The Assyrian monuments illustrating the sermons of...

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Illustrating the Sermons of Isaiah

BY MAX KELLNER, D.D.
THE
ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS
ILLUSTRATING THE
SERMONS OF ISAIAH

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"Ha! Assyria, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in whose hand is mine indignation! Against an impious nation am I wont to send him, and against the people of my wrath to give him a charge to take spoil and to seize booty, and to make it a trampling like mire in the streets." Isaiah x. 6.
If you should stand upon the highest point in the Turkish town of Mosul, and face eastward across the River Tigris, your eye would rest upon a group of huge mounds of nearly 9,000 feet circumference; these,—so from very early days tradition has said,—mark the site of a section of the great city of Nineveh. The mound at the southern end of this group is crowned by the village of Nebi Yunus, i.e., the prophet Jonah; a name which rests on the tradition that that prophet lies buried there. The northern end is occupied with the extensive plateau of Kouyunjik. The sides of this mound are too steep for a direct ascent, but a winding road climbs obliquely to the plateau above, whose fertile expanse has been cultivated for centuries, and repays the labor of the fellaheen as liberally as does the plain below. It is these mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebi Yunus that held entombed so long the palaces of three of Assyria’s greatest kings; viz., of Sennacherib, of Esarhaddon and of Ashurbanipal.

This Nineveh mound is only one of many. Other ruin-heaps rise above the plain at Khorsabad, twelve miles to the north of Nineveh; at Nimroud (Calah), twenty miles to the south; and at Kalat Sherkat (Ashur), thirty miles farther down on the western bank of the Tigris. And as the traveler moves farther south still, he will find others at Babylon and Birs Nimroud (Borsippa), at Telloh (Lagash), Niffer (Nippur, Calno), Warka (Erech) and Mukeyyer (“Ur of the Chaldees”).
These mounds had been known for many years to Oriental travelers; among others Mr. Claudius Rich in the early years of the century (1811, 1820) had seen them, and had brought home inscribed bricks and other objects; but it was not until 1842 that the work of excavating was begun. In that year Mons. Paul Emile Botta, the French consul at Mosul, made an examination of the mound of Kouyunjik. He was, however, not destined to find anything there; and after a few weeks' fruitless trial he moved his workmen to the mound at Khorsabad, where he unearthed the remains of the palace of King Sargon. The palace gates he found guarded by huge winged bull-deities, and the walls within covered with bas-reliefs of sieges and battles, of hunting and sacrificial scenes, of demons in conflict and cherubic beings in adoration before the sacred tree, and upon or below almost all of them long inscriptions in the cuneiform characters. It was a find to electrify the world.

Mons. Botta was followed by Mr., afterwards Sir, Austen Henry Layard, who inaugurated his work in 1845. His success was immediate and complete. He exhumed the palaces of Ashurnasirpal, Shalmaneser II.
and Esarhaddon in the mound of Nimroud, and one belonging to Sennacherib at Kouyunjik,—all of them rich in remarkable sculptures and historical inscriptions of inestimable value. The researches of these pioneers were taken up by a number of enthusiastic and able followers: Loftus, Rassam, Place, Oppert, George Smith and others, and by them an art and a literature, which had lain long lost, were restored to the light of day.

The next question was how to decipher these ancient records. A few cuneiform inscriptions from Persepolis, once the residence of the kings of ancient Persia, had been for a long time in the possession of savants in Europe, and had excited their curiosity. The honor of finally discovering the key to the wedge-writing belongs to a German, Georg Friedrich Grotefend, of Hanover [September, 1802]. But the key did not help Grotefend much, and there was little advance for three decades. It was reserved for an Englishman, Colonel, afterwards Sir, Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, a young officer in Persia, by his work in copying and deciphering the trilingual inscription of Darius Hystaspes on the face of the mountain at Behistun [1835–1846], to unlock the door and throw open at least the outer portals to the great Assyrian literature. In 1857, in order to settle the claims of Assyriology to respect as a science, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Edward Hincks and Mons. Jules Oppert agreed to put the results of their work to the test. They prepared independent translations of the inscription of Tiglath Pileser I., which were presented for comparison to the Royal Asiatic Society. The results of the test were more than satisfactory to scholars, and cuneiform study assumed at once a position of prime importance.
We have spoken of Botta and Layard, the pioneers in the field of excavation, and of Grotefend and Rawlinson, the pioneer decipherers; but there are two others who should be named and to whom even greater honor is due, for it is to them first of all that we are indebted: Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria [668-626 B.C.], and Nabonidos, the last King of Babylon [555-538 B.C.]. Ashurbanipal has been styled the Grande Monarque of Assyria, and the designation fits him far better than it does the French king. He proved himself not only a successful ruler, but a patron of learning as well. He dispatched his scribes to delve in the libraries of the mother country, and to bring back from Babylonia the literary treasures of even pre-Semitic times. When Hormuzd Rassam, in 1854, reopened the door to Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh, he found a room 50 feet long and 12 feet wide filled with a collection of clay books of marvelous extent. It covered every branch of learning known at the time: mythological works and legends; astrological, astronomical and geographical treatises; grammatical and lexical disquisitions; treaties and contracts; royal proclamations and historical annals; prayers and hymns and penitential psalms. There was something of the same spirit in Nabonidos, whose archaeological interest established the date and history of Sargon and Naram-Sin [3800 B.C.],—the earliest kings of the Semitic settlers in Babylonia at the time “when there were but few of them and they strangers in the land.”
A literature which so strangely carries us into the past, and which puts us into such close touch with the thought and life of an ancient civilization, naturally commends itself as of the greatest intrinsic interest and value; but after all has been said its supreme importance will be recognized as extrinsic: it throws a new and much-needed light upon the pages of the Old Testament. Less than 100 years ago the Old Testament stood alone as an authentic history of a remote past. Yet it was felt by many a student that its claim to credibility needed the corroboration of contemporaries. This corroboration has seemed all the more necessary as it has become more and more evident that the writing of history was not the province of the Old Testament writers. Their purpose was not to record the history of their people; it was rather to teach spiritual truth, and the historical material they preserved was culled with this evident purpose in view.

Since this is so, it is evident that there is no sphere where there is a more imperative demand for the use of the historical method of study than in the Old Testament. In the past it has been possible to apply it only in a very limited way to the history of the Hebrews; but since the cuneiform literature has given us an insight into the relations of Israel-Judah to the great world-powers of the time, the Empire of the Euphrates and the Empire of the Nile, if we do not learn what it has to teach it will be our own fault. These dominant nations each stood in fear of the other, and either was too strong to make the other safe, and so the history of each became in no small degree a chronic endeavor to weaken the other. Between the two lay Syria-Palestine, the “buffer-state,” and Damascus, Samaria and Jerusalem, continually making combinations or temporary confederacies with their smaller neighbors for mutual protection. Such was the course of the history during the lifetime of the statesman-prophet Isaiah, and his sermons are full of allusions that suggest the situation. But what the Judean prophet only hints at the Assyrian annalist gives with detailed fullness, bringing out the whole history into strong and impressive relief, and we are conscious at once that we have a grasp of the meaning of that history such as would be otherwise unattainable. To concentrate thus into a focus all the light thrown upon the sermons of Isaiah by the monuments will be the aim of our present study. Before we read the records of the great Assyrian kings, it may, however, be well to review the course of events during Isaiah’s lifetime.

**Kings on the Throne during Isaiah’s Activity.**

**In Assyria.**

Tiglath Pileser III. (Pul), 745-727 B.C.
Shalmaneser IV., 727-722.
Sargon II., 722-705.
Sennacherib, 705-681.

Shabak.
Shabatak.
Tirhakah.

**In Egypt.**

The Taylor Prism.

A hexagonal clay cylinder, containing on the second and third sides King Sennacherib’s account of his campaign against Hezekiah, king of Judah.
In Syria.

Benhadad III.

End of the Kingdom of Syria in 732 B.C.

Rezin II.

In Israel.

Menahem, 745-737 B.C.

Pekah, 735-733.

Pekahiah, 737-735.

Hoshea, 733-722.

End of the Kingdom of Israel in 722 B.C.

In Judah.

Uzziah (Azariah), circa 790-740 B.C.

Ahaz (Jehoahaz), 735-715.

Jotham, 740-735.

Hezekiah, 715-686.

IMPORTANT EVENTS DURING ISAIAH'S ACTIVITY.*

740. The Consecration of the Prophet Isaiah [Isaiah vi.]. Tiglath Pileser III. (Pul), King of Assyria [745-727]. Arpad taken by Tiglath Pileser [cf. Isaiah x. 9]. Death of Uzziah of Judah and accession of Jotham [2 Kings xv. 7].

739. Hamath taken by the Assyrians [cf. Isaiah x. 9].

738. Calno (Nippur) taken by the Assyrians [cf. Isaiah x. 9]. Menahem of Israel and Rezin of Syria tribute payers to Assyria [2 Kings xv. 19. Tiglath Pileser's Annals: 'Rawlinson, III, 9, No. 3, 50-57; Rost, 7].

735. Syro-Israelitish alliance formed; desultory raids into Judah. Accession of Ahaz of Judah [2 Kings xv. 38]. The Israelite troops rav-

* A translation of all the Assyrian material here referred to may be found in the pages following, and copies of the original cuneiform inscriptions in: Abel-Winckler, Keilschrifttexte; Botta, Monumenta de Nino; Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestucke; Layard, Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character; Lyon, Keilschrifttexte Sargons; Pinches, The Babylonian Chronicle, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, new series, xix. pt. 4; Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, I.-IV.; Rost, Texte Tiglath Pileser III.; Winckler, Sargon II.
age the Judean territory and carry off many prisoners [2 Chronicles xxviii. 6-8]. Moab and Ammon sympathize with Syria-Israel in the attack upon Judah. The Syrian troops capture Elath, expel the Judeans and restore it to the Edomites [2 Kings xvi. 6; cf. 2 Kings xiv. 22]. The Edomites, who have declared themselves independent of Judah, make raids into her territory [2 Chronicles xxviii. 17]. The Philistines also declare themselves independent, and seize certain cities on Judah’s southern frontier [2 Chronicles xxviii. 18]. The Syrian and Israelite forces joined: The plot of Rezin and Pekah to depose Ahaz and place on the throne a certain Ben-Tabeel [2 Kings xvi. 5; Isaiah vii. 6]. Ahaz calls upon Tiglath Pileser of Assyria for protection from his foes [2 Kings xvi. 7-8; 2 Chronicles xxviii. 16].

734-732. Tiglath Pileser in Syria-Palestine. Syria devastated; Rezin besieged for two years in his capital city Damascus [Layard, 72 and 66; Rost, 12-14]. North Israel overrun; Tiglath Pileser in 734 B.C. “took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor,
and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria" [2 Kings xv. 29; cf. Isaiah ix. 1; Rawlinson, III, 10, No. 2, 12-19]. Moab and Ammon punished, as also the Philistines [Rawlinson, III, 10, No. 2, 19-22]. Tiglath Pileser again in Israel: King Pekah conspired against by his servants; assassinated by an Assyrian sympathizer, Hoshea the son of Elah, who is appointed by Tiglath Pileser to the vacant throne [2 Kings xv. 30. Rawlinson, III, 10, No. 2, 26-30; Layard, 66, 17-19; Rost, 14-37]. The Edomites punished. Samsi, queen of North Arabia, punished for taking part in the rebellion against Assyria [Rawlinson, III, 10, No. 2, 30 seq.; Layard, 72, 16 seq.].

732. Damascus, after a two years' siege, now stripped of her allies, falls. End of the Kingdom of Syria [2 Kings xvi. 9; Isaiah xvii. 1]. Tiglath Pileser's court at Damascus: King Ahaz (Jehoahaz) of Judah among the numerous subject princes who gather there to do him obeisance [2 Kings xvi. 10. The Nimroud Clay Inscription: Rawlinson, II, 67, 57-62].
729. Tiglath Pileser ascends the throne of Babylon under the name of Pul ("Poros" of the Canon of Ptolemy).

727. Accession of Shalmaneser IV. of Assyria.

727. Hoshea of Israel tributary to Assyria [2 Kings xvii. 3]. Hoshea conspires with Shabak (So) of Egypt and with Phœnicia to throw off the Assyrian yoke [2 Kings xvii. 4]. That the Phenicians took part in the revolt is stated by Menander, quoted by Josephus [Antiq. Jud. IX. xiv. 2]. Tyre was besieged for five years by Shalmaneser-Sargon [Isaiah xxiii.; Sargon's Cylinder Inscription, 21: Rawlinson, I, 36; Lyon, 3; Winckler, 43].

724. Shalmaneser falls suddenly upon Hoshea and takes him prisoner. His capital, Samaria, placed under siege [2 Kings xvii. 4, 5].

722. Death of Shalmaneser and accession of Sargon. The Chaldean prince, Merodach Baladan, heads a revolt at Babylon [The Babylonian Chronicle, i. 29-32: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, new series, xix. pt. 4; The Great Khorsabad Inscription, 121-134: Botta, 145 seq., Winckler, 30 seq.]. Fall of Samaria after a three years' siege and end of the Kingdom of Israel; Israelite captives, to the number of 27,290, deported and settled in "Halah, and in Habor, on the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" [2 Kings xvii. 6, 23. The Great Khorsabad Inscription, 23-25: Botta, 145, 1; Winckler, 30. Sargon's Annals, 10-17: Botta, 79 and 70; Winckler, 1]. Later on, in 721, 715, etc., Sargon "brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel" [2 Kings xvii. 24. The Cylinder Inscription, 17-20: Rawlinson, I, 36; Lyon, 3; Winckler, 43].

721. The war with Khumbanigash of Elam [Sargon's Nimroud Stone-Inscription, 7-8: Layard, 33; Winckler, 48. The Great Khorsabad Inscription, 23, 121-134: Botta, 145, 1 seq.; Winckler, 30. The Babylo-
nian Chronicle, i. 33, 37: Journal Royal Asiatic Society, new series, xix. pt. 4.]


717. Expedition against Carchemish.


C. 712. Accession of Shabatak of Egypt. Shabatak tries to incite the princes of Syria-Palestine against Assyria.


710. Sargon defeats Merodach Baladan and enters Babylon [The Great Khorsabad Inscription, 121-134: Botta, 145 seq.; Winckler, 30 seq.].


704. Sennacherib's subjugation of Babylon; Merodach Baladan flees to the swamps of lower Chaldea; Bel-ibni appointed to the throne of
Babylon [The Bellino Cylinder: Layard, 63. The Babylonian Chronicle, ii. 23].

701. Sennacherib's campaign in the West [The Taylor Prism, ii, 34-iii, 29: Rawlinson, I, 38-39; Abel-Winckler, 18; Delitzsch, 114. Compare also the Inscription on the Kouyunjik Bulls: Rawlinson, III, 12, 181 seq. The Nebi Yunus, or Constantinople Inscription, 13-15: Rawlinson, I, 43].

In Phoenicia: Sidon captured and neighboring cities.

The land of Judah devastated, and many cities seized [Isaiah i: 2-31; Jerusalem placed under siege [Isaiah xvii: 12-14]. Sennacherib demands the surrender of the city [Chapters xxxvi. and xxxvii. of Isaiah, inserted from 2 Kings xviii. 13-xix. 37, give two parallel accounts of Sennacherib's demand: xxxvi. 1-xxxvii. 9* 37-38, ending with Tirhakah's supposed approach, and Sennacherib's departure from the West; xxxvii. 9b-36, ending with a pestilence. With the latter compare Herodotus' History, II, 141].

Ashkelon captured and neighboring cities. Panic in Ekron at Sennacherib's approach. The battle near Eltekeh. Panic in Jerusalem; Hezekiah sends his messenger to Lachish to tender his submission [2 Kings xviii. 14-15. The Lachish Bas-relief: Rawlinson, I, 7, I]. Sennacherib called home by the revolt of Bel-ibni at Babylon [cf. Isaiah xxxvii. 7].

700. The subjugation of Babylon; Bel-ibni deposed, and Sennacherib's son, Ashurnadinshum, placed on the throne [The Babylonian Chronicle, ii. 26-30].

681. The assassination of Sennacherib [2 Kings xix. 37; Isaiah xxxvii. 38; 2 Chronicles xxxii. 21. The Babylonian Chronicle, iii. 34-38].
ISAIAH'S SERMONS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

1. VI. Isaiah's Call to the Prophetic Office, 740 B.C.

2. II-IV. Sermons delivered between 740-735. ii: 1 is a general superscription by a later editor; ii: 22 is un-Isaianic; and ii: 2-5 and iv: 2-6 are post-Exilic.

3. V: 1-24; 25; IX: 7 (8)-X: 4; V: 26-30. Sermons delivered at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, 735. Vss. 15-16 are an editorial gloss, and 25 is mainly editorial, as is also ix: 14 (15).

4. VII: 1-16. Isaiah's interview with Ahaz and the "Immanuel" sign, 734. Vs. 15 is an editorial verse, welding this and the following discourse into one; cf. 22b.


7. XVII: 1-11. The Impending Ruin of Syria and Israel, 734. Vss. 7-8 are a later un-Isaianic addition.

8. XXIII. An Utterance on Tyre, c. 725. Vs. 13, editorially recast; 15-18, un-Isaianic and late.

9. XXVIII: 1-6 (a fragment). The Fall of Israel's Capital, 723.


11. XV-XVI. A Pre-Isaianic Utterance on the Defeat of Moab by Jeroboam II of Israel in Uzziah's reign. To this quotation Isaiah adds an epilogue, xvi: 13-14, prophesying Moab's speedy humiliation (by Sargon of Assyria), 712-711.


14. XX. "Thus hath it gone with (Egypt) our expectation," 711.


17. XXIX: 1-14. The Impending Fate of Ariel, 703.


19. XXII: 15-25. A Prophecy against Shebna, the leader of the Egyptian party, before 701. Vss. 24-25 are a later addition.


21. I: 2-31. The Land a Desolation, 701. Vs. 1 is the heading the compiler of i-xxxv put to his book.


23. XVIII. The Anxiety of Ethiopia at the Crisis, 701.


TRANSLATIONS OF SUCH PORTIONS OF THE ASSYRIAN
INSCRIPTIONS AS BEAR UPON ISAIAH'S SERMONS.

TIGLATH PILESER III. 745-727 B.C.

The Annals.

Rawlinson, III, 9, No. 3.

Azariah . . . 24Tribute such as is usual with [Assyria I laid upon them] 25 . . .
26 . . . The city Usnu, the city Siannu, the city [Tsimirra], the city Ka . . . which
are on the shore of the sea, together with the cities . . . as far as Mt. Sau, 27a peak
in the Lebanon range, and which surround Baal-zephon as far as the Amanus range,
the mountains of the oak wood, the land of Sau in its full extent, the territory of the
city Kar-Hadad, etc. 28 . . . Nineteen districts 30 of the city Hamath together with
the cities of their environs bordering on the sea of the setting sun (i.e., Mediterranean),
which in their faithlessness had revolted unto Azariah 31 unto the territory of Assyria
I restored. My generals as satraps over them I appointed.

29Tribute of Kushtashpi of Kummuch, Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria,
31Hirom of Tyre, Sibitti'il of Byblos, Urik of Que (i.e., Cilicia), Pisin of Carchemish,
Enilu 33 of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarkhular of Gamgum, Sulumal of
Melid, Dadilu 34 of Kaska, Uassurme of Tabal, Ushkitti of Tun, Uraballa
of Tukhan, Tukhammi of Ishtund, 35Urimm of Khushimna, Zabibi the queen of
Arabia: gold, silver, lead, iron, elephants' skin, 36parti-colored garments, linen (?),
violet wool, red-purple wool, terebinth (?) wood, oak (?) wood, everything costly, a
royal treasure, fat sheep whose fleeces 37were dyed red-purple, feathered birds of the
heaven whose wings were dyed violet-purple, horses, mules, oxen, sheep, camels,
37she-camels with their young, I received.

Rawlinson, III, 10, No. 2.

12 . . . the city Khatarikka as far as Mt. Sau, 13 . . . the cities Byblos, Tsimirra,
Arqa, Zimarra 14 . . . the cities Usnu, [Siannu], Ri'raba, Ri'sitsu 15 . . . cities on
the shore of the upper sea, I mastered. Six of my generals 16 [as satraps over] them
I appointed. The city Rashpuna on the shore of the upper sea 17 . . . the city Gal'
. . . the city Abilaqqa, which are on the border of the land of Beth-Omri (i.e.,
Israel) 18 [the land of Naphta] li the widespread, throughout its extent unto the
territory of Assyria I annexed. 19 [My generals] as satraps over them I appointed.
Hanno of Gaza 20fled before my arms and escaped· to Egypt. Gaza 21 [I took;
his goods], his treasures, his gods [I carried off] . . . My royal couch 22 . . . in
the midst of the palace [of Hanno I set up], etc. 26 . . . The land of Beth-Omri
27 . . . all of its inhabitants 28 [their goods] to Assyria I deported. Pekah, their king,
they slew and Hoshea 29 [unto the lordship] over them I appointed. Ten talents of
gold, ... talents of silver [their heavy treasure] I received from them. 30 To Assyria I deported them. Samsi, the queen of Arabia ... 31 ... I killed 1,100 people, 30,000 camels, 20,000 oxen ... 32 5,000 bundles (?) of herbs, 11 sacrifice cups (?), the possession of her gods ... 33 Her property I took from her and she herself to save her life ... 34 [to the city] Bazil, a place of thirst, like a wild she-ass ... 35 ... famine overtook the people in the midst of their camp. 36 Before my mighty weapons she bowed and camels and she-camels ... 37 ... before me she brought. An official I placed over her.

Layard, 72 and 66.
Rost, Pl. xxii. and xxiii. pp. 12-14.

1 ... his (i.e., Rezin's) warriors I captured ... I overthrew with my weapons ... 2 ... before him the charioteers and ... their weapons I broke in pieces ... 3 ... their horses I seized ... 4 ... their warriors bearing bows ... 5 ... their shields and spears, with my hand I cast down and their battle-array ... 6 ... As for himself, to save his life, he fled away alone, and ... like a mouse (?) his city gate he entered. His nobles alive [with my hand I seized]; on stakes I hung them up. I subjugated his land. 7 Forty-five soldiers of the camp ... 8 ... The gate of his city I closed, and like...
a bird encaged I shut him in. His parks\textsuperscript{10} . . . . fruit groves innumerable I cut down; a single one I did not leave\textsuperscript{11} . . . . Khadara, the house of the father of Rezin of Damascus\textsuperscript{12}, [the place where] he was born, I besieged, I took. Eight hundred men together with their goods\textsuperscript{13} . . . . their oxen, their sheep, I carried off. Seven hundred and fifty captives of the city Kurust\textsuperscript{14} . . . . [captives] of the city Irma, five hundred and fifty captives of the city Mituna I carried off. \textsuperscript{15} Five hundred and ninety-one cities\textsuperscript{16} . . . . of sixteen districts of Damascus like a deluge I devastated.\textsuperscript{17} . . . . Samsi, the queen of Arabia who the oath of Shamash had violated and . . . . the city . . . . to the city Iza [si] . . . . \textsuperscript{3} from] Arabia in the territory of Sa [ha'] . . . . \textsuperscript{4} in camp . . . . \textsuperscript{5} she feared . . . .

17\textsuperscript{18} [The land of Beth-Omri] all the cities I had [subjected] in my former campaign, and . . . . had annexed [to the territory of Assyria] \textsuperscript{19} . . . . whose . . . . I carried off. Samaria they left alone and their king \textsuperscript{19} [they slew].

\textit{The Nimrud Clay-Inscription.}

Rawlinson II. 67.

[Tribute] of Kushtashpi of Kummukh, Urik of Que, Sibittibi'il of [Byblos]-[En] ilu of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarkhular of Gamgum, Su[lunal of Melid], . . . . [Us] surme of Tabal, Ushkitti of Tun, Urballa of Tukhan, [mi of Ishund] . . . . \textsuperscript{6} [Ma] tanbi'il the Arvadite, Sanipu the Beth-Ammonite, Salmanu the Moabite . . . . [Mi] tinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz of Judah, Qaushmalak of Edom, Mus . . . . [H] anno of Gaza: gold, silver, lead, iron, tin (?), parti-colored
garments, linen (?), the red-purple clothing of their country . . . the product of sea and land, the possession of their country, a royal treasure, horses, mules, the team of a yoke . . . I received.

SARGON II. 722-705 B. C.

_The Babylonian Chronicl_e.

Zeitschrift der Assyriologie 1887, pp. 143 seq.

I.° In the fifth year Shalmaneser died, in the month Tebet. 3° For five years Shalmaneser had ruled over Akkad and Assyria. In the month Tebet, on the twelfth day, Sargon sat on the throne of Assyria, and in the month Nisan, Merodach Baladan sat on the throne of Babylon.

In the second year of Merodach Baladan Khumbanigash, king of Elam, joined battle with Sargon, king of Assyria, in the province of Dur-ili. He defeated the Assyrians and greatly overwhelmed them. Merodach Baladan and his army, who went to the help of the king of Elam, did not take part (?) in the battle; he came afterwards.

_The Great Khorsabad Inscription._

Botta, 145 seq.
Winckler, 30 seq.

From the beginning of my kingship until the fifteenth year of my reign I accomplished the defeat of Khumbanigash, the Elamite, in the suburb of Dur-ili.
Samaria I besieged, I took. Twenty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety of the people dwelling within it I carried off. Fifty chariots in their midst I collected, and the rest I allowed to keep their possessions. My satrap over them I appointed; the tribute of the former king I laid upon them.

Hanno the king of Gaza, with Shabak the tartan of Egypt, had come out against me to the city Raphia to fight and join battle. Their defeat I accomplished. Shabak was afraid of the onset of my weapons and fled, and no trace of him was seen. Hanno the king of Gaza I took prisoner. The tribute of Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, Samsi the queen of Arabia, It'amara the Sabaeans, gold, the products of the mountains, horses, camels, I received.

Kiakki of Shinukhtu, who had thrown off the yoke of (the god) Ashur and had withheld his gift, together with thirty of his chariots and seven thousand three hundred and fifty warriors, I counted as booty. Shinukhtu, the city of his royalty, I gave to Matti of Tun, added horses and mules to his former tribute and laid it upon him. To Amris of Tabal, whom I had placed on the throne of Khulli his father, I had given my daughter together with the land of Cilicia (Khilakki) a territory which had not belonged to his father; and had [thus] increased his domain. But he did not remain faithful, and sent a messenger to Ursa of Urartu and Mita, king of Muski, who plundered my territory. Amris together with the males, the offspring of
his family, the nobles of his land, together with a hundred of his chariots, I carried off to Assyria. Assyrians who feared my lordship I settled there; my official as governor over them I appointed and laid tribute upon them.

Jaubidi (also called Ilubiidi) the Hamathite, a .... man, not an heir of the throne, a wicked Hittite, set his heart on the royalty of Hamath, and incited Arpad, Tsimirra, Damascus, and Samaria to revolt from me. He confederated them and marshalled them to the battle. The mighty host of the god Ashur I summoned. I besieged him together with his troops within his favorite city Karkar. I took it, and burned Karkar with fire. As for himself, I flayed him; I put to death the rebels in those cities, and I established peace. Two hundred chariots, six hundred riding horses among the inhabitants of Hamath I collected and added to my royal army.

Azuri, the king of Ashdod, plotted in his heart not to render tribute, and summoned the kings of his neighborhood to rebellion against Assyria. Because of the wrong he had done, his lordship over the people of his neighborhood I changed.

Akhimit, his twin brother, unto the lordship over them I appointed. The Hittites, plotting revolt, resisted his rule, and enthroned over themselves Jaman, not an heir of the throne, who, like themselves, the fear of my lordship did not know. In the rage of my heart all of my troops I did not collect; I did not gather together my camp. With my warriors who had left my side in no salmu against Ashdod I marched. And he, Jaman, heard of the advance of my expedition from afar, and fled unto the border of Egypt by the side of Melukh*; not a trace of him was seen. Ashdod, Gath, Ashdudim, I besieged, I took. His gods, his wife, his sons, his daughters, goods, property, the treasures of his palace, together with the people of his land, I counted as booty. Those cities I took anew. The people of the lands captured by my hand which are in .... of the rising of the sun I caused to dwell therein. [My satrap I appointed over them and] with the people of Assyria I counted them and they bear my yoke.

The king of Melukh who in .... an unapproachable place, a way of .... —

* The "salt" desert between the frontier of Egypt and the southern border of Palestine.
whose fathers from distant days the oath of Nannaru [had violated], to the kings 
your fathers had not sent their envoys to ask for peace,—[heard] from afar of the 
might of Ashur, Nebo, Merodach. The fear of the splendor of my lordship over-
powered him and terror overwhelmed him. Into chains, bonds, fetters of iron he 
cast him (i.e., Jaman) and to the midst of Assyria, a way of . . . . into my presence 
they brought him.

... Merodach-Baladan the son of Jakin, king of Chaldaea, a zir nirti hiris? a wicked demon, who did not fear the name of the lord of lords, trusted to 
the “Saltwater.” (i.e., the Persian Gulf), the swelling flood, violated the ordi-
nances of the great gods and held back his gift. He had summoned Khum-
banigash the Elamite to his aid, had made all the Suti, nomad people, disloyal to 
me, had prepared for battle and had descended into Sumer and Akkad. Twelve 
years against the will of the gods, he held Babylon in his power and ruled it. By 
command of Ashur, the father of the gods, and of Merodach, I got my span ready 
for battle and collected my forces. I gave orders to march against the hostile, 
rebellious Chaldaeans. But he, Merodach-Baladan, when he heard of my advance, 
fear for his life came over him. He fled from Babylon to Ikbi-Bel, like a sudinnu-
bird (i.e., a bird that nests in crevices) at night. His cities, the inhabitants and 
the gods who dwell therein, he assembled to one place and brought them to Dur-Jakin. 
And he strengthened its fortifications and assembled people of the Gambulu, the 
Puqudu, the Damunu, the Ru’a, the Khindaru, and put them therein. He sum-
moned to arms and pitched camp before its (i.e., Dur-Jakin’s) main wall.

Two hundred cubits he made the length of the moat he made it eighteen cubits deep, so that he struck water. He dug a conduit from the 
Euphrates and drew off its water; he made it flow around the city, filled 
the battle-ground with water and destroyed the bridges. He himself to-
gether with his auxiliaries, his soldiers, pitched his royal tent in the midst of the 
streams like a tushmi-bird (pelican?) and got ready his camp. I let my warriors fly 
like eagles over his streams. They defeated him and dyed the water of his 
streams with the blood of his warriors like crimson wool.

The Suti, his allies, who had come to his help, together with the Marshanai, I slaughtered like lambs, 
and sprinkled the other rebels with deadly poison. But he himself left his royal 
tent, the golden couch, the golden chair, the golden sceptre and his necklace behind 
in his camp and escaped alone. Like a shurani (some sort of an animal) he hast-
ened to [get] near the wall of his city. The city Dur-Jakin I besieged and con-
quered. . . . Himself together with his wife, his sons, daughters, gold, silver, prop-
erty, the treasures of his palace, as much as was there, together with the rich booty 
of his city, and the others of his rebellious subjects, who had fled before my 
weapons, I brought together to one place and counted as booty. Dur-Jakin 
the fortress I burned, I destroyed and laid waste its high fortifications, tore out its 
foundations and made it like a ruin.

While I was accomplishing the overthrow of Dur-Jakin and the invasion of 
the Arime, and I turned my arms against the land of Jatburi on the border of Elam, 
my official,* the governor of Que, who [m] Mita of Muski with three of his 
districts . . . . went and destroyed his cities, laid waste and burnt, and carried off rich 
booty.

The whole of his large domain I divided into equal parts and gave into the 
hands of my officers, the satraps of Babylon and Gambulu, and laid the yoke of 
Ashur upon them.

*Cf. Annals 1. 372 "‘my appointee, the governor of Que (Cilicia).’’
I.33 Jaubi'di . . . together with his family, his warriors, the booty of his land, in chains I [carried off] to Assyria.

Inscription on a Statue.
Botta, 180.

Jaubi'di, his skin I drew off.

The Nimroud Stone-Inscription.
Layard, 33.
Winckler, 48.

The exalted prince, who fought in the suburb of Dur-ilu with Khumbanigash, the king of Elam, and accomplished his defeat,—the subjector of Judah, whose location is remote, the depopulator of Hamath, he whose hands captured their king Jaubi'di.

The Annals.
Botta, 70, 71, 79.
Winckler, 1, 2.

15 At the beginning of my kingship, in the first year of my reign . . . . . Sama-
ria I besieged, I took (two lines lost). 15 Twenty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety of the people dwelling within it I carried off. Fifty chariots, as my royal force, in their midst I collected . . . . The people of the lands, captured by my hands, in its (i. e., Samaria's) midst I settled. My general I appointed over them as satrap; and tribute, a gift such as is usual with Assyria, I laid upon them. 15 In the second year of my reign Ilubi'di (called Jaubi'di in the Khorsabad Inscription) . . . . . assembled his numerous [troops] at Karkar. The oath . . . . . Arpad, Tsimirra, Damascus, Samaria [he incited to revolt from me] (some thirty or more signs have been lost here). Shabak (Sib'u) called his tartan to his aid. To fight and join battle he came out against me. In the name of Ashur, my lord, his defeat I accomplished. Shabak, like a shepherd robbed of his sheep, fled away alone and made his escape. 15 Hanno with my hand I seized and led him bound to my city Ashur. Raphia I laid waste, I destroyed, I burned with fire. Nine thousand and thirty-three men together with their great treasure I carried off.

94 . . . . . of the land Que which Mitā the king of Muski had taken away, I captured, I carried off its booty. The peoples Tamud, [Iba]did, Marsima, Khaiap, the far-off Arbai who inhabit the deserts, whom no wise nor learned
man knew, who had paid no (?) king their tribute, with the help of Ashur my lord I defeated them and their remnant I carried off and settled in Samaria. From Pharaoh, king of Egypt, Samsi, queen of Arabia, It'amra the Sabaeans, the kings of the coast-lands] and the desert, I received gold, mountain-herbs (perhaps "products of the mountains"), precious stones, ivory, ushu-seed, spices of every sort, horses, camels as their tribute. Mita, king of Muski, in his territory I accomplished [his defeat]. The cities of Charrua and Ushnanis, fortresses of the land Que, which he had long before subdued by force, I restored.

*The Cylinder Inscription.*

Rawlinson, I, 36.

Lyon, 3.

Winckler, 43.

The exalted prince, who fought in the suburb of Dur-ilu, etc. . . . . the overthrower of the widespread land of Beth-Omri (i.e., Israel), who at Raphia accomplished the overthrow of Egypt and carried off Hanno, the king of Gaza, his prisoner to Assyria. **The capturer of the people of Tamud, Ibadid, Marsiman, Khiaip, the remainder of whom were deported and whom he settled in the land of Beth-Omri.** **The one mighty in battle, who drew the Jamnian out of the midst of the sea (sandakish?) like a fish and pacified Que and Tyre.**

*A Prism Fragment.*

Winckler, 45.

In the ninth year of my reign . . . Azuri the king of Ashdod . . . in order to . . . from . . . Akhimit . . . . his twin brother, unto the lordship over them I had appointed . . . The wicked, in . . . not to render tribute . . . plotted . . . their ruler . . . Jaman, a soldier, unto the lordship over them [on the throne] of his king they placed.

The people of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab, dwelling by the sea, bringing tribute and presents to Ashur, my lord, who plotted seditions without number and treason, who to incite him against me unto Pharaoh, king of Egypt, a prince who could not save them (?) carried and besought his alliance, . . . . —I, Sargon, the legitimate prince, the reverer of the oath of Nebo and Merodach, the protector of the name of Ashur, had the flower of my troops cross the Tigris and Euphrates at their flood, with lightning rapidity.

*The Annals of Hall XIV.*

Winckler, 26, and 27.

Botta, 159a and 160b.

Jaman of Ashdod was afraid of my weapons. His wife, his sons, his daughters the deserted and fled unto the border of Egypt by the side of Melukh and like a sharraku dwelt there. Over all of his widespread land and subject peoples my officer I appointed as satrap and extended the rule of Ashur, the king of the gods. The king of Melukh the splendor of Ashur overpowered and he cast him hand and foot into fetters of iron and to the midst of Assyria into my presence he sent him. . . . I plundered Shinukhtu, Samaria, and the whole land of Beth-Omri. The Jamnians, who dwelt in the midst of the sea of the setting sun, I caught like fishes and I uprooted Kasku, Tabal, Khilakku, drove out Mita the king of Muski. In Raphia I accomplished the defeat of Egypt and took Hanno of Gaza prisoner. I subdued seven kings of Jatnana which lies a distance of
seven days’ journey in the midst of the sea of the setting sun; and Merodach-Baladan, the king of Chaldaea who dwelt on the shore of the “salt water” (salt sea), who had reigned over Babylon against the will of the gods, my strong hands captured.

Sennacherib, 705–681 B.C.

The Bellinn Cylindrical.

Layard, 63.

In the beginning of my reign I defeated Merodach Baladan, the king of Kardunias, along with the troops of Elam, in the environs of the city Kis. In the midst of the battle he abandoned his baggage and fled away alone. He escaped to the land of Guzumman; he hid in the marshes and reeds and thus saved his life. The chariots, wagons, horses, mules, asses, camels and dromedaries, which he had left upon the field of battle, my hand seized as booty. With joy I entered his palace in Babylon.

Bel-ibni, a Chaldaean, a scion of Babylon, who had been reared in my palace like a pet dog, I appointed to be ruler over Sumer and Akkad.

The Taylor Prism.*

Rawlinson, I, 38 seq.

Abel-Winckler, 18 seq.

Delitzsch, 114 seq.

In my third campaign I marched to the land of the Hittites.† Elulaeus, the king of Sidon, the fear of the splendor of my lordship overwhelmed him and he fled to a distance in the midst of the sea and I took possession of his land. Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Sarepta, Makhalliba, Eshu, Ekdippa, Akko, his powerful cities, fortresses, pastures and cisterns [and] his fortifications, the power of the arms of Ashur, my lord, overcame and they submitted to me. Ethobal upon the royal throne I placed over them; and the payment of the tribute of my lordship yearly without cessation I laid upon him. Menahem of Samsimuruna, Ethobal of Sidon, Abdilliti of Arvad, Urumilkii of Byblos, Mitinti of Ashdod, Buduilu of Beth-Ammon, Kammasunadab of Moab, Malik-rammu of Edom—all the kings of the West-land, extensive regions—brought their heavy gifts, together with merchandise, before me and kissed my feet.

*Compare the parallel, though somewhat abridged, inscription on the Kouyunjik Bulls, Rawlinson, III, 12, 18 seq.

†At this time “the land of the Hittites” was used generically, signifying Syria in general.
And Tsidqa (Zedek) the king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke: his family gods, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the seed of the house of his father, I brought out, and I carried them off to Assyria. Sharruludari, the son of Rukiti, their former king, I placed over the people of Ashkelon, and the payment of the tribute, tokens of submission to my lordship, I imposed upon him and he bore my yoke. In the course of my campaign Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Beni-berak, Azuru,—the cities of Tsidqa which had not submitted to me promptly,—I besieged, I took, I carried off their spoil.

The governors, the princes and the people of Ekron, who Padi, their king, bound to Assyria by treaty and oath, had cast into chains of iron and in a hostile manner had delivered him to Hezekiah of Judah—he shut him up in prison—feared in their hearts. The kings of Egypt summoned the bowmen, the chariots, the horses of the king of Melukh, a force without number, and they came to their aid. In the environs of the city Eltekeh they drew up before me their battle-array, appealing to their weapons. In reliance upon Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and accomplished their defeat. The chief of the chariots and the sons of the Egyptian king together with the chief of the chariots of the king of Melukh my hands captured alive in the midst of the battle. Eltekeh (and) Timnath I besieged, I took, I carried off their spoil. I drew near to Ekron. The governors (and) princes who had committed sin, I put to death; on stakes around the city I hung their dead bodies. The inhabitants of the city who had committed sin and evil deeds I counted as spoil; to the rest of them who had not committed sin and wrong, who were guiltless, I proclaimed amnesty. Padi their king I brought forth from Jerusalem; upon the throne of lordship over them I placed him. The tribute of my lordship I laid upon him.

But Hezekiah of Judah who had not submitted to my yoke: forty-six of his strong cities, fortresses, and innumerable small towns of their environs, by laying low the ramparts and by an attack of my battering-rams, by an assault of the light-armoured soldiers, by breaches, by slaughter and by axes I besieged, I took. Two hundred thousand, one hundred and fifty men, young, old, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep without number, from their midst I brought forth and counted as spoil. As for himself, like a caged bird within Jerusalem, his royal city, I shut him up. The towers against him I fortified and whosoever came forth from the gates of his city I turned back. His cities which I had plundered, I cut off from his land, and to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, to Padi, king of Ekron, and to Tsil-Bal, king of Gaza, I gave them, and I reduced the
size of his land. In addition to the former tribute, the yield of their land, the tribute due to my lordship I added and laid upon them. As for Hezekiah himself, the fear of the splendor of my lordship overwhelmed him and he sent after me the Urbi and his other faithful warriors whom as a defence for Jerusalem, his royal city he had brought in and to whom he had granted pay (?), together with thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, precious stones, brilliant daggasi (?), large lapis lazuli, couches of ivory, stationary thrones of ivory, elephants' skin, terebinth (?), wood, oak (?) wood, of every kind, a heavy treasure, and his daughters, the women of his palace, the male musicians (?) and female musicians (?), to Nineveh, the city of my lordship. He sent his ambassador to give tribute and do obeisance.

The Nebi Yunus or Constantinople Inscription.
Rawlinson, 1, 43.

Elulaeus, the king of Sidon, I removed from his kingship. On his throne I placed Erhobal, and the tribute of my lordship I laid upon him. The widespread territory of Judah, whose king is Hezekiah, I made subject.

The Lachish Bas-Relief Inscription. (See opposite page.)
Rawlinson, 1, 7.

Sennacherib, the king of the world, the king of Assyria, seats himself on a throne and causes the spoil of the city Lachish to pass before him.

25
II.17 Merodach Baladan ....... 18 went forth. Sennacherib ........ 19 the Babylonians he afflicted ........ 20 he increased. Merodach Baladan ........ 21 the plunder of his country he carried off and ........ 22 Larancha and Sarraba ........ 23 then he captured. He seated Bel-ibni on the throne of Babylon.

... 24 In the third year of Bel-ibni, Sennacherib 25 descended to Akkad and carried off the spoil of Akkad. 26 Bel-ibni and his nobles were deported to Assyria. 27 For three years Bel-ibni had ruled over Babylon. 28 Sennacherib seated his son Ashur-nadin-shum 29 on the throne of Babylon.

30 Afterwards Khallushu king of Elam 31 went to Akkad and went down to Sippara. 32 He killed the people, etc. 33 Ashur-nadin-shum was captured and led away to Elam. 34 Ashur-nadin-shum had ruled Babylon six years. 35 The king of Elam set Nergal-ushezib on the throne 36 in Babylon, etc. III. 37 On the seventh day of Tisri in the province of Nippur 38 he (Nergal-ushezib) made battle with the Assyrians and was captured in the fight, and 39 taken to Assyria. For one year and six months Nergal-ushezib 40 had ruled Babylon. 41 Mushezib-Marduk sat on the throne in Babylon.

42 In a year unknown, Menanu gathered the army of Elam and Akkad and in the city Khalula battle with Assyria 43 he made and accomplished the overthrow of Assyria. In the fourth year of Mushezib-Marduk, the fifteenth day of Nisan, 44 Menanu, king of Elam, plotted (?) against him and 45 his command he took away and annihilated (?) his authority. 46 In the month Kislev, the first day, he took the city; Mushezib-Marduk 47 was captured, etc. 48 For four years Mushezib-Marduk had ruled Babylon.

49 In the eighth year ... [there was no king] in Babylon. 50 On the twentieth day of Tebet, Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, 51 his son in an insurrection killed him. For twenty-three years Sennacherib 52 had ruled over Assyria. From the twentieth day of Tebet 53 until the second day of Adar the insurrection in Assyria continued. 54 On the eighth day of Adar, Esarhaddon, his son, ascended the throne of Assyria.