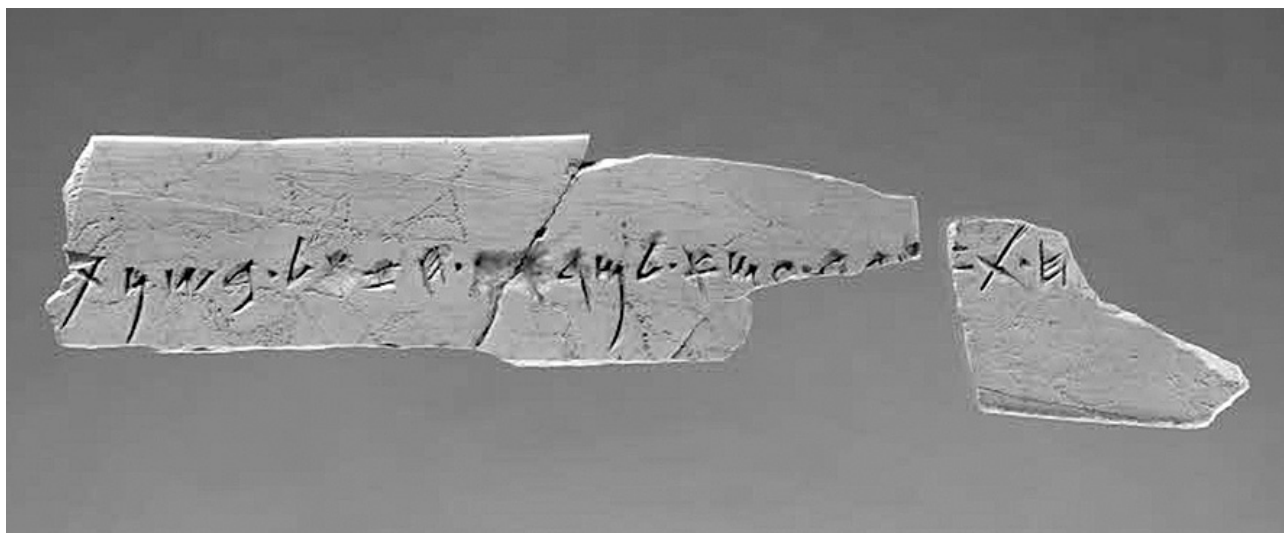


Figure 2. Ivory plaque from Arslan Tash dedicated to Hazael at the Musée du Louvre. (Photo R. Chipault, courtesy Bildarchiv preussischer Kulturbesitz, No. 00109251.)

study. Fortunately, when it comes to assessing the scope of Hazael's authority we have independent evidence. Several inscriptions which have been attributed to King Hazael of Aram-Damascus refer to or come from the geographical region of the erstwhile Mitannian empire which paid tribute to him.

An inscribed ivory plaque, from a bedstead found at Arslan Tash near the Upper-Euphrates, bears an Aramaean inscription which contains the dedication 'to our Lord Hazael' (*lmr 'n hz'l*). Mazar considers this Hazael to be 'in all probability ... Hazael, King of Aram' (Mazar 1986: 163f.). Röllig (1988, 39) translates the entire inscription as follows: 'This ... has son of 'Amma en[graved] for our Lord Hazael in the year 5'^[15]

An inscribed bronze ornament for a horse's forehead was found on the Greek island of Samos in an early 6th century BC secondary archaeological layer of debris at the Heraion. Its iconographic details suggest a North-Syrian origin, while its palaeography suits a date during the second half of the 9th century BC. With the help of an inscription on a pair of horse-blinkers found at the Apollo Daphnephoros temple at Eretria in Euboea (also apparently referring to Hazael), Ephal and Naveh were able to reconstruct the Samos inscription as follows: 'That which Hadad gave our Lord Hazael from 'Umqi in the year that our Lord crossed the river.' (Ephal/Naveh 1989, 192ff.; Mykytiuk 2004, 119-121).^[16] While the authors considered the possibility of the river being the Orontes, they prefer – correctly so – the view that it is the river

par excellence, i.e. the Euphrates, that is meant here (also Na'aman 1995, 382-383).^[17]

This 'Umqi^[18] also appears in the Zakkur of Hamath inscription as an ally of Hazael's son and successor Bar-Hadad

Then Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram, united against me s[even]teen kings: Bar-Hadad and his army, Bar-Gush and his army, the king of Que and his army, the king of 'Amuq and his army, the king of Gurgum and his army, the king of Sam'al and his army, the king of Melid and his army [] seven[teen], they and their armies. All these kings laid siege to Hadrach (Millard 1999, 139.)

According to Ahlström (1993, 610) the Zakkur inscription indicates 'that Damascus dominated Syria up to Que in Cilicia', a vast territory which included Northern Syria and parts of the ancient territory of Mitanni/Hanigalbat. Based on their translation of the Samos inscription, Ephal and Naveh (1989, 200) come to the same conclusion:

[17] For the importance of the Euphrates see e.g. Joshua 24:2-3; 2 Samuel 8:3; 10:16 or 1 Kings 14:15. For its significance as a geographical boundary to the Egyptians see James in this volume.

[18] Also Mykytiuk 2004, 119. Na'aman (1995, 384) suggests that 'Umqi on Hazael's Samos inscription must be understood as 'emeq (valley) and refers to the Beqac of Lebanon. Although this suggestion is surely ingenious, the reading 'Umqi = Pattin makes perfect sense in the light of the Zakkur inscription where it must mean the kingdom of Pattin. Moreover, as the inscription refers to the year when Hazael crossed the river, most likely the Euphrates, the more northern locality fits the general geography better.

[15] Also Ephal & Naveh 1989, 197, n. 24. Another translation was offered by Puech, who reads: '[The bed which] the troops [offer]ed to our Master Hazael, the year of the [annexat]ion of Ha[uran].'. See Puech 1981: 544-562.

[16] The Aramaic inscription reads: *zy ntn hdd lmr 'n hz'l mn cmq bšnt cdh mr 'n nhr*.



Figure 3. One of the horse-blinkers referring to Hazael, ‘Umqi and the river, found at the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros. (Photography D. Gialouris; (c) Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund, courtesy of Dr G. Kakavas at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, No. 15070.)

The significance of the Samos inscription lies in the fact that it explicitly indicates that Damascus’ power was manifested in northern Syria already during the reign of Hazael. The practical significance of Hazael’s policy, as well as the military influence of his son Barhadad in this region, are reflected in the Zakur inscription.

The extensive scope of the Damascene mini-empire is also implied in Amos 1:3-5 where it even includes Beth-Eden (i.e. Bit-Adina), an Aramaean state located to the east of the Euphrates river in the very heartland of Mitanni.

From the epigraphic and other evidence reviewed above it is clear that the army of Hazael and his son Ben-Hadad III comprised contingents from various parts of their mini-empire, including areas in northern Syria to the west and east of the Euphrates river – the region of the old Mitannian empire.

Hazael’s army invades Cis- and Transjordan territory

2 Kings 10:32-33 describes Hazael’s extensive conquests in the Transjordanian region. These included territory previously claimed by the kingdom of Israel at least as far south as the Arnon river, south-east of the Dead Sea:

Yahweh began to cut off parts of Israel. Hazael defeated them throughout the territory of Israel: from the Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the valley of Arnon, that is, Gilead and Bashan.

Following that, Hazael’s army (perhaps as early as the reign of Jehu) proceeded to ‘ravage the very heartland of Israelite territory west of the Jordan’ (Miller & Hayes 1986, 297), as his army then marched towards the Philistine city of Gath and conquered it (2 Kings 12:17).^[19] According to one Septuagint version of 2 Kings 13:22 (LXXL), the Aramaeans also conquered the town of Aphek, near modern Tel Aviv, including its immediate vicinity. It is understandable why Hazael secured this area for himself, as Gath and Aphek are situated on the strategically significant Via Maris (van der Veen 2013, 167). Subsequently, Hazael moved eastward towards Jerusalem (2 Kings 12:18), possibly by sending one of his task forces to prepare for the siege.^[20] In order to avoid a devastating clash with the Aramaeans, Joash of Judah paid him off with heavy tribute from the temple and palace treasuries; consequently Hazael ‘withdrew from Jerusalem.’ The Chronicler adds

[19] Evidence of destruction and an impressive siege moat have been unearthed at Tell es-Safi/Gath in Stratum A3, which the excavators have assigned to Hazael (Maeir 2008; also Maeir and Gur-Arieh 2011). For the date of this stratum also see Maeir 2012, Vol. 1, 354-355. This attribution has not uniformly been accepted (Ussishkin 2009; Zwickel, pers. comm. Spring 2012), however, and in the *CoD* chronology this evidence would need to be dated later. As the moat and the city’s destruction belong to Stratum A3 at the end of the Iron Age IIA period, it might be appropriate to date it to the reign of king Uzziah of Judah (c. 760/750 BC), who is said to have taken down the walls of Gath, Jabneh and Ashdod (2 Chronicles 26:6), or later.

[20] This suggestion was also made long ago by Noordtzij 1957, 286. 2 Chronicles 24:24 underlines that despite their success the Aramaeans had come with a small number of men to confront Joash.

that the war had been fierce and that the Aramaeans had destroyed all the princes of the Judaeans people (2 Chronicles 24:23). As mentioned earlier Jehoahaz of Israel was severely oppressed by Hazael and his army reduced almost to the status of a bodyguard, but Yahweh sent him the anonymous saviour (2 Kings 13:5), which – at least temporarily – brought relief for Israel.

Zwickel (2013, 155) has outlined a plausible campaign route of Hazael, which we have reproduced here in *Figure 4*. It shows his advance from Ramoth-Gilead (2 Kings 9:14), crossing the Jordan near Beth-Shean and through the Jezreel Valley to the Philistine coastal region down to Aphek and Gath and then inland towards Jerusalem. The areas covered by Hazael's campaigns closely resemble those of Shoshenq's military expedition (see *Figure 4*). This would support our suggestion that Shoshenq I might have been the anonymous 'saviour' who supported king Jehoahaz as he sought to liberate Israel by expelling its Aramaean foes.

Shoshenq I as 'saviour' on Judahite amulets?

There may be further evidence that the Israelites and Judaeans regarded the Libyan Pharaoh Shoshenq I as an ally or saviour rather than as an oppressor.

As briefly discussed elsewhere in this volume (van der Veen, 'The Name Shishaq ...') several locally manufactured bone seals or amulets (lucky charms) inscribed with what appear to be versions of the name Shoshenq have been discovered in Palestine. The clearest example comes from Tel Dan (see van der Veen, 'The Name Shishaq ...' *Figure 3*), which may be significant given that we know it was under Aramaean occupation in the late 9th century BC. Others have been uncovered mainly within the territory of Judah (e.g. at Lachish, Tell el-Far'ah South and Jerusalem), the southern coastal plain (e.g. at Ashdod, Tell Jemmeh) and in southern Judah/the northern Negev border region, e.g. at Tell Beit Mirsim and Tel Arad (Keel & Uehlinger 1998a, 265; Keel & Uehlinger 1998b, 536; Keel 2012, 320).

If Shoshenq had been seen as an aggressor (like Shishak), why would the Judaeans (and their neighbours) have produced seals with his name as lucky charms? Would these seals not rather suggest that Shoshenq was considered to be a hero, a model of military prowess? While tentative, it seems reasonable to suggest from these amulets that Shoshenq was envisaged as an ally rather than an oppressor, a situation which is compatible with the circumstances described above concerning the liberation of Israel from the Aramaeans by an unnamed 'saviour' in the reign of Jehoahaz.

Despite the fact that many bone seals with Shoshenq-like names come from secondary strata, the earliest related Egyptianised bone seals surface in Iron Age IIA layers. Consequently, Othmar Keel surmises that also the Shoshenq

seals would have originated during this archaeological period (1995, § 141, 65; 1997: 192:269; 656:27; 2012, 337, fig. 290; 2013, 54, fig. 122). He considers them as additional support for the conventional equation of Shoshenq with Shishak. Even so, most specimens stem from Iron Age IIB-C strata.^[21] While most scholars today date the end of the Iron Age IIA period to the latter half of the 9th century BC, the *Centuries of Darkness* model would date it to c. 740-720,^[22] together with a lowering of Iron IIB-C. This would place the manufacture of most of these seals in the late 8th-early 7th centuries BC. There may exist additional 'stratigraphical' evidence in support of the mainly 8th-century BC date of these bone seals. For both bullae and bone seals with a variety of Egyptianising motifs including versions of the Shoshenq-type name (Keel 2013, 54) were found in an archaeological fill within the so-called rock-cut pool near the Gihon spring at the City of David.^[23] The pottery evidence (which is similar to that of Lachish Stratum IV) within the fill suggests a date for the finds around 800 BC ± 30 years in the conventional chronology, i.e. late Iron Age IIA or early Iron Age IIB (Reich *et al.* 2007, 154, 156; Reich 2011, 217) and c. 740-700 BC in the *Centuries of Darkness* model.^[24] Such a date is also supported by the discovery of bullae in the same context, which depict Neo-Assyrian sun-disks in linear design (Keel 2012, 331, figs. 93*-94*; Keel 2011a, 304, fig. 191, 537, fig. 389).^[25] Finally, the occurrence of some similar Shoshenq-like names on 8th-century ivory carvings from Nimrud (e.g. *š-[-. J-n-q-q* – Herrmann *et al.* 2004, esp. 89, fig. S1144) also seem to support the 8th-century date for at least most of the relevant bone seals.^[26] While virtually

[21] Pers. comm. with C. Herrmann, June 2014.

[22] An approximate correlation between the end date for Iron IIA and the Assyrian conquests was mooted in James 2008, 173, n. 150.

[23] One Shoshenq-type seal was also found – albeit out of context – by K. Kenyon on the Eastern slope of the City of David; see Steiner 2003, 88, fig. 13.

[24] Some seals in the fill, however, contain imagery, which is known from the early phase of Iron Age IIA (see Keel 2011b, 63). It can therefore be surmised that in terms of the *Centuries of Darkness* model the fill also included material from the latter half of the 9th century BC, the time of Shoshenq I as is suggested in this article.

[25] Cf. Herbordt 1992, Plates 12:1-2; Keel-Leu & Teissier 2004, Plates 235 Z and 36 Z; Keel 2013, 11:8. Also the bulla from the City of David fill with the 'empty throne' and what appears to be a winged solar disk placed on a cultic standard (see Keel 2011a, 304), most closely resembles a winged solar disk depicted on the late 8th-7th century BC Moabite seal of Amos the scribe; cf. Parayre 1993, 43:11. An in-depth study of this evidence is in preparation by van der Veen for his postdoctoral dissertation for the University of Mainz on the reign of king Manasseh during the 7th century BC.

[26] NB the undisputed reading of the name of the Nubian Pharaoh Taharqo (Herrmann *et al.* 2004, 20, fig. S0185). It must be emphasised however that the pseudo-hieroglyphs found on most of the ivories did not yield any intelligible

all the Judaeen bone seals with Egyptianising symbols (including the Shoshenq ‘cartouches’) would postdate the events described in this article (which we have dated to *c.* 820-810 BC), their apparent amuletic role in the late 8th-early 7th centuries is nevertheless explicable.

Many biblical texts emphasise that Egypt was still considered to be a great military power, from which both Judaeans and Israelites sought help during the second half of the 8th century (Hoshea 7:11; 2 Kings 17:4; Isaiah 31:1). When the northern kingdom of Israel was under pressure from the Assyrians *c.* 723 (according to Galil 1996, 90), King Hoshea sent gifts to ‘Pharaoh So’, almost certainly Osorkon III, a descendant of Shoshenq I (see Morkot & James 2009 and Morkot & James in this volume). Likewise when Sennacherib famously approached Jerusalem in 701 BC, it was not only ‘Tirhaqah’ of Kush (according to the Bible in 2 Kgs. 19:9; Isaiah 37:9)^[27] who came to aid Hezekiah, but according to the more detailed Assyrian accounts, an Egyptian force as well. Sennacherib wrote that Hezekiah called for help to ‘the kings of Egypt (*Mus(u)ri*) (and) the bowmen, the chariot(-corps) and the cavalry of the king of Ethiopia (*Me-luh-ha*), an army beyond counting’ (trans. Oppenheim 1969, 287) and he claims to have trounced this mighty force on the plain of Eltekeh (in Philistia). The kings of Egypt who attempted to defend Hezekiah would have been a coalition of Lower and Middle Egyptian kings, many of whom could claim descent from their more powerful and illustrious ancestor Shoshenq I. In both cases (Samaria and Jerusalem) the Egyptian pharaohs would not prove adequate to the task of repelling the Assyrian threat.

Concluding remarks

The conventional dating for Shoshenq I places his main campaign in the Levant *c.* 925 BC, equating it with the biblical account of Shishak and his conquest of Rehoboam’s fortified cities in Judah (with Jerusalem being spared by buying off the aggressor). Yet, as has

Egyptian words or names. The 8th-century date for some of the ivories is clearly supported by the palaeographic date of the West Semitic inscriptions sometimes found on the back of the ivories (especially Herrmann et al. 2004, 161, figs. S2224-5; Barnett 1975, 161-162 and plate CXXXII).

[27] This is not the place (nor is there any need here) to discuss the knotty problem of the presence of Tirhakah (Taharqo) as Kushite commander in Palestine as early as 701 BC; but see Morkot & James in prep.

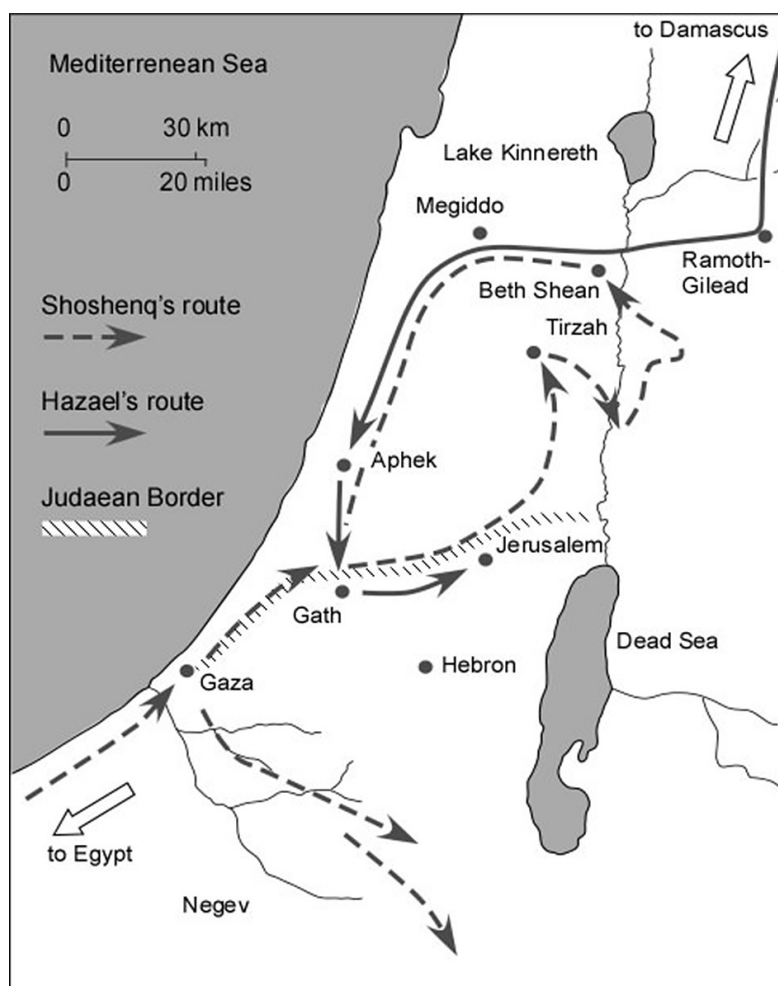


Figure 4. Map showing the areas involved in the military campaigns of Hazael and Shoshenq I. (Map by U. Zerbst.)

been frequently demonstrated (see above and in particular Bimson, ‘Shishak and Shoshenq...’ in this volume for references), the toponym list of Shoshenq I accompanying his brief campaign account bears no resemblance to the biblical account of Shishak’s campaign: aside from the Negev, most of the towns are in the northern kingdom of Israel. Placing Shoshenq I’s campaign in the last quarter of the 9th century BC raises the possibility that he was actually an ally rather than an enemy of the northern kingdom of Israel. The suggestion remains tentative until the discovery of further documentation. Yet the idea that Shoshenq (as well as re-establishing Egyptian influence/authority in the region) was providing military support for Israel, helping it to recover towns that had been conquered by the Damascene king Hazael, is more in keeping with the biblical account and provides a reasonable explanation of the identity of the anonymous ‘saviour’ who rescued the northern kingdom from Aramaean domination during the reign of Jehoahaz (820/819-803 BC). It is certainly as plausible as (if not preferable to) the idea that Shoshenq I subdued Judah *c.* 925 BC.

Bibliography

- Adrom, F., Schlüter, K. & Schlüter, A. (eds), 2008. *Altägyptische Weltansichten*. (Ägypten und Altes Testament 68.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Ahlström, G. W., 1993. *The History of Ancient Palestine from the Palaeolithic Period to Alexander's Conquest*. (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 146.) Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Amadasi Guzzo, M. G., 2014. 'Tell Afis in the Iron Age: The Aramaic Inscriptions', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 77:1, 54-57.
- Athas, G., 2005. *The Tel Dan Inscription - A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*. London: T. & T. Clark.
- Barnett, R. D., 1975. *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*. London: British Museum.
- Breasted, J. H., 1906. *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. IV. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Chapman, R. L., 2009. 'Putting Sheshonq I in his Place', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 141:1, 4-17.
- Edel, E. & Görg, M., 2005. *Die Ortsnamenlisten im nördlichen Säulenhof des Totentempels Amenophis' III*. (Ägypten und Altes Testament 50.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Ephal, I. & Naveh, J., 1989. 'Hazeal's Booty Inscriptions', *Israel Exploration Journal* 39, 192-200.
- Furlong, P., 2010. *Aspects of Ancient Near Eastern Chronology (c. 1600-700 BC)*. (Gorgias Dissertations: Near Eastern Studies 46.) Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.
- Grimal, N., 2008. 'La preuve par neuf'. In F. Adrom, K. Schlüter & A. Schlüter (eds), *Altägyptische Weltansichten*, 56-64. (Ägypten und Altes Testament 68.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Galil, G., 1996. *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel & Judah*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Görg, M., 1979. 'Mitanni in Gruppenschreibungen', *Göttinger Miszellen* 32, 17-18.
- 2005. 'Schoschenq I. und Mitanni', *Göttinger Miszellen* 207, 5-6.
- Hawkins, J. D., 2009. 'Cilicia, the Amuq, and Aleppo: New Light in a Dark Age', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 72:4, 164-173.
- Herbordt, S., 1992. *Neuassyrische Glyptik des 8.-7. Jh. v. Chr.* (State Archives of Assyria Studies 1.) Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Herrmann, G., et al., 2004. *The Published Ivories from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud - a scanned archive of archaeology in Iraq*. London: Institute of Archaeology, University College London/British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- Hoffmeier, J. K., 1989. 'Reconsidering Egypt's Part in the Termination of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine', *Levant* 21, 181-193.
- James, P., 2002. Review of William Dever: *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did they Know It?* (2001), *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 134:2, 176-178.
- 2008. 'The Alleged 'Anchor Point' of 732 BC for the Destruction of Hazor V', *Antiquo Oriente* 6, 133-180.
- James, P. J., Thorpe, I. J., Kokkinos, N., Morkot, R., Frankish, J., 1991. *Centuries of Darkness: A Challenge to the Conventional Chronology of Old World Archaeology*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Keel, O., 1995. *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit, Einleitung*. (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica 10.) Fribourg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz.
- 1997. *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit, Katalog Band 1: von Tell Abu Farağ bis Atlit*. (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica 13.) Fribourg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz.
- 2011a. *Die Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung des Monotheismus*, Part 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 2011b. *Jerusalem und der eine Gott: Eine Religionsgeschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 2012. 'Paraphernalia of Jerusalem Sanctuaries and Their Relation to Deities Worshiped Therein during the Iron Age IIA-C'. In J. Kamlah (ed.), *Temple Building and Temple Cult - Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.-1. Millennium BCE)*, 317-342. (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins Band 41.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- 2013. *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina / Israel: von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit - Katalog Band IV: Von Tel Gamma bis Chirbet Husche. Mit Beiträgen von Baruch Brandl, Daphne Ben-Tor und Leonardo Pajarola*. (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica 33.) Freiburg: Academic Press Fribourg.
- Keel, O. and Uehlinger, C., 1998a. *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God In Ancient Israel*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- 1998b. *Götter, Göttinnen und Gottessymbole*. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder.
- Keel-Leu, H. and Teissier, B., 2004. *Die vorderasiatischen Rollensiegel der Sammlungen <<Bible + Orient>> der Universität Freiburg Schweiz*. Freiburg: Academic Press Fribourg.
- Kitchen, K. A., 1986. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*. 2nd ed. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- 2009. 'Egyptian New Kingdom Topographical Lists: An Historical Resource with "Literary" Histories'. In B. Brand & L. Cooper (eds), *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*, 129-135. E. J. Brill: Leiden.

- Luckenbill, D. D., 1926. *Ancient Records of Assyrian and Babylonia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Maeir, A. M., 2008, 'Hazeal, Birhadad and the *hrs*'. In D. Schloen (ed.), *Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager, 273-277*. Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns.
- 2012 (ed.). *Tell es-Safi/Gath I: The 1996-2005 Seasons*, Volume 1: Text, Volume 2: Plates. (Ägypten und Altes Testament 69.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Maeir, A. M. & Gur-Arieh, S., 2011. 'Comparative Aspects of the Aramean Siege System at Tell es-Şafi/Gath'. In I. Finkelstein & N. Na'aman (eds), *The Fire Signals of Lachish: Studies in the Archaeology of Israel in the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Persian Period in Honor of David Ussishkin, 227-244*. Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Mazar, B., 1986. 'The Aramean Empire and Its Relations with Israel'. In S. Ahituv & B. A. Levine (eds), *The Early Biblical Period - Historical Studies, 151-172*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Mazzoni, S., 1998. *The Italian Excavations of Tell Afis (Syria): From Chiefdom to an Aramaean State*. Pisa: Edizione ETS/University of Pisa.
- Millard, A. R., 1999. 'Israelite and Aramaean History in the Light of Inscriptions'. In V. Philips Long (ed.), *Israel's Past in Present Research: Essays on Ancient Israelite Historiography, 129-141*. Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Miller, J. M. & Hayes, J. H., 1986. *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*. London: SCM Press.
- Morkot, R. & James, P., 2009. 'Peftjauwybast, King of Nenn-nesut: Genealogy, Art History, and the Chronology of Late Libyan Egypt', *Antiquo Oriente* 7, 13-55.
- in prep. 'Shebitqo'.
- Mykytiuk, L. J., 2004. *Identifying Biblical Persons in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions of 1200-539 B.C.E.* Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Na'aman, N., 1995. 'Hazeal of Amqi and Hadadezer of Beth-Rehob', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 27, 381-394.
- Noordtzijs, A., 1957. *Kronieken*. Vol. II. Kampen: Uitgeverij J. H. Kok.
- Oppenheim, A. L., 1969. 'Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts'. In J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Documents Relating to the Old Testament, 265-317*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Parayre, D., 1993. 'À propos des sceaux ouest-sémitiques: le rôle de l'iconographie dans l'attribution d'un sceau à une aire culturelle à un atelier'. In B. Sass & C. Uehlinger (eds), *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals, 27-51*. Freiburg: University Press Fribourg Switzerland.
- Puech, E., 1981. 'L'ivoire inscrit d'Arslan-Tash et les rois de Damas', *Revue Biblique* 88, 544-562.
- Reich, R. et al., 2007. 'Recent Discoveries in the City of David, Jerusalem', *Israel Exploration Journal* 57, 153-169.
- Reich, R., 2011. *Excavating the City of David - Where Jerusalem's History Began*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Biblical Archaeology Society.
- Reinhold, G. G. G., 2003. 'Zu den Stelenbruchstücken der altaramäischen Inschrift von Tel Dan, Israel'. In G. G. Reinhold (ed.), *Bei Sonnenaufgang auf dem Tell, 121-155*. Remshalden: Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner.
- Ritner, R. K., 2009. *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Röllig, W., 1988. 'Die aramäische Inschrift für Haza'el und ihr Duplikat'. In H. Kyrieleis & W. Röllig (eds), *Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck aus dem Heraion von Samos, 62-75*. (Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung 103.) Athens: Deutsch-archäologisches Institut.
- Rollston, C. A., 2010. *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel - Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Steiner, M. L., 2003. *Excavations by Kathleen Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961-1967, Volume III - The Settlement in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. (Copenhagen International Series 9.) London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press/Continuum.
- Simons, J., 1937. *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Szuchman, J., 2009. 'Revisiting Hanigalbat: Settlement in the Western Provinces of the Middle Assyrian Kingdom', *Studies in the Civilization of Nuzi and the Hurrians* 18, 531-544.
- Unger, M. F., 1980. *Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus*. Grand Rapids MI: Baker Book House.
- Ussishkin, D., 2009. 'On the So-called Aramaean "Siege Trench" in Tell es-Şafi, Ancient Gath', *Israel Exploration Journal* 59:2, 137-157.
- van der Veen, P. G., 2013. 'Zeit der getrennten Reiche – Juda'. In W. Zwickel et al. (eds), *Herders Neuer Bibelatlas, 164-189*. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder.
- Wiseman, D. J., 1993. *1 & 2 Kings - An Introduction & Commentary*. (Tyndale Old Testament Commentary Series 9.) Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press.
- Younger, K. L., 2007. 'Some of What's New in Old Aramaic Epigraphy', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 70:3, 139-146.
- Zwickel, W., 2013. 'Zeit Jehus und seine Nachfolger'. In W. Zwickel et al. (eds), *Herders Neuer Bibelatlas, 154-156*. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder Verlag.