THE CHRONOLOGY OF KING HEZEKIAH'S REIGN 1

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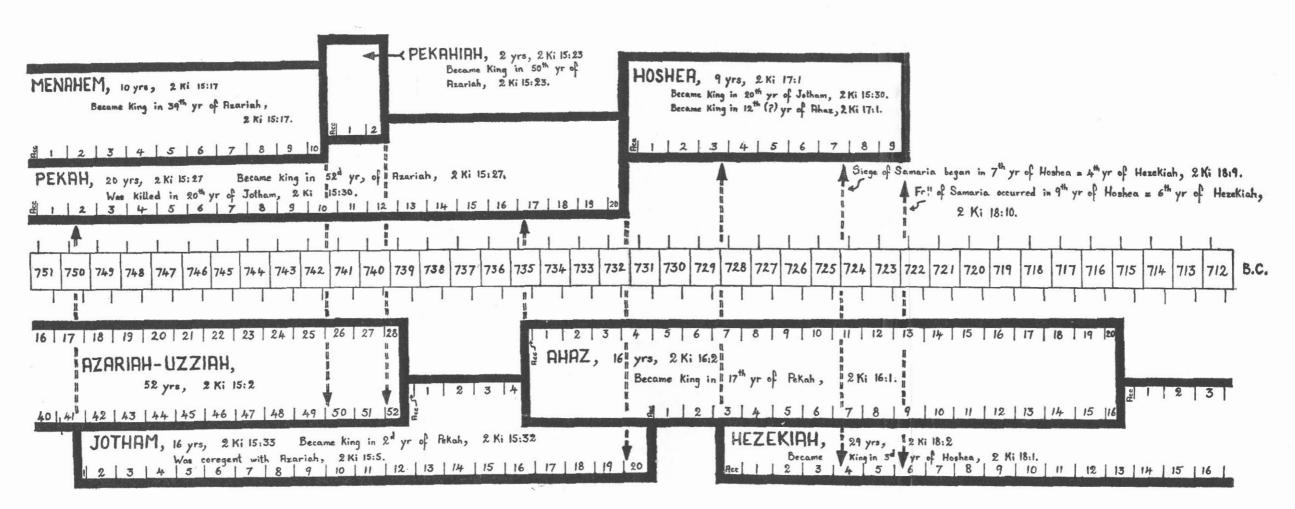
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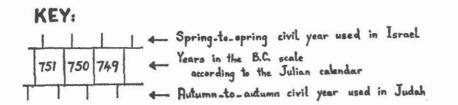
The chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah has engaged generations of historians. Many different chronological schemes, the results of penetrating studies, have been produced, but no two schemes agree with each other, nor do all Biblical data find a satisfactory interpretation in any one of them. These disagreements are due to the fact that the many chronological data—synchronisms and regnal years given in the books of Kings and Chronicles either seem to contradict each other in numerous cases, or are based on more than one chronological system of which the principles are not recorded.

Already in my student days, some 35 years ago, I became aware of the difficulties inherent in Old Testament chronology, and especially in the chronology of the Hebrew kings. Ever since those days I have spent much time in studying the problems of Biblical chronology and searching for solutions. With regard to the chronology of the Hebrew kings, many

¹ This article concerns itself only with the place of Hezekiah's reign in the chronology of the kings of Judah and Israel, and does not deal with the dates of Hezekiah's reform, rebellion against Assyria, sickness, and of the embassy of Merodach-baladan, nor with the question whether there was one campaign of Sennacherib against Hezekiah or whether there were two campaigns, and the dates for these campaigns. These matters have recently found a new and well documented treatment by H. H. Rowley, "Hezekiah's Reform and Rebellion," BJRL, XLIV (1962), 395-431. My views on these matters are briefly expressed in the Seventh-day Adventist Bible Dictionary (Washington, D. C., 1960), pp. 465, 466, 979-981, 1101, 1102. They do not entirely agree with Rowley's conclusions, although I find myself in harmony with Rowley in believing that the synchronisms between Hezekiah and Hoshea cannot have come out of thin air (Rowley, op. cit., pp. 410, 411).

THE CHRONOLOGY OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH, 751-712 B.C.





years ago I began a thorough study of the past scholarly work in this field in order to understand all ramifications and become fully acquainted with proposed solutions to the existing problems made by other scholars before trying to find a solution of my own. The result of this study of more than a score of chronological works published in the last 50 years² has been the accumulation of a large number of charts which graphically illustrate the intricacies of the proposed chronological schemes. In this way I became thoroughly familiar with the chronological work of other scholars, and with all problems involved, as well as with the manifold attempts to find solutions to the various existing problems. I learned from their failures and mistakes and appropriated many of their findings and solutions.

The most striking contribution in this field of study seemed to me the work of Professor V. Coucke of the Grand Séminaire de Bruges which appeared in 1925 in the form of an article in the *Revue Bénédictine*,³ and in an expanded form was republished in 1928 in Volume I of the *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*.⁴ Coucke showed that a great measure of harmony between the Biblical data—the regnal years of individual kings and the synchronisms—can be obtained by assuming that the two kingdoms operated with different calendars and also with different systems of dating regnal years. He believed that the northern kingdom had a springto-spring calendar and the southern kingdom an autumn-toautumn calendar. He also maintained that the northern kingdom started to antedate the regnal years of their kings, while

² An excellent survey of many of these works is presented by Joachim Begrich, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda* (Tübingen, 1929), pp. 1-54. The footnotes accompanying this survey contain all necessary bibliographical information, to which the reader is referred.

⁸ V. Coucke, "Chronologie des rois de Juda et d'Israël," Revue Bénédictine, XXXVII (1925), 325-364.

⁴ Coucke, "Chronologie biblique, III. De la construction du temple de Solomon jusqu'à sa destruction par les Chaldéens," Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible (ed. L. Pirot, A. Robert, and H. Cazelles), I (Paris, 1928), cols. 1245-1279. the southern kingdom postdated these years in their early history, and that both kingdoms made shifts in the application of these systems at a later time. While a fairly large number of texts did not fit into the scheme of Coucke, it seemed to me that he was more on the right track than any other scholar who had before him worked on the chronologies of the Hebrew Kings.

At an early stage in my studies it also became clear to me that harmony between the Biblical data on the one hand, and the rather well established chronology of the Assyrian kings on the other, could be established only by assuming that coregencies had existed between several kings. The other solution, that interregna had existed between the reigns of certain kings—as advocated by some scholars—failed to bring this desired harmony and was therefore rejected.

My work of analyzing the various chronological systems suggested by scholars in the past led me to an outright rejection of the results of some such systems and a tentative acceptance of certain phases of the results of others. However, it was not until the years of my internment in India during World War II that I found time and leisure to work out a scheme of my own based on the preliminary studies of many years. The result of this work was the completion of a manuscript on the chronology of the Hebrew kings in 1945—a chronological scheme in which all but ten of the data given in the Masoretic Hebrew text found a reasonable interpretation. This scheme was based on the following working hypotheses:

I. The compilers of the books of Kings and Chronicles used official sources containing chronological data. Except in a few cases (see below Group I and II) these data were taken over and incorporated into Kings and Chronicles without changes and without any attempts to harmonize them with each other. Since they reflect different calendars and systems of computations, they cannot be harmonized by applying a uniform calendrical or chronological system to both kingdoms and to all the 350 years of the history of Israel and Judah covered by the historical source material of the two books.

2. In the Kingdom of Israel the civil calendar began in the spring with the month that was later called Nisan, while in the southern Kingdom of Judah the civil calendar began in the autumn with the month that was later called Tishri.

3. Both kingdoms used at various times of their history the antedating and postdating systems, and made several shifts in the application of these systems as indicated by the chronological data of Kings and Chronicles.

4. Several coregencies took place in the southern kingdom, but only one in the northern kingdom. There is no evidence for the existence of interregna, i.e. periods in which there was no effective rulership.

5. Where corregencies can be pointed out to have existed, figures given in the available sources for the total number of years which a king was on the throne, in some cases included the years of that king's coregency with his father or with his son, while in other cases such figures refer only to the years of a king's sole rule.

6. Each kingdom expressed the regnal years of its rival kingdom in terms of its own system and not in that of the other. Hence, the records of the northern kingdom expressed regnal years of a southern king in terms of their antedating system when that was employed in the north, even if at that time the scribes of the southern kingdom counted the regnal years of their own kings according to the postdating system.

The ten texts (referred to above) for which no agreement in the chronological scheme thus obtained could be found fell into two categories:

I. An Erroneously Transmitted Text: 2 Chr 16: I stating that Baasha of Israel built Ramah in the 36th year of Asa of Judah fits no sensible chronological scheme, except one that assumes that an interregnum existed between the reigns of Nadab and Baasha, a solution that creates more problems than it solves. Therefore it seemed to me that this text contains a scribal error, and that the figure 36 cannot be correct, since it cannot be harmonized with other Biblical statements.

2. Two Groups of Texts Containing the Results of the Compiler's Computations:

Group I. A group of five synchronisms dealing with the reigns of the Kings Pekaiah, Pekah and Hoshea of Israel, and Azariah, Jotham and Ahaz of Judah:

(1) Pekaiah's accession took place in Azariah's 50th year,2 Ki 15 : 23.

(2) Pekah's accession took place in Azariah's 52d year, and he reigned for 20 years, 2 Ki 15 : 27.

(3) Hoshea's accession took place in Jotham's 20th year, 2 Ki 15 : 30.

(4) Jotham's accession took place in Pekah's 2d year, 2 Ki 15:32.

(5) Ahaz' accession took place in Pekah's 17th year, 2 Ki 16 : 1.

I found that these synchronisms agreed with each other, but neither with the data of Group II nor with my overall chronological scheme worked out for the kings of Israel and Judah.

Group II. A group of four synchronisms dealing with Kings Hoshea of Israel and Ahaz and Hezekiah of Judah:

(1) Hoshea's accession took place in Ahaz' 12th year, 2 Ki 17:1.

(2) Hezekiah's accession took place in Hoshea's 3rd year, 2 Ki 18 : 1.

(3) Hezekiah's 4th regnal year coincided with Hoshea's 7th year, 2 Ki 18:9.

(4) Hezekiah's 6th regnal year coinded with Hosea's 9th year, 2 Ki 18:10.

I discovered that the data of this group also agreed among themselves, but neither with the data of Group I nor with the overall scheme of chronology worked out on the principles mentioned above. I assumed therefore that the nine synchronisms of Groups I and II were the results of computations based on two different sources which the compiler of the Books of Kings misunderstood, and which therefore could not be considered to be correct.

In the meantime three new chronological systems were published. In 1944 Professor Edwin R. Thiele, then of Emmanuel Missionary College, published his abridged doctor's dissertation, "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel." ⁵ In the same year appeared the first part of a *Biblical Chronology* by Max Vogelstein,⁶ and in 1945 a paper by Professor W. F. Albright of Johns Hopkins University entitled, "The Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel." ⁷ Of the three articles only the last mentioned one became available to me during my stay in India, and through this article I learned of the appearance of the two chronological works of Thiele and Vogelstein. However, it was not until I reached America in 1946 that these two works became accessible to me.

I found myself in disagreement with Albright's chronology, because it required an unnecessary changing of several Biblical data which according to my system made perfect sense in the transmitted form. I also could not accept Vogelstein's chronology, which seemed to me to show no advances over the work of his predecessors. However, to my utter amazement I found my chronological scheme to be in almost complete agreement with that of Thiele. For two periods of the history of Judah and Israel Thiele's and my schemes were in perfect agreement, firstly for the period which began with the break-up of the united monarchy and ended with Azariah

⁵ JNES, III (1944), 137-186. This article was later expanded and appeared in book form under the title, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Chicago, 1951; 2d ed. 1955). For a list of other articles on the chronology of the Hebrew kings by Thiele see AUSS, I (1963), 127, note 9.

⁶ Cincinnati, 1944.

⁷ BASOR, No. 100 (December, 1945), 16-22.

of Judah and Menahem of Israel, and secondly for the last century of Judah's existence as a kingdom. For the complex period preceding and following the fall of Samaria, Thiele's and my solutions varied considerably.⁸

With many historians I had dated the fall of Samaria in the year 722/2I B.C., the Ist year of Sargon II, and had reduced Pekah's reign from 20 years (I Ki 15 : 27) to about ten years, finding it impossible to allow him a longer period of reign. Thiele, on the other hand, following A. T. Olmstead,⁹ dated Samaria's fall in 723/22 B.C., the last year of Shalmaneser V, and thus eliminated certain chronological difficulties. Furthermore, he had suggested that Pekah of Israel had counted his regnal years concurrently with the reigns of his two predecessors Menahem and Pekaiah, and thus found satisfactory explanations for the data given in the texts of my Group I.

I was slow to accept the date 723/22 B.C. for the fall of Samaria instead of 722/2I, but gradually became convinced of the correctness of Olmstead's and Thiele's observations and reasoning. For several years I also refused to accept Thiele's suggestion that Pekah of Israel counted his regnal years concurrently with the reign of his two predecessors Menahem and Pekaiah. It was not until I saw that Pekah had done only what other kings of antiquity had done before him,¹⁰

⁸ For an earlier brief statement on these agreements and disagreements see the author's review of Thiele's *The Mysterious Numbers* of the Hebrew Kings in *The Ministry*, XV : 3 (March, 1952), 21.

⁹ A. T. Olmstead, "The Fall of Samaria," *AJSL*, XXI (1904-1905), 179-182; Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, pp. 123-127.

¹⁰ It is a fact that the combined regnal years of Akh-en-Aton, Smenkh-ka-Re, Tut-ankh-Amon and Eye were attributed to Har-emhab, Eye's successor. Some documents have been interpreted as evidence that this was already done during Har-em-hab's reign, but other scholars disagree with this view and maintain that the years of the reigns of Har-em-hab's predecessors were not given to him until after his death. See on the discussion of this matter Uvo Hölscher, *Excavations at Ancient Thebes* (Chicago, 1932), pp. 51-53; J. von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben* (Glückstadt, 1951), 104; R. Anthes that I finally accepted his solution, which immediately brought the five texts of Group I into harmony with the rest of my chronological scheme.

Having accomplished this, there remained the troublesome Group II, which is comprised of the same texts for which Thiele has coined the expression "Pattern Twelve-Thirteen,"¹¹ and which he considers as belonging to a super-imposed pattern of a later scribe, an explanation which I at one time also had given to this series of texts as well as to those that constituted my former Group I. However, this interpretation did not satisfy me any longer after I had become convinced that a satisfactory explanation could be found for the five texts of my former Group I.

That Thiele's chronological scheme was the greatest breakthrough in the study of Old Testament chronology cannot be denied, and has been recognized by many students of the Bible and of ancient history.¹² The result of this recognition has been that scholars in increasing number have accepted Thiele's scheme and have used it in their publications.¹³

in Hölscher, The Excavation of Medinet Habu—Volume II: The Temple of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Chicago, 1939), pp. 106-108. It is possible that Tefnakhte incorporated into his final count of regnal years also several years that preceded his assumption of the royal title (Hans Goedicke, "The End of 'So, King of Egypt," BASOR, No. 171 [October, 1963], 65), as this was apparently also done by a descendant of Tefnakhte, the later Psammetik I (Goedicke, "Psammetik I. und die Libyer," Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, XVIII [1962], 47-49).

¹¹ Thiele, The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings, pp. 136-152. ¹² The following list of favorable reviews of Thiele's work, by no means exhaustive, may be mentioned: C. M. Cooper, Crozer Quarterly, XXVIII (1951), 357-359; M. F. Unger, BS, CVIII (1951), 377, 378; John L. McKenzie, CBQ, XIV (1952), 298-303; Johannes Hempel, ZAW, LXIV (1952), 80, note 1; R. de Vaux, RB, LIX (1952), 444, 445; Norman Snaith, JBL, LXXII (1953), 129-132; H. H. Rowley, VT, IV (1954), 446-448.

¹³ The following two articles recently published may serve as examples: S. J. de Vries, "Chronology of the Old Testament," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1962), I, 587-599; W. W. Hallo, "From Qarqar to Carchemish, Assyria and Israel in the Light of New Discoveries," *BA*, XXIII (1960), 34-61.

However, there were some who, while accepting Thiele's chronology as far as it had solved problems, were not satisfied with his interpretation of the four troublesome texts of his "Pattern Twelve-Thirteen." The following quotation is an example of expressions of a desire to seek an acceptable solution for these texts. Professor Leo L. Honor of Dropsie College after a lengthy review of Thiele's book said:

The writer has been extremely favorably impressed by the method utilized by Thiele, namely, not to discredit any statement in the masoretic text merely because it does not seem to conform with what is known to us, but to start out, as a working hypothesis. with the postulate that perhaps the statements which seem to us wrong may be correct, and that if we toil laboriously and patiently. we may discover a meaningful pattern underlying them. He is, therefore, inclined to accept the major principles as set forth by Thiele, even though he feels under no constraint to see to it that every chronological notice without a single exception conforms to these principles. In regard to the assumption, however, that the synchronisms in II Kings 17.1, 18.1, 9, 10 are a later reconstruction by a writer who had been misled by his lack of knowledge how Pekah computed his reign, he prefers to reserve judgment. Is it not possible that with further clarification, these synchronisms, too, may be found to be derived from official contemporary sources. the underlying pattern of which we do not understand?... He prefers to leave the question open, rather than to accept as certain a hypothesis which assumes that there were facts which the biblical writer did not know. The entire book by Thiele is a dramatic refutation of such hypotheses, too readily accepted by other scholars, in regard to other problems which, it was taken for granted, were insoluble unless the text be emended.¹⁴

These thoughts fully agreed with my own sentiments and feelings. Having, under the influence of Thiele's work, found a solution for five texts (my Group I) which I had considered to contain erroneously computed data, I doubled my efforts to obtain an equally satisfactory solution for the remaining four texts of Group II.

This solution I believe to have found, at least for three of the four troublesome texts. These three texts provide synchronisms between Hoshea of Israel and Hezekiah of Judah, and they can be harmonized with other chronological data

¹⁴ JQR, XLIII (1952-1953), 285, 286.

by assuming that Hezekiah in his younger years was a coregent together with his father Ahaz, just as several of his predecessors before him had been corregents with their respective fathers.¹⁵ The synchronisms of 2 Ki 18 : 1, 9, 10 speaking of Hezekiah as king at the time when Hoshea reigned over Israel, must be applied to this coregency, while 2 Ki 18 : 2, mentioning 29 years as the length of Hezekiah's reign, refers only to the length of reign after the coregency with his father had ended.

The reckoning of King Ahaz' regnal years may have served as an example for the scribes who recorded Hezekiah's reign. Ahaz came to the throne in the 17th year of Pekah (2 Ki 16:1), but Pekah, after a reign of 20 years, died in the 20th year of Jotham, Ahaz' father (2 Ki 15:27). This shows that Jotham remained on the throne after he elevated Ahaz to the kingship in Pekah's 17th year, in other words that Jotham and Ahaz—from Pekah's 17th year to his 20th year—must have shared the throne at least for four years (736/35-732/31 B.C.). However, the 16 years of Ahaz' reign assigned to him in 2 Ki 16:2 must refer only to the years of his reign after his father's death, 732/31-716/15 B.C.

This conclusion is reached from the fact that Hezekiah's 14th year, in which Sennacherib campaigned against Judah (2 Ki 18 : 13; Isa 36 : 1), was 701 B.C. This date must be accepted as correct on the basis of the Assyrian evidence: Sennacherib came to the throne in 705 B.C. after his father Sargon II had died. His first campaign was directed against Merodach-baladan of Babylon and his Elamite allies. After having defeated them and driven away Merodach-baladan, Sennacherib conducted his first campaign in the west in 701 B.C., where a revolt in Syria and Palestine, in which Hezekiah played a major role, demanded his attention.¹⁶ Hence the

¹⁵ A coregency between Ahaz and Hezekiah has also been suggested by O. C. Whitehouse, *Isaiah I-XXXIX*, "The New-Century Bible" (New York, 1905), p. 23; and by G. W. Wade, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (London, 1911), p. xlii.

¹⁶ D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago, 1924), PP. 9-12; see also Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*,

year 701 B.C. must have been the 14th year of Hezekiah. This can be denied only by assuming that $2 \text{ Ki } 18 : 13 \text{ and Isa} 36 : 1 \text{ contain errors in the data presented.}^{17}$

These considerations lead to the conclusion that Hezekiah's sole reign began in 716/15 B.C. and that this year marked the end of Ahaz' reign and life. Hence, Ahaz must have reigned all together 20 years, although 2 Ki 16 : 2 assigns to him only 16 years, excluding the four years of coregency with his father.¹⁸

Evidently Hezekiah shared the throne as coregent with his father in the same manner in which his father and grandfather had been associated on the throne with their respective fathers. Hezekiah's coregency began in the 3rd year of

pp. 101, 102; J. Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 261; S. Mowinckel, "Die Chronologie der israelitischen und jüdischen Könige," Acta Orientalia, X (1932), 215, 271.

¹⁷ An example is Rowley (BJRL, XLIV [1962], 410-413) who does not believe in a coregency of Hezekiah and Ahaz, although he dates the beginning of Hezekiah's reign in 727 B.C. He considers the figures 14 given in 2 Ki 18 : 13 and Isa 36 : I errors for 24. Furthermore, he thinks that the two texts just mentioned do not refer to the year in which Sennacherib's campaign took place, but rather to the year (703 B.C.) in which Hezekiah rebelled against his Assyrian overlord, two years before the campaign began.

¹⁸ An interesting light is also thrown on these divergent reckonings by the Biblical data concerning Jotham, the father of Ahaz. He came to the throne in the 2d year of Pekah (2 Ki 15:32), and ruled for 16 years (2 Ki 15 : 33), hence his rule lasted to the 17th year of Pekah. This conclusion agrees with the statement that Ahaz, his son, came to the throne in Pekah's 17th year (2 Ki 16 : 1). However, 2 Ki 15 : 30 contains the statement that Hoshea slew Pekah in the 20th year of Jotham, indicating that Jotham continued to live and reign at least for four years after he had elevated his son Ahaz to the throne. It is even possible that Jotham lived on after his last recorded regnal year-the 20th. Furthermore, we find that Jotham was coregent with his father Azariah-Uzziah during the latter's illness (2 Ki 15:5), and that these years of coregency with his father are included in the total of his reign of 16 years, although the years of his coregency with his son Ahaz are excluded. All these conclusions obtained through a careful study of all available evidence clearly show that the official recorders of different periods did not apply the same system of computations at all times.

Hoshea (2 Ki 18 : 1), 729/28 B.C. (spring-to-spring), which was the 3d year of his father Ahaz' sole reign or the 7th year of his father's reign reckoned from the time that he had become Jotham's coregent. The other two synchronisms between Hezekiah and Hoshea then fall into line: the siege of Samaria began in Hoshea's 7th year, which at the same time was the 4th year of Hezekiah's coregency (2 Ki 18 : 9), while its end came in Hoshea's 9th year, which was the 6th year of Hezekiah's coregency (2 Ki 18 : 10).¹⁹

Hezekiah must therefore have been a coregent with his father for about 13th years, from 729/28 to 716/15 B.C. His sole reign of 29 years (2 Ki 18 : 2) thus began after his father's death, but these 29 years do not include the years of coregency with his father, though they include a later coregency of 10 years with his son Manasseh.²⁰ The scribes who recorded Hezekiah's regnal years evidently followed the system which had been employed for recording Ahaz' regnal years, for his official 16 years of reign (2 Ki 16 : 2) likewise did not include the 4 years of coregency with his father Jotham, although they included the coregency of 13 years with his son Hezekiah.

One text of my former Group II, 2 Ki 17:1, remains unsolved as far as the chronological data it contains are concerned. However, this text, in conjunction with 2 Ki 15:30, proves that a coregency between Jotham and Ahaz existed, for Hoshea became king during the reign of King Jotham of Judah according to the latter text and during the reign of

¹⁹ Although this is the first time that my views on the chronology of Hezekiah's reign are published at some length, these views have been known for years. They have not only been presented to the students in my classes on chronology since 1951, but were incorporated in the article on chronology in the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, II (Washington, D.C., 1954), 150 (written by Julia Neuffer of the editorial staff of the Review and Herald Publishing Association), and in the article "Hezekiah" in the *S.D.A. Bible Dictionary*, p. 465.

²⁰ For the coregency of 10 years between Hezekiah and his son Manasseh required by the Biblical data, see Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, pp. 153-157. King Ahaz of Judah according to the former passage.²¹ However, the figure given in 2 Ki 17 : 1, stating that Hoshea became king in Ahaz' 12th year, does not agree with the chronological scheme proposed here, and I have no better solution at the present time than to suggest that the figure 12 is a scribal error for three or four.

As objection to this scheme the low age of Ahaz at the birth of his son Hezekiah has been raised. Ahaz was 20 years of age when he became king according to 2 Ki 16 : 2. If he reigned all together 20 years (see above), he must have died at the age of 40 years. Since Hezekiah was 25 years old when he became king (2 Ki 18 : 20), his father could have been no older than 15 years at the time of Hezekiah's birth. It must be admitted that 15 years is an unusually low age for any man to become a father, but that this is biologically possible, especially in the Orient, has repeatedly been attested.²²

²¹ A close parallel to this situation is found in the case of the coregency of Kings Jehoshaphat and Jehoram of Judah, which is proved by two texts recording the beginning of the reign of Joram of Israel. 2 Ki 3: I says that Joram became king in Jehoshaphat's 18th year while 2 Ki 1: I7 contains the statement that this event took place in Jehoram's 2d year. A discussion of these texts and of the coregency between Jehoshaphat and Jehoram is found in Thiele's *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, pp. 64-66.

²² See the references in Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, p. 119, notes 16 and 17, to which can be added Paul Schnabel, "Die Genealogie der Assyrerkönige von 1400 bis 722 v. Chr.," *OLZ*, XII (1909), 530, where it is stated that in the Orient boys are capable of begetting at the age of 14 and girls to give birth at the age of 12.