

Graduation Thesis by  
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PROPHETS and

HAGIOGRAPHIA

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

The wonderful discoveries made on Babylonian and Assyrian soil within the past few years, have turned thither the inquiring eyes of the intelligent world. A new light has arisen in the East, which, daily growing in intensity has with penetrating, searching, rays entered into the dark nooks and retreats of mysteries and forced them to disclose their carefully concealed treasures. Through it, the historical horizon has been extended until now it embraces times before undreamt of. For the beginnings of civilization, we no longer look to the banks of the Nile, but to those of the Tigris and Euphrates. There it was that human culture was cradled, there it was that the divisions of times, the names of planets, the value of weights and measures, the cuneiform and hieroglyphic systems of writing were determined and established. Thence

emanated many of the interesting descriptions of nature, many of the enchanting legends concerning gods and men, which have formed the bases for the prehistoric accounts of various people. And though the nations who occupied these regions have long since passed away, the records which they have left behind are eternal testimonials of their worth. Through them their authors will ever live to remind us of the deep debt of gratitude we owe them, for the invaluable services they have rendered, in presenting us with the key wherewith to unlock the barred doors of Scriptural passages; in placing in our hands the weapons wherewith to put an end to merciless attacks upon the veracity of our "book." The innumerable references to Biblical statements, to historical events, concerning the Israelites, which the monuments contain have opened a field of research, rich in promises of startling developments. Moses in his grand address (Deuteronomy ~~XVII~~ - 1 )



appealed to the heavens and earth to bear testimony to his words. The latter at least, after the lapse of centuries has responded most satisfactorily. Mother earth has at last consented to deliver <sup>the</sup> testimony, which makes of no avail many of the hostile attempts to accuse the Old Testament of fallacies and inaccuracies. Ruthless criticism had laid violent hands upon the holy Scriptures and had determined that our sacred histories were but myths and fables; but fortunately, by the magic touch of the explorer's spade, the old world has been revived and induced to speak authoritatively of affairs <sup>of</sup> long ago. The deeds of scriptural kings receive confirmation after confirmation from the monuments of the ancient ages. Unexpected light has been shed upon passages hitherto obscure and entirely unsuspected explanations have been offered of events recorded by the inspired writers of the Old Testament. The errors which we had fallen into



through Greek sources and which had been transferred to our interpretation of various parts of the Bible are removed. Cyrus, in the account recorded by himself, not only supplements and supports the Biblical narrative of the capture of Babylon but also corrects the false impressions generally held of his being a follower of Zoroaster and a king of Persia. The monuments inform us that he was a polytheist and a king of Elam. In the latter respect this coincides with Isaiah's prophecy, which declared that Elam would invade Babylon.

"A dead world has been called again to life by the spade of the excavator and the patient labor of the decipherer", says Sayce. On the monuments we are confronted with the familiar names of Tiglath Pileser, Nebuchadnezzar, Sennacherib and Cyrus, names which had appeared to many to be invented designations of supposed personages. These records of the past, speak to us in the language of a grand con-

firmation of the known and a glorious revelation of unknown truths. Skeptical critics, who had assumed that the Israelites of the royal period were a rude and barbarous people have been put to shame by convincing proofs of the cultured, literary character of the race. Many a word, whose signification had been a ~~case~~ cause of great doubt in the minds of scholars, has been fixed by corresponding terms of these sister tongues. The semitic languages spoken in Babylonia and Assyria were closely allied to that of the Bible, in fact, resembled the latter, as nearly as one dialect can another. Hence the vast importance which the former has for a student of the Bible, in determining the exact meaning of uncertain words and phrases must not be under-estimated.

Babylonia was originally divided into two parts, viz; a northern, Accad and a southern, Sumir, the Shinar of the Old Testament. The primitive inhabitants of these countries were not members of the

Semitic race and spoke a language very much different from that spoken by it. At an early date these countries were overrun by the Semitic Babylonians who conquered the Accadians and Sumerians. To this circumstance they undoubtedly owe their name of Cadim (Chaldeans), which signifies "conquerors." From these ancient inhabitants, the Chaldeans received, along with many elements of culture; the cuneiform system of writing and the literature written therein, containing formulae for warding off evil spirits, and hymns addressed to their gods. In the course of time the languages of the Accadians and Sumerians fell into general disuse and were replaced by those of the Babylonians and Assyrians. There were two periods during which the Israelites came under the influence of Babylonian customs and beliefs, and possibly many of the rites and ceremonies which the former observe have been derived from the latter. Some date the earlier period from the



time that Abraham leaving the house of his father at Ur Casdim, carried westward Babylonian ideas and traditions, others assign a later date to this period and maintain that the Hebrews first became acquainted with Babylonian conceptions during their sojourn among the Canaanitish nations. The other period of their contact with the Babylonians was that of the Exile, but whether they borrowed anything more than the names of the months at this time is a matter hard to determine. Certain it is that these two branches of the same race had many similar customs and observances. The Babylonian and Assyrian accounts afford many striking illustrations of religious practices in vogue among the Ancient Hebrews. The earliest records, found in the debris of Assurbanipal's library, describe the manner in which their services were conducted in their houses of worship. The high-priest offered sacrifices and poured forth libations to the gods.

Under the high-priest were several classes of subordinate priests, called Sangu. Among these were certain Pasisu, or "Anointers," whose office it was to cleanse and purify with oil all unclean and defiled persons and things. The temples of Babylonia, like that of Solomon, were provided with basins filled with water for purification purposes. These basins were denominated Apsi, deeps or abyssees, reminding us of Solomon's, "Seas". The interior arrangement of their temples bore a striking resemblance to the famous temple of Solomon. At the extreme end the "Paraku", "Holy of Holies" was placed with a curtain drawn before it to conceal its most sacred contents from profane eyes. Within one of these shrines a copper ark, containing two tablets of stone was discovered. This ark was rectangular in shape and was provided with rings at each corner, through which two staves could be put to enable the priests to easily convey it from place to place. This calls

to mind the Israelitish ark, also of rectangular shape, with its rings to receive the staves and its two tablets of stone. The sacrifices and offerings made by these nations were of a like character and attended with, in many respects, the same ceremonies as those of the Hebrews. Their offerings were characterized as "peace," free will, "heave," "burnt" etc and were divided into two classes, viz: those of animals, as sheep, oxen etc and those of meal and wine. The last was poured upon the victim or the altar. Various special dresses were worn during the performance of religious ceremonies and ablutions <sup>in</sup>pure water were frequently made. Like the Israelites the seventh day was observed as a day of rest by the Babylonians and Assyrians and was designated, by the former at least, by the same name, **Sabbatum**, signifying, a "day of rest for the heart." This we learn from the calendar of the saint's days for the intercalary month of Elul, which makes the



seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth, thereof, Sabbaths. These days were observed by abstaining from certain kinds of work and actions, as cooking of flesh on fire, putting on of white garments, offering of sacrifices, uttering of curses riding about in chariots. Every undertaking which required any physical exertion was strictly forbidden, thereon. This sacred character attached to the seventh day, doubtlessly arose from their worship of the moon which every seventh day entered a new phase. Each change in the manifestation was to be honored with special prayers and hymns. Their Sabbath differed therefore from the Jewish, in having this essentially lunar character. With them the first Sabbath of the month and the day of New Moon coincided and therefore since the month consisted of thirty days the last week thereof would contain nine days. Besides the Sabbaths, the Babylonians and Assyrians had various feasts and fasts,

whereon certain rites were performed and certain sacrifices offered. They likewise observed a law which commanded the dedication of their first born sons to the service of different gods. Before the images of their gods also were tables on which the show bread was placed. The animal world for food and sacrificial purposes, was divided into clean and unclean, lawful and unlawful. Laws similar to the ordinances of our people, commanding that the flesh of swine and reptiles should not be eaten, were as strictly adhered to by the Assyrians, as <sup>4</sup>the most rigorous followers of the Mosaic code. The very mention of Khumzir, ~~him~~ was carefully avoided by all faithful servants of the gods. George Smith mentions several laws relative to the soil, which when compared to the code of Moses, are seen to very closely resemble several of the enactments instituted by him. One of those mentioned, aimed at the retention of property in the same family, another provided for

the return of land, which had been disposed of, after the lapse of a certain period, a third proposed, to prevent the impoverishment of the soil, by allowing crops to be raised only every alternate year.

But it is not the design nor the province of this work to comment upon the worth and significance of these agreements in religious and civil matters. Whether the one nation derived its customs laws and ceremonies from the others or all from a common source, are questions which for the purpose of this thesis have little moment. All that has been attempted in the above introductory remarks has been to indicate the great importance which these Assyrian inscriptions have for a correct interpretation and understanding of sacred Scriptures. The value of the evidence which they bring in confirmation and support, or of refutation and denial of statements of the Bible can be considered with-

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out determining first with which of the people the regulations in question originated and without establishing any divine promulgation of each and every command. The author has set before him the task of treating in the light of Assyrian and Babylonian discoveries the passages, relative to the royal period of the Jewish people, found in the last two divisions of the Bible. It was during this period that the Israelites were frequently thrown into contact with the <sup>Assyrian & Babylonian</sup> powers. The latter had many occasions to enter into either friendly, or hostile relations with the kingdoms of Judah and Israel and we may therefore justly expect to find many references to occurrences, recorded in the books composing these divisions. The kings of Babylonia and Assyria exercised a mighty influence, in shaping our history and though their accounts may have been dictated, in many instances, by their overweening vanity and arrogant pride, they may still in the

the main be regarded as faithful <sup>port</sup> ~~pro~~traitures of events. The descriptions of victories achieved by themselves are undoubtedly correct in every respect, especially since we witness with what evident delight they dwell upon even the smallest detail, <sup>as</sup> for instance, ~~as~~ the exact number of forces arrayed on either side, prisoners captured, chariots taken, princes and kings subdued etc. Since therefore the Bible often refers to the subjugation of the kingdoms by Assyrian and Babylonian rulers we may reasonably hope to find reliable records of such events at least, on the tablets devoted to the undertakings of these monarchs. But before entering upon a consideration of the bearing of the various passages of the inscriptions upon Biblical narratives, a few remarks about the Chronology of Scriptures and its value as compared with that set forth upon the monuments may not prove amiss.

The Hebrew system of Chronology included within the

books of Kings, and the Assyrian, contained in the list of Eponyms, unfortunately do not coincide. There is one date upon which both of these chronological sources completely agree and that is the date of the complete ruin of the Kingdom of Samaria, 722, B. C. E. But before and after this year there is scarcely any approximation to concurrence. Which of the systems then are we to regard as true and correct? Which are we to adopt as the standard whereby to abide? Which must we reject as incorrect and unreliable? Let us endeavor to answer these questions. We find no vindication of Biblical chronology anywhere and in fact we are frequently confronted in perusing the books of kings with confusions of times and inconsistencies as to succession of events! The Assyrian, on the other hand is strongly reinforced and sustained, in the period subsequent to 722, by the so called Ptolemaeus Canon. The latter ~~is~~ establishes as the time of the



campaign undertaken against Egypt and Palestine, the first year of Sennacherib's reign, 701 B.C.E., whereas the Biblical sources represent the expedition as having occurred in 714. The Assyrian chronology, with its Eponym list and its annals of Sargon, confirm to the minutest details, the statement of the Ptolemaeus. Here consequently we have two strong unquestionable authorities arranged against the single evidence of the Bible, which in an instance in which we have reason to expect it to be especially reliable and trustworthy most treacherously disappoints us with a discrepancy of thirteen years. And now if in the more recent period of Jewish history, chronological errors have been thus detected, can greater credibility be claimed for the dates given of earlier events described in the Books of Kings? Assuredly in this more ancient period there is more occasion for suspecting mistakes. The other sources have been preserved for us in such completeness and integrity that we cannot possibly ignore their ex-

actions and accept the Bible as the only, faithful and unerring guide, especially since we have unimpeachable proof ~~of the~~ <sup>it</sup> careless unfaithful regard for chronological accuracy. The unalterable monuments certainly ~~deserve~~ <sup>show</sup> greater confidence in this respect than the Scriptures, which passing through the hands of copyists, suffered many changes. The discrepancies in regard to matters of time between the Bible and inscriptions are not uniform, there being sometimes a greater and sometimes a less disagreement and then quite an approximation to coincidence, as for instance, the date of the overthrow of Samaria. We subjoin the following table of Schrader as affording a clear indication of the relation existing between these two systems under discussion.

According to the  
Monuments.

According to the Bible

Battle of Karkar 854.

Ahab's reign (in which the battle of Karkar occurred, 918--897

Jehu 842--Payment of tribute	884-856 period of Jehu's reign.
Azariah (Uzziah) 742-740.	809-758 period of Azariah's reign.
Menahem 738, Payment of tribute	771-761 period of Menahem's reign.
Pekah 734, Defeated by Tiglath Pileser	758-738(?) period of Pekah's reign.
Hoshea 728 last year that Ausi' (ya) can have paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser	730-722 period of Hoshea's reign
Fall of Samaria 722	722 Fall of Samaria
Hezekiah 701, Sennacherib's campaign.	714 Sennacherib's Invasion.
Mennaseh 681, 673, 668, (667?) 647, revolt of Samnughes	696-642 period of Mennaseh's reign.

Then after this a discrepancy of thirteen years *respect to the period preceding it,* appears though in Mennaseh's reign, the two systems are in harmony. Thus we see that there exists no special error, which could be readily rectified. *illogical therefore* The chronology may be characterized as artificial. Notwithstanding the unreliability of its chronology as indicated by this comparison with the more relia-



ble inscriptions, the historic record of the Bible is in the main sustained throughout, the relations between various personages and occurrences is fully substantiated and but few inaccuracies can be detected. The Books of Kings as we shall endeavor to show in the following pages, receive very satisfactory corroboration from the monuments.

## I K I N G S

V 13--The Lebanon mountains referred to in this verse are frequently mentioned on the monuments and are designated by the word *Lebānu*, corresponding to the Hebrew *לְבָנוֹן*. The cedars which the Hebrews prized so highly were likewise held in great esteem by the Assyrians. We find Esarhaddon accepting them in payment of tribute and Asurbanipal utilizing them in the erection of his magnificent palace. ~~The latter also~~ in describing the extent of his kingdom, states that the countries acknowledging his sovereignty, composed the regions between the banks of the Tigris and the ranges of the Lebanon. (reminding us of the familiar usage of the Bible in indicating the boundaries of Jewish territory.

*Asurbanipal*

VIII 13-- *בֵּית זָבָל* --From the corresponding Assyrian expression, Bit-Zabal, signifying "house of height," "exalted house", we can determine the exact meaning

of its Hebrew equivalent, which accordingly ought to be rendered in a similar manner.

X 15 **חִנָּה**-- This term so long supposed to be of Persian origin, can be traced, from the clue's furnished by the inscriptions, to ~~be~~ purely Semitic source. It is employed and inflected by the Assyrians in such a manner as to forever prevent any further possibility of its native character being questioned. That the Hebrews derived the word from the Assyrian Pahât is an incontrovertible fact.

XIV-21-29 **יְהוּדָה** --The words Jahûdu and the gentilic Jahudaai often occur in the inscriptions, devoted to the Kings after Tiglath Pileser; the former as the name of the southern of the twin Jewish Kingdoms and the latter as that of its inhabitants. Sargon, Sennacherib and Esarhaddon all designate the country and its people by these terms.

XVI-23- **חֻמְרִי** appears frequently in the inscriptions as Huumri and is first encountered on the

in J. P.



Nimrod obelisk of Shalmaneser on which the tribute of Jehu son of "Omri" is detailed. This Jehu was undoubtedly he of the same name with whom we are familiar as the successor of the rulers of the house of Omri. The Omrian dynasty evidently enjoyed quite a reputation and was held in high esteem among the Assyrians, for the Kingdom of Israel is continually entitled "mat bit-Humri," "land of the house of Omri." After Sargon's reign, the kingdom of Omri is never referred to by Assyrian sources, for it was through this monarch especially, that its power was fully destroyed.

--24-- **סמרינה** This capital of the northern kingdom, founded by Omri, is often mentioned in Sargon's inscriptions, under the form Samirina. In an inscription of Tiglath Pileser II, Menahem is spoken of as "Menahem of Samaria," thus indicating that in the latter times at least, the rulers of the ten tribes, were referred to as merely kings of the

capital city.

-29-- ~~Shalmaneser~~ called by Shalmaneser II Ahabbu ~~Sirite~~ (Ahab of Israel) is the first king of Israel mentioned by the inscriptions. The fact that his name appears on the monuments in connection with that of Hadadezer, (Benhadad II of Damascus) can leave no room to doubt the identity of this "Ahab the Sirlite." Furthermore the statement of the Assyrian king that Ahab had entered into an alliance with Damascus is in strict and complete keeping with the Biblical account, which informs us that after the battle of Aphek the king of Israel had concluded a treaty with Benhadad, which stipulated that the captured cities should be restored to their rightful owners (1 Kings XX-34). Undoubtedly this league was inspired by the fear, which these two nations shared in common, of the growing Assyrian power which had begun to assume a formidable aspect.

The Confederacy however failed ignominiously

in its attempt to check the victorious advance of the Assyrian monarch. From the inscriptions we learn that the allies were defeated with great slaughter, at the battle of Karkar, in the sixth year of the great king (854). In consequence of the crushing blow dealt the Syrians, Israel was enabled to cease all relations with them. Released from the oath binding him in the bonds of united action the king resolved to recover from weakened Damascus, the territory<sup>of</sup> which she had robbed him. But ~~the~~ enterprise proved a disastrous one, for in the decisive battle fought, the king was wounded and the disheartened army dispersed.

The date assigned to this battle, as indicated, in the table quoted from Schrader, cannot be reconciled with the Biblical chronology, since, according to it, Ahab would have been numbered among the dead forty years and more before this



event. The year given by the inscriptions receives confirmatory strength from the fact that it harmonizes well with the periods, ascribed, by other inscriptions, to later kings of Judah and Israel.

XVII - 9 - **צִרְפָּת** is a city of Phoenicia, situated between Tyre and Sidon. It occurs in the form of Saripta<sup>m</sup>, in the inscriptions of Sennacherib.

XX - 1 **בֶּן הַדָּד** - This name, frequently met with in the Bible, may be identified with that of Br-Daada preserved in the inscriptions of Asurbanipal.

The Ben-Hadad II, referred to in this passage of the Scriptures is the same person as the Dad'idri (Hadad'idri) mentioned in the monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II. He was the successor of his father, Ben Hadad I, but was not designated by the same name (as <sup>the</sup> the Hebrews ~~did~~) owing to the objection toward a son who bore his father's name.

The Assyrian Hadad'idri exactly corresponds to the Hebrew **הַדָּד עֲדִיר**.

- 26 אֶפְהֶק . Aphek was a place east of Lake Genesareth. It appears on a fragment of a historical inscription of Esarhaddon, under <sup>the</sup> similar name of Apku.

### 8 KINGS .

V 18 - רִמּוֹן . Rammon, perverted by the Massorites into the present form, Rimmon, in order to obtain for it an etymological meaning, was the supreme god of the Syrians of Damascus. He is to be indentified with the sun god, Hadad, venerated by the North-Syrians. Hence it probably is, that Zechariah (XII-11) when he speaks of "the mourning for Hadad Rimmon in the valley of Megiddo" refers to the solemnities observed by the Syrian women who every year bewailed and lamented the death of the sun, slain, as it was supposed, by the winter. The Assyrian inscriptions, like the Bible, depict Rammon as the chief deity of the Syrians. Among the Assyrians and Babylonians, the native name Ramānu was

was never exchanged for the foreign one of Hadad. With them he is always an elemental power. He is the god of winds and clouds, thunder and lightning, storms and rain. He is furthermore represented on the one hand as inundating the fields of the impious and unjust, and, on the other, as pouring his refreshing waters upon the parched, thirsting soil of the upright and pious.

VIII - 15 - **חזאל** - Hazael figures in the obelisk inscription of Shalmaneser II as Hazailu.

IX 2 **יהוא** - Jehu is mentioned twice in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II, and in his inscriptions only. In the eighteenth year of his reign this Assyrian ruler, <sup>having</sup> ~~being~~ proved unsuccessful in his attempt upon Damascus, departed therefrom and retired to Hauran. From here he sought the Mediterranean and on the promontary of Baal-rosh received the oaths of allegiance and tokens of subjection of Tyre, Sidon and of Israel. Among a series of



reliefs, representing the various nations offering their tribute to the Assyrian monarch, is one on which the ambassadors of Jehu are depicted presenting as gifts, bars of silver, golden vases, spoons, cups, goblets, pieces of precious wood and lead, and a royal sceptre. They have the characteristic Jewish features and wear the distinctive, fringed robes reaching to the ankles. Above these is the legend "the tribute of (~~Jehu~~ <sup>Yahaz</sup> Huumri") Jehu son of Omri".

X 32 - "In these days God began to cut off from Israel, and Hazael smote in all the borders of Israel". This passage becomes intelligible after having learned from the above quoted inscription that Jehu became a subject of the Assyrian king. As such he would naturally incur the bitter enmity of Hazael, who would take every occasion to punish him for allying himself with the Assyrian potentate. Therefore we find the Syrian making frequent incursions

into Jehu's country and harassing him in innumerable ways. The king of Israel, helpless in the face of these depredations, seeks the protection of his distant ally. We have here the same play of circumstance as those to be noted in the later days of Pekah and Ahaz, when Judah attacked by Northern Israel in conjunction with Syria, turned in appeal to the Assyrian ruler.

XIV 28. "And how he (Jeroboam) recovered Damascus and Hamath, for Israel". Jeroboam's reign, when reduced to the Assyrian chronology, is discovered to be contemporaneous with that of Rammanis~~ar~~<sup>ar</sup>, who in his inscriptions informs us of several campaigns directed by him against, and a number of conquests made over Damascus. These successful expeditions naturally ~~weakened~~ its power and thus we can readily understand how Jeroboam was enabled to win such important victories over this powerful capital city.

XV - 1 - עֲזַרְיָה . Azariah, the son of Amaziah,

see 13<sup>th</sup> in Hebrew  
according to Hebrew  
reading (see)

king of Judah began to reign." The fragments of two tablets belonging to the central palace of Tiglath Pileser II reveal in several places what are undoubtedly parts of the name of Azariah. After several of these, the territorial designation mat Jaudai (of the country of Judah) is appended. The name appears in full on one of the fragments; however, without any remark to indicate the exact personage intended. Still there can scarcely be any doubt, when we consider the evident contents of the tablets, of the identity of the Azria[?] and Azrijaan of the inscriptions with the Azzariah- Uziah of the Bible. We have already noted in brief the discrepancy that exists in this connection between the Biblical and Assyrian Chronology. Let us consider here, more explicitly, the exact nature of the disagreement. According to the Biblical system if correct, Azzariah- Uziah could scarcely have played the part of a contemporary to Tiglath Pileser.



Scripture represents the king of Judah as having died in 758, while the monuments make the Assyrian king ascend the throne thirteen years later. Hence if we should accept both chronological systems as accurate we would have to reject as altogether unauthentic and unreliable the entire Biblical narrative which recounts the transactions between Azariah and Tiglath Pileser. If we retain as true and reliable, this account of the Bible, we shall be compelled to deny the accuracy of one or the other standards of chronology. In this respect, the Assyrian, verified by the five-fold Canon of Rulers deserves greater credit certainly than the Biblical, attested to by no other source. An additional reason assigned for the acceptance of the former and rejection of the latter is given in the following words of Schrader; "If we shift the reign of Uzziah down later, partly into the time of Tiglath Pileser, according to the cuneiform inscriptions, we at once

obtain room for "the Minhinni Samirani," (Menahem of Samaria) who with Rezin of Damascus, is mentioned by this same king (Tiglath Pileser) as being a tributary to himself and who appears as a contemporary of Azariah of Judah." Menahem would then be the Menahem of the Book of Kings (II-XV-17) the cotemporary of Uzziah while Tiglath Pileser would be identical with Pul, king of Assyria (ibid 19).

These matters however will be considered in treating these verses. Accepting the Assyrian Chronology, what date shall we assign <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ Azariah? We learn from the Annals of Tiglath Pileser and from the list of Governors that a campaign was conducted by the great king against the Syrian cities, in which were included Hamath and Arpad, from 742 to 740. We know that Azariah, who was in alliance with Hamath upon this occasion took an active part in the struggle. Hence we may conclude <sup>that</sup> ~~at~~ least as late as 742, Azariah was still alive.

--17 - "Menahem became king of Israel". The annals of Tiglath Pileser refer to a Minihimmi Samirinai as paying tribute to the king, but an identification of him with the Menahem, of our verse, is scarcely practicable, if we give any credence to Biblical chronology. According to it the beginning of the twenty-years reign of Pekah, the second successor of Menahem occurred in 758, thirteen years before the accession of Tiglath Pileser. The theory of a second Menahem, a rival of Pekah who sought to curry favor with Tiglath Pileser, is hardly tenable in the face of the fact that there is nowhere any reference to a second Menahem, and furthermore is wholly incompatible with the cotemporary mention of Uzziah. This latter circumstance leads us to identify the Menahem of the inscriptions with the Menahem of the Bible. This however involves us in serious difficulties, which though not directly concerned with the subject of this verse may still be



appropriately considered here. From **II Kings XV-29** we learn that Tiglath Pileser undertook an expedition against Israel during the reign of Pekah.

**II Kings XVI-1-5** furnishes in the campaign of Pekah and Rezin in 17th year of the Israelitish king (741) the reason for Tiglath Pileser's invasion of the former's territory. Furthermore according to **II Kings XV-30**, Pekah was slain in the year 738 by his successor Hoshea, who, strange to relate, does not ascend the throne until after a lapse of 9 years, viz: the twelfth year of Ahaz, 729. (**2 Kings, XVII - 1**). (This fact is in itself quite significant, especially since in **2 Kings, XV-30**, the assassination of Pekah and accession of Hoshea are if treated of as closely connected events, uninterrupted by any interregnum.) But when we examine the inscriptions, we discover statements, which in point of time, radically contradict these data. The list of governors describe the campaign against Philistia

(Palestine) as having taken place from four to six years after Pekah's death. Accordingly Pekah's reign must be both placed ten years later and considerably shortened, thus making it possible for Menahem and Pekayiah his predecessors to be engaged in various transactions with Tiglath Pileser whose rule of Assyria covered a space of but eighteen years. While engaged on this period we may mention another most important event of this time with reference to which Biblical Chronology is found to be lamentably weak. According to the indubitable testimony of the Canon of rulers and also that of Ptolemaeus, the campaign of Sennacherib against Judah and Egypt may be assigned definitely to the year 701. Isaiah, who according to Isaiah VI-1, received the prophetic call in 759 (the year of Azariah's death) at the age of twenty, delivered several oracles against the Assyrian monarch. These must therefore have been uttered when the prophet

had reached the advanced age of eighty or thereabout. His discourses however bear the evidence and marks of the fiery zeal and ardent energy of a much earlier period of life. If now we take as our guide the Assyrian system, Azariah's reign would fall largely within that of Tiglath Pileser and his death would occur as late as 740. Isaiah would then accordingly be in the prime of his life at the time of the invasion of Sennacherib. He would have attained an age at which from a perusal of his discourses we should reasonably expect him to have arrived. This would enable us also to assume a continuance of his prophetic activity for some time after 701.

-19- 519 . This King is either a contemporary of or identical with Tiglath Pileser. As a contemporary, he may have been either a general of Tiglath Pileser or a rival claimant to the throne. Neither of these suppositions can be maintained. The first



is instantly cast aside when our eyes alight upon the phrase: "Pul king of Assyria." The second is immediately rejected, when we call to mind the fact that we have a very complete record of all important events which transpired during Tiglath Pileser's reign and that no-where do we find the slightest or remotest reference to a rival potentate. If there were such, Tiglath Pileser would certainly not have omitted to mention his subjugation, since we are well aware of the fact that an Assyrian king ever takes special delight in describing the discomfiture of a foe. We are therefore forced to accept the alternative that Pul and Tiglath Pileser were one and the same person and we are all the more disposed to do so when we are informed by the inscriptions that Tiglath Pileser in 738 undertook an expedition to the West and reached the immediate neighborhood of North Israel. Now let us attempt to fathom the causes that led to this change of

name. George Smith has pointed out the name Pûlu as belonging to an officer in the time of Sargon. It is highly probable that this officer usurped the throne of Assyria and assumed the name of his illustrious predecessor, Tuklat abal ašarra (Tiglath Pileser) the greatest general of the older dynasty. We know that a sacred character was attached to names by the Babylonians and Assyrians. They were thought to be the causes of good or evil fortune. Pul may have discarded his own name for that of the famous monarch of ancient times under the idea that it would invest his claims to the throne with a certain legitimacy and also entitle him to the same homage, devotion and reverence as was paid to the original bearer of the name. Yet the earlier designation may have proved the more popular one, having been the one under which he first became known to the Israelites. The Babylonians recognized the name of Pûlu only; that of Tiglath Pileser

having been associated in their minds with ideas of hostility and invasion. In connection with this it is of importance to note that Tiglath Pileser styles himself Šar Bâbilu, king of Babylonia and furthermore that he expressly states that he had conquered Babylonia and had performed sacred rites in towns thereof. We know that in 731, the year in which Tiglath Pileser received the homage of the Babylonian king, Merodach Baladan and conquered the Babylonian rulers, among whom was Chumzir; Pul or <sup>one</sup> Por<sub>A</sub> the king of Babylon, according to the Canons of Ptolemæus. Chumzir also in this year is mentioned as king of Babylon subordinate however, to a superior ruler Poros. This leads us to associate both names with one person. A further evidence of the identity of Tiglath Pileser with Pul or Por is derived from the fact that at the same time as the death of Tiglath Pileser both the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia became simultaneously vacant (726). Por or Pûru may be satisfactorily explained as a later



Persian form of pronunciation for Pol or for what in the inscriptions has been found to be *Pûlu* ~~the~~

*Hebrew* 713 In a similar manner we find Babilu in the Persian cuneiform for Babilu. This identification of Pul with Tiglath Pileser had already been made in Talmud Sanhedrin 94-A. Now let us conjure up this Pul or Tiglath Pileser from among the dead past and let us see whether the records which he supervised speak in language confirmatory of the Biblical account of him, or not. The general impression gained from the annalistic and summarizing or triumphal inscriptions of this monarch certainly corresponds to the conception of him which we had formed from a perusal of the Bible. He appears in these records as a powerful warrior prince who subjugates Western Asia from Media in the East to the Mediterranean in the West. To his great executive and military ability, it seems, the second Assyrian Empire owed not only its origin but also a great degree of its

renown and success, But now let us turn to particular events. According to the list of Governors, Tiglath Pileser in 734 engaged in an expedition to the land Philistia, This is here specially referred to, not because it was against this country exclusively that his forces were directed, but because it was the most distant point to which his projected campaign extended. We have proof from a much mutilated fragment of the annals that this warlike movement affected towns of Samaria, Judah, Moab, Edom and Ammon and Phoenicia as well as those of Philistia. Several places of Beth Omri are enumerated as having been conquered by him, among which, are two whose partially defaced names betray a similarity to two of those given in this verse of Scriptures, viz; Gil~~head~~ and Abel-beth Maacha. These facts seem to indicate that this expedition recorded in the <sup>1</sup>list of governors as undertaken against Philistia embraced also that one which was

directed against Pekah. The triumphal inscriptions certainly remove whatever doubt may still have been entertained concerning the association of this campaign, against Philistia, with that, against the Jewish king. The year of this warlike enterprise, 734, marks also the date of the recognition, on the part of Ahaz of Judah, of the Assyrian supremacy. To secure the latter's assistance against her sister kingdom and Damascus, Judah payed the tribute treated of in <sup>II</sup> Kings XVI - 8. The dispatch of this tribute was immediately followed by the expedition against Damascus. This is in perfect harmony with the list of Governors which places the siege and capture of Damascus in the years 733 and 732. The Biblical and cuneiform records are in regard to this matter mutually supplementary. The Bible informs us of the conquest of the city, the deportation of its inhabitants and the execution of its king, but leaves us in uncertainty as to the length



of the siege, the number of the deported people and their treatment by the great king. The ignorance as to these matters the inscriptions remove. The following year we find Tiglath Pileser master of Babylon, receiving the homage of its conquered sovereign Merodach Baladan. This ends the warlike career of the great king, for the remainder of his life was occupied with ~~the~~ peaceful civil and religious pursuits. Upon his death in 727 he was succeeded by Shalmaneser.

- 30 "Hoshea formed a conspiracy" etc. The inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser represent Hoshea as having secured the crown of Israel as a reward for the payment of tribute and acknowledgement of subjection and obedience to his will. The Bible however speaks of this payment of tribute and condition of vassalage with reference to Tiglath Pileser's successor, Sennacherib, and therefore depicts Hoshea as having succeeded to the throne through

his own endeavors.

- 37 - **רַעֲזִין** . Frequent reference is made to this Syrian king on the plates of Tiglath Pileser.

His name in the Assyrian idiom is Ragunnu. He appears first in conjunction with Menahem as a tributary of the great king and afterwards as an ally cooperating with Pekah to throw off the burdensome yoke of Assyria.

XVI - 8 "And Ahaz took the silver and the gold and sent to the king of Assyria a bribe." This statement is in complete accord with the inscription belonging to the seventeenth year of Tiglath Pileser's reign, in which it is said that the king received tribute from a number of princes, among whom was Joahaz (<sup>4</sup>Jauhazi) of Judah, the Biblical Ahaz. The difference in form between the two names, Ahaz and Joahaz may be explained on the assumption that the Jewish writers deeming it a profanation that such an idolatrous king should bear a name con-

taining a divine appellation abridged his original designation to that of Ahaz. It was while in attendance at the court of the great king, convened at Damascus for the reception of subject princes, that Ahaz saw the altar, the pattern of which he sent to Urijah, with instructions to erect a similar one in the temple.

#### CHAPTER XVII

3 - "Shalmaneser ( **שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר** ) went up against him." The Assyrian form of this name is Šalmānu-uššir and signifies "Salman pardon." He reigned according to the list of governors, from 727 to 722. From this source we can however glean nothing further. There are noted thereon expeditions undertaken by Shalmaneser, but as the names of the people against whom they were directed are very much obliterated we cannot determine whether the land of Israel was included in his warlike enterprises *or not*. Sargon, the successor of Shalmaneser never mentions himself as the son of his predecessor and therefore



it is more than likely that he succeeded to the throne by usurpation.

4 - So ( ~~šio~~ ) king of Egypt. From evidence offered by the inscriptions it is clear that this is not the correct pronunciation of this name. The Massorites were in error when they vowelled this word. Sargon, in his records has preserved it for us in its correct form Šahī, thus indicating plainly that its Hebrew equivalent ought to be ~~שִׁי~~. The author of this portion of the book of kings is likewise inaccurate when he pictures Seveh as king of Egypt. Writing at a later period the author evidently honors him with a title which he attained only afterwards. Sargon, in his inscriptions does not represent him as a king but as a prince (Šil-tannu). Hence when the Assyrian came into conflict with the Egyptian (720) the latter was not as yet recognized as <sup>a</sup> supreme ruler.

5. "And the king of Assyria went up against Sam-

aria and besieged it for three years. That an Assyrian king undertook the siege of Samaria and that it was captured after an assault of three years are facts attested to by the Assyrian monuments. They inform us that Samaria was taken in the first year of Sargon 722 and therefore Shalmaneser his predecessor can be credited with but two years of the attack upon Israel's capital.

24 - "And the king of Assyria brought (people) from Babylon, Kutha, Hamath and Sepharvaim and settled (them) in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel." Both Sargon's cylinder inscriptions and his annals of the seventh year (715) state most clearly that he settled subjugated tribes in conquered Samaria. Babylonians are also in particular represented as having been deported in 721 to the land of the Chatti, which included Northern Israel. This was followed by a second transportation of Babylonians in the year mentioned

above. Two of the towns, Kutha and Sepharvaim, mentioned in this verse belonged to the Babylonian territory and therefore it is but reasonable to suppose that their inhabitants were among those he had brought to Samaria and located there. Kutha appears on the obelisk of Shalmaneser as Kuti, a town of central Babylonia. Sepharvaim is the Assyrian Sippara. This seat of early Semitic supremacy in Chaldea appears to have been a dual city, of which one part has been discovered in the mounds of Abu Kabbu by M. Hormuzd Rassam, and the other, in the mounds of Anbar. It is from this character of the town that the dual form of the Hebrew equivalent becomes intelligible to us. It was in the neighborhood of this Sippara that Sargon founded the celebrated library, which caused this district to be known as the place of books. It was this designation, undoubtedly, which afterwards prompted the popular <sup>derivation</sup> of the name from סֵפֶר a book.



Relative to the extradition of the people of Hamath, we have statements of Sargon which accord well with the Biblical account. We read in his records that after having accomplished the defeat of the king of Hamath he separated as his royal portion from the spoil, 200 chariots and 600 horsemen. This leads us to the inference that the main body of citizens were carried away into captivity, and this inference is especially strengthened by other passages, which inform us that various Eastern tribes were settled by Sargon in Hamath.

30 - "And the people of Babylon made Succoth Benoth." This is undoubtedly an allusion to a Babylonian idol. Rawlinson supposes that we have here the name of the female deity, consort of Merodach, Zir Banit, signifying a "sower of seeds." The latter parts of the name perfectly agree in both Babylonian and Hebrew.

"And the people of Kuth made Nergal." Nergal was

the local deity of the town Gudua, which from its signification, "resting place" plainly indicates the purpose to which it was devoted. It was a famous Necropolis in ancient times and therefore its presiding deity, Nergal, had the character of the "god of death."

# XVlll

-1 - Hizkia (Hezekiah) became king." The name of this ruler occurs also on the monuments, however in the fuller form, Hazakijau, with which Isaiah has made us so familiar.

-10 - **וילקוה** "And they took it." We have already remarked above that in the inscriptions of Sargon it is related that Shalmaneser died during the progress of his siege of Samaria and that it was left to his successor to bring to a successful issue this memorable campaign. This is in seeming contradiction to the Biblical narrative, which apparently describes Shalmaneser as the conqueror. But when

we examine this contradictory passage we find that the Massorah had anticipated our mistake and forestalled it. The preceding verse (9) speaks of the march against and the siege of Samaria undertaken by Shalmaneser. Immediately upon this verse follows the declaration **וַיִּלְכְּדוּ** "and they took it." Ignorant critics, unacquainted with the true circumstances have sought to correct this expression, by making it agree with the subject of the previous verse, thus giving it the singular form **וַיִּלְכְּדָהּ** "And he took it." It is evident therefore that it was in accordance with some authentic tradition or other, that the Massorites established a reading contrary to what, from the context, was to be expected. It is clear that according to their conception of the meaning of this verse Shalmaneser at least was not to be regarded as the victorious king.

13 - "In the fourteenth year of king Hizkia, Sennacherib, king of Assyria advanced against all the



fortified towns of Judah and captured them." Sennacherib meets us on the inscriptions under the name Sin-ahi-irib, which means "Sin" (moon god) gives many brothers." According to the Canon of rulers he was the son and successor of Sargon. (compare Isaiah XX - 1) and reigned from 705 to 681 B. C. E. Of a number of inscriptions left by this king there are two of special importance in their bearing on the Biblical history of the period at present under discussion. They are the inscriptions on the Hexagonal Clay Cylinder, containing the annals of his first eight campaigns and that over a figure representing the Assyrian monarch seated on a throne and receiving Jewish captives. This latter inscription reads as follows: "Sennacherib, the king of the host of nations, king of the land of Assur seated himself upon an exalted throne and received the spoil of the city Lakish."

A most admirable presentation of the course of events, detailed on these monuments and in the

Bible, is given by Schrader. The following is in the main an abstract of his views as to the causes and consequences which should concern us in this connection.

The kings of Sidon, Askelon and Judah and the inhabitants of Ekron, in order to shake off the oppressive Assyrian yoke which since Sargon's reign they had borne, effected an alliance with Egypt. Sennacherib however having been apprised of their intentions, surprised them before they had an opportunity to unite their forces. Sidon, Ashkelon and Judah fell successively into the Assyrian's hands, who <sup>he</sup> then took up his station at Lakish in South Philistia where he determined to await the Egyptian forces. His reason for making this place his base of operations and for advancing no further was undoubtedly <sup>his</sup> the apprehension of danger from the important cities of Ekron and Jerusalem which as yet he had not conquered. The fear of these towns,

which he had left in his rear, most likely prompted him to retire upon the approach of the Egyptian army to Altâku (Eltekeh) and there encounter it on the parallel of latitude passing through Ekron and Jérusalem. It appears that the victory gained here by Sennacherib was a doubtful one, bought with a serious ~~loss~~ <sup>loss</sup>, for we have no account of prisoners taken or chariots captured, details rarely ever omitted in statements of successful battles waged by Assyrians. Though the king was still able with his weakened forces, to subdue Ekron and Timnath, he was unable to assume the offensive against Egypt or effect the surrender of Jerusalem. His resolution to retreat from the holy city may have been finally adopted in consequence of an event such as Herodotus describes and the Bible (II Kings XIX-35) hints at, but the disastrous advantage secured at Altâku alone would furnish sufficient reason for this determination. Hezekiah by this withdrawal



was rescued from a most perilous position. The Assyrian, attempts to give a favorable and respectable aspect to the miserable miscarriage of his enterprise against Jerusalem and therefore speaks contemptuously of having confined Hezekiah in his capital city like a "bird in his cage" and for a like reason <sup>also</sup> states that he had compelled the Jewish king to surrender Padi king of Ekron, whom the citizens of that town had entrusted fettered and bound to his charge. He furthermore declares that he both forced the king of Judah to pay a large tribute and exacted of him vows of submission. No intimation of the fact that he was forced to retire from Jerusalem, without effecting his object, is anywhere to be found on his monuments. On the contrary by a perversion of the chronological order of events he strives to create the impression that Hezekiah was conquered and that the tribute which was paid by the Jewish king was the finale of the struggle.

The Bible however controverts this entire account by the statement found in 11 Kings XVIII - 14.

This informs us that it was at Lakish, before the battle of Eltekeh was fought that the Assyrian king received the tokens of submission. From the inscription on the contrary we learn that the subjugation of the Ekronites, the restoration of Padi, their king held prisoner in Jerusalem, occurred only after the meeting with the Egyptian foe on the field of Altaku. Having first set forth the above matters in his clear way, Shhrader proposes the following order of events, as far as concerned with the Judaea<sup>a</sup> affairs. After the subjugation of Sidon and its subject towns, Sennacherib proceeded Southward against Ashkelon, detaching at the same time a force which was to begin operations against Judah. It was this detachment which pillaged the whole of this country and captured a number of its fortified towns (11 Kings XVIII-13). Hezekiah however,

alarmed at the non appearance of the promised Egyptian assistance, and losing all hope of a successful outcome of his revolt dispatched to the king, who had at the meanwhile arrived at Lakish, the specified tribute and at the same time set Padi at liberty. The Assyrian however, desiring to have in his rear, towns upon whose loyalty and allegiance he could depend, demanded that Jerusalem be surrendered to him. To this Hezekiah would not accede. To punish his obstinacy and disobedience and also to secure this important stronghold at any cost, the king thereupon sent his "great army" (11 K.XVIII-17) against Jerusalem. This probably was his last strenuous effort to bring his rebellious vassals into complete subjection. Hezekiah, emboldened by the intelligence of the arrival of the Egyptian host, & resolved to vigorously resist the Assyrian attacks. As a consequence the Assyrians proved unsuccessful in their attempts. Meanwhile Sennacherib had *failed*



his foe, though having gained a victory had come forth from the combat with a terrible loss. Disappointed at the issue of his struggle and the failure of his designs upon Jerusalem, Sennacherib recalled the forces which he had detailed thither and summoned them to join in the final retreat. Thus the Assyrian army retired from Judah and thus was Jerusalem delivered, according to Schrader. The account of the events, which transpired about Jerusalem and neighboring towns, and which are related in detail in the inscriptions, completes and supplements the Biblical narrative. To establish the dates of the occurrences treated of here, we must call into requisition the Canon of Rulers. From this we learn that Sennacherib began his reign in 705 and therefore the campaigns he undertook must have been subsequent to this year. The incidents are not recorded by him as having occurred in such and such a year, but are described

as having transpired during this or that campaign. The king was engaged in eight campaigns, to none of which however any definite date is assigned. However we know that by the fifteenth year of his reign all these enterprises were completed. Since it is scarcely likely that more than one expedition was made in the same year, we may accept it as almost certain that the Syro-Egyptian war (3rd campaign) did not take place earlier than the third year of Sennacherib's reign (703-B.C.E.). In fact we have evidence that it could not have happened prior to the fourth year of the Assyrian monarch, for a cylinder belonging to that time furnishes accounts of the first and second campaigns; but <sup>of</sup> the third or any later, reveals not the slightest knowledge. It is evident therefore that the collision with the Egyptian power had as yet not happened in 702. Sennacherib in his inscriptions states that he appointed Belibus, as king of Babylon, during his

first campaign and from the Ptolemaic Column we gather that the Babylonian did not ascend the throne until 702. Now between this and the conflict with Egypt the second campaign must have intervened and since the third military action could scarcely have been attempted in the same year as this, we arrive at the year 701 as the earliest possible date for this occurrence. Furthermore it is certain that we cannot reasonably fix upon a date subsequent to 701 for in the following year, during the fourth campaign, another king was raised to the Babylonian throne. Consequently we may accept it as an established fact that the besetting of Jerusalem happened in 701 and not as the Biblical narrative has it in 714.

Altakû which plays such an important part in these inscriptions is undoubtedly to be identified with the **אלתקד** mentioned in Joshua XIX-44. This identification deserves all the more ready accept-



ance, since in both the Bible and the inscriptions the place is mentioned in connection with Ekron and Timnath. But to return to our Biblical passages let us examine into the exact nature of their particular agreements with the Assyrian records. In the verse under discussion we read- "And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah, king of Judah, three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold". On the cylinder of Sennacherib the tribute is likewise stated to have consisted partly of thirty talents of gold, but with reference to the amount of silver paid there is a disagreement between the two accounts. The Assyrian mentions eight hundred talents of silver as having constituted the remainder of the tribute. This discrepancy of five hundred talents disappears when we consider that there were two different standards of valuation, the Jewish and the Assyrian. Three of the heavy talents <sup>according to</sup> of the former were equivalent to eight <sup>of</sup> of

the lighter talents <sup>according to</sup> of the latter. Hence again do we find a confirmation of a Biblical by an Assyrian statement.

17 - **תִּרְתָּן** - The official name of the Assyrians (Turtannu) for commander-in-chief resembled the Hebrew closely.

**רַב שָׂקָה** From the inscriptions we are enabled at last to determine the true meaning of this title which for such a long time has been erroneously rendered "Chief Cup-bearer." Careful investigation of all Assyrian writings has failed to reveal any allusion to a chief cup-bearer as a high dignitary in the kingdom. We are therefore led to suspect that we have here the Hebraized form of an old Assyrian or Babylonian title, Rab sak- which occurs frequently in the inscriptions. The simple form sak (plural) means officers, captains etc. and the Rab-sak therefore would be the chief of captains, i e Commander. It seems accordingly that there

were two grades of commanders in the Assyrian army, The Tartan, "Commander in Chief" it appears was accompanied by a subordinate commander, the Rab-sak, who acted as an aide-de-camp.

-19- "The great king, the king of Assyria." This form of title recalls to mind the similar designations of the inscriptions, viz; "Šarru rabbu, "Great king" and šar māt Aššur, "king of the land of Assur."

32 - "Until I come and bring you to a land like your land." The plan of deporting subject nations here alluded to, was one frequently put into operation by the Assyrian monarchs.

- 34 - "Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpod, where are the gods of Sepharvaim." Both in this verse and in II Kings XIX-13, these towns are represented as having been subjugated by Sennacherib, whereas in the inscriptions of Sargon, his predecessor, the conquests of them are declared to have been accomplished by himself. The Biblical Histor-



ian, it therefore appears, transferred to Sennacherib achievements which really belonged to Sargon. This blending and confusion of the military movements of the latter with those of the former explain two things, viz; (1) that in the Biblical narrative nothing is said of Sargon and his expeditions in 720, 715 and 711, which largely affected Judah and, (2) that the campaign of Sennacherib, which occurred at the **earliest** in 701 has been placed by the Bible in the year 714. It is highly probable that this latter event being confused with a like incident during Sargon's reign was substituted for it. That there was a dim recollection of events at least is indicated by the fact that <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ historian mentions the destruction of Hamath, though ascribing it to the wrong personage. We know that this was a military exploit undertaken by Sargon in 720.

11 Kings XVII-24 relates, that the inhabitants of Sepharvaim were transferred to Samaria. This de-

portation was evidently in punishment for the insurrection which in conjunction with their allies, the Babylonians, they had raised in the beginning of Sargon's reign. There is no express mention made of their revolt, but that such really took place is with all justice concluded from the fact that the Khorsabad inscriptions state that, in the time subsequent to 710, Sippara had no independant ruler. It is obvious then that the conquest of Sippara had occurred some time previous to this, most probably during the first campaign of Sargon against Babylonia.

#### CHAPTER XIX

9- **תִּרְהַקָּה** - The name of this Ethiopian king appears nowhere in the inscriptions of Sennacherib. We become acquainted with it however from the records of Assurbanipal. It there reveals itself in the form of Tarku.

12- **רַצָּא** is the Rasappa of the inscriptions,

a town of Mesopotamia.

𐏁𐏃𐏁 is connected with the kingdom of Bit-Adini, frequently mentioned in Assyrian records. Gozan, Harran and Reseph are all described in this verse, as having been destroyed by Sennacherib's predecessors, a fact which harmonizes perfectly with the Assyrian accounts.

35 "And it happened in the same night." The inscriptions shed no light on this obscure passage and maintain a suspicious silence as to the character and cause of their retreat.

36- "And he returned and dwelt in Niniveh." This statement is fully borne out by the inscriptions which relate that the great king returned to his capital city; but that he thereafter led an unchecked life of tranquility and peace, as the expression "and he dwelt" would incline us to believe, must not be supposed. We learn from the Assyrian records that he was engaged in five more



campaigns of greater or less magnitude. As they did not effect the kingdom of Judah however, they are passed over in silence by the Biblical writer. 37- "And it came to pass as he was worshiping in the house of Nisrēch his god, Adramelech and Shareser, his sons, slew him and Esarhaddon his son ruled in his stead".

𐤎𐤓𐤕 This name is a corrupted form of Nasku, the companion deity of Nebo and the patron of literature. The fact that Esarhaddon is mentioned in the testament of Sennacherib as his heir, though by birth not entitled (the annals state that he was not the oldest son) introduces us undoubtedly into the motives of the parricides. Having heard of their father's intentions, hatred against him, without doubt, so inflamed their minds that they did not hesitate to dip their hands in his blood. Their unnatural crime, however, fired the popular ire and indignation to such a degree that they were forced

flee without reaping any advantage from their awful crime. Esarhaddon then received the hearty cooperation of his subjects in his struggle with his brothers. The murderers fled to Cappadocia where they were defeated. Esarhaddon now having no one to dispute his right ascended the throne in 681, according to the Canon of rulers, and reigned until the twelfth of Ijjar (Iyar) 668, when he abdicated in favor of his son Asurbanipal.

**שַׂרְאֲשֻׁר** is the Assyrian *Šar ušur*, an abbreviation for the fuller form *Ašur šar ušur*, signifying, "Ašur protect the king".

## CHAPTER XX

12- "At the same time Berodach-Baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon sent letters and a present to Hezekiah" etc. Two Biblical verses are at variance as to the spelling of the name of this Babylonian king. Whereas here we have it written

**בִּלְדַּאֲחַן** with an initial **ב**, Isaiah in the

parallel passage (XXXIX -1) makes it

מֶרֶדַּךְ בֶּלְאֲדָן

with an initial "ב". The cuneiform inscriptions establish the accuracy of the prophet's spelling, since they present the name in the form Marduk-abab, iddina which means, "Merodach has given a son." In the period with which we are at present engaged, repeated mention is made of a Babylonian king of this name. In the inscriptions of Sargon his contemporary, he is described as a son of Jakin. This however disagrees with the Biblical narrative which relates that the Merodach Baladan who sent an embassy to Hezekiah was a son of Baladan. But this contradiction loses all its weight when we consider that rulers are often denominated by the inscriptions sons of predecessors, though in no way actually related to them. It is of frequent occurrence that kings of countries are named after the founders of their dynasties. <sup>Attention</sup> Attention has already been called to the fact that Jehu is spoken of as a son of Omri



though it is well established that these two were not connected by any family ties. Viewed in this light the disagreement disappears and the Merodach Baladan of the inscriptions becomes a member of the ruling dynasty founded by Jakin. His father then may have actually been the Baladan of the Bible. Merodach Baladan was originally hereditary chief of the Kaldi, a small tribe inhabiting the marshes at the mouth of the Euphrates. In 722 he assailed and subdued Babylon and at the same time assumed supreme command over Babylonia, of which for twelve years he now remained undisputed master. He foreswore all allegiance to Sargon and instituted an independent government. Assyria could not brook such an insult to its power and so resolved to punish him. Alarmed at its menacing attitude the Babylonian sought to form a league of the states adjoining Assyria. Babylonia and Elam were to constitute the Eastern and Palestine and Egypt the Western members thereof.

The recovery of Hezekiah from a serious sickness was made a pretext for sending ambassadors, apparently to bring congratulations, but really to sow the seed of disension. The suspicions of Sargon were however aroused by the great solicitude suddenly displayed by the Babylonian and they were all the more confirmed when he learned that Hezekiah had displayed his treasures to the legates. Anticipating the designs of this confederacy, Sargon assembled his forces and directed against its members a campaign which proved highly successful. Palestine was the first country invaded and subjugated by his army. Thence the king turned his attention to Babylonia and Elam, which in very short order he compelled to cease all hostilities and to acknowledge his supremacy. Merodach Baladan was forced to desert Babylon and to seek refuge in his ancestral capital, Bit Jagina. This, however, also fell into the enemy's hands and he was obliged to sur-

render. After the death of Sargon he again for a short time, played the role of a rebel, for, taking advantage of the change of rulers at Niniveh, he usurped the Babylonian power and expelled the viceroy who had been appointed by the Assyrian king. But his reign was of short duration for after enjoying the regal authority for only six months he was compelled to flee by the arrival of Senneacherib on the scene of disturbance.

XXI - 1 - **מְנַסֵּחַ** - Menasseh is referred to in the inscriptions of both Esarhaddon and Asurbanipal as being included among the twenty kings of the land Chatti. He is described as Minasii Sar mat Jadudi, "Menasseh, king of Judah".

XXIV-1- **נְבֻכַדְרֶאצַּר** . The cuneiform records present the name of this Babylonian monarch as Nabu-kudurri-usur, in which we recognize its exact equivalent occurring in Jeremiah XLIX - **נְבֻכַדְרֶאצַּר** 28. The word is compounded of the name of a deity, Nabu,



the substantive, kudur, meaning a crown, and the imperative, ugur, signifying protect, and is therefore to be rendered "Nebo protect the crown". We possess of this monarch a series of inscriptions on brick and clay cylinders, devoted however in the most part, to a description of the royal buildings, erected by him. They therefore have but little historic value.

XXV - 8 - **נְבִיזִרְאִדִּינָא** - The Babylonian form of this name is Nabu-zir-iddina and signifies "Nebo bestowed posterity".

-27 **אֵיל מֶרֶדַּח** is the Babylonian Avil-Maruk, "Man of Merodach".

In connection with II Kings XXI 1 et seq. the following passage of II Chronicles deserves more than passing consideration.

XXXIII - 11 - 12 - 13 - These verses have been the occasion for long wrangling and discussion among exegeses. Many critics regard this whole narration

to be unauthentic and unhistoric in as much as the second "Book of Kings" does not allude, in its corresponding passages to the events herein referred to. In the first place they argue, in **support** of their view, that this account presupposes an Assyrian supremacy in Western Asia, during the period from 700 to 650 B C E; a supremacy of which no mention is ever made in any other historical book. In the second place they urge as an objection to these passages, that in one of them it is declared that an Assyrian king lead away such an important captive as Mennaseh to Babylon and not to Niniveh as would naturally be expected. These criticisms are fully and satisfactorily answered by the inscriptions. In confutation of the first objection it may be stated that Esarhaddon informs us that he reduced toward the end of his reign the whole of Egypt and Asia. In further rebuttal of this argument, the list of the subject kings of the land Chatti, handed

down by Esarhaddon and Asurbanipal, may be cited as containing the name of Menasseh. The event recorded here in Chronicles, Schrader believes could scarcely have happened during any period of Esarhaddon's reign. Not a word is said by him of any insurrection in which his Palestinian subjects participated. Not the slightest intimation is made by the king of any opposition offered by Menasseh, upon the occasion of the expedition undertaken against Egypt. From Asurbanipal on the contrary, we learn that the Western Country (Phoenicia and Palestine) *mât aharri* was involved along with Elam and Miluḫhi Kush, in the revolt conducted by his brother (648-647). We may confidently assume that Menasseh was either included among the insurgent princes or that he at least brought upon himself the suspicion of being in sympathy and league with Sammuḫes, Asurbanipal's brother. In order to keep him free from this suspicion and in order to have a guarantee of



his good faith, submission and loyalty, the Assyrian monarch arranged that he be conveyed to Babel and confined there. But why was this city selected instead of Niniveh, the place of residence of all the Assyrian kings, to whom also Asurbanipal was, in this respect, no exception? In answer to this question it may be said that there is nothing to oppose the assumption that Asurbanipal, after having been recognized as supreme ruler of Babylon, should take up a temporary residence and establish a court there for the reception of ambassadors. Thus we know that Cyprian legates after Asurbanipal's conquest of Babylon and his assumption of the title of king did homage to the great king in Babylon. The mention of this place also in a similar connection by the Chroniclers cannot therefore be well referred to by critics as evidence of the unreliable character of this entire account. There should be no hesitation at all to associate with the rebellion of Šam-

assumukin, a treasonable action on the part of Menasseh in the year 648 and his subsequent deportation "in iron chains and with hooks" the following year (647). This last event seems highly improbable in the face of the exalted station to which again he was afterwards raised. It is almost incredible that, after having been so much dishonored he should have his throne restored to him. The occurrence is however robbed of its improbable character after making the discovery that Asurbanipal reports precisely, what the Bible states about Menasseh with reference to Necho 1. Though this Egyptian had been "seized and bound with iron bonds and iron chains hand and foot", though he had been carried off to Niniveh and had been most ignominiously treated, we learn that the Assyrian subsequently bestowed favors upon him and permitted him to return to Egypt with his generals. That the summary punishment inflicted upon the Egyptian enemy might likewise have been

ated out to the Judean foe is highly ~~probable~~ and is also as possible in the latter as in the former instance that the dishonored ruler was reinstated into the king's favor. There is therefore no reason to cast any doubt or suspicion upon the Biblical statement, the circumstances of which can be reasonably explained from events which occurred in 47. Relative to this bestowing of dignity and honors upon those who had been disgraced it may be stated to have apparently been the policy of several Assyrian kings to strive to win the friendship of those, who were hostile to the government and who had been made still more so by humbling and degrading punishments, by treating them in a generous and magnanimous manner.

#### I S A I A H .

X - 28-29. The Assyrian monuments furnish us with the evidence that the prophet does not here depict an event which has transpired or is transpiring,



viz; the actual advance of the Assyrian army against Jerusalem. The inscriptions plainly inform us that Sennacherib did not proceed against Judah from the North and consequently did not in his march pass by Aiath, Migron, Michmash, Geba, Ramah and Gibeah. They relate that the Assyrians followed the sea coast from Sidon to Joppa and then turned eastward to Lakish, from which place he detailed forces to act against the East and South East. This division of the army captured the fortified towns of Judah (11 Kings XVIII-13) and then forced its march past Beth Horon to Jerusalem where, the reinforcement under the Tartan (11 Kings XVIII-17) which marched from Lakish by way of Elentheropolis, joined it. Accordingly if Isaiah expected the Assyrians from the North it must have been at a time when the plans of their monarch had not been fully determined and his route not completely decided upon. This, Schrader thinks, agrees with the character, form and

content of the prophecy. Though it displays evident dread and fear for the fate of Judah, it nevertheless clearly represents the enemy as yet at some distance.

XI-11. "From Egypt, Pathros and Ethiopia. In the brick inscriptions of Esarhaddon the king denominates himself, šar, šari māt Mušur, māt Patri [ni] si, māt Kusi "king of the kings of Egypt, Pathros and Ethiopia".

#### XIII

Before entering upon a consideration of this chapter it were advisable to give a general picture of the times treated of in this and kindred passages.

Cyrus the chief personage with whom we are here concerned reveals himself on his monuments in a quite different light, from that in which we were accustomed to regard him. Therefore, to form a proper judgement as to the reality or unreality of events chronicled of him in the Bible we shall have to first

call into requisition the inscriptions bearing on this period of history. They indeed open up an unexpected vista into the remote past. They reveal to our astonished gaze startling truths which overthrow all groundless theories and establish new conceptions upon a firm and well founded basis. The Cyrus of our uncertain and hazy speculation disappears and the Cyrus of certain and actual existence appears. We must renounce the idea that he was an ardent, zealous, monotheist, bent only upon the destruction of Babylonian idols. From the very first steps he takes we recognize the firm devotee of the Bel Merodach. He pays full homage to the supreme gods of Babylon and shows himself equally as devout as the native Babylonians. Bel and Nebo are regarded by him as the especial patron deities of royalty. Cyrus shows himself a polytheist in the fullest sense of the term. Equal rights are accorded to all the divinities represented through-



out his vast domains. We find that he acted in full accordance with the general characteristic views of Pagan races, who after a short residence in a land exchange their gods, for the deities acknowledged by their adopted countries. Thus we find the foreign colonists, who had been settled in Samaria by Esarhaddon, adopted the worship of Jehovah. Hence the theory that Cyrus allowed the Israelites to return to their native country, because like them he was a worshipper of One Supreme God falls to the ground, overthrown by the force of the monuments. Furthermore, this grandest king of heathen antiquity, hitherto supposed to have been a Persian by birth and rearing, appears on the records, relating to his reign, as an Elamite. The inscriptions which reveal this fact are those contained on, 1st., the cylinder inscribed by Cyrus, 2nd., the tablet describing his conquest of Babylonia and the causes leading thereto and 3rd., in the account given by Nabonidos. Cyrus

was not originally a king of Persia. This country was acquired by him first at some time between the sixth and ninth years of Nabonidos. Both he and his progenitors had been the rulers of Anzar or Elam. The empire therefore which he founded was not the Persian, for this was established later by Darius Hystaspes; and it is only because of ~~his~~ being the predecessor of the latter that the former could or can be called the king of Persia.

The clay cylinder speaks of the restoration of Babylonian captives to their several homes. Cyrus, it seems, did not look with favor upon the odious practice of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, of transporting conquered people from their native countries to strange lands. He adopted a policy calculated to secure for him the grateful recognition of all his subject people. He clearly saw the evil of the Assyrian system and the dangerous element in the shape of a disaffected people which it introduced

into the government. He restored to their rightful sanctuaries all the deities and gave permission to their devotees to accompany them back to their native countries where they might again settle. The Hebrews, with their patriotic zeal aroused and intensified by the words of their inspired bards, also sought permission to leave their dark and dreary land of bitter captivity and to return to the bright and cheerful abode of pleasant memories. The king was all the more ready to grant this petition for, besides its being in accordance with his general policy as defined in the inscriptions, it gave him an opportunity to establish a formidable barrier to Egypt. With a friendly people in Palestine who would support him in the threatened struggle for supremacy; who would at the very outset oppose and impede the entrance of an Egyptian army into Asia, no fears for the safety and security of his realm need be entertained. To institute and confirm such



friendly relations, Satraps, responsible to the court at Susa, were placed in control of affairs to direct the policy of the native kings. The newly unearthed inscriptions enable us to definitely fix the date of the composition of many of the Biblical prophecies relating to the fall of Babylon and the achievements of the Elamite conqueror. They determine conclusively that such oracles can bear no later date than that of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus (if we refuse to allow them any supernatural character and ascribe to them the authority merely of descriptions of contemporaneous events.)

The Jews of ~~these~~ times were violently exasperated against the Babylonians. They had just reasons for their strong feeling, as a comparison of the words of the prophets, with the <sup>date</sup> ~~date~~ furnished by the inscriptions as to the general polity of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors, will make evident. He, Neriglossor and Nabonidos were kings of extreme

piety, who entertained the most exalted religious ideas and displayed most pious devotion to their gods. Every political and national view was thrust by them into the background. Unlike their Assyrian predecessors we do not find them boasting of the number of vanquished enemies, conquered towns, and captured booty. They prided themselves upon the number of temples which they built and the rich presents which they offered to their deities. This fanaticism, as was but natural, bred <sup>intolerance</sup> intolerance and prejudice. All foreign religions had to undergo countless humiliations and annoyances. Nabonidos in his ardent zeal to advance the interests of his faith quite over-reached himself. With a desire to centralize the religions at Babylon and to subordinate all foreign gods to Babylon's chief deity, he took every means to stamp out all the national life of foreign nations, which derived its main stability from particular religions. His course aroused instant indignation, not only among the

subject people, but also among the native Babylonians, who, though flattered by the increase in power and superior authority vested in their Mero-dach, looked with horror upon the disturbance which the intrusion of other gods would bring. The provinces and city, alienated by his disagreeable measures to promote and aggrandize his especial mode of worship, surrendered without the slightest resistance to Cyrus, whom they hailed as the deliverer from cruel fanaticism and the restorer of their faiths. Under the oppressive regime prevailing before the accession of the Elamite, the condition of the Jews must have been terrible to contemplate and therefore we can well understand the evident delight with which they awaited the coming of the one with whose success their hopes were bound up. With the above facts well in mind the Biblical chapters relating to this period become intelligible to us. Turning in particular to the chapter under

5



discussion we find the wild Median hordes, who suddenly rush down upon Babylon, represented as wreaking divine vengeance. As instruments of God's anger, they exterminate the inhabitants of Babylon, spare neither gold nor silver and lay ~~down~~ the magnificent palaces which <sup>then</sup> become the abodes of the prowling animals of the desert. According to Hallevy this state of affairs corresponds to that which marked the ninth year of Nabonidos' reign. Cyrus in this year with enlisted Median forces invaded the city, which the prophet recognizing as doomed, advises the Hebrews to desert.

XIV- The prophet here~~x~~ in an elated, joyful spirit describes the descent into hell of the last king of Babylon and also predicts the extinction of the entire royal family. He promises the Israelites <sup>in the name of God</sup> a return to their homes: <sup>the One</sup> in the name of God, who will inspire the new monarch with kindly feelings for the captive and oppressed people. This description

undoubtedly refers to the occurrences of the seventeenth year of Nabonidos, when this last Babylonian king died a prisoner in the hands of Cyrus who thereupon seized the the reigns of government.

12- "Bright star son of the morning" ( מִלְלִי )

An expression similar to this, is the Assyrian, muš-ti-lil (shining star) applied to Venus.

XVIII-----XX

XLX-13- מִצֵּן is referred to in the inscriptions as Samu. מִצֵּן which frequently also appears as מִצֵּן is the Assyrian Miimpi..

This oracle is to be ascribed to an early period of the reign of Sargon, who figures in verse four, as a "hard master." The precise date is the year 720 when, owing to the defeat of the Šiltanu by Sargon, anarchy prevailed in the Egyptian realm. The great campaign against Egypt was undertaken two years after the capture of Samaria for the reason that the king was prevented by disturbances in the East from

immediately repairing against it. The decisive struggle occurred at Raphia and culminated <sup>in</sup> in a victory for the Assyrian king who contended himself then with imposing a tribute. Egypt however inconsolable <sup>because of</sup> ~~for~~ the loss of her former glory, entered into negotiations with Ashdod and other Asiatic states to shake off the Assyrian grasp from Western Asia. Hence the insurrection of Ashdod in 711 B.C. It proved however unsuccessful and the king of Ashdod, who had sought refuge at the court of his Egyptian ally, basely betrayed by the latter, was surrendered to the Assyrian foe. Isaiah's prophecies contained in XVIII and XX have especial reference to all these events; the former hopeful of the ultimate triumph of Ethiopian arms, being evidently written prior to the fall of Ashdod and the latter describing the humiliation of Egypt and Ethiopia by Assyria, being clearly composed subsequent to the capture of Ashdod.



XX-1

סררין

This is the only passage in the Bible in which this name occurs. It is pronounced in Assyrian either Šarrukinu or Šarukin which respectively signify "firm is the king" and "he (the god) has given."

The capture of Ashdod here mentioned is treated of at length in the Khorsabad inscriptions which state that the revolt of Ashdod was associated with a corresponding movement on the part of Egypt and Ethiopia and that the Assyrian forces were directed simultaneously against all three of these powers.

XLIV-----XLVII

The prophet, in these chapters proves himself a firm partisan and an ardent, enthusiastic advocate of Cyrus. He designates the conqueror as "the one whom God loves" the "shepherd to perform all His pleasure", "the one whom the Eternal appoints though he doth not know Him".

The description herein given, however is not in strict accord with the true course of events. Con-

trary to the details furnished by these chapters, the inscriptions, as remarked above, inform us, that the entry of Cyrus into Babylon was a most peaceable one and that he paid the greatest respect to Bel and Nebo. This prophecy we therefore are constrained to infer was delivered before there was absolute certainty, as to the outcome of the struggle, and the manner in which it would be effected. It may probably have been given utterance to while Cyrus was still engaged in South Babylonia and before it was well established that the people of Babylon would not take up arms against Cyrus. The revolt of the inhabitants against their king and his capture shattered the prophet's predictions. But one prophecy and the all important one was realized; and that was, the return from exile.

XLVI-1 **23.** Merodach, the divine protector of Babylon and its inhabitants, had the title Bilu (lord) the equivalent of the Bel of this verse. He was simply

the local god and could be denominated the national god, only in the sense that he was the representative deity of the foremost city of the kingdom. Originally but a solar deity, "the champion of the bright powers of the day in the eternal struggle against night," he afterwards secured the title "merciful" because of the belief generally held that he had the power to resurrect the dead.

**131** -Nebo was the guardian deity of Borsippa, the modern Birs Nimrud. The name is <sup>in</sup> Semitic-Babylonian Nabui or Nabu and means "proclaimer" or "prophet".

This indicates the character of the god to whom this designation was applied. He was originally the proclaimer of the wishes and commands of his divine father Merodach, afterwards became known as the "God of science and literature". Asurbanipal never neglects to mention at the conclusion of a document compiled by his scribes for his library that it was Nebo who had endowed him with the knowledge and the



wisdom to accomplish such a work. Sayce believes that the god lost that definite localization and that his name and worship passed over to the Western Semitic races, leaving <sup>traces</sup> traces in the nomenclature of various places, the most noteworthy of which being Mt. Nebo on which Moses died.

### J E R E M I A H

XXV - 24- עֲרִי - This name was applied to the Northern part of Arabia and therefore agrees with the Assyrian usage which designated the Northern region by the similar term, mât Aribi.

XXXIX-3- נֶרִיגְלִיסּוֹר נֶרְגַּל שָׂר אֲשׁוּר appears in the inscriptions as the name of a Babylonian king, Neriglissor (Nergal-sar-usur, meaning "Nergal protect the king").

נֶרִיגְלִיסּוֹר can be identified with the jnga of the Babylonian inscriptions used in the sense of "exalted" and with (rubu) in combination, "highly exalted". It can also be traced to a Semitic origin נֶרִיגְלִיסּוֹר which in Babylonian is changed into נֶרִיגְלִיסּוֹר . It would then

signify "one very deep in power or intelligence".  
 XIV1-2 "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon." We know  
 of a certainty that Nebuchadnezzar had not estab-  
 lished himself on the Babylonian throne as early as  
 the event described here. The battle of Charchemish  
 was fought in 606 or 605 and even though as related  
 here he personally conquered the Egyptian forces,  
 he did so in the name of the reigning sovereign.  
 The bestowal of the kingly title upon him by the  
 prophet would indicate that this prediction was  
 written post factum.

#### H O S H E A

X-14 **שלמן** Schrader advances two theories as to  
 the identity of this personage. He urges in the  
 first place that Shalman is an abbreviation for Shal-  
 maneser a similar abridged form of which, according  
 to OPPert, <sup>king</sup> is also found in the inscriptions. The  
 destruction of Beth Arbel, mentioned in this verse  
 seems to have been but a recent occurrence, judging

from the prophet's reference to it as an event well known. Hence this Shalmaneser would be the one who reigned a decade before Hoshea's prophetic activity, 783-773. We know that this king (Shalmaneser III) made an expedition into the Lebanon district, on which occasion it is not unlikely that he may have crossed the Jordan and destroyed Beth Arbel. Setting aside this theory, Schrader proposes a second. He thinks that no Assyrian monarch may have been meant at all and gains some strength for his opinion from the fact, that, contrary to the custom of Biblical writers (to whom Hoshea, as indicated in verse six of this chapter, was no exception) no defining title, such as "king of Assyria", is attached to the name. He therefore believes that this Salman was identical with the Moabite king of the same name, mentioned by Tiglath Pileser, as paying tribute. According to the Bible, Hoshea was a contemporary of Menahem and therefore also of Tiglath Pileser.



Hence he (Hoshea) lived in the same period as that of Salman king of Moab. According to **II Kings** XIII-20, we know that the Moabites invaded Israel's territory in the time of Joash and were later subjugated by Jeroboam **II** (**Ib** XIV-25). It is therefore not impossible that they made another attempt to secure their independence and even went so far as to take the offensive and destroy Beth Arbel. Being a contemporary prince, ruling over a neighboring nation and therefore **supposed** to be well known to his hearers it is not strange that the prophet does not mention the country or further describe the personality of this <sup>x</sup>Salman.

A MOS.

V-26      **קבוצת**      -----      **קבוצת**      These words ought to be punctuated **קבוצת and קבוצת** if they are to be regarded the corresponding Hebrew names for the Babylon<sup>ian</sup> and Assyrian deities, Sakkut and Kauvanu, The former is another designation for the god Adar.

The latter is the name for the planet Saturn. Hence the phrase of our verse, "your star god" is fully justified.

VI-2- This verse evidently describes the disasters which had befallen the towns mentioned. Kalnah, a Babylonian town, was conquered by Sargon some time prior to 710 inasmuch as his records, composed in this year, include it among the places captured by himself. Hamath was overthrown in 720, during the reign of Sargon also. Gath and Ashdod fell into Assyrian hands in 711. These facts completely set aside the tradition, which declares that this book was composed as early as 800,

#### M I C A H.

IV. 10- "Thou shalt go forth from town- ---- and shall come to Babylon." Schrader explains this verse with the aid of the inscriptions in the following manner: If we assign an early date to this prophet, the course of events was this. Tiglath Pileser who had subjugated Babel afterwards engaged

in transporting its inhabitants and replacing them with the subject people of other countries. Hence there would be nothing strange in the prophet's reference to a threatened deportation to Babel. Furthermore if we suppose this oracle to have been composed after Samaria's fall, this passage becomes still more intelligible, for we know that Sargon had transferred the Babylonian tribes to Syria and had settled in their place other people. The report of this method of dealing with subjugated nations had undoubtedly come to the ears of the Jews and the prophet therefore threatens them with a like fate, though, that they ever experienced such, is not at all to be inferred. This explanation of Schrader certainly obviates the necessity of supposing that the prophet, over a century in advance, had foreseen the Babylonian exile.

# N A H U M

111-8-12-

𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤍 This passage has hitherto been



a very obscure one and has offered much ground for plausible conjectures, none of which has proven satisfactory. The unexpected light from the Assyrian monuments however, has dispelled some of the gloom of mystery which enveloped these verses. The inscriptions furnish a full account of the destruction of the Egyptian Thebes by Asurbanipal, the son and successor of Esarhaddon, in his second expedition against Urdamani, Rud Amon, the successor of Tirhaka. No was sacked of its precious treasures, its silver, gold and valuable stones being carried away to Niniveh. This account accords fully with that which the prophet in such a masterly way has set before us. And since we have no other reference to an earlier or later destruction of Thebes (with the exception of the description of its final overthrow, which of course is out of the question) we must accept the utterances of Nahum, predicting that she who had laid low Egypt's proud capital, would

herself in time be compelled to succumb to a like fate, as having been made shortly after the Theban overthrow. Through this fortunate and happy discovery we are enabled to determine the date of Nahum's activity. The second grand campaign of Asurbanipal against Thebes took place after the death of Tirhaka, since we find the son of his wife, Urdamani exercising absolute command over the Egyptian forces. Tirhaka, according to the Apistilae, died in 664 and this second expedition was undertaken in the following year. The Theban disaster was still fresh in the prophet's mind and therefore we can establish as an approximate date for the delivery of this prophecy against Niniveh, the year 660. It is not within probability, Schrader thinks, that a prophet should have so clearly portrayed after the lapse of a long period a catastrophe which had befallen a foreign race with whose destiny his own people were not immediately concerned.

## P S A L M S

XLII, XLIII, XLIV. These psalms were composed during the Babylonian captivity and not, as many assert, during the time of the Maccabees when the people were overwhelmed by misfortunes, due to the cruel edicts of Antiochus Epiphanes. This latter opinion is due to a misunderstanding of the Babylonian epoch in Jewish history; but now that, owing to recent discoveries, the oppressive and intolerant policy of Babylon has become better known we need have no recourse to a later age of barbarism and persecution, for an explanation of these psalms. The author of the first two of these Psalms tearfully laments the woeful condition of his fellows, the mockery and derision to which his ancestral faith is subjected and longingly yearns for a return of the joyous times when Jerusalem's streets will be thronged with happy and devout Israelites. Psalm XLIV more vividly portrays the sufferings



which the nation had to undergo, owing to religious persecution. They are all accurate pictures of the condition of affairs during the Babylonian exile.

CXXXVII-This Psalm was evidently written at the time when the Israelites anxiously awaited the defeat of the Babylonians and their hated allies, the Idumeans, who had co-operated with them at the destruction of Jerusalem. This poem describes a period, in which the overthrow of Babylon was imminent, a period corresponding exactly with the first days of the month Tammuz in the seventeenth year of Nabonidos. The <sup>person</sup>~~enemy~~ here addressed with such encouraging language can be none other than Cyrus.

#### D A N I E L

I-7 בַּלְטָסּוּזַר This name corresponds to the Babylonian Balaṭsu uṣur, which signifies "his life protect." It is certain therefore that the writer of the "Book of Daniel" is in error when in IV-5 he states that Daniel was named after a god. He evident-

ly had in mind the similar designation Belshazzar, which contains in its first syllable, the name of the god Bel.

**שִׁדְרָךְ** Delitzsch derives this from the Babylonian name, Šadur-Ahu, which means "Command of Ahu" (the moon god).

-11- **קִיְצָר** - This was the title of one of the king's officers. It corresponds to the Assyrian Maṣṣaru ("keeper or guardian") the liquid being inserted in accordance with the common usage of the Aramaic language.

V-1 **בִּלְשַׁאצַּר** - This personage supposed to have been the product of the writer's phantasy is shown by the inscriptions to have actually existed. On a clay cylinder of Nabonidos, Bil-šar-uṣur ("Bel protect the king") is mentioned as his oldest son. Furthermore a clay tablet, containing the annals of Nabonidos, informs us that as early as the seventh year of this monarch's reign (549) Belshazzar ac-

accompanied the army to North Babylonia, where he was vested with its supreme command. It was at this time that Cyrus first encountered the Babylonian forces. Later, in the seventeenth year, Nabonidos himself led forth his forces to Ashdod, against the Elamite; leaving his son in charge of the capital city, where, at its capture, he lost his life. Meanwhile the king had met his formidable foe on the field of battle and had been defeated. He himself had experienced the humiliating fate of being taken prisoner. The inscriptions therefore establish the presence of Belshazzar and his control of Babylon at the time of its capture by Cyrus. During the life of his father we find that he was entrusted with most honorable commissions and most important commands and there is therefore nothing remarkable in the fact that tradition, always to some degree exaggerating, had bestowed the title of king upon him, though he never in reality swayed a sovereign's



sceptre. As we have already noted we have a parallel instance in the designation of Nebuchadnezzar, "king, long before he attained the title (Jer.XLVI-2).

-2- "His father Nebuchadnezzar." Historical accuracy, prevents our assumption of the actual existence of the paternal relationship of Nebuchadnezzar to Belshazzar. We know positively from the Canon of Ptolemy that a whole line of rulers intervened between the former and the latter. But this apparent inaccuracy can be explained by assuming either, that the expression "son" is used in the general signification of successor or descendant, as we frequently find the term employed in the Bible; or, that only two periods of Babylonian history, (viz; that of the kingdom's prosperity, represented by Nebuchadnezzar, and that of its downfall, associated with Belshazzar) remained impressed on the author's mind.

VI-1 The recently discovered Cylinder of Cyrus and

Annals of Nabonidos represent the last king of Babylon as being immediately succeeded by his conqueror. The author in those passages in which he describes Darius the Mede as the first king of the reconstructed Babylon, evidently betrays a dim recollection of the former <sup>supremacy</sup> supremacy of Media. This, however, had been broken by Cyrus. The Median rule, coincides chronologically with the Babylonian, only that it vanishes a little earlier than the latter. (Media was subjugated by Cyrus a little before Babylonia.) The Bible in respect to this matter is <sup>therefore</sup> at fault. The fact that the author of this book gives a Median king a Persian name, viz; Darius, is in itself strangely significant.

#### E Z R A .

1-2- This speech is in full accord with the tolerant policy which characterized Cyrus' reign. It is furthermore in complete harmony with the liberal spirit which prompted him to ~~preserve~~ inviolate the

worship of the Babylonian deities. Of this liberal spirit the recently discovered annals of Nabonidos give us a most ample account. We learn from Babylonian records that Cyrus' reverential faith in all modes of worship, urged him to restore to their proper places the divinities which the last Babylonian king had removed.

IV-2- There is no express mention in the inscriptions of a settlement of Eastern tribes in Samaria, to which this passage evidently alludes. From the records of Esarhaddon, however, we learn that he transferred Eastern races to the land Chatti in general, which included Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine.

-5- Corresponding forms have been found for the names here recorded, viz; Kur'uš = Cyrus; Darajuvuš = Darius; Khšajârša = Ahašverus, Xerxes; Artakhšatra = Artahasta = Artaxerxes.

-10- אֲחַשְׁתָּרְשָׁסְטָרְ This personage, evidently a king, as



indicated by the epithet "great" applied to him, cannot possibly be identified with any other Assyrian monarch but Asurbanipal. He was the only one who ever gained possession of Elam and Susa, so as to be able to transport their inhabitants to Samaria as here declared. The name Asnapper, however presents a serious difficulty. This however can be removed by the theory advanced by a learned authority, Getzer. In his opinion אֲסַנְפֶּר is a corruption for (Asurbanipal) אֲסַנְפֶּר, having been changed to אֲסַנְפֶּר when the name was converted into its Hebrew equivalent.

13- מִנְחָה This is unquestionably the Assyrian mandat which signifies "tribute or "gift".

### NEHEMIAH

1 "In the month Kislev." The names of the months so long assumed to have been of Persian origin, owing to their having been introduced among the Hebrews, only after the exile, are shown by the inscriptions

names, Nisaanu, Airu, Sivanu, Duuzu, Ululu, Tisri<sup>av</sup>,  
Arah-Samnu, Kisilivu, Tibituv, Sabatu, Addaru, from  
which the Hebrew equivalents are in almost every in-  
stance recognizable. Special interest attaches to  
the derivation of Mar Cheshvan from the original  
Assyrian form. The latter is compounded of Arah,  
signifying month (the Hebrew חֹדֶשׁ) and Samnu meaning  
eight (Hebrew שְׁמוֹנֶה), from the fact that it oc-  
cupied that rank among the months. Hence Arah-  
Samnu and Mar Ches<sup>h</sup>van are identical, the first word  
in the ~~latter~~ <sup>former</sup> having been divided into two parts,  
the one forming with a prefixed "m" the word Mar and  
the other joined to the following word making Cheshvan.

FINIS.