

THEOLOGICAL SEM
MAY 5 19

The Princeton Theological Review

APRIL, 1919

HADADEZER OR BEN-HADAD

Ben-hadad of Damascus warred with Ahab of Israel and shortly afterwards Hadadezer of Damascus had the aid of Ahab against the Assyrian invaders. Historians commonly regard Ben-hadad and Hadadezer as in all probability one and the same person,¹ and they look upon the two names as mere variations of one original form.

The identity of person, however, has not been placed beyond the possibility of doubt; and the counter theory of diversity of person is entertained, the view that Ben-hadad was the predecessor of Hadadezer on the throne of Damascus. This counter theory introduces no confusion into the story. The Hebrew, Assyrian and other historical data arrange themselves naturally and render a consistent account of the course of events in northern Israel and at Damascus during an entire century.

The story is this: About the year 896 B. C. Baasha of Israel and a king of Damascus named Ben-hadad entered into an alliance (1 Kin. xv. 19^b), and Baasha advanced against Judah (verse 17). Thereupon Asa, king of Judah, reminded Ben-hadad of an ancient league already existing between him and Ben-hadad, and between his father and Ben-hadad's father, and by a gift of treasure he persuaded Ben-hadad to break his alliance with Baasha (verse 19). Ben-hadad accordingly seized a number of fortified towns in northern Israel along the caravan route between Damascus and the port of Akko on the Mediterranean sea (verse 20).

In the year 886 Omri as general had command of the army of Baasha's son and successor (1 Kin. xvi. 8, 16), and in

¹ "Benhadad II ist vermuthlich, wenn nicht sicher, identisch mit dem keilinschriftlichen auf der Monolithinschrift Salmanassar's II . . . erwähnten Dad-'id-ri," i.e. Hadadezer (Schrader, KAT², 1883, p. 200).

THE STATUE OF SHALMANESER AT ASSHUR
WHO WAS CONTEMPORARY WITH
HADADEZER

A statue of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, who reigned from 860 to 824 B. C., was found in December, 1903, by German excavators on the site of ancient Asshur, the early capital of Assyria, on the western bank of the Tigris river about sixty miles south of Nineveh. The head of the figure was gone, and the body lay in two pieces, broken asunder below the waist. It had been carved from a block of basalt, and in its complete state stood about eight feet high. The inscription records the deeds of Shalmaneser. It is graven on the rich outer garment which clothes the king from the loins to the feet. The writing begins on the front of the robe, and the closing lines are found on the back. Between these sections there is a gap in the inscription, due to breakage.¹

In transliteration the words of the inscription are: (1) *Šulmanu-ašaridu šarru rab-u šarru dan-nu* (2) *šar kul-lat kib-rat arba'-i ik-du* (3) *li'-u ša-nin mal-ki.* (4) *ša kiš-ša-ti rabuti šarrani* (5) *mar Ašur-našir-pal šar kiššati šar mat Aššur* (6) *aḫal Tukulti-Ninib šar kiššati šar mat Aššur ma²*

¹ *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1904, No. 21, pp. 20, 39-42. The text is published in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, historischen Inhalts*. Erstes Heft. Autographien von Leopold Messerschmidt, Berlin, 1911, plate 30. A transliteration and a translation of the lines on the front, 1-34 or 35, are offered by Langdon, *Expository Times*, November, 1911, p. 69; and both are quoted with slight changes by Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 1912, pp. 298 and 299. Line 9 on the back of the statue and half of its continuation below the fringe is translated by Delitzsch in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 21, p. 53.

² The character *ma* requires no translation. It is frequently employed as here, where a series of royal titles is interrupted by the insertion of the names and titles of the ancestors of the king. It is placed after the concluding title of the last royal ancestor in the series (sometimes after each ancestor's titles), and marks as it were the close of the genealogy and the resumption of the interrupted discourse concerning the king's own person and prowess (Shalmaneser's Throne Inscription, col. i. 9; Le Gac, *Inscriptions d'Assur-našir-aplu III*, pp. 88, 117, 126, 154, 172, 188, 200, 201).

ka-šid (7) *mat En-zi mat Gil-za-a-nu mat Hu-bu-uš[-ki-a]*
 (8) *mat U-ra-r[ar³ n]a-aš-pan-t[i-šu-nu]⁴* (9) *aš-kun-ma*
ki-ma ilu NE [GI] (10) *eli-šu-nu a-ba' A-hu-ni* (11) *mar*
A-di-ni a-di ila-ni[-šu] (12) *šabe-šu mati-šu buš e[-kalli-šu*
a-] su-ḥ[a-ma] (13) *a-na niše mati-ia a[m]-nu-šu-[nu]⁵*
 (14) *Addu-id-ri ša mat Imerišu* (15) *a-di xii mal-ki ri-ši-šu*
 (16) *abikta-šu-nu aš-kun-ma xxix M* (17) *a-li-li mun-daḥ*
hi-ši-šu (18) *u-sal-li⁶ ki-ma šu-bi* (19) *si-ta-at šabe-šu-nu a-*

³ These countries lay near together in the mountainous region to the north and northeast of Nineveh, Enzite being at the western end and Hubushkia at the eastern end of a semicircle. In a familiar passage, in an account of one of his campaigns, Shalmaneser mentions the four in succession as traversed and subdued by him (Monolith, col. ii. 45-66). But in this inscription on the statue the names are peculiar in form. Enzite, as the name is written elsewhere in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser (Monolith, ii. 42, 45, and 65; Bronze Gates, ii. 5, Source of the Sebenehsu 10; Bull 1, belly 18, comp. Layard 12 and BA. vi Heft 1, p. 144) is shortened to Enzi, as in an inscription of Shalmaneser's son. Hubushkia is abbreviated to Hubush, unless for lack of room the remaining portion was written outside of the space allotted to the inscription on the statue. Regarding the name Urartu, in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser it is regularly written *U-ra-ar-ṭi* (with the *ḫi/ṭi* sign; Obelisk 142; Monolith, col. ii. 55; Bronze Gates, col. iii. 3 and band B superscription) and *U-ra-ar-ṭu* (Source, 12), but the last two characters are not found here. The width of the defaced portion and the traces of a character which appear outside of the injured area indicate, not the sign *ar* (Langdon), but the sign *raṭ*. If this surmise is correct, the name was written without the vowel-ending, as frequently in other geographical names, and consequently the a-sound appears between the two consecutive vowelless final consonants, *U-ra-raṭ*. With this form may be compared such names as Kalhu and Kalah, Elamtu and E-lammat. There is a possible alternative. The traces of the well-nigh obliterated sign show a horizontal wedge followed by a perpendicular one. If the first wedge slanted, instead of being horizontal, the sign could be read *ṭi* (namely *di/ṭi*). In that case the scribe has carelessly omitted the syllable *ar*. But the sign *di/ṭi* could scarcely be accommodated in the space at disposal.

⁴ Langdon reads "*U-ra-[ar?]-tam as-pan* (sic!) [*abikta-šunu*], Urartu I smote(?). Their overthrow." But the established form of the Imperfect is *aspuṇ* and *ašpuṇ*, with the u-vowel; and the remnants of the following sign do not lend themselves to the ideogram for *abiktu*, but suit the sign *ti*.

⁵ Guaranteed by Monolith, col. ii. 75; Ashurnatsirpal, Standard Inscription, col. iii. 125. Hence not *inu-šu-ma* (Langdon).

⁶ Langdon reads *u-ni-li*.

na (20) nar A-ra-an-te (21) [a]t-bu-uk (22-24) a-na šu-zu-ub napšati-šu-mu e-li-u (25) Addu-id-ri šada-šu e-mi-id⁷ (26) Ha-za'-ilu mar la ma-ma-na (27) kussa iṣ-bat ṣabe-šu ma'-du (28) id-ka-a a-na e-piš (29) ḫabli u taḫazi a-na irti-a it-ba-a (30) it-ti-šu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ abikta-šu (31) aš-kun dur uš-ma-ni-šu e-kim-šu (32) a-na šu-zu-ub napšati-šu (33) e-li a-di (34) al Di-ma-aš-ḫi (35) al šarru-ti-šu ar-di . . . (Rear 1) šanuti šanitu a-na mat Nam-ri a-lik Ia⁸-an-zu-u šar mat Nam-ri a-di ilani-šu šal-lat mati-šu (2) buš e-kalli-šu a-na ali-ia Aššur ub-la a-na mat Tu-un-ni šad-e kaspi mat Mu-li-i šad-e parutu burašu šal-mu narkab-ti-a (4) ina

⁷ That is, Hadadezer died. Langdon reads *mati-su e-mi-id*, translates "abandoned his land," and explains the expression as meaning that the king abdicated the throne. But the true reading and meaning of this passage and the two similar ones (Sénnacherib, Hexagonal Prism, col. ii. 37; Ashurbanipal, Prism, col. ii. 81) have been determined. Dr. Allis refers to the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, December, 1907, No. 35, p. 43, and to Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 5th edition, 1912, p. 154. In the *Mitteilungen* Winckler translates from a tablet found at Boghaz-köi in the summer of 1907 thus: "Als *Subbiluliuma*, mein Grossvater, gestorben war, bestieg *Mursili*, mein Vater, der Sohn *Subbiluliumas*, den Königsthron"; and in a footnote to the word gestorben he adds: "Der hier gebrauchte Ausdruck löst eine alte crux der Keilschrift: šadâ (Har. Sag.) i-mi-id. Daraus folgt, dass der rätselhafte Ausdruck Mat-šu oder Mat-su emid zu lesen ist šadâ-šu (šad-su!) emid: er gelangte auf den Berg, den Gipfel = starb." And in the *Lesestücke* Delitzsch, under the word *emidu*, p. 154, cites the inscription of Sennacherib found at Nebi Yunus (I R 43, 11): "i-mid šad-da-šu, i. S. v. 'er segnete das Zeitliche.'" The phonetic complement shows that the ideogram does not represent *matu*, land, in this expression, but *šadu*, mountain; and the context makes clear that the expression signifies "he died." It is used of kings. The passage, beginning at the end of line 7, reads: *šu-u a-na mat tam-tim e-diš ip-par-šid-ma ilani ma-šal mati-šu it-ti ešimat abe-šu* (9) *maḫ-ru-ti ul-ta ki-rib ki-maḫ iḫ-pi-ir-ma niše . . . ki-rib elippe* (10) *u-še-li-ma a-na al Na-gi-ti ša e-bir-tan nar Mar-rat e-bir-ma i-na aš-ri* (11) *šu-a-tu i-mid šad-da-šu gi-mir mati-šu ak-šud-dam-ma*. He [Merodach-baladan] to the sea-land fled alone, and the gods of his whole land with the bones of his forefathers (9) from the midst of the coffin he gathered and men . . . in ships (10) he embarked and to the city of Nagitu, which is on the other side of the Persian Gulf, he crossed; and in that place (11) itself he reached his mountain. The whole of his land I conquered.

⁸ The autographed text shows the sign *ṣi*. But Delitzsch evidently read *ia* (*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1904, No. 21, p. 42), and so the name is written on the Obelisk, lines 95, 112, 125.

*kir-bi-šu-nu ul⁹-ziz parutu ma'-du a-na la ma-ni (5)
 aš-ša-a a-na mat Kū-u-e mat Ta-ba-li a-lik matati-šu-nu (6)
 a-ni-ir-ma a-na tili u kar-me u-tir Ka-ti-i amelu nakruti šap?
 šu (7) ina al Pa-aḥ-ri šarru-ti-šu e-sir-šu me-lam-me
 belu-ti-a is-lu-ḫu-ḫu-šu-ma marat-su (8) it-ti nu-du-ni-ša ana al
 Kal-ḫi ub-la šepi-ia iṣ-bat (9) ina um-me-šu-ma dura-ni
 ali-ia Aššur ištu uš-še-šu-nu a-di taḫ-lu-bi-šu-nu epu-uš
 ša-lam šarru-ti-a epu-uš ina abulli gurgurri ul-ziz šum duri
 rab-e ša me-lam-mu-šu mata kat-mu (10) šum šal-ḫi-šu
 mu-nir-ri-ṭi kib-ra-a-te.*

And this is the tale of his valor and greatness: "(1) Shalmaneser, great king, mighty king, (2) king of all four regions, powerful, (3 and 4) wise, peer of the princes of the whole world, the great kings; (6 and 5) son of Ashur-natsirpal, king of the whole world, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninib, king of the whole world, king of Assyria;² conqueror of (7) the countries of Enzi, Gilzanu, Hubushkia, (8) Urartu.³ Their overthrow (9) I accomplished, and like the god of fire (10) upon them I came. Ahuni, (11) son of Adinu, with his gods, (12) his army, his land,¹⁰ the treasure of his palace I took away, (13) for the people of my land I counted them. (14) Addu-idri of the land of Damascus (15) with twelve princes, his allies, (16) their defeat I accomplished, and twenty-nine thousand (17) mighty ones, his warriors, (18) I hurled down like a simoon(?). (19-21) The rest of his soldiers to the river Orontes I made flow in a stream. (22-24) To save their lives they fled. (25) Addu-idri reached his mountain.⁷ (26) Hazael, son of nobody, (27) seized the throne. His numerous soldiers (28) he summoned; to make (20) battle and combat against me he advanced. (30) With him I fought, his defeat (31) I accomplished, the wall of his camp I took from him. (32) In order to save his life (33) he fled away. To

⁹ The initial oblique wedge has been omitted from the sign *ul*.

¹⁰ Namely, the inhabitants; as, I subjugated their lands (Rear of statue, lines 5f.), I assembled the land (Obelisk 9I, and Bull 1, back 43).

(34) the city of Damascus, (35) his royal city, I marched.¹¹ . . . (Rear 1) A second time to the land of Namri I went. Janzu, king of the land of Namri, with his gods, the booty of his land, (2) the treasure of his palace, to my city Asshur I brought. To the land of Tunni, a mountain yielding silver, (3) the land of Muli, a mountain yielding alabaster, dark pine, [I went].¹² My war chariot (4) in their midst I placed. Much alabaster, beyond count, (5) I took away. To the land of Kue, land of Tabali, I went. Their lands (6) I subjugated and to heaps and ruins turned. Kati the enemy . . . (7) in the city of Pahri, his royal [city],¹³ I besieged him. The splendor of my sovereignty cast him down, and his daughter (8) with her dowry to the city of Calah he brought, my feet he grasped. (9) In those days the walls of my city Asshur from their foundation to their roof I built. An image of my royal person I made, in the gate of the metal worker I erected. The name of the great wall, Whose splendor covers the land, (11) the name of the outer wall, Destroyer of the (four) regions.”

The lines 6^b-10^a of the inscription summarize the results of the frequent campaigns conducted in the mountainous countries lying near together north and northeast of Nineveh, notably the expedition of the year 857 B.C. (Obelisk 44, Monolith col. ii. 30-65, Bronze Gates col. ii. 5-iii. 3); lines 10^b-13 tell of the final victory over Ahuni, obtained by Shalmaneser in 857 B. C. after two previous attempts to place the land of Beth-eden under the yoke of Assyria (Obelisk 45-49, Monolith col. ii. 66-75, Gates col. iii. 3-6); lines 14-25 describe the defeat of Hadadezer on the Orontes in 854

¹¹ The rest of the narrative of Hazael's defeat is lacking, due to the fracture of the statue; but the story went on to tell of the siege of Damascus and the subjugation of the kingdom (III R 5, no. 6).

¹² The scribes were not infallible. Occasionally they omitted words and syllables, as is illustrated by Obelisk, lines 44 and 88, and Monolith, col. ii. 31, 36, 45. Here the word *allik* is lacking; but on the Obelisk, line 107, the sentence ends after *burašu* with *a-lik*.

¹³ Lacking in the text. In line 6 does the scribe intend, not *šap šu*, but *uš-te-rik*, he caused to empty forth; pour forth from their villages; led forth? Comp. Gen. xiv. 14.

B. C. (Obelisk 54-66), and mention his death; lines 26-35 contain the story of the battle with Hazael, fought in the year 842 B. C. (Obelisk 97); rear lines 1-2^a relate the second invasion of Namri, which took place in 846 B. C., the spoliation of the country, and the captivity of its king (Obelisk 110-126); lines 2^b-5^a give an account of the plundering expedition to Tunni in the year 838 B. C. (Obelisk 104-107); and lines 5^b-8 state the result of the campaigns against the countries of Kue and Tabalu during the years from 840 to 834 B.C. (Obelisk 101-139), with particular mention of the submission of the king of Kue (Obelisk 128-139). The latest event that can be dated occurred in 834 B. C.; and the latest regnal year involved in the Throne Inscription, which tells of the restoration of the walls of Asshur, is the twenty-third, or 837 B. C. Accordingly the latest date that need be assumed for the rebuilding of the city walls is 837 B. C., and for the erection of the statue of Shalmaneser is the year 834 B. C.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.