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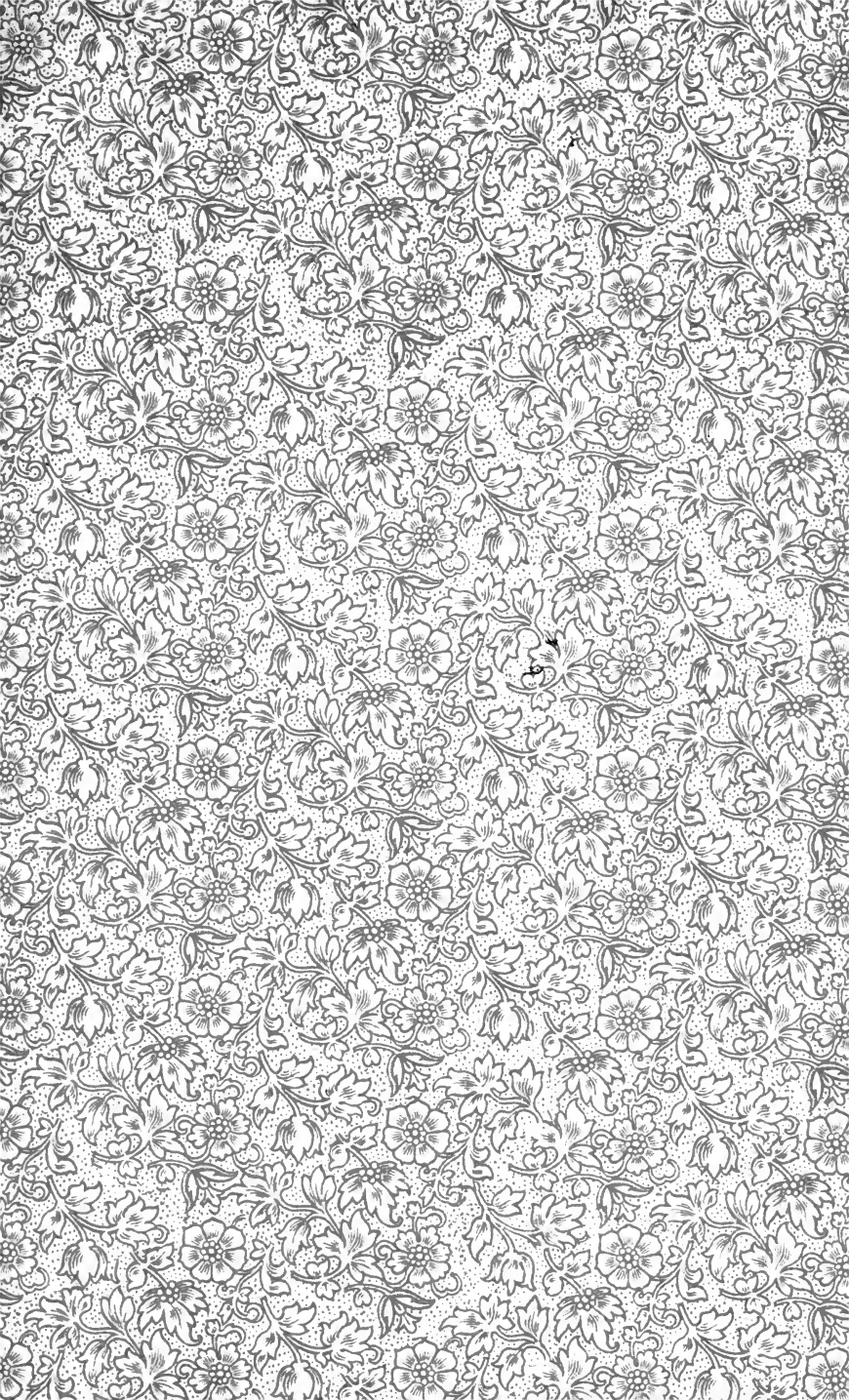
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# Sennacherib's Campaign

IN

Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine,

ACCORDING TO

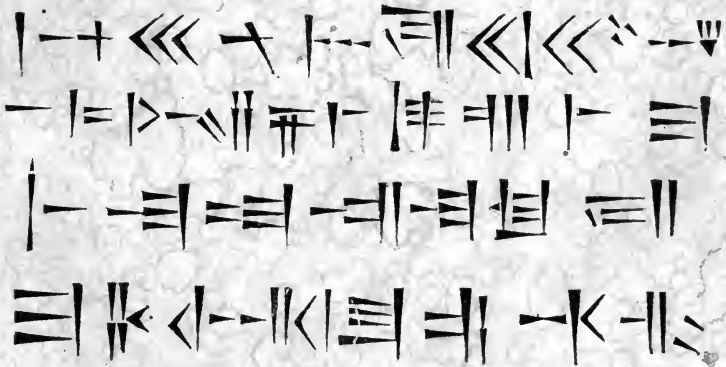
HIS OWN ANNALS.

ASSYRIAN TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION, TO-  
GETHER WITH PHILOLOGICAL AND  
HISTORICAL NOTES,

BY

HENRY GUSTAVUS KIEME,

Theologiæ ac Philologiæ Sacræ Studiosus.



LACHISH INSCRIPTION.







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DISSERTATIO ACADEMICA PRO A. M. HONORIBUS.



*SAN FRANCISCO:*

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TO

W. A. SCOTT, D.D., LL.D.,

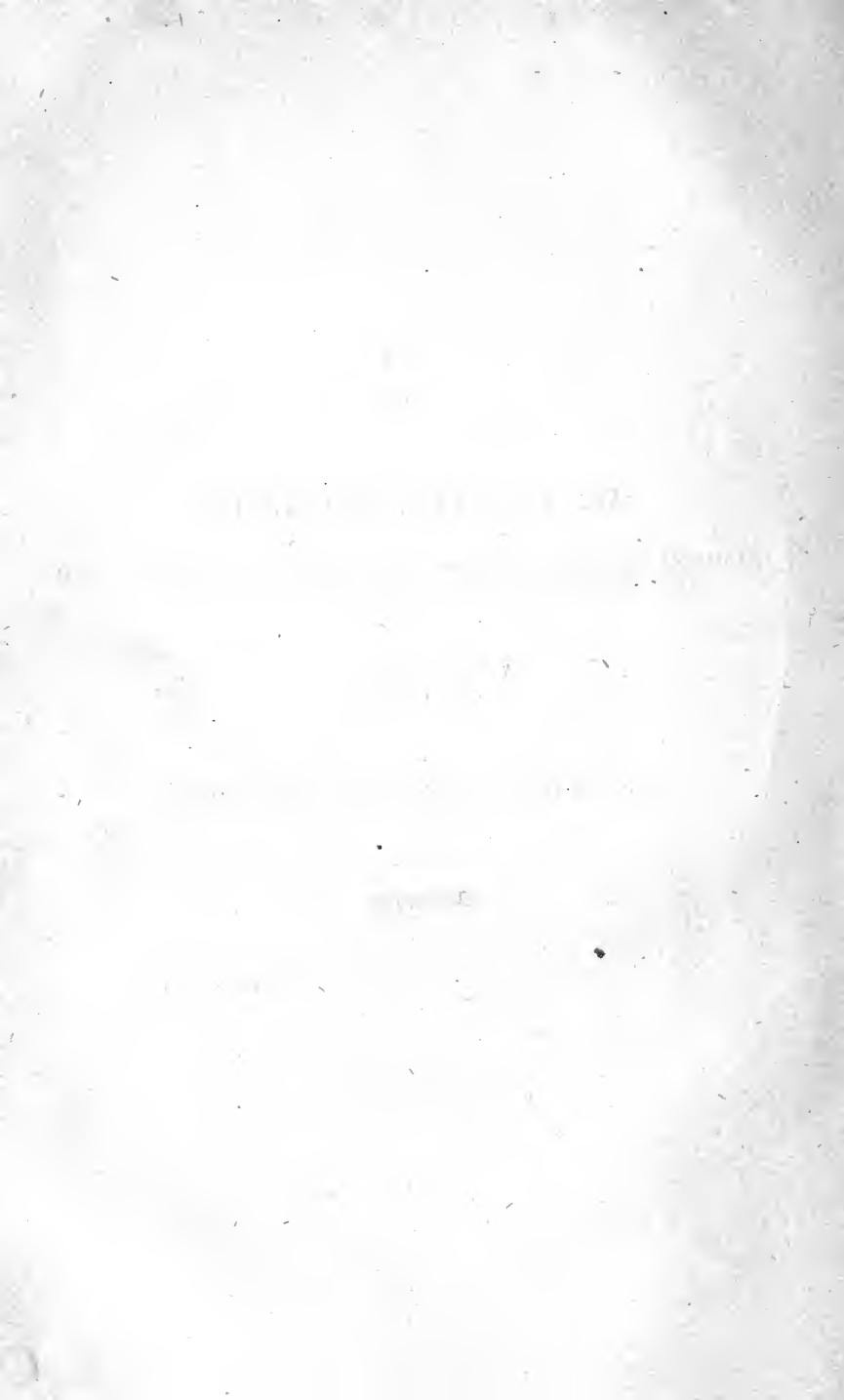
PRESIDENT OF THE SAN FRANCISCO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AND  
PROFESSOR OF SYSTEMATIC AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY,

ETC., ETC.,

AS A MARK OF LOVE AND GRATITUDE,

*Dedicated,*

By H. G. K.



## INTRODUCTION.

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OURS is an age of great mental activity and research. In whatever direction we may turn our eyes, we see the vestiges of the acuteness, profundity, and energy of man's mind. The narrow limits of old sciences have been widened and enlarged, new branches of learning discovered and created, theoretical knowledge made practical, the dark depths of the wide ocean, and the lofty heights of the snowy mountain, the mysterious distances of the astral regions, and the hidden bowels of our own planet, have been searched, with equal vigor, with equal success. Especially in the domain of history, archæology, and philology, remarkable progress has been made during these last fifty years. Not only the strange hieroglyphs of the ancient Egypt, and the intricate cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, have been deciphered and explained; but likewise the oldest written remains of Phœnicia and Arabia, of Cyprus and Troja, of Carthage and Etruria, have been dug out, and studied, and read, and their records made available, and I trust, that not many years hence, even those mysterious signs upon the well-known stones of Hamath will disclose to us their thus far hidden meanings.

Before giving the following pages to the public, I will say a word or two with regard to the occasion, to the reason why I have launched this little *brochure* upon the fickle waves of the critical ocean ; and then a few short remarks concerning the graphic, written, characters and the language of the Assyrians, which, after an interval of more than three thousand years, after a long sleep of oblivion, comes again in notoriety.

In the first place, the study of the Revealed Word of God, to which I have given my mind and my time, draws from year to year more subject-matter into its sphere ; the critical *apparatus* to the Sacred Writings accumulates in remarkably great dimensions. It is impossible that a theologian now-a-days can compass with equal exactness and thoroughness all the subdivisions of theological learning. The work must be *divided*. Sacred philology, an important part of theological training, especially now, when subtle objections so often are thrown in the way of orthodox, faithful *exegetis*, is considerably enlarged. Not only Latin, Greek, and Hebrew are expected to be mastered by the well-informed theologian, but also *Assyrian* and *Egyptian* soon will constitute an acknowledged, important part of theological science. Those of my fellow-students in theological Seminaries or Divinity schools, who have received from their Creator the gifts and the inclinations toward the study of sacred philology, should by all means cultivate them, for the true, ultimate result of these studies will certainly contribute towards the establishing of the supreme authority of the Sacred Scriptures, and thus to the glory of God ; and the *quicker* and *readier* those of our ministers and students, who have not yet been tainted with the subtle rational-

istic poison of England, France, and Germany, take part in these interesting and important studies, so much the better. For none of the original discoverers and decipherers, neither Rawlinson nor Oppert, neither Schrader nor Sayce, who are now successfully popularizing Assyriology and its results, of course in their fashion, can be charged with too great bias towards the Holy Scriptures.<sup>1</sup> I am now far from claiming the necessary philological learning for the taking up and successful carrying on of Assyrian studies—on the contrary, I must confess that I am only a *tyro* thus far in the domains of Semitic languages, for neither leisure, nor the necessary books and publications, have been at my disposal.<sup>2</sup> *Gesenius' Thesaurus Philologicus*, *Ewald's Hebrew Grammar* (8 edit.), *Wright's Arabic*, *Hoffmann's Syriac*, *Dillmann's Ethiopic*, together with *Fürst's Aramaeischen Lehrgebäude*, and *Schrader's* and *Sayce's Assyrian Grammars*, have been my only helps in Semitic studies.<sup>3</sup> I trust, that in the future, D. V., I will have more leisure and more means to carry on Old Testament philology. There is no doubt whatsoever, that Assyriology soon will become a good and sharp weapon in the hands of the wise and judicious Christian Apologists, and together with Egyptology, rightfully used, may be of the greatest profitableness and advantage in the present spirited war against all kinds of unbelief and misbelief.

<sup>1</sup> See Princeton Review, 1874, page 397. Remarks by Dr. Green.

<sup>2</sup> Deficiente pecu—deficit omne—nia.

<sup>3</sup> I must not forget to mention, that I have made also good use of Walton's Polyglot Bible, and Castell's Heptaglot Dictionary; the very *pearl* among the excellent books which Dr. Burrowes has donated to the San Francisco Theological Seminary.

Secondly, I may be permitted to make a few remarks on cuneiform writings and the languages written in these characters, for those of my *lectores benevoli* who have not had an occasion to acquaint themselves with the facts of the discovery, explanation, etc., of cuneiform inscriptions.

It was as early as 1842 that *M. Botta*, at that time French Consul at Mosul, on the river Tigris, discovered the first traces of Assyrian remains underneath the great mound called by the Arabs *Kouyyunjick*, opposite Mosul; afterwards, not being as successful in his excavations as he expected, he shifted the locality of his operations to a place about fourteen miles distant from Kouyyunjick, called *Khorasabad*. In 1845, *Mr. Layard* commenced similar operations at the supposed site of the ancient *Nineveh*; what his results have been is generally known, for the accounts of his excavations, laid down in a masterly manner in his various books, have been accessible to the people also of America, by the fact that the books were republished here and sold considerably cheaper than in England. From that time, expeditions have been repeatedly undertaken, mostly by French and English scholars, all of which were crowned with the most remarkable success. The last investigations have been made by that eminent and sagacious Assyrian scholar, *George Smith*, of the British Museum.\*

An immense number of baked clay tablets, of terracotta cylinders, and burnt bricks, covered to a great extent with minute writings in a wedge-shaped manner,

\* The narrative of his various expeditions has just been published in England, but I have only in the latter part of this *brochure* been able to make use of his interesting book.



have been dug out. sometimes, unfortunately, in a mutilated condition. These have been taken to London and Paris, where in leisure they have been copied, studied, and read. Especially rich in Assyrian remains is the *British Museum* in London and the *Louvre* in Paris. It is true that we cannot read this cuneiform writings with such an exactitude and correctness as we might wish, and it is equally true that there still remains a great deal to be done ; but on the whole, the claims of Assyriology, as an established branch of *Oriental Philology*, cannot be doubted nor disputed.

Three kinds of cuneiform writings have so far been discovered, the first and the simplest of which is called the *Persian*. The initial steps towards the explanation of this kind were taken by Professor *Grotefend* in Göttingen, as early as 1802. He was soon followed in this kind of research by a host of distinguished English, French, and German *savants* ; who, by hard and intense work, finally succeeded in settling conclusively the meanings of the different characters. It was found that the writing is a purely alphabetic one, consisting of about forty characters. The language is called *Old Persian*, belongs to the great *Indo-European* family, and is very closely related to the Sanscrit. The inscriptions which we possess in this language are the great Darius inscription of *Behistûn*, besides smaller ones of Cyrus, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and a few more Persian kings.<sup>4</sup>

The second class is the so-called *Median*. Especially Westergard, Norris, Holzmann, and Mordtmann have done great service in settling the relative value of the

<sup>4</sup> See : Fr. Spiegel : Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften, Leipzig, 1862, who gives text, translation, grammar, and glossary.

characters, (about 400), all of which denote a consonant with inherent vowel, for instance, *ap*, *er ik*, *su*, etc. The language is *Turanian* or *Ural-Altaiic*, and closely allied to Turkish, Finnish, or Baskish.<sup>5</sup> These two classes have no interest for Biblical scholars, only history and philology derive advantage from their being explained.


The third kind, which alone deserves our notice, is the so-called *Assyrian* and *Babylonian*, very complicated, consisting of more than 400 signs, which denote not only syllables, but also whole words; besides simple syllables, numerous ideograms, polyphones, and homophones, are found indiscriminately used with the greatest freedom, so that a word of three syllables may be written with an ideogram, a simple syllable, and a polyphone.

The language of Assyria and Babylonia is purely *Semitic*, with an underlying Turanian stratum, called now by cuneiform scholars generally *Accadian*,<sup>6</sup> in

<sup>5</sup> The best article on the so-called second kind of cuneiform inscription is found in *Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.* vol. 26, by Dr. A. D. Mordtmann: "Entzifferung und Erklärung der Armenischen Keilinschriften von Van und der Umgegend."

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Halévy, the eminent Semitic scholar of Paris, read not long ago a paper before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, on the Pseudo-Turanians of Babylon, in which he denies *in toto* the existence of an Arcadian language unconnected with the Semitic dialects of Assyria and Babylon. Mr. Halévy sums up against the theory which ascribes the invention of the cuneiform alphabet to the Turanians, and treats the admission of a Turanian foundation for the civilization of the Assyro-Babylonians as a gratuitous hypothesis, fraught with serious danger to the progress of all historical and philological studies. We may soon expect an answer from either J. Oppert or E. Schrader; I for one believe that Mr. Halévy is liable to err just as well as his learned co-religionist and co-semitist did some years ago. I mean E. Rénan. *Acad. of Dec.* 19, 1874.

which language the oldest records, exclusively in Babylon, have been found. The general adopted opinion is, that the early Babylonians, a *non-Semitic* race, were the inventors of this kind of writing, which was in the first place purely *hieroglyphic*, *i. e.*, a picture-writing such as the ancient Egyptians had, but which in the course of time simplified itself into the so-called *proto-chaldean*, then in the common Assyrian, till at last, in the times of Darius, the syllabic and ideographic characters of Assyria were still more simplified and reduced to the alphabetic system of Persia. For instance, the generally used ideograph for "God" (Ass. *ilu*, hebr.

אל), is this:  three arrows, two horizontal and

a perpendicular one; now in the archæic form it consisted of four arrows, in the form of a star laid together,

thus, . In this picture of a star we see plain-

ly the early symbol of the Deity. I do not doubt that the worship of the heavenly bodies, sun, moon, and stars, was the first established form of idolatry, and in fact always has been among the descendents of Sem, with the only exception of the Hebrews.

The language of Assyria, as already said, is purely Semitic, the roots being, like in the Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, etc., *triliteral*, for instance, *nadan*, נתן, to *give*, *bana*, בנה, to *build*, *sama*, שמע, to *hear*, *halak*, הלך, to *go*, *mala*, מלא, to *fill*, etc. Analogous to other Semitic languages various conjugations are derived from these triliteral verbal roots: *Kal*, *Iftaal*, *Pael*, *Iftaal*, *Shapel*, *Ishtafal*, etc., still the number of these forms is less than in the more developed Arabic. The inflection is

done mostly by changing the vowel inside the root, or by affixes and suffixes, or by adding a fourth characteristic consonant, for instance, "l" in the precativè, *n*, *t*, etc. Besides the two main Semitic tenses, Perfect and Imperfect, Assyrian possesses a so-called *Permansive*<sup>7</sup>, a Precative, Imperative, Participle, and Infinitive.

In order to become fully convinced of the Semitic character of the Assyrian language, we need only consider the *lexical* contents:<sup>8</sup> With the exception of a few words remaining from the archæic Turanian which were taken over together with the graphic characters, all the roots of Assyrian may be found either in the dictionaries of Hebrew and Syriac, or of Arabic and Ethiopic. It is not the place to dwell in extenso upon the remarkable manner, the acute and ingenious process, by which learned men have reached such wonderful results. I only can refer here to the popular accounts given from time to time by such men as Sir H. Rawlinson, Talbot, Smith, Sayce, and others in various periodicals, especially in the "London Athenæum," or to the most excellent papers of our esteemed Princeton Professor, *W. H. Green*, in the "Princeton Review," (Nos. 81, 84, 89) some of which undoubtedly will be accessible to those who desire to know more about this greatest of all literary feats of the nineteenth century.

Upon the following pages I give first the small in-

<sup>7</sup> See : Dr. Schrader in Zeitschrift d. D. M. G. XXVI. p. 266. Sayce : Ass. Gr., p. 52. Hinks in J. of R. A. S., 1866, p. 480. At the meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists last year, in London, *Rev. G. C. Geldart* read a paper on "Dr. Hink's Permansive Tense in the Assyrian Verb." I hope soon to hear more of his paper ; see Acad. No. 124, p 328. This Permansive is not yet clear to me ; I think it is *adhuc sub judice lis*.

<sup>8</sup> Still, it is true that the main argument for the relationship of a language is the *grammar*.

scription, found over a *bas-relief*, representing King *Sennacherib* sitting upon a throne and receiving Hebrew captives. Secondly, I have quoted a few lines from an inscription, generally called the inscription of Constantinople, in which the submission of King Hezekiah shortly is mentioned. It is found printed in Rawlinson's *Inscr. of W. A.*, Vol. I, pl. 43, 15, the preceding one in the same volume, pl. 7. Thirdly, there may be found a part of an inscription of Sennacherib, discovered upon a hexagonal terra-cotta cylinder, called after its first owner the Taylor cylinder. The original in cuneiform characters is lithographed in the first volume of the great London publication, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Norris, and after the last named scholar's death, by Geo. Smith. Three volumes of this excellent folio-work, a very treasure-house for Assyriologists, have already been published, and the fourth is expected to be ready by this time. Of this large inscription of Sennacherib, which records us the first eight expeditions of this monarch, I have given, of course, only that portion which has reference to Syria and Palestine, Bible-lands in the narrower sense. There exists also a parallel-inscription to the latter one, published by Rawlinson under the name of the *Bellino inscription of Kouyyunjick* in vol. III, 12, 13, which is somewhat shorter. I have not quoted it.

The transcription in Roman characters is given after Dr. Schrader: "Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament," p. 170 *seq.*, but since Americans are perhaps more used to that system of transcription used in England, I have made the necessary changes, substituting the alphabet used by Sayce and given in his *Ass. Gr.*, p.

25, with the exception of Ayin and Yodh.\* Nevertheless, I must confess that I greatly prefer the German system, because it avoids the use of two letters for one Semitic one, by ingeniously making use of diacritical points above and underneath the character. After the Assyrian text is found a literal English translation, made also after the German of E. Schrader; but in the notes following the text I mention also the *Variæ Lectiones* of Fox Talbot, as given in the neat little volume, "*Records of the Past*," London, Bagster; and Geo. Smith in his just published book: "*Assyrian Discoveries*." After the text will be found what has cost me the most labor, namely the *grammatical* and *lexical* notes, explaining every word, as far as clear to me. Upon the concluding pages I have ventured to give a few historical notes—of course nothing new—but since doctors on that point disagree, etc.

Finally, I must say, that I had commenced to write this virgin dissertation (*more ac ritu Academico in Literarum Universitatibus Germanicis*) in *Latin*, being from early boyhood acquainted with that language, but one of my honored and learned friends advised me to write it in English. Of course, I know that a goodly crop of "Germanisms" is found upon these pages, therefore I beg the pardon and kind forbearance of the reader. I think that neither the late Fr. Lieber, nor K. Schurz here in America, nor the learned Sanscritist of Oxford, who wrote or still write an excellent English style, have in their first publications been so entire-

\*There will be found many irregularities in the transcription. *Samekh* and *Shin* are not distinguished, because an accented *s* could not be found, etc. Those scholars who read Hebrew with some fluency, will without difficulty recognize the resp. root.

ly free from faults betraying their author's mother tongue.

SAN FRANCISCO, Idibus Febr., 1875.

H. G. K.



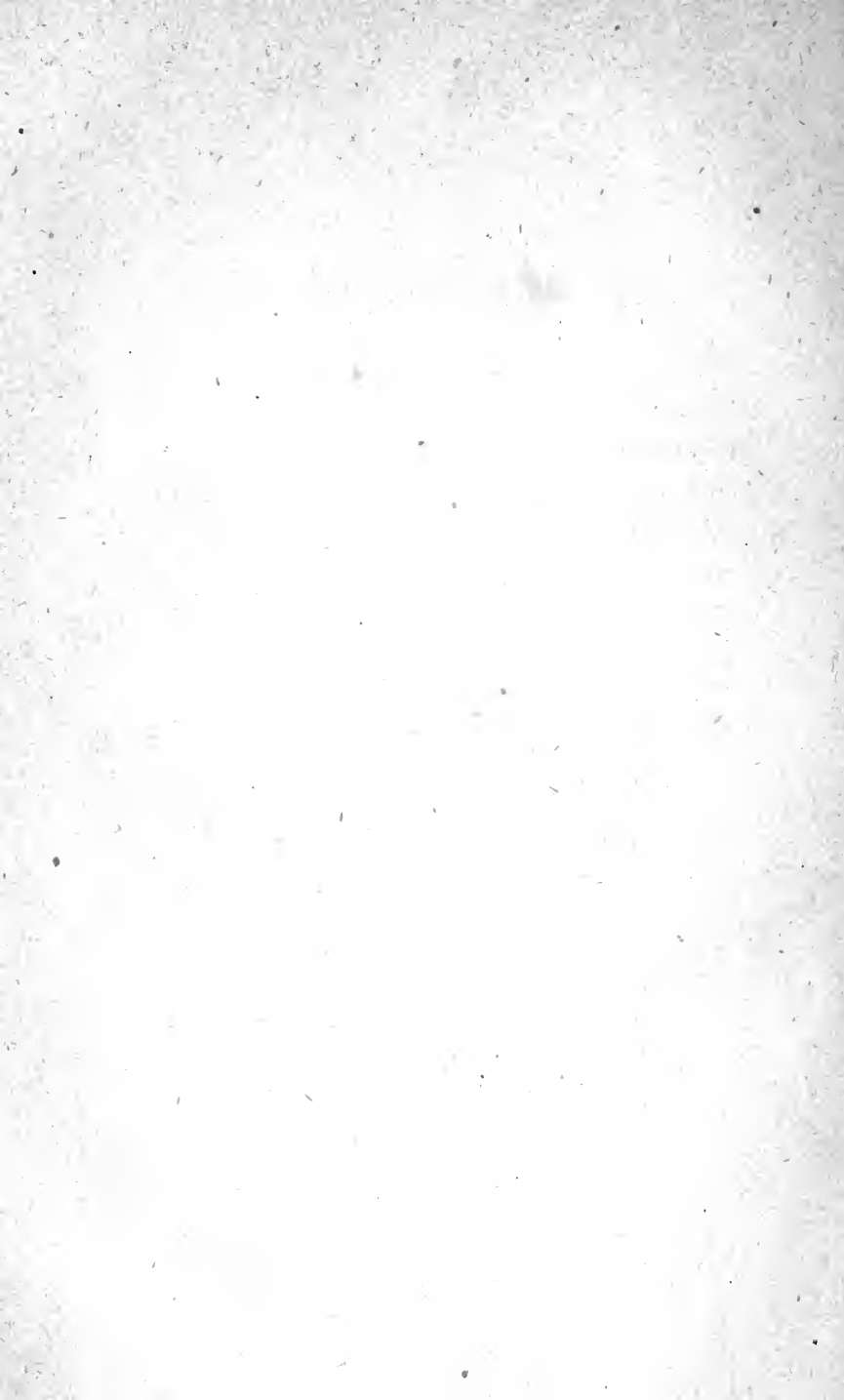




A. H. Sayce, M. A., fellow and tutor of Queen's College, Oxford, transcribes the Hebrew alphabet as follows: א = a; ב = b; ג = g; ד = d; ה = h; ו = u; ז = z; ח = kh; ט = dh; י = i; כ = c; ל = l; מ = m; נ = n; ס = s; ע = e; פ = p; צ = ts; ק = k; ר = r; ש = s; ת = t.

Ebr. Schrader, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Jena, Germany, differs from Sayce in the following characters: ח = h; ט = d; י = y; כ = k; ע = i; צ = s; ק = k.

With the exception of י and ע (Yodh and Ayin), I have used Sayce's system.



I.

Inscription over a Bas-relief.

(Lachish Inscr.)

1. Sin-akhi-irib sar kissâti sar mat assur
  2. ina kussu ni-mi-di u-sib-va
  3. sal-la-at 'ir La-ki-su
  4. ma-kha-ar-su 'i-ti-ik
- 

II.

Inscription of Constantinople.

Lines 13-15.

Lu-li-sar Tsi-du-un-ni 'i-kim sarrut-su; Tu-bà-'lu  
i-na cussu-su u-si-sib-va man-da-at-tu bilu-ti-ya tsi-ru-  
us-su u-sal-bit; rap-su na-gu-u mat Ja-hu-di, Khi-za-ki-  
a-hu sar-su 'i-mid ab-sa-a-ni.

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III.

Taylor's Cylinder Inscription.

Col. II., 34 seq.

34. I-na sal-si gir-ri-ya ana mat Kha-at-ti lu al-lic.
35. Lu-li-i sar 'ir Tsi-du-un-ni pul-khi mi-lav-vi
36. bi-lu-ti-ya is-khu-pu-su va a-na ra-uc-ci

37. kabal tiham-tiv in-na-bit-va ma-ti-su 'i-mid.
38. 'Ir Tsi-du-un-nu rabu-u 'Ir Tsi-du-un-nu 'tsikhru,
39. 'ir Bit-Zi-it-ti, 'Ir Tsa-ri-ip-tav, 'ir Ma-khal-li-ba,
40. 'ir S'an-su-u, 'ir Ak-zi-bi, 'ir Ac-cu-u,
41. irani-su dan-nu-ti, bit dura-ni a-sar-ri-i-ti
42. u nu-ci-ti bit rat-la-ti-su ra-ru-bi
43. Asur bil-ya is-khu-bu-sunu-ti, ic-nu-su
44. si-bu-u-a Tu-ba<sup>3</sup>-lu ina cussu surru-ti
45. 'ili-su-un u-si-sib va bilat man-da-at-tu bi-lu-ti-ya
46. cisid-ti ula-ma-at u-cin tsi-ru-us-su.
47. Sa Mi-in-khi-im-mu U-si-mu-ru-na-ai,
48. Tu-ba<sup>3</sup>-lu Tsi-du-un-na-ai
49. Ab-di-li<sup>3</sup>-ti A-ru-du-da-ai,
50. U-ru-is-ci Gu-ub-la-ai,
51. Mi-ti-in-ti As-du-da-ai,
52. Pu-du-ilu Bit-Am-ma-na-ai,
53. Cam-mu-si-na-ad-bi [Ma]<sup>3</sup>-ba-ai,
54. Abu-ram-mu U-du-um-ma-ai,
55. sarrâ-ni mat Akharri-ca-li-su-un si-di-'i
56. sat-lu-ti ta-mar-ta-su-nu ca-bid-tu a-di sa-su
57. a-na makh-ri-ya is-su-nuv-va is-si-cu sipâ-ya
58. u Tsi-id-ka-a nisu Is-ka-lu-na-[ai]
59. sa la ic-nu-su a-na ni-ri-ya: ili bit abu-su sa-a-su
60. assat-su habli-su banâti-su akhi-su zir bit abu-su
61. as-su-kha-av-va a-na mat Assur uras-su
62. Sarru-lu-da-ri habal Ru-kib-ti, sarru-su-nu makh-  
ru-u,
63. 'ili, ni-si 'ir Is-ka-al-lu-na as-cun-va na-dan bilat
64. cit-ri-'i bi-lu-ti-ya 'i-mid-su-va i-sa-at ab-sa-a-ni.
65. I-na mi-ti-ik gir-ri-ya 'ir Bit-Da-can-na,
66. 'ir ja-ap-pu-u, 'ir Ba-na-ai-bar-ka, 'ir Azu-ru,
67. 'ir-ani-sa Tsi-id-ka-a, sa a-na nî-ri-ya
68. ar-tu la ic-nu-su, al-vi acsu-ud as-lu-la sal-la-sun.

69. Saccanac-ci, rubbûti u nisi 'ir Am-gar-ru-na  
 70. sa Pa-di-i sarra-su-nu bil a-di-'i u ma-bad  
 71. sa mat Assur, kas-vi-tu parzilla id-du-va a-na Kha-  
 za-ki-ja-hu  
 72. Ja-hu-da-ai id-di-nu-su nac-ris a-na tsil-li-'i mu-su,  
 73. ip-lukh lib-ba-su-un. Sarra-ni mat Mu-tsu-ri  
 74. tsa-bi mitpanni, narkabati, susi sa sar Mi-lukh-  
 khi,  
 75. 'i-mu-ci la ni-bi ik-ti-ru-nuv-va il-li-cu  
 76. ri-tsu-us-su-un. I-na ta-mir-ti 'ir Al-ta-ku-u  
 77. il-la-mu-a si-i-dru sit-cu-nu ; u-sa<sup>2</sup>-lu  
 78. tuclati-su-un ; i-na tuclat Asur bil-ya it-ti-su-un  
 79. am-ta-kh-its-va aš-ka-can hapic-ta-su-un.  
 80. Bili narcabati u habli sar mat Mu-tsu-ra-ai  
 81. a-di bili narcabati sa sar mat Mi-lukh-khi bal-tu-  
 su-un.  
 82. i-na kabal tam-kha-ri ic-su-da kata-ai.  
 83. 'ir Ta-am-na-a al-vi acsu-ud as-lu-la sal-la-sun.

## Col. III.

1. A-na 'ir Am-gar-ru-na ac-rib-va ; saccanacci  
 2. rubbûti sa khi-idh-dhu u-sab-su-u a-duc-va  
 3. i-na di-[im]-ti si-khar-ti 'ir a -lib pag-ri-su-un ;  
 4. habli 'ir 'ib-is an-ni u cil-la-ti  
 5. a-na sal-la-ti am-nu ; si-it-tu-ti-su-nu  
 6. la ba-ni khi-dhi-ti u kul-lul-ti, sa ara[-ti]  
 7. la ib-su-a, us-sur-su-un ak-bi. Pa-di-i  
 8. sarra-su-nu ul-tu ci-rib 'ir Ur-sa-li-im-mu  
 9. u-si-tsa-av-va, i-na cussu bi-lu-ti 'ili-su-un  
 10. u-si-sib-va man-da-at-tu bi-lu-ti-ya  
 11. u-cin tsi-ru-us-su u Kha-za-ki-a-hu

12. Ja-hu-da-ai sa la iknu-su a-na ni-ri-ya XXXX. VI
13. irani-su dan-nu-ti duri u irani tsakhruti
14. sa li-vi-ti-su-nu sa ni-ba la isu-u
15. i-na pat-bu-us a-ram-mi u kit-ru-up su-pi-i
16. BI. KHU. ZU. UK. SIBU. BIL. SI. KHUL.  
RIS. (?) Kir-ban-nati
17. al-vi, acsu-ud, II. C.M. C. L. nisi zicar u sin-nis,
18. susi, pari-'i, imiri, gam-mali, alpi
19. u ts-i-'ini sa la ni-bi ul-tu-cir-bi-su-un u-si-tsa-av-va
20. sal-la-tis am-nu. Sa-as-su cima its-tsur ku-up-pi  
cirib 'ir Ur-sa-li-im-mu
21. 'ir sarru-ti-su 'i-bu-su, khal-tsi 'ili-su
22. u-rac-cis-va a-tsi-'i babu raba 'ir-su u-tir-ra
23. ic-ci-bu-us. Iri-su sa as-lu-la ul-tu ci-rib mati-su
24. ab-tuc-va a-na Mi-ti-in-ti sar 'ir As-du-di,
25. Pa-di-i sar 'ir Am-gar-ru-na u Is-mi-bil
26. sar 'ir Kha-zi-ti ad-din-va u-tsa-akh-khir mat-su.
27. 'Ili bilat makh-ri-ti na-dan cisid-ti-su-un
28. man-da-at-tu cit-ri-'i bi-lu-ti-ya u-rad-di-va
29. u-cin tsi-ru-us-su-un. Su-u Kha-za-ki-a-hu
30. pul-khi mi-lav-vi bi-lu-ti-ya is-khu-pu-su-va
31. nisi ur-bi u tsabi-su-si tsabi
32. sa a-na dun-nu-un 'ir Ur-sa-li-im-mu 'ir
33. sarru-ti-su u-si-ri-bu-va ir-su-u bi-la-a-ti
34. it-ti xxx bilat khuratsa, DCCC. bilat kaspa, ni-sic-  
ti
35. ga-thi-li DAG. DAK. SI. abni Za-sun-mi rabûti,
36. 'its X. KA. cussi nimidi, KA. masac, AM. SI,
37. KA. AM. SI, 'its dan, 'its KU. NIN. TAK. SU,  
ni-tsir-tav ka-bid-tav
38. u banâti-su, sicriti 'i-cal-su, nisi lub,
39. assâti lub a-na ci-rib Ninua 'ir bi-lu-ti-ya
40. arci-ya u-si-bi-lav-va; a-na na-dan man-da-at-ti
41. u 'i-bis ar-du-ti is-pu-ra rac-bu-su.

# TRANSLATION.

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## I.

x [Sennacherib, the king of nations, the king of the land of Assur, sits upon his high (or movable) throne; the spoils of war of the city of Lachish before him they pass by.]

## II.

y [From *Elulaeus*, the king of Zidon, I took away his kingdom; I lifted *Ethbaal* (Ethobal) upon his throne and imposed upon him the tribute (due) to my dominion; the distant territory of the land of *Judah*, *Hezekiah*, its king, I forced to obedience.]

## III.

z [(34) In my third campaign I marched against the country of the Hittites; (35) *Elulaeus*, the king of Zidon, him overcame the mighty terror of my (36) government, and he fled far away in the midst of the sea; his territory I brought into subjection.] (38) Zidon the greater, and Zidon the lesser, Bit-Zitti, Sarepta, Machallib, Shemesh, Akzib (Ekdippa), Acco, (41) his fortified cities and his open ones (42) and unoccupied places, his beautiful palaces, (?) (43) (the terror

of the arms of Assur, my lord, had overcome them) submitted (44) to me. I placed Ethbaal upon the kingly throne (45) over them, and the payment of tribute to my dominion (46) I levied upon him as a contingent tax. (47) Menahem of Samaria, Ethbaal of Zidon, Abdillit of Arvad, Uruiski of Byblos, Mitinti of Ashdod, Puduil of Ammon, Kamuz-nadab of Moab, Malikram of Edom, (55) all the kings of the western country, near the frontiers of my empire, they brought their rich presents and jewels to me and kissed my feet.

(58) But Zidka of Ascalon, who had not bent himself under my yoke: I led away the gods of the house of his father, himself, (60) his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the family of the house of his father, (61) and I carried them into Assyria. (62) Sarludari, the son of Rukibti, their former king, I placed over the people of Ascalon, and imposed upon him the payment of tribute, and he offered obedience. In the progress of my campaign I marched against Beth-Dagon, Joppe, Banai-barka, Hazor, the cities of Zidka, which had not placed (68) themselves in subjection, I took them, carried away their spoils. (69) The high officials, the magnates and the people of Acron, (70) who had Padi, their king, my ally and vassal of Assur, placed in iron fetters, and had delivered him to Hezekiah of Judah with hostile intentions during the shades of night: (73) their hearts trembled. The king of Egypt had called the archers, the chariots, the horses of the king of Meroë (Ethiopia), (75) an innumerable host, and they went out (76) to help them. In the presence of Altaku the line of battle had been arranged opposite me. They called upon their troops. Trusting



Assur, my lord, I fought them and vanquished them. The charioteers and the sons of the Egyptian king, together with the charioteers of the king of Meroë, (82) my hands took alive captive in the midst of the battle. The cities Altaku (and) Timnah I attacked, captured them, carried away their prisoners.

### Col. III.

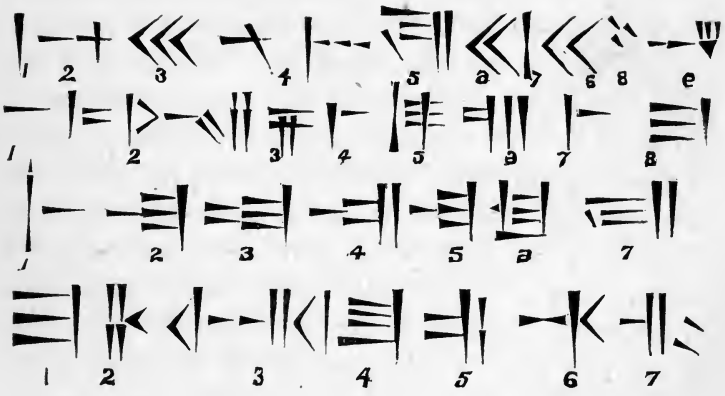
(1) Against the city of Acron I marched; the highest officials, (2) the magnates, who had rebelled, I killed. (3) Upon poles of the circumvallation of the city their bodies I hung up. (4) The sons of the city (inhabitants), who had committed oppression and violence, (5) I designed for transportation; the remaining inhabitants, (6) who had taken no part in the riot and violence, who nothing abominable (7) had committed, their amnesty I proclaimed. I effected that Padi, their king, Jerusalem (9) could leave, installed him upon his throne over them, and imposed upon them the tribute due to my dominion.

But Hezekiah (12) of Judah, who would not place himself in subjection: (13) forty-six of his fortified cities, numerous castles, and small places; (14) which were situated in their reach, (15) I subdued with . . . . and the attack . . . . with battering engines (17) I made an assault on them, took them, 200,150 people, males and females, (18) horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle (19) and sheep without number I carried away from them (20) and declared them to be spoils of war. ✓ Himself I inclosed like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem, (21) his royal city. Fortifications I built against them; (22) the egress of the great gate of his city I let (by my sol-

diers) (23) open by violence. His cities, the [inhabitants] of which I had taken prisoners, (24) I cut off from his territory and gave them to Mitinti, the king of Ashdod, (25) Padi, the king of Ekron, and Ismibil, (26) the king of Gaza; I diminished his territory also. (27) To the former tribute I added, as tribute of subjection under my rule, a tax upon their private property, (29) and imposed such upon them. Him, Hezekiah, a great panic seized him (on account of my power), [likewise] (31) the garrisons and his people, which he had taken in for the defense of Jerusalem, his royal city. Thus he agreed to pay tribute, (34) namely, 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, works in metal [?], reddish-glistening stones . . . . large jewels, (36) . . . . wood, coverings for beautiful chairs [sedans], articles made from the skin of *buffaloes*, (37) *teeth of buffaloes*, dan-wood, ku-wood, rich treasures; (38) Likewise I commanded his daughters, the ladies of his palace, the male and female servants of his harem, to be brought to me to Nineveh, my royal residence. (40) For the payment of the tribute and for the assurance of submission he did send his legate.

# Lexical and Grammatical Notes and Explanations.

## I.



We will now attempt to consider this short inscription, found over the bas-relief of Sennacherib, not only *philologically*, but also *graphically*, because both bas-relief and inscription in the original cuneiform characters are so well-known in America, and therefore easily accessible.<sup>1</sup> The first sign in the Inscription above, a single wedge, denotes a proper noun; it is what we call a *determinative*. It has no *phonetic* value,

<sup>1</sup> See Layard : Babylon and Nineveh, second expedition, p. 152, and Smith's Bible Dictionary, vol. III, p. 2171 (American Edition).

at least not here, and as soon as it stands as determinative; therefore it must not be read. I have forgotten who was the first scholar that found out the true meaning of this sign (it has besides the phonetic value of *tis* resp. *dis*), at all events it was one of the first discoveries. Determinative signs are not alone found in Assyrian cuneiform writings, but also in Egyptian hieroglyphs; there are determinatives for *man*, *woman*, for *cities*, for *ivers*, for *countries*, for *gods*, *nations*, etc. Here, in our inscription. this wedge announces beforehand that the following word will be the name of a man, and we shall see, right away, the name of a king of Assyria. The second sign stands for the idea "god," Assyrian *ilu*. The meaning of this *ideographic* sign is proved by the trilingual inscriptions; there it always corresponds with the Old Persian *baga*, *god*; the phonetic value is evident by a comparison with other inscriptions (see Grotefend, Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1850). In the well-known *Bellino inscription* it is given by *i-lu*, also in the word Bab-ilu (Babylon). The clearest proof, finally, is found in the often quoted syllabaries (No. 754). There it is also given as *i-lu*. In a great many passages this sign has no phonetic value, and therefore is not to be read; it only indicates that the following word is the name of a god. That is the case here. Let us now consider the name. Here I will say that the reading of this and many more Assyrian names has, in the first place, been discovered by a sort of sharp, historical *guessing*. The names of most Assyrian and Babylonian kings are written ideographically, and if it had not been for the historical *combination*, and what J. Oppert calls a *déchiffrement par nécessité philologique*, perhaps the

phonetic value of this and many other names would be still a secret. The first decipherers found this name (for nobody doubted that a royal name would follow, after the determinative for man) repeatedly in close connection with such phonetically written and therefore clearly understood words as *Ursalimmu* (ירושלים), Jerusalem, the Hebrew king *Khazakaijhu* (Hezekiah, חזקיהו or חזקיה), the king of the land of *Musuri* (Mizraim Egypt, מצרים), and *Milukh-khi* (Meroë, the two liquids, *l* and *r*, often interchange). Now, nothing in the world was more natural than to think on this well-known Assyrian king *Sennacherib*, (Sanherib) for the Old Testament mentions him twice as being at war with those quoted kings and cities. The third sign, the first of the proper noun, has two phonetic values, *is* and *sin*, that we do know from the *syllabaries* and from comparing various inscriptions. The determinative indicates that the name will commence with the name of a god, but which one? We know of none in the Assyrian Pantheon who is called *is*, but as *Hesychius* speaks of the moon-god *Sin*, it is very plausible now that this king's name will commence with *Sin* . . . . . All of my readers know that in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, etc., many proper nouns are composed of names of deities, with some other phrase (comp. *Jonathan*, Jehovah has given, *Abdallah*, a servant of Allah, *Dorothea*, gift of God, *Christlieb*, loving Christ, etc.). Sign 4 is a pretty hard nut; but fortunately there are the *syllabaries*, of which, of course, I have no time to speak; they will help us out of the dilemma. There we find our sign explained as meaning *akhi*, brothers, plur. from *akh*, Hebrew root אחה, *frater et amicus fuit*, Ges. l. c. 63. We have already an important por-



tion of the name, *Sin-akhi*; let us now take the following character for close inspection. These six wedges are found in the syllabaries to mean *irib* (comp. Schrader l. c. 27), from the root רכה, to multiply; *irib* is therefore the third pers. sing. Imp. Kal. We have at last *Sin-akhi-irib*, *Sinakhirib*, Sin multiplies brothers, Sin gives many brothers. But does not this *Sinakhirib* resemble the Hebrew סנחריב as one egg does the other?

Now for the next sign, number six—two hooks; it is a polyphonic character, it has the phonetic value of *man*, of *nis*, of *sarru* (שׂר = king, sar is the status constructus), all this we know by way of comparison. This sign appears in the first line twice. Oriental, and also Occidental kings, have been always in the habit of enumerating after their names their titles. Especially the stereotyped phrase of the Assyrian rulers was to call themselves “kings,” “great kings,” “the king of kings,” “kings of etc.” A good, sharp *guesser* might conjecture now that something like a title would follow. *Sar* is one of the four or five phonetic values of this sign; *sar* means now king; there we have it. It is very peculiar that *sar* and *melek*, both equally found in all Semitic dialects, seem in Hebrew and Assyrian to have changed their roles: *sar* in Hebrew means rather a subordinate prince, and *melek* supreme ruler; in Assyrian it is just the reverse, at least the Assyrian rulers always call themselves *sarri*. (Apropos, a further meaning of this sign under discussion is the numeral twenty; see Ménant: *Recueil des Alphabets pour servir à la lecture et l'interprétation des écritures cun. Paris*.) The next sign is a double wedge; as ideogram it has the value of SU, but that gives no

sense; Sennacherib, king of Su, king of . . . . . No, that won't do. Very well, let us see what the syllabaries say. Surely—there we find that this sign is equivalent to the two syllables *kis-sat*, *kissat*. In Ges. thes. phil. can be found no root כסח but a root כסנ, with the meaning, collegit, congregavit; *kissat*, a noun with the feminine termination of the plural signifies, therefore, a *host*, a *multitude*, a nation. Often in the standard-inscription is it found, “king of hosts,” “king of multitudes,” “king of nations.”

The next sign (8), three small arrow-heads, is often met in cuneiform inscriptions. By comparison we find it in the name *Ar-tak-sat-su*, standing in the third place, means, therefore, *sat*; in *Di-ig-lat* it means *lat*; besides that, it means also *kur*, *mat*. Now, to some of my readers it may seem rather strange that such a small, insignificant sign should express four or five different ideas; but it is, nevertheless, true, and after all not so very incredible. Even in English we have many polyphonus signs; *e. g.*, *X*, that means 10 (*ten*), it means *cross* (*X roads*), it means Christ (*Xmas*), it means *times* ( $3 \times 3 = 9$ ), it means *Ex* (*X press*), it means, who knows what more. If we now look and try what fits best in our text, we find *mat* means *land*—in fact, it is again and again used as the very determinative for names of countries. Now for the last character in the first line. We have: Sennacherib, the king of multitudes (or nations), the king of the land of . . . . . Who in the world expects now anything else than Assyria? By way of comparison, it was found that the phonetic value of this ideograph is *Asur*, for it is repeatedly phonetically written *A-sur*. The first line, I hope, is now clear to all.

Second line: first, a solitary wedge, having the phon. value of *as*; of *ruv*, of *dil*; sometimes it stands for *Assur*, has consequently the same phonetic value as the last sign in the first line; further it means *habal*, *son*; finally it means *ina*, a prep., *upon*. By comparing the various *syllabaries*, *parallel texts*, *bilingual* and *trilingual* inscriptions, etc., the meanings of all these phonetic values can be so settled that not even a shadow of doubt remains. The second sign corresponds in the trilingual inscription to the Old Persian *gâthu*, throne; its phonetic value is clear from a syllabary; there it is written, cu-us-su, cussu, Hebrew כָּסָא. It is, of course, not possible to enumerate and describe all the different manipulations, etc., which were required to reach such results; every one can see how intricate the process has been.

Signs 4, 5, 6, are all plain syllables, ni-mi-di; the root is מֵעַר, after Schrader, or as Oppert says מוּר, or rather מוּרָד (see below). The first root would give us the meaning of *high*, the second that of *movable*. The following sign means *u* or also *va*, the Hebrew ו, a simple syllable. The next, two wedges, by comparison we find also written *si-ib*, that is *sib* or *sip*; the last stands for *va* or *ba*; the whole word is now u-sib-va = usibva = usiba, third per. sing. Impf. Kal from אָשַׁב, Hebrew יָשַׁב, *to dwell*, *to sit*. The whole line reads now: *Upon a movable throne he sits*.

The third line. Signs 1, 2, 3, sal-la-at. No. 1, sal, is explained by a comparison with the so-called Korsabad Inscription, where it is written phonetically *sa-al*; *la* and *at* are both written phonetically. *Salat* is a noun from שָׁלַל, *spoliavit*, to carry away, therefore, *spoil*, *booty*. The fourth sign in this line is the well known



ideograph for 'ir, Hebrew עיר, *city*; by comparing, etc., it is made clear. The three last characters signify *lakki-su*. The Assyrians were in the habit of writing foreign words, especially proper nouns, phonetically, with simple syllables. Doubtless the well-known city *Lachish*, in the southern part of Judah, near the confines of Egypt, is meant; perhaps, the place now called *Um-Lakhis*, not far from Eglon.

In the last line we have only two words. The first syllable, *ma*, is written phonetically, the second, *kha*, likewise, and so is the third, *ar*, and the fourth, *su*. (In the copy of the Inscription which I have before me, there seems to be a mistake, but see note at the end of this chapter. If Rawlinson's great work was not so expensive, I would soon find what is right.) *Makha-ar*, *makhar*, is a preposition, means *coram*, *before*. Root מחר = מחר, *festinavit*; *su* is the affixed pronoun of the first person. \* The last three signs, 'i-ti-ik, are all phonetically written, *itik* third per. sing. Impf. Kal. from עתק comp. the Talmudic העתיק, *est transcriptus*, to move along, pass by. Schrader translates here: *he takes for himself*. I do not agree to that—better is: *the spoils of the city of Lachish before him they pass by*.

Now let us sum up: The most difficult word was the first, *Sennacherib*, because written as *ideogram*, but the rest of these four lines, both as regards the phonetic values of the arrow-headed characters, as also the meanings of the words, is very easy, and, I trust, clear to every one. Of course, it has cost not alone time, but also study, and imagination, and most of all a judicious application of *historical* and *philological combinations*. With the helps published in London, Paris, and Leipzig, every Semitist will be able

correctly, but, of course, slowly, to read and understand Assyrian records.

After the preceding notes had been written down, I found in the New York *Nation* two notices, one by *Rev. Selah Merrill*, of Andover, the other an answer by the editor. Mr. Merrill corrects Smith's Bible Dictionary, but the editor of the *Nation* corrects Mr. Merrill. With regard to the second word in the second line of our inscription, the editor says: "Schrader suggests the derivation from *ma'ad*, to be great, but this root, in Assyrian, as in Hebrew, never refers to size, height, but to quantity, strong, much, exceedingly, and could hardly produce a derivative meaning high, for which we have the familiar Assyrian word *illu*. Besides, the prefix *n* by no means generally gives the 'passive' sense, nor could it, from the intransitive *ma'ad*, give a passive *nimidi*, any more than *nimiqui*, mysterious, can be passive from a root *emiq*, to be deep. The connection in this and other passages makes it quite as likely that its root is *môt*, or *ma'ad*, to move, to shake, and that it indicates the *movable throne* or *sedan*, carried by the kings on their journeys."

I have quoted this passage, because, coming from an American source, it is very acceptable, and shows that undoubtedly soon American scholars will also claim a voice in Assyriology.\*

\* It is here, perhaps, the place to say, that both in Layard's book and in Smith's Dictionary, the Lachish inscription is faulty. In the wood-cut which I had made I have altered two signs, not because I had a correct copy before me, but because I could find nowhere the characters given by Layard. Therefore, by way of a little guessing and hazardous conjecturing, I made the change. Those of my learned friends who have access to Rawlinson's *In. of W. A.* will be able to see how far I have been right or wrong. I shall be very glad to receive information on that point.

## II.

Luli, Geo. Rawlinson spells his name Luliya, a king of Zidon, no doubt the same whom *Menander* (Joseph. Ant. Jud. ix, 14) calls *Elulæus*, but *not* the Elulæus of Ptolemy's canon; *Tsiduni*, Sidon, or Zidon, צִידוֹן; 'ikim first pers. sing, Impft. Kal from אִכַם = נָקַם, ultus est, vindicavit; *to take away*; *sarrat-su*, his kingdom, שָׂרַר, princeps fuit, in Assyrian *sarru*, king, *sarrat*, queen, *sarruti*, kingdom; *su* is suffix of third pers. *Tuba'lu*, Ithobal, אֶתְבַּעַל (I Kings xvi, 31), Ethbaal; *ina*, prep., *in*, *at*, *upon*, Hebrew ב; *cussu*, already explained; *usisib*, first pers. sing. impf. Shaf., from the root אִשַׁב, sedit, to place somebody; *mandattu*, tribute, root, נָתַן, to give, Persian *bâji*; *biluti-ya*, *bilat*, dominion, *ti*, phonetic complement, *ya*, suffix of the first person: r. of course בַּעַל, lord, is written often ideog.; *tsirussu*, prep. *tsir*, *upon*, (conf. צֶןֶר, rock) with suffix of third pers.—*usalbit*, first pers. Impft. Shafel of *labat* לָפַת, flexit, plexit, than embrace, impose upon; *rapsu* רָפַשׁ = פָּרַשׁ, separavit, distinxit, here an adjective, *far*, *distant*; *nagu*, district, Arab. root, *nagawa*, territory; *mat*, already explained; *Jahudu*, Judah, Hebrew יְהוּדָה, written phonet.; *Khazakiahu*, Hezekiah; *sar su*, 'its king; 'imid, first pers. Impft. Kal from עִמַר, transit. in Assyrian, to impose; *absan*, subst., root in Arabic, *abasan*, to bring in subjection, comp. also, Hebrew כָּבַשׁ, to trample down, Schrader translates: *zwang zum gehorsam*. Oppert renders *absan* with *pietas*. This word is not entirely clear to my mind.

## III.

## TAYLOR'S CLAY CYLINDER.

(34.) *Inu*, preposition "in"; *salsi*, "three," *salsai*, "the third," which is expected. The Assyrian numerals, with few exceptions, are the same as in other Semitic languages. See Sayce, Assyrian gr., page 131, and Schrader, page 243. *Girri*, "expedition," "campaign," Arabic, *garrak*; *ya* is the prefixed possessive pronoun of the first person. I give here in short these pronouns, because they appear so often.

SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
First pers.	com.	<i>ya</i> my.	<i>nu</i>	( <i>ni</i> )	our.
2d pers.	mas.	<i>ca</i> thy.	<i>cumu</i>		your.
2d pers.	fem.	( <i>ci</i> ) thy.	( <i>cina</i> )		your.
3d pers.	mas.	<i>su</i> his.	<i>sunu</i> , <i>sunut</i> ,		their.
3d pers.	fem.	<i>sa</i> ( <i>si</i> ) her.	<i>sinat</i>	( <i>sinit</i> )	their.

*Ana*, preposition, "toward," "against"; like the Hebrew ל, it corresponds to the Dative in the Old Persian in the trilingual inscriptions.\* *Mat*, "land," forms in Assyrian two plurals, one mascul., *mati*, and one fem., *matat*, analogous to the Hebrew *jamot* and *jamim*, etc. *Khatti*, "Hittites," so called from CHET, or KHET, a son of Canaan. The Assyrians understood

\* To avoid expense and typographical difficulties I have used, as much as possible, English type, even for Hebrew words and roots. Every Semitist will recognize the word, even in a modern dress.

under KHATTI all westward living Aramæans, in the widest sense of the word. In an inscription of ESAR-HADDON (mentioned in 2 Kings, xix, 37), twenty-two tributary kings of the *Khatti* are enumerated, who all were living either in Syria, Phœnicia, or Palestine; *lu*, "indeed," "truly," Ethiop. *lal*, "ipse"; *allik*, first pers. sing. Impft. Kal., from the root *halak*. On the Assyrian Verb, see especially Sayce, l. c. p. 48 *seq.*

(35.) *Luli*. FOX TALBOT spells this name in his translation *Luliah*; GEO. SMITH, *Elulias*.\* Here is, perhaps, the place to say, that GEO. SMITH, of the British Museum, has found in his recent explorations in Assyria and Mesopotamia a third, larger inscription of SENNACHERIB, called Cylinder C, relating the story of this king's expedition into Syria. SMITH says in his just published book: "*Assyrian Discoveries. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1875*": "This cylinder is, in fact, an octagonal prism; the text is very similar to that of the Taylor cylinder, and its value consists in the fact that it is intermediate in date between the Bellino and the Taylor cylinder. . . . It has the records of four wars, two more than the Bellino, and four less than the Taylor." In the following notes I will give, if I think it is necessary, the various readings of TALBOT and SMITH.† *Pulkhi*, "fear," from a root, which is found also in Aram.

\* Names or words already explained upon the preceding pages are, of course, not a second time taken up. Proper names I intend to analyze, and, if possible, identify with Biblical or classical references, at the end of this chapter.

† In one or two instances the Bellino Cylinder gives us some details which neither Taylor's nor Smith's have preserved; *e. g.*, "Elulæus seeks refuge in the Land of Jatnan." There is no doubt that the island of Cyprus is meant, because cities such as Idalium, Citium, Salamis, etc., are named as being situated upon this island. Jatnan is perhaps the same as Caphthor, but see STUART POOLE, in Smith's Bible Dictionary.

*milavi*, from *malá*, "full," then "whole," "mighty."

(36.) *Bilutiya*, explained in the Constantinople inscription. *Iskhupusu*, "to throw to the ground," from the root *sakhaph*; very often used in Assyrian; F. T. translates: "had overwhelmed him." *Anna rucci*, "in a distance," "to a distant spot," root is *rakhok*.

(37.) *Kabal*, "fight," "battle," it also means "the midst," written both as an ideogr. and phonetically. *Tihamtiv*, root *taham*, "sea," Hebrew, *tahôm*; *innabit*, niph. of *nabat*, "to fly"; *imid*, see above. SCHRADER translates: "I brought in subjection"; SMITH: "I took"; TALBOT: "I entered."

(38.) *Rabu*, "great," from רבה, adjective; there is also found a noun, *rabu*, and the plural, *rabuti*, "the magnates." *Tsikhru*, also found *tsakhru*, "little," comp. *tsir*.

(41.) *Durani*, *dur*, "dwelling-place," also "castle." רור. *Assariti*, plural, fem. of *asar*. SMITH and TALBOT translate, "walled," SCHRADER, "open," "even," root, *jashar*. *Dannuti* or *dannu*, adjective, "strong," root, *danan*. *U* or *va*, copula "and."

(42.) *Nucit*, perhaps, plural of *nuci*, "to be clean," then, "to be free of soldiers," "unoccupied"; differently SMITH and TALBOT: "fenced," "enclosed." *Ratlat*, "villa," "beautiful edifice," Arabic, *ratal*. *Rarub*, "terror." JULES OPPERT translates this whole passage thus: "Les grandes villes, les citadelles, les places de pèlerinage et de dévotion, les temples, tout était terrifié par la gloire d'Assour, mon maître; ils se rendirent à moi." SCHRADER and the Englishmen enclose *rarubi* *Asur bilya iskhubusumuti* in brackets. *Iskhubu*, third pers. sing. Impft Kal, "he took entirely," TALBOT, "had overcome," GEO. SMITH, "overwhelmed"; root *sakhah*.

*Icnusu*, third pers. sing. and also plural Impft. Kal from *canash*, "they made submission."

(44.) *Sibu*, Aram. "foot," then used as a prep. "under." *Ili*, prep., the Hebrew לְ; sometimes, also, used together with other prepositions, for instance, *ana ili*, *ina ili*, etc., "over." *Usisib*, Shafel, from root *ashabh*, Hebrew *jashabh*, "to place." *Va*, conj. "that," often enclitical. *Bilat*, a noun, from *abal*, Hebrew, *jabal*, "to carry," "to bring."

(46.) *Cisidti* "spoil," "tax." SMITH translates: "And taxes and tribute to my dominion, yearly, unceasing, I fixed upon him." F. TALBOT: "A fixed tribute to my majesty, paid yearly without fail, I imposed upon him." *Ulamat*, *ôlam*, "eternity." *Ucin*, first pers. sing. Impft. Af. of *cûn*, "I placed," "I imposed." *Tsirussu*, already explained in the Constantinople inscription.

(47.) *Sa*, relative pronoun; compare the Hebrew *asher* and אֲשֶׁר, GES. th. ph. p. 1344 seq. *Calisun*, Hebrew *cól*, "all." *Sidi*, "limits," comp. Arabic, *sada*, "terminus." TALBOT leaves this word untranslated. *Satlut* = *siltut*, "dominion," root, *salat*. *Tamartu*, "presents," properly, what has been exhibited, "Schaustück," from *namar*, "to see." *Cabidtu*, adj., "heavy," "rich," from *cabed*, "to be heavy," also in Hebrew. *Adi* "until," often connected with *ili sa*, "until that," "during." *Sasu*, comp. Hebrew *sasas* and *sasah*, here a noun, "property," "treasury." *Issunuva*, third pers. plur. Impft. of *nasû*. This form is rather irregular. Schrader speaks here of a nun epentheticum; it means "they brought." *Issiku*, from *nasak*, third pers. plur. Kal, "they kissed," the same in Hebrew. *Sipá*, a noun in dual, written in the cuneiform text as ideogr.;

it means "both feet," or only "feet," see Ges. l. c. p. 1336.

(58.) *Nisu*, "man," plur. *nisi*; in the Old Persian *martiya*, Hebrew, *ish*. *Nir* means originally "yoke," but also used as preposition "under." In the following lines we are made acquainted with the Assyrian names of many of the family relationships, all more or less easily explained with the help of the Hebrew or Syriac. *Abi*, "father," Hebrew אב. *Sasu*, root, *shasha*, "ille," "himself." *Assat*, "woman," Hebrew, *isha*. *Habal*, "son," Old Persian, *puthra*; the root wherefrom *habal* comes seems to mean "to create." *Banat*, plur. of *binu*, "daughter," see SCHRADER in ZEITSCH. d. D. M. G. xxvi, p. 193. *Akhu*, "brother. *Zir*, "seed," "race"; Hebrew, *zerah*. *Urassu*, first pers. com. Impft. cum suff. from *arâh*, resp. *jarâh*, "jecit," then it means also "forcibly to carry away." *Assukhava*, first pers. Impft. of *nasakh*, "to remove."

(62.) *Makhru*, "former," comp. Hebrew, *makhar*; *as-cunva*, from *sâcan*, first pers. sing. Impft. Kal., "I made." "I placed"; *citrîri*, a noun formed from the Ift. of the verb *cara*, "to bend himself," therefore, "submission"; *isadh* or *isudh*, Impft. Kal. of *sôdh*, "to follow," "to be obedient"; from this root is formed *absan*, "obedience," root still in Arabic *abasa*, "to subject" (?).

(65.) *Milik*, noun, from *atak*, "to proceed," therefore, "the course," in Hebrew "to advance"; *ana niriya*, "under my yoke." F. TALBOT translates this passage thus: "which to my feet homage had not rendered." SMITH, exactly the same. SCHRADER, whom I have followed, differs. The ideogram which is used in the cuneiform text for the word *niriya*, can also be read *sipaya*. I have already said, in the introduction, that



in Assyrian we often meet polyphones. *Sipaya* is already explained; it means "feet." Both readings make good sense; but since I see that TALBOT and SMITH adopt the later reading, I do not hesitate to adopt also their explanation.

(68.) *Ardu*; it ought to be *artu*, "obedience," from *arat*, or *jarat*. *La*, negative particle, Hebrew נֹלַ, "not"; *alvi*, first pers. sing. Impft. Kal, "I besieged," from the root *lavâh*; *acsud*, "I took," first pers. sing. Impft. Kal, from root *casat*, very often used in the war reports of the Assyrian kings. *Ashula*, "I carried off," first pers. Impft. Kal, from *salal*; the same root produces the noun *salati*, "booty"; *sallassun*, instead of *sal-latsun*, the *t* assimilated to *s*; Hebrew, "spoliavit," "diripuit." *Saccanaccu*, a noun, written ideographically "vice-king," "high officials," or, as others take it, "high-priest." *Adii*, noun, from a root *adah*, like *jadah*, means properly, "recognition," then also, "faith." "submission"; *mabad*, from the root *abad*, "to be submissive"; comp. another inscription in LAYARD, 73, 16. *Samsi sarat mat Aribi sa mabad Samas titiku*, i. e., "Samsieh, queen of the Arabs, who had devoted herself to the service of the Sun-god."

(71.) *Casritu*. "fetters," comp. the Hebrew *casar*, "to bind"; *parzilla*, "iron," Hebrew, *parzél*; *iddu*, from *nadah*, "to put on," comp. Hebrew *nadah*, "trusit"; *nacris*. an adverb, from the root *nacar*, "to be hostile"; therefore *nacir*, "an enemy"; *tsilli*, plur. of *tsil*, "shadow," Hebrew, *tsél*. There is a difference between the authors which I have before me. If I were so happy as to possess OPPERT'S text, or RAWLINSON'S I. of W. A., I might, perhaps, express an opinion of my own, but I must take what SCHRADER transcribes. He

translates: "Und dem Hizkia von Juda in feindlicher Absicht im Schhatten der Nacht überliefert hatten."

TALBOT: "And acted toward the deity with hostility."

SMITH, in the Parallel inscription C: "For the evil they did." OPPERT: "Et ils avaient agi en se revoltant contre le droit."

Of course, I cannot know what each one reads in the original. Quot capita, tot sensus. OPPERT'S book, "*Inscriptions des Sargonides*," I have not seen. *Musu* is the common word for "night" in Assyrian.

(73.) *Iplukh*, Impft. of *palakh*, "to be afraid." *Libbu*, I don't need to remember on the Hebrew לב, "heart." *Mutsur*, Egypt, Mizraim; there is an exhaustive essay on this word by SCHRADER, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, xxiv. p. 436. Two countries are called *Mutsur*: one in the east of Assyria, the other is Egypt; all that I can do here is to refer to SCHRADER'S essay. *Tsabi*, "people," written as ideogram, comp. *Tsabab*. *Mitpanni*, "the bow," "men of the bow," "archers." *Narcabati*, plur. of *narcabat*, "wagon," "chariot," root is *racabh*. OPPERT says that the ideograph with which this word is written ought to be read so. His readings are generally very reliable.

(75.) *Imuci*, "host," "forces," from the root *amac*. *Nibi*, a noun, from root *nabâ*, "to name," "to number." *Iktirumu*, Impft. Ift. of *karâ*, "to call," "to call together." *Illicu*, from *halac*. OPPERT translates this whole passage thus: "Mais leur cœur redoutait le roi d'Egypte; car les archers, les chars, les chevaux du roi de Méroë, des multitudes innombrables, se réunirent et marchèrent contre moi." *Ritsu*, "assistance," from *ratsâ*, "to help." *Tamirti*, for *tanmirti*, "sight," from *namâr*, "to see"; so SCHRADER. TALBOT: "In the plains." SMITH: "In the vicinity." *Illamu*, a prep. "before," "in front of."

*Sidru*, "battle array," comp. the Syriac *sarad*, "tremuit."  
*Sitcun*, adj. from the root *saca*, "to place," "placed."  
*Usalu*, third pers. pl. Impft. of *sha'al*; these two words,  
*usalu*, *tuclatisun*, are differently translated. TALBOT:  
 "They discharged their arrows." SMITH, like SCHRA-  
 DER: "They urged on their soldiers." *Tucult*, I think,  
 means in the first place, "confidence," *tuclâti*, would then  
 be "faithful servants," perhaps "soldiers"; I must con-  
 fess: hic hæret aqua! *Itti*, prep. "with," comp. the  
 Hebrew וְעִי. *Sun* is, of course, suffix.

(79.) *Amtakhits*, Impft. of *makhats*, Hebrew the same,  
 "to fight," very often found in the inscriptions. *Astacan*,  
 the Impft. of *sacan*, "to place." *Hapieta*, root *hapac*, "to  
 overthrow," here a "defeat." *Bili marcabati*, "masters  
 of the chariots," "*Wagenlenker*," both words already ex-  
 plained. *Adi* properly means "until," the Hebrew  
 אֲדִי, but very often used as a simple copula, so here;  
 see SCHRADER, Z. d. D. M. G. XXVI. p. 290. *Baldhusun*  
 "alive," *baldhu*, plur. *baldhut*, *sun* is affix, now we have  
*baldhut-sun*; *t* is thrown out, and the sibilants changed;  
 but on account of typographical difficulties I have not  
 been able to mark in these pages the difference be-  
 tween Samek and Shin.

### Col. III.

(I.) *Acrib*, Impft. from *carabh* or *karabh*, written both  
 ways, "to approach." *Kidhdhu*, from root *kadhâ*, "pec-  
 cavit," in Greek "hamartano"; properly, to miss the  
 mark in shooting; here *kidhdhu* is a noun, "crime."  
*Usabsu*, third pers. Plur. Shaf. of *basu*, "they committed."  
*Aduc*, "they killed," from root *tuk*, resp. *takak*, "contudit,"

“contrivit,” Ges. sub voce. *Dimti*, “stakes,” “poles”; the meaning is certain, but what the root is, is yet *sub judice*. *Silharti*, “circumvallation” from *sakhar*, “circumivit,” see Ges., page 946. The translation I have given is very awkward, better TALBOT: “On stakes all round the city I hung their bodies.” Inscription C seems to differ here, for SMITH translates: “And in heaps over the whole of the city I threw down their bodies.” *Alib*, first pers. Impft. Kal from *alabh*, “to hang up,” Arabic the same; Latin, “resecare,” German, “aufspiessen.” *Pagru*, “dead bodies,” Hebrew *pēgēr*, cadaver, used by the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah.

(4.) *Ibis*, act. part. from *abhash*, “to do,” although *habli* is plur., still *ibis* is sing.; but such incongruities happen. What *anni* and *cillati* mean, I am not sure. I have translated as Schrader has done, without expressing an opinion about his being right or wrong. TALBOT: “Who had done likewise, together with their wives, to slavery I gave.” SMITH: “And the revilers into slavery I gave.” *Amnu*, from *manâh*, first pers. sing. Impft. Kal, “I counted.” *Sittut*, “the rest,” in Arabic it means the back of the body.

(6.) *Bani*, part. from *banah*, “to make.” *Cululti*, “abominable,” root קלל. *Arati*, from *arar*, “defiance,” “violence.” *Ibsu*, Impft. Kal from *abhash*. *Ussur*, “reward,” comp. Hebrew *asher*, “salvation.” *Akbi*, first pers. Impft. of *kaba*, “to speak.” *Ultu cirib*, “ex medio.” On the Assyrian prep. comp. SCHRADER, p. 289, who is very clear and exhaustive. *Usizava*, first pers. Impft. Shaf. from R. *azá* c. cop. *va*.

(14.) *Livit*, from *lavá*, “to touch,” here a noun, “neighborhood.”

The two following lines, 15 and 16, are very difficult

to interpret. There is no doubt that the Assyrian historian speaks of different war-engines, the names of which are very hard to understand, and the nature of which it is difficult to identify. SMITH, the latest of my authorities, translates the parallel inscription thus: "With the marching of a host, and surrounding of a multitude, attack of ranks, force of battering rams, mining, and missiles." OPPERT, some years ago, rendered it in the following manner: "Avec lesquelles je combattis en domptant leur orgueil et en affrontant leur colère. Aidé par le feu, le massacre, les combats, et les tours de siège, je les emportai, je les occupai."

(17.) *Alvi* and *acsud* are clear. *Zicar* and *sinnis*, "male and female," *zicar*, like Hebrew—*sinnis*, adj. fem. The Arabic has preserved us this word in the same meaning. Here, now, we have six names for animals: *susi*, Hebrew, *sûs*, *parî*, Hebrew, *përêh*, "mule"; *imir*, Hebrew, *chamôr*, "ass"; *gamali*, Hebrew the same; *alpi*, Hebrew, *ělēph*, "cattle"; *tsi'ini*, Hebrew, *tsôn*, small cattle, "sheep and goats," all very plain.

(20.) A very remarkable passage comes now, often quoted and commented upon. *Ittsur*, "bird," written as ideogram with two wedges, but phonetic value and meaning clear by way of comparison. *Kuppu*, "cage," comp. Hebr. *kubbah*. *Ibusu*, "I concealed him," "I inclosed him," from *kabâh*. Perhaps the "black stone of the desert," the KAABAH. knows something about this root? *Khalsu*, "fortress," "siege-tower." *Uraccis*, first pers. Pa. of *racas*, "to build," "to erect," often in the Inscription. In Hebrew we have *racas*, in Aram., *rakas*, in Arabic, *rakas*, "to bind." *Atsü*, "exit," "egress," from root *atsá*. *Báb*, "gate." Every schoolboy knows *Bab-el-Mandeb* from his geography lessons. *Utirra*, first

pers. sing. Af. "to effect," from root *tûr*. SMITH renders "To divide it, he had given command." *Iccibus*, third pers. plur. Impft. of *nacab*, "perforate"; see on this syntakt. connection: "EWALD'S *Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Sprache* 285 b." OPPERT, some years ago, took this passage differently: "J'investis et je bloquai les fortes au dessus d'elle; ceux qui sortaient de la grande porte de la ville furent amenées et pris." There are difficulties which I cannot remove.\*

(23.) *Abtuc*, first pers. sing. Impft. of root *batac*, "to cut"; in Arabic, "to tear away." *Utsakhir*, Pa. from *tsa'ar*, **עצ**, "to diminish." *Makrit*, fem. of *makhru*, "former," see above. *Cisid-ti*, of course, from *acsud*, root, *casad*, "to take," therefore *casidti*, "tribute," "taxes." *Uraddi*, first pers. sing. Impft. Pa. from *radâ*, in Assyrian, "to add," the same in Arabic.

(31.) *Urbi*, "watchman," plur., "Besatzungs-truppen," or TALBOT: "workmen." SMITH, strange to say, does not translate this word, but writes, "*urbi*." *Tsabisusi*, "his men," *tsabi*, "men," *su*, suffix, *si* is a phonetic complement; see more about it in SCHRADER, l. c. p. 22 and 243 *seq.* TALBOT: "The workmen, soldiers, and builders, whom for the fortification of," etc. *Dunmun*, Impft. Pa. of *danan*. "to defend." *Usiribu*, third pers. Shaf. of **ערב**, in Assyrian, "to enter." *Irsu*, from *rasâ*, "to incline"; SCHRADER'S rendering, made three years ago, seems to be more correct than TALBOT'S from last year, for even GEO. SMITH writes: "Whom to be preserved within Jerusalem, he had

\* Assyriology is a new science, and, of course, progressive. On some points Assyriologists have to change their views, perhaps inside of twelve months. I should not be surprised to hear that it has been already finally settled in Europe, but philological news takes longer time to travel to San Francisco than political or commercial!

caused to enter, and they inclined to submission," etc. TALBOT, on the other hand, has: "Whom for the fortification of Jerusalem, his royal city, he had collected within it, now carried tribute," etc.

(34.) *Khurats*, "gold." Hebrew חָרוֹץ, v. Ges. l. c. p. 526. *Caspu cēsēph*, "silver." *Nisicti*, perh. from root *nasac*, "to weld," spoken of metal. In the following lines, 35, 36, and 37, I will first explain those words which are clear to me, and then give the various versions before me. *Gakhli*, perhaps the Hebrew גַּחְלִים, "burning coals," or as Oppert says, "shining stones." *Abnu*, may be from *abân*, "stone." There is no doubt that precious stones are here spoken of, because the determinative proves it. *Masac*, undoubtedly "skin," from the root מָשַׁק, to take off the skin either of man or beast. The Assyrians were in the barbarous habit of flaying enemies captured in war. *Amsi*, not quite certain which animal is meant—perhaps the *buffalo*. *Ka-Amsi*, "horns" or "teeth" of the *Amsi*. *Its*, "wood," like the Hebrew *ets*; what *dan* and *ku-wood* is, I confess is a riddle to me. Following SCHRADER, I should think it means "sandal-wood" and "ebony." Oppert writes "ebony" too. *Nitsirtu* means properly what a man keeps,—"a keepsake," from root *natsar*, "to watch"; consequently it signifies "precious things." *Cabudtu*, adj. fem., from *cabed*, "heavy." TALBOT renders these lines thus: "(34.) . . . woven cloth, scarlet, embroidered, precious stones of large size, couches of ivory, movable thrones of ivory, skins of buffaloes, teeth of buffaloes, dan-wood, ku-wood, a great treasure of every kind." SMITH: "Precious carbuncles, *daggasi*, great . . . stones, couches of ivory, elevated thrones of ivory, skins of buffaloes, horns of buffaloes, izdan, izku, every-

thing a great treasure." SCHRADER: "Metallarbeiten (?) rothschimmernde steine . . . . . grosse edelsteine . . . . . holzbeschläge für prachtsessel, gegenstände aus dem felle des Amsi, horn (?) vom Amsi, sandelholz, ebenholz, reiche schätze." \*

(38.) *Sicriti*, comp. the Hebrew שגל, *uxor regia*, it means, at all events, "females," for the determinative which stands before this ideographically written word proves it; the phonetic value is demonstrated by GEO. SMITH in his "*Assur banipal*, etc." *Ical*, "palace," comp. Hebrew היכל, *Lub*, perhaps "harem." *Arki*, prep. "after." *Usibilavva*, first pers. shaf. from root אכל, "to bear," with cop. *va*. *Ardu*, "submission," "homage," comp. *ârad*=*jarad* in Hebrew. *Ispur*, third pers. sing. impft. from *sapar*, "to send." *Racbu*., from *racabh*, "to ride," "to drive," here a noun: "envoy," "messenger." †

\* The capitals which are used in the Assyrian text for printing doubtful words denote that they are written ideographically, but that neither the phonetic values nor the exact meanings are, so far, conclusively settled.

† My original plan was to give, after this chapter, an alphabetical list of all the semitic *Roots* to be found in the foregoing inscriptions; but I must leave them out in order not to swell this *brochure*—which, piece-meal, during midnight hours, and in haste, has been written—into a little book, which I fear has interest for but a few.





## List of Names

### MENTIONED IN OUR INSCRIPTIONS.

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ABDILIT, or as Talbot writes it, *Abd' ilit*, a king of Arvad; nothing further is known of him.

ABURAMU; some read this name *Airammu*, and suggest that it may be the same as *Hiram*, a name borne by various Phœnician kings. The so-called inscription of Parahyba, found in South America, which *may* be a fraud, mentions also (see Schlottmann Zeits. d. D. M. G. xxviii. p. 483) a king of Zidon called Hiram, in the third line. This man in our inscr. was King of *Edom*.

Accu, the Accho of the Book of Judges, I, 31. The Arabs call it now *Acca*, Europeans *St. Jean d' Acre*.

ACZIBI, perhaps the same word as found in Josh. xix, 29. *Ekdippa* of the classical writers. This *Achzib* was a city of Judah in the Shefelah; there was another town with that name belonging to Asher.

AKHARRI, *mat Akharri*, the western country. Assyrian name for Canaan, inclusive of Phœnicia and Palestine.

ALTACU, *Elthekeh*, has not yet been conclusively identified; perhaps it was situated not far from *Ekron*. Another *Elthekeh* was in the tribe of Judah, the former belonging to Dan. I am inclined to accept the more southerly situated town as the battle-field between Sennacherib and the Egyptians.

AMGARUNA, undoubtedly Ekron, one of the five towns belonging to the Philistines, now *Akir*. It was situated inside the limits of Judah, but seems never to have been conquered.

ARUDA, Arvad, a place in Phœnicia; it may perhaps be the same as the island *Ruad*, which lies off Tortosa, two or three miles from the Phœnician coast. Ezech. xxvii, 8, 11. *Bibl. Sacra*, V., 251, *seq.*

ASSUR, or *Asshur*, *Assyria*, the once mighty empire of Western Asia. See Smith's Bible Dictionary, s. v.

ASDUDA, Ashdod, one of the five confederate cities of the Philistines, midway between Gaza and Joppa, noted for its worship of Dagon, the fish-god; destroyed by the Maccabees; now it is an insignificant village called *Esdud*.

AZURU, Hazor, in Naphtali, mentioned in Josh. xix, 36, but this does not fit well in our narrative—perhaps *Hazar Shual* is meant. F. Talbot, l. c. p. 36.

BANAI-BARKA, comp. Josh. xix, 45. *Bene-berak* ("sons of lightning"), the Syriac version reads *Baal-debac*. Knobel identifies it with *Ibu-Abrak*.

BIT-DACAMA, Beth-Dagon, house of Dagon. Three cities are known to us as bearing this name; the one spoken of in our inscription was perhaps situated in the so-called Shefelah, in the tribe of Judah. Robinson's identification with *Beit Dejan* is untenable.

BIT-ZITTI, City of Olives. There is a Beth-sittah in Issachar, but it is rather doubtful whether it is the place spoken of in our inscription.

BIT-AMMANA, *Beth-Ammon*; a city bearing this name is unknown to me as being mentioned either in the Bible or classical writers. House of Ammon.

CAMUSINADAB, *Kamuz-natbi*. Chemosh was the chief god of the Moabites. I may be permitted to refer here to the so-called Moabite stone, where Chemosh is mentioned. Fürst interprets, "god of fire." Solomon introduced the worship of that god into Jerusalem and Josiah abolished it.

GUBLA, *Byblos*, situated on the frontiers of Phoenicia, somewhat north of the mouth of the small river Adonis; it is now called *Gebail* by the Arabs, thus reviving the old Biblical name.

JAHUDI, *Judah*; no need of further remarks.

JAPPA, *Joppa* (beauty), now *Yâfa* or *Jaffa*, a town on the southwest coast of Palestine, well known in history. Especially during the crusades this place acquired a great importance.

ISKALUNA, Ashkelon, Askelon, one of the cities of the Philistines. With regard to the fulfillment of the prophecy (Zeph. ii. 4, and Zech. ix. 5), "Askelon shall not be inhabited," see Thompson's *Land and Book*, ii., 328, *seq.*

ISMIBIL, like Ismael; perhaps it means "Bel hears."

KHAZIKIAHU, already explained.

KHATTI, Hittites; all the westward living Aramæans.

LULII, Elulæus; see Lachish Inscription.

LACISU, Lachish, a city in Judah, besieged and captured by Sennacherib: there exists now a place called Um-Lâkis, perhaps the very spot. See Smith's Bible Dictionary.

MACHALLIBA, Makalliba, a place unknown to me.

MINKHIMMU, Menahem, of Samaria, is mentioned in an inscription of Tiglath, Bileser II., together with Rezin of Damascus. There is no doubt of the identity of our Minkhimmu with the Menahem, ruler of the northern kingdom.

MITINTI, a king of Asdod.

MABA, Moab, the well-known trans-Jordanic country, which since the discovery of King *Mesa's* stele by Rev. Klein, a German missionary in Jerusalem, has been repeatedly searched by archæologists after antiquities. A certain Mr. Clermont Ganneau has of late acquired a rather questionable notoriety by

denying the genuineness of the Moabite pottery, etc., recently purchased by the German government for its museums ; but a sort of literary Sedan is all that this jealous and annoying Frenchman has so far earned. Prof. Schlottmann, of Halle, the worthy successor of a Gesenius and Roediger, and undoubtedly the most learned Semitist in Europe, will soon, under the auspices of the German Oriental Society, publish a full description of all the Moabite antiquities which are in the Berlin Collection.

**MUTSUR**, Egypt.

**MILUKHI**, *Meroë* ; the best authorities are now inclined to identify both names.

**NINUA**, Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, the very city, the ruins of which have furnished us with the greater portion of the Assyrian records. Mosul is situated just opposite the mounds which cover the once mighty city.

**PADII**, a king of Ekron, was treacherously delivered into the hands of Hezekiah, but afterwards restored.

**PUDUIL**, a king of Ammon.

**RUKIBTI**, name of a ruler or petty king of Askelon.

**SARLUDARI**, a prince of Askelon, properly an Assyrian name.

**SINAKHIRIB**, already explained.

**SARIPTAV**, Sarepta, a city of Phœnicia, between Tyrus and Zidon. 1 Kings xvii, 9, 10.

SANSU, Talbot writes *Usu*, Schrader calls it Shemesh. I cannot identify it.

TUBAAL, a king of Zidon. This name seems to have been very common among the early Semites (or Hamites either).

TAMNA, or *Tinnah*, a town in the kingdom of Judah, near Ekron. Josh. xv, 10. Its name signifies "lot," or as others say, "south," because situated at the southern part of Palestine, in the tribe of Dan. Now called Tibneh.

TSIDUN, *Zidon*, the well known city of Phœnicia.

TSIDKA, Zedek, ("justice") a king of Ascalon.

UDUMMA, Edom, *Idumæa*.

URSALIMMU, Jerusalem, often mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions.

USIMURUNI, sometimes also *Samirina*, Samaria, the capital of the northern kingdom. 722 a. Chr. n. captured by Sargon.

URUISKI, or as Talbot reads, *Ummilki*, a king of Gabal.

## Historical Excursus.

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Having already overstepped the limits of this little pamphlet, I can in conclusion give only a few remarks on one or two *historical* questions, which naturally enough are the consequences of *philological* researches. Hebrew history and chronology are fields very extensive on the one hand, and often sterile and unproductive on the other.

Beside the inspired writers of the Sacred Canon, and a few post-biblical historians, classical authors tell us very little about that peculiar, secluded nation, the Israelites. Therefore the discovery of the Assyrian records and their contents was of the highest interest to all biblical scholars, and has indeed startled the minds of many searchers after truth. Acceptable as cuneiform narratives are now, one thing is to be regretted, namely, that in some minor points they are in obvious discrepancy with the Bible. I say in *minor* points, because the important facts of the Scriptures, as far as Assyria is concerned, are most wonderfully attested; and only in numbers and in a few names occur differences, which, I trust, in the course of time, when more discoveries are made and new inscriptions unearthed, more or less will be done away with.

Three sources we have, from which we may derive information. The first, and of course the most import-

ant one, is the Bible; the second are Greek and Egyptian narratives; and the third, the cuneiform records of Assyria. Leaving all side questions untouched, we will consider here only one point, that is: "Has King Sennacherib been twice in Syria, or only once?" or in other words, are the events narrated by the author of the second Book of Kings, and again in nearly the same language by the prophet Isaiah, to be referred to one or two expeditions?

As on many other points, scholars, who have paid special attention to this matter, disagree. Sir Henry Rawlinson and his learned brother, together with some other English divines, and the greater number of orthodox theologians of Europe and America, are generally inclined to assume two separate expeditions; Lenormant, Schrader, and the more "advanced" biblical scholars, refer all the events to one, and only one campaign. But nobody should now be so prejudiced, without inquiring thoroughly in the matter, to side with either one or the other of the parties according to his own "standpoint," to use this rather imported word. The reasons given by French and German scholars in favor of only one expedition, are very clear and convincing. It is true, that some of these advanced theologians often wrest the Holy Scriptures, by reading between the lines, and subordinating the authority of the Bible under that of their cherished cuneiform inscriptions; but the judicious historian, and the frank and sincere critic, ought to examine all the accessible sources with impartiality. "*Audiat et altera pars.*"

Every careful reader of the 18th and 19th chapter of the second Book of Kings, and of the 35th and 36th of Isaiah, will sometimes have wondered, Why Jerusa-



lem, after King Hezekiah had already paid such an enormous tribute, which ought to have satisfied the Assyrian monarch, was subsequently requested to open its gates unconditionally to the conqueror. Again, it must be surprising, that Sennacherib came in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign. If it is true that Samaria was taken in Hezekiah's sixth year, Sennacherib cannot have marched against Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of its king's reign, but rather in his twenty-seventh. Samaria was taken in 722, by Sargon; there is no mistake about the year. Hezekiah came upon the throne in 726, and ruled twenty-nine years. Of course, some differ. But there is no doubt, as we will prove presently, that Sennacherib's campaign must be placed in 701. Therefore we cannot help changing, in II Kings, xviii, 13, the fourteen years to twenty-seven. Such a chronological alteration detracts not a jot from the scriptural authority, for the Bible does not pretend to teach critical history or comparative chronology, but DOCTRINES. Sennacherib, according to the Assyrian lists of eponyms, succeeded his father Sargon in 705. Now, we have three terra-cotta cylinders which enumerate the various campaigns of Sennacherib,—not as do the obelisk-inscriptions of Shalmanezzer or the annals of Tiglath-Pileser, according to years,—but they record the exploits according to expeditions (girri). The various narratives always commence thus: "In the first, second, third, etc., expedition." The march against Syria, which we have already considered, is spoken of as the third.

It is not likely that Sennacherib undertook in one year more than one expedition, for the distances were great, and the means of locomotion in those times, of

course, not such as now; the remains of telegraph poles or railroad tracks have not yet been discovered, neither in Assyria, nor anywhere else thereabouts. The Syrian expedition would therefore fall in 702. But there are other proofs which conclusively show that really 701 is the year. The already named Bellino cylinder, made in the fourth year of Sennacherib's reign, does not mention the Syrian campaign, simply because it had not yet been undertaken. Besides, other collateral testimony is at our disposal, which here to adduce would lead us too far.

Sennacherib, in 701, marched into Syria. Why? Only to reduce such petty kings as those of Zidon, Askelon, and Judah to subjection? I am rather inclined to think that the main object of the terrible Assyrian monarch was to invade and subdue Egypt, the only equally powerful rival of Assyria. The wars against those comparatively small and insignificant Syrian kings were only so many episodes and incidents. Sennacherib had heard that Egypt was trying to get a solid foothold in Syria, in order to take revenge for its defeat some years before, near Raphia, when Shebek, the Egyptian king, had been completely routed by Sargon, the father and predecessor of Sennacherib. To put a stop to these Egyptian intrigues, he, having settled matters in Babylon, in Armenia, and on the eastern frontiers of Assyria, during the first four years of his reign, turns now his attention to Egypt; but the way to Egypt leads through Syria (in its wider sense). He comes, takes on his road, without much difficulty, Zidon and Askelon, and pretty nearly Jerusalem too. But Hezekiah, perhaps advised by his great friend Isaiah, prefers the payment of an imposed tribute,

rather than to risk the dangers of a siege. This tribute the Hebrew king accordingly sent to the Assyrian monarch, who in the meantime had advanced as far south as Lachish. After the capture of this town, Sennacherib seems to have taken a good position near Al-tacu, or Elthekeh, in order to wait for the approach of the Egyptian and Ethiopian forces.

Sennacherib, however, not being satisfied with such a nominal submission of the Hebrew king, sends from these, his headquarters, in the meantime, those messengers who should ask for and demand the delivery of Jerusalem, because, first, that city was a very strong point, of great strategical value, easily defended, and altogether too dangerous in the hands of a king who had already once forgotten his oath of allegiance and vassalage; and secondly, this Jerusalem might, in case of a defeat by the united forces of Egypt and Ethiopia, form a most useful position to cover and protect his retreat. Sennacherib was an able general, and undoubtedly intended to provide for the changes of war.

In this time, I think, falls the parley between the messengers of the monarch and the deputies of Hezekiah, and also the sending of that famous letter; in short, all that is related in II Kings, xviii., 17-xix., 34, and in Isaiah, xxxvi., 2-xxxvii., 36.

The approaching army of the united Egyptians, which induced the Assyrian king to demand the delivery of Jerusalem, was the very cause why Hezekiah refused it. I think there were at that time two, or rather three parties in Jerusalem, who were striving after political influence: the Assyrian, the Egyptian, and the National, headed by the good king and his great adviser, the prophet Isaiah. Following the lat-

ter's counsel, Hezekiah refuses to surrender, hoping for help from Jehovah. And surely in *one* night the Assyrian host was destroyed, not by the arms of the Egyptians, but by "the Angel of the Lord." The various explanations which have been suggested—pestilence, sirocco, mice, etc.—are altogether foolish, and not worth the paper upon which they are printed. It was the *Angel* of the Lord who slew the Assyrians.

I cannot see why in the world assume a second expedition two or three years after the first (so called). Prof. Geo. Rawlinson, in his "Five Great Monarchies," vol. ii., p. 158 (sec. edit.), accepts the idea of two campaigns, and he has arranged the facts narrated in the Bible, in the Assyrian inscriptions, and in the Greek and Roman authors, very nicely and ingeniously; the only drawback is, that neither the Bible nor the Assyrian records know anything of such a nice distribution of incidents into two campaigns. His argument is, that Sennacherib does not speak of a second expedition because too disastrous for him, and that Assyrian kings were equally as indisposed to give their defeats to posterity as the French are to depict the battles of Waterloo and Sedan upon the walls of the Tuilleries. To this I may be permitted to say, that every one who is acquainted with the stereotyped boasting phrases of Assyrian kings, will miss, in our three narratives of the Syrian war, those bragging and minute enumerations of booty, men, horses, chariots, etc. He speaks of capturing a few Egyptians, but that is all. I rather think his victory near Elthekeh, supposing it was one, must have been such a one as Pyrrhus won near Heraclea, in 280.

In like manner, Geo. Smith (in Lepsius Zeitschrift

für Ægypt. Spr., 1870, p. 40) speaks of a first expedition, but without producing sufficient proof for his assumption.

There is nothing in the Biblical nor in the Assyrian records referring to the length of time spent by Sennacherib in Syria. Perhaps he remained after the indecisive battle near Elthekeh a considerable time longer in the southern and western part of Judah, conquering smaller places, as for instance Timnah, etc., perhaps making preparations for a more energetic assault upon Egypt, when the terrible disaster befell his troops. There was sufficient time to carry on the transaction between himself and the Hebrew king. It is very obvious that he (Sennacherib) had sent also a considerable portion of his army to give force and weight to his demands.

There is another point, which has induced me to reject the assumption of a second campaign. In our Lachish inscription we see the king of Assyria sitting upon his *movable* throne, receiving Hebrew captives bringing tribute; we may therefore, naturally enough, assume that Hezekiah sent his thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver to Lachish, where the Assyrian head-quarters were. Those scholars, now, who plead for two separate expeditions, say that in verses 13-16 of the 18th chapter, the whole record of the first is contained, and that verses 17-xix., 36, enumerate the incidents of the second. But in verse 17 we read, this time in the Bible, that the Tartan, the Rabsaris, and the Rab-shakeh (*en passant*, these are not the names of so many men, Assyrian officers, but rather, the titles of their respective offices) came from Lachish to King Hezekiah. I think it is a gratuitous

assumption to insist that Sennacherib both times should have had his head-quarters before Lachish.

Besides all this, the utter silence of the Assyrian records: I mean, if there had been, two or three years later, a second warlike excursion into Syria, we might find a clue somewhere, but nothing whatsoever is alluded to.

Herodotus, as is well known, tells us (in ii., 141) that the famous disaster befell the Assyrians as they were encamping opposite the Egyptian army at Pelusium. This place is considerably further south than Lachish, and, without attributing too much authority to Herodotus, who only wrote from hearsay, it is nevertheless admissible that after the doubtful victory near Elthekeh, and after having taken Lachish and Libnah, the Assyrian monarch went south as far as Pelusium, where "the blast" came upon him, which prodigy was afterwards by the Egyptian priests attributed to the protecting power of their own gods.

Considering all the facts which throw light upon this matter, I think it pretty safe to assume only one expedition, the one which is related by the Bible, so far as the Hebrews are concerned, and by the Assyrian records as far as it had reference to the Assyrians, leaving out, of course, the ominous disaster in the south of Palestine, and giving in its place a somewhat meager and surprisingly sober list of deeds done against the small princes of the "Hittites," and preserving an excusable if not justifiable silence about the Egyptians.

## CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

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Page i.—On the so-called *Hamath Inscriptions* see “Unexplored Syria” by RICH. BURTON and CHAR. F. TYRWHITT DRAKE, London, 1872, vol I, p. 333 *seq.* Most excellent engravings of five inscriptions are given, together with short notes. I hear that of late still more of this sort of hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found and copied.

Page ii.—A number of eminent English Egyptologists and Assyriologists have combined to teach these branches of Oriental philology systematically, and for this purpose SAM BIRCH and Rev. SAYCE will issue elementary grammars. These efforts are made under the patronage of the “Society for Biblical Archæology” in London.

Page iii.—I ought not to have mentioned JULES OPPERT as being biased against the S. S. ; on the contrary, he has most nobly defended Biblical chronology. Last year in London HE and Prof. SCHRADER of JENA had a sort of literary rencontre at the session of the Semitic section of the Oriental Congress. See Trübner’s Oriental catalogue and Jenaer Literatur Zeitung, 52, 1874.

Page viii.—I see that a former schoolmate of mine, A. HILDEBRAND of Jena, has a similar subject selected for his “doctor dissertation” : *Juda’s Verhältniss Zu Assyrien in Jesaja’s Zeiten*. His brochure has been just published, but I have not yet seen it. A. Hildebrand is an active Assyrian student.

Page x, tenth line from below, for “Arcadian” read Accadian.

Page 17, third line from below, for “ $\gamma = i$ ” read  $\gamma = \text{‘}i$ .

Page 30, third line from below, for “sevoir” read savoir.

Page 35, fifth line from above, read אָכָם, *acam*.

Page 35, twelfth line from above, read אֲשָׁב, *ashabh*.

Page 38, seventeenth line from above, read דֹר, *dôr*.

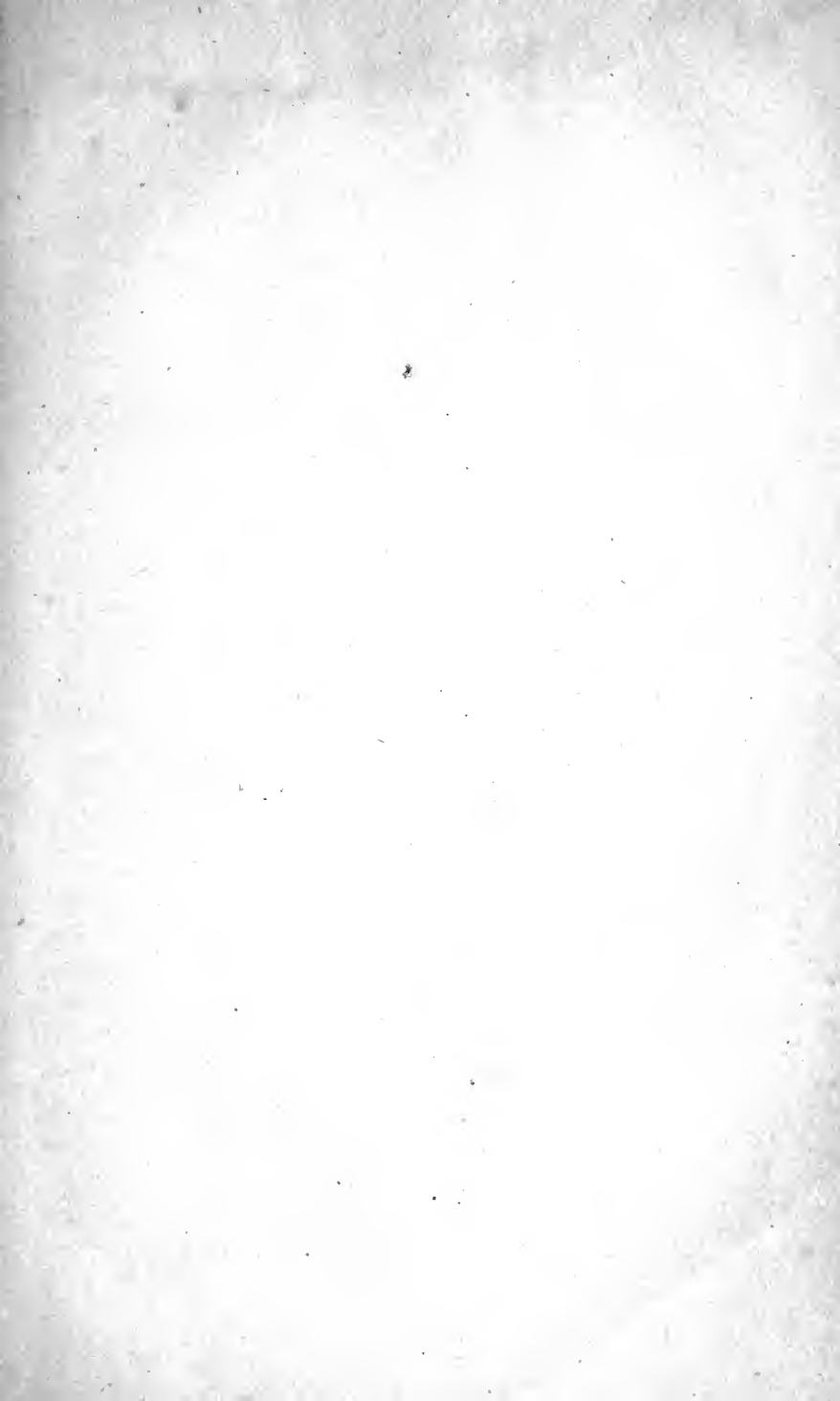
Page 42, sixth line from below, read d’Égypte.

On Biblical Chronology numerous books and pamphlets have appeared of late. The funniest which I have seen is “Ernest de Bunsen : The Chronology of the Bible.” Facts and fancies are so nicely mixed that a person does not know which is which.

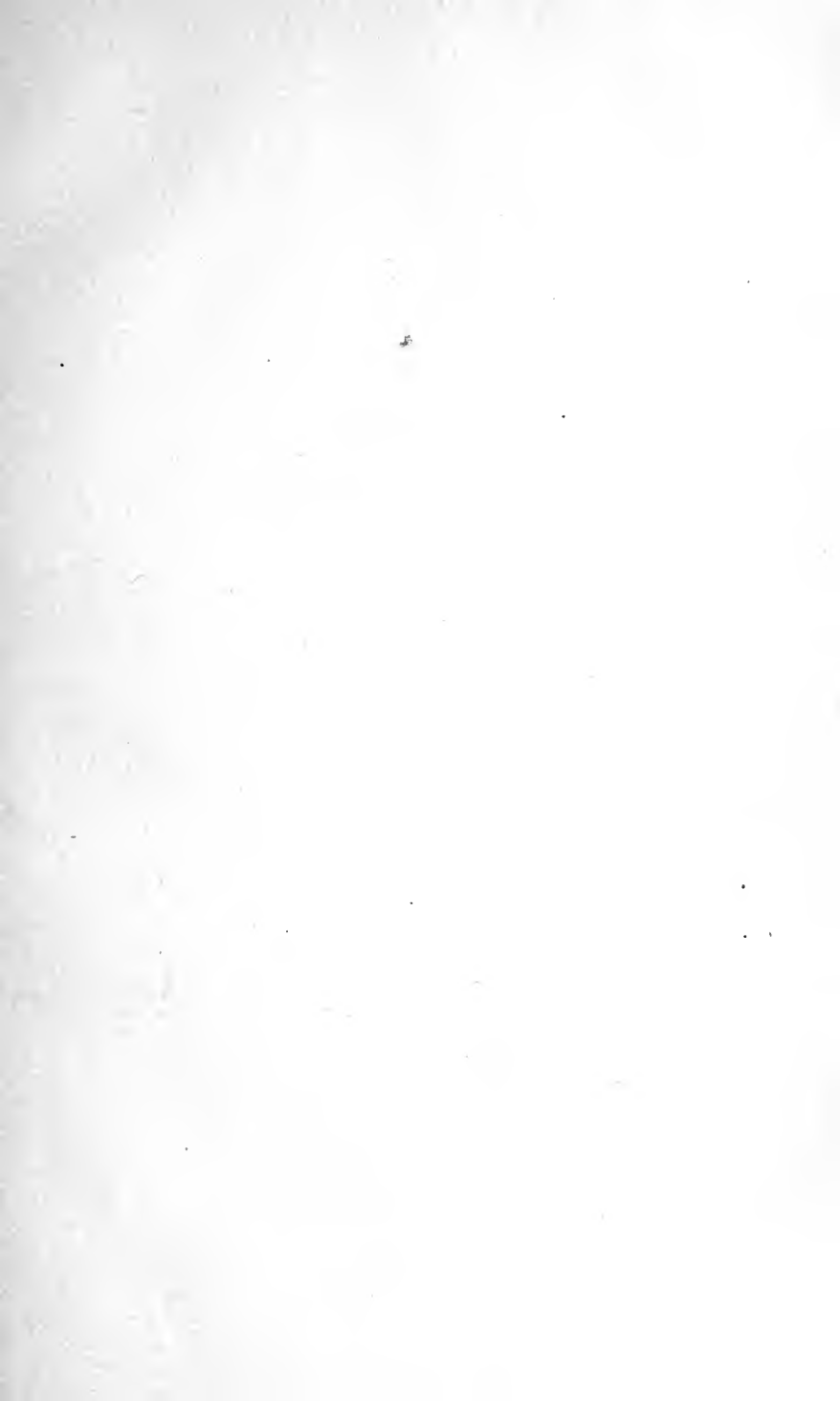








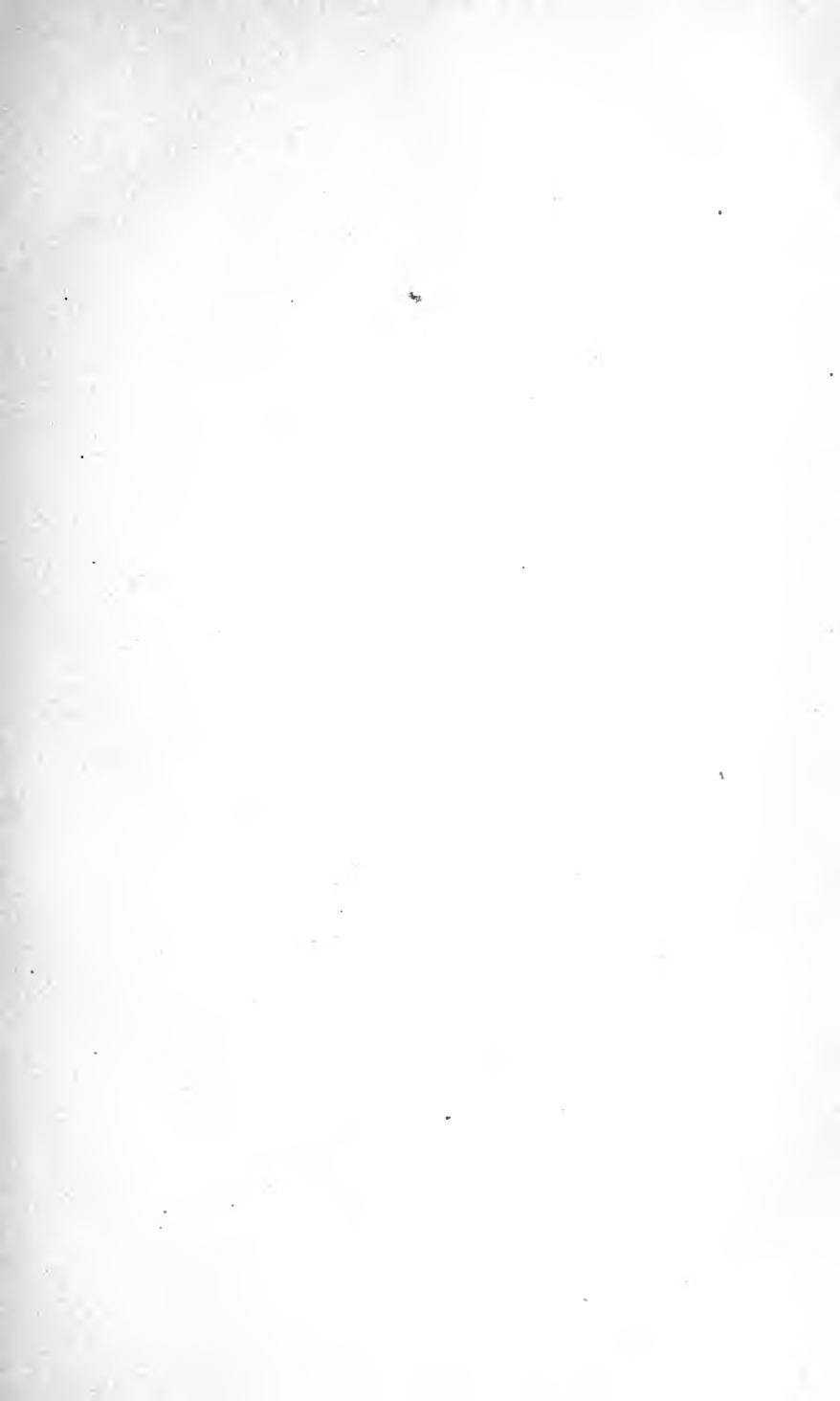






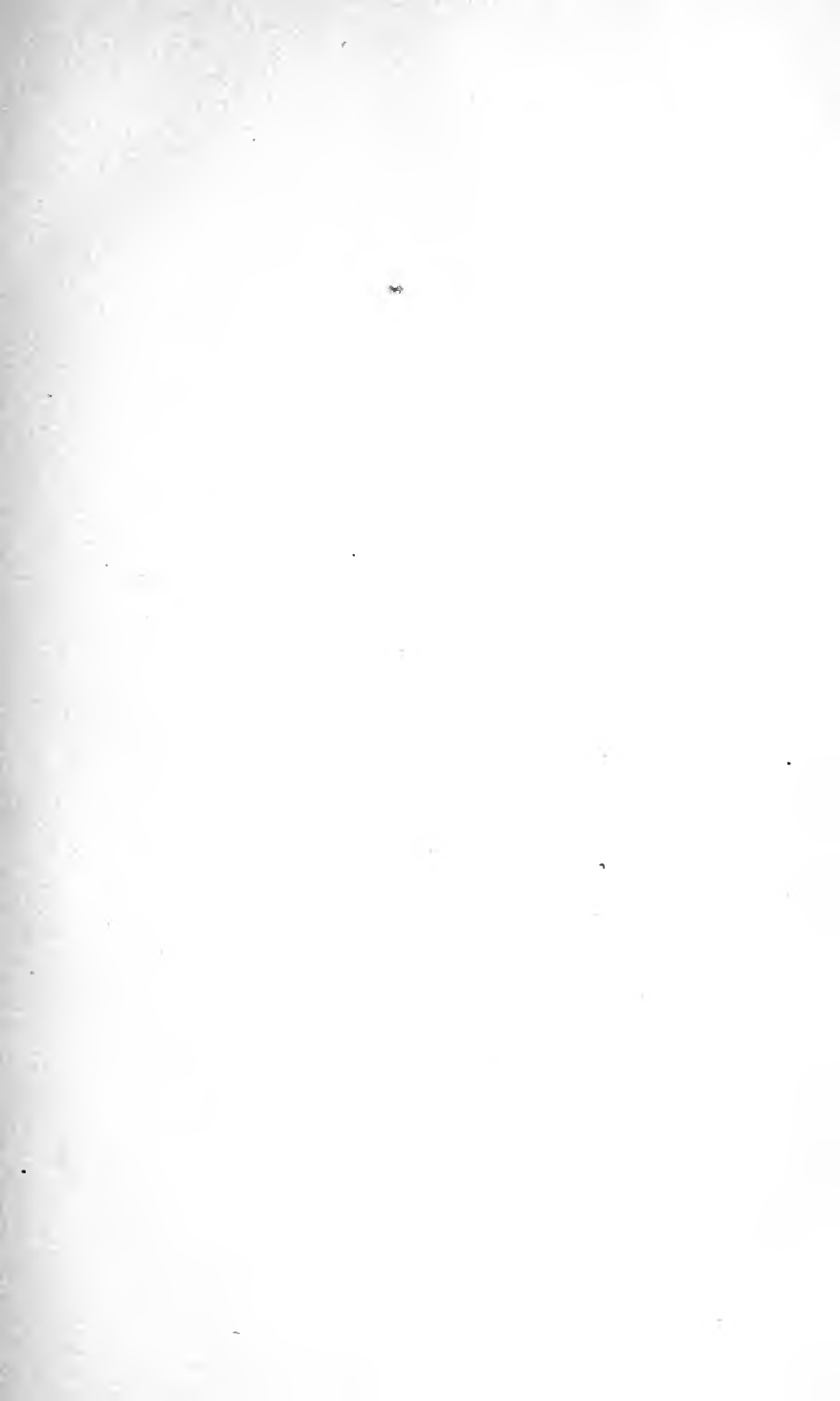




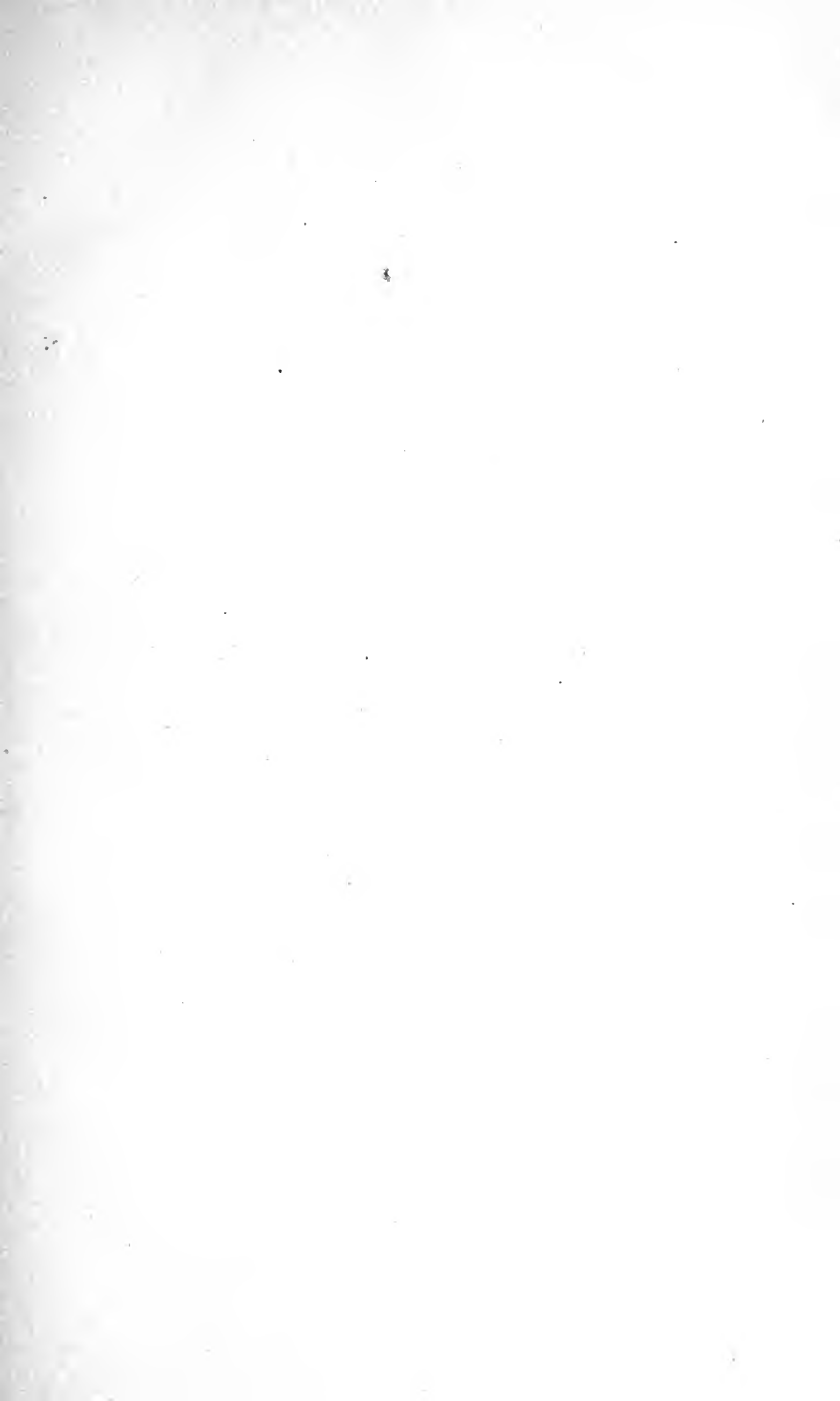




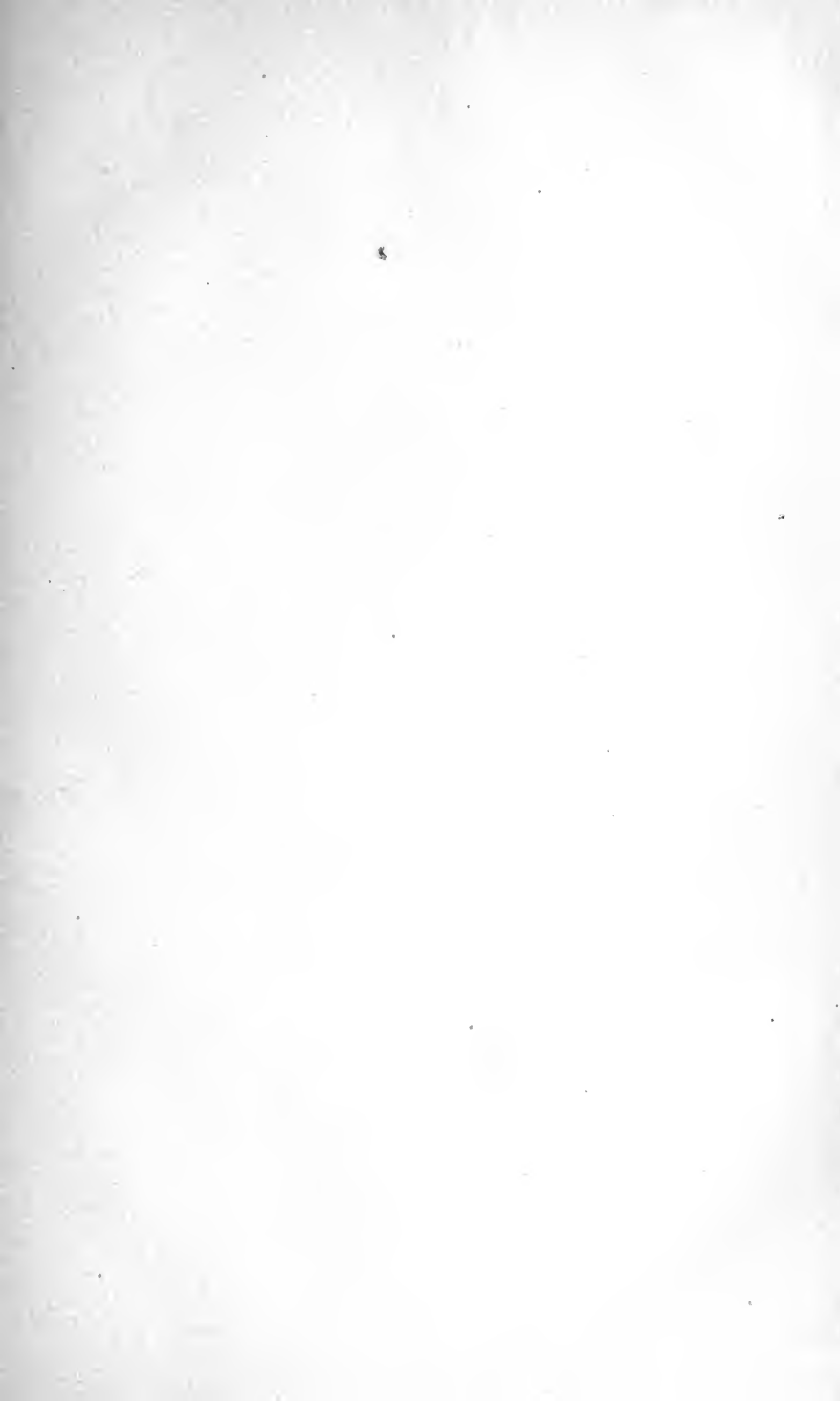










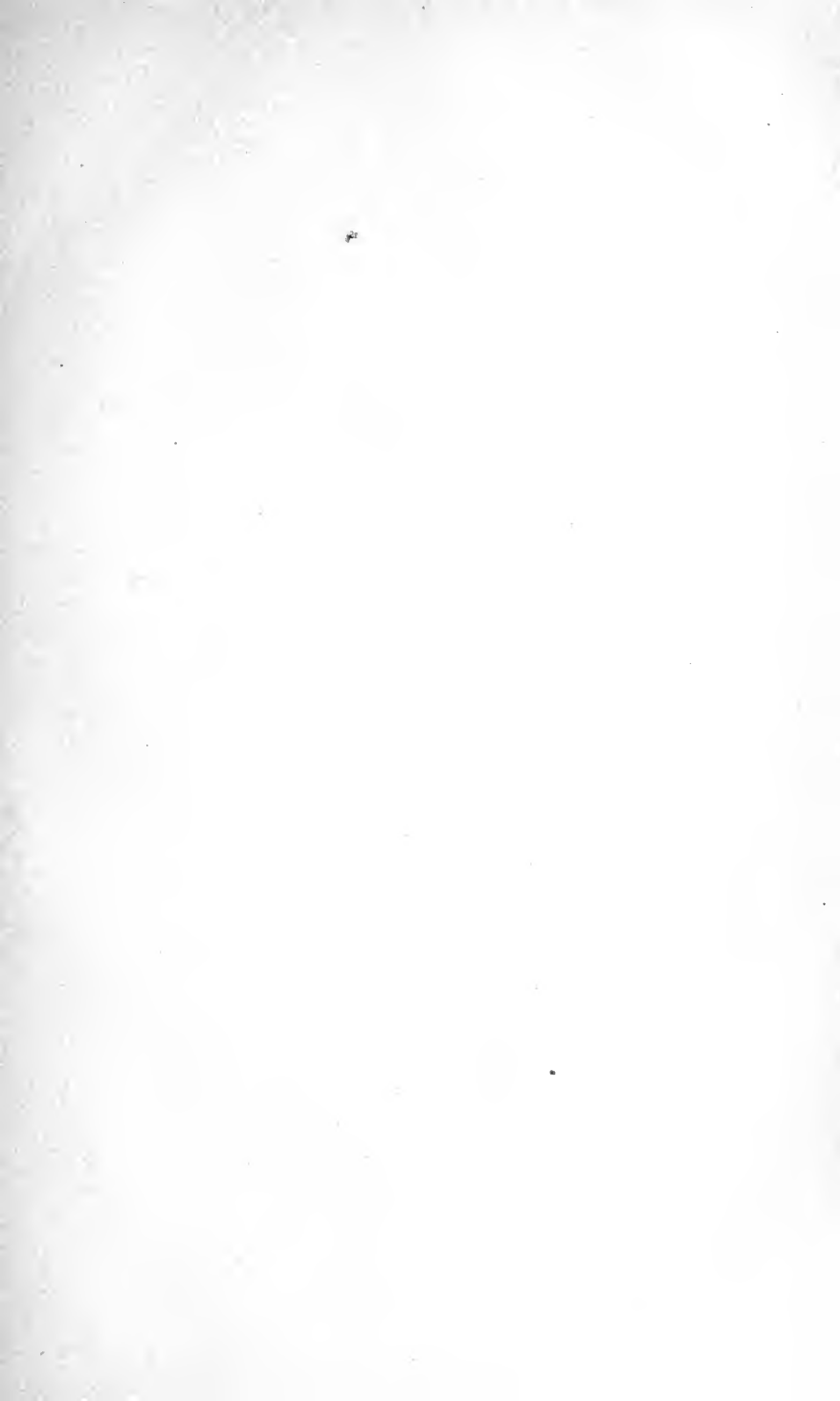






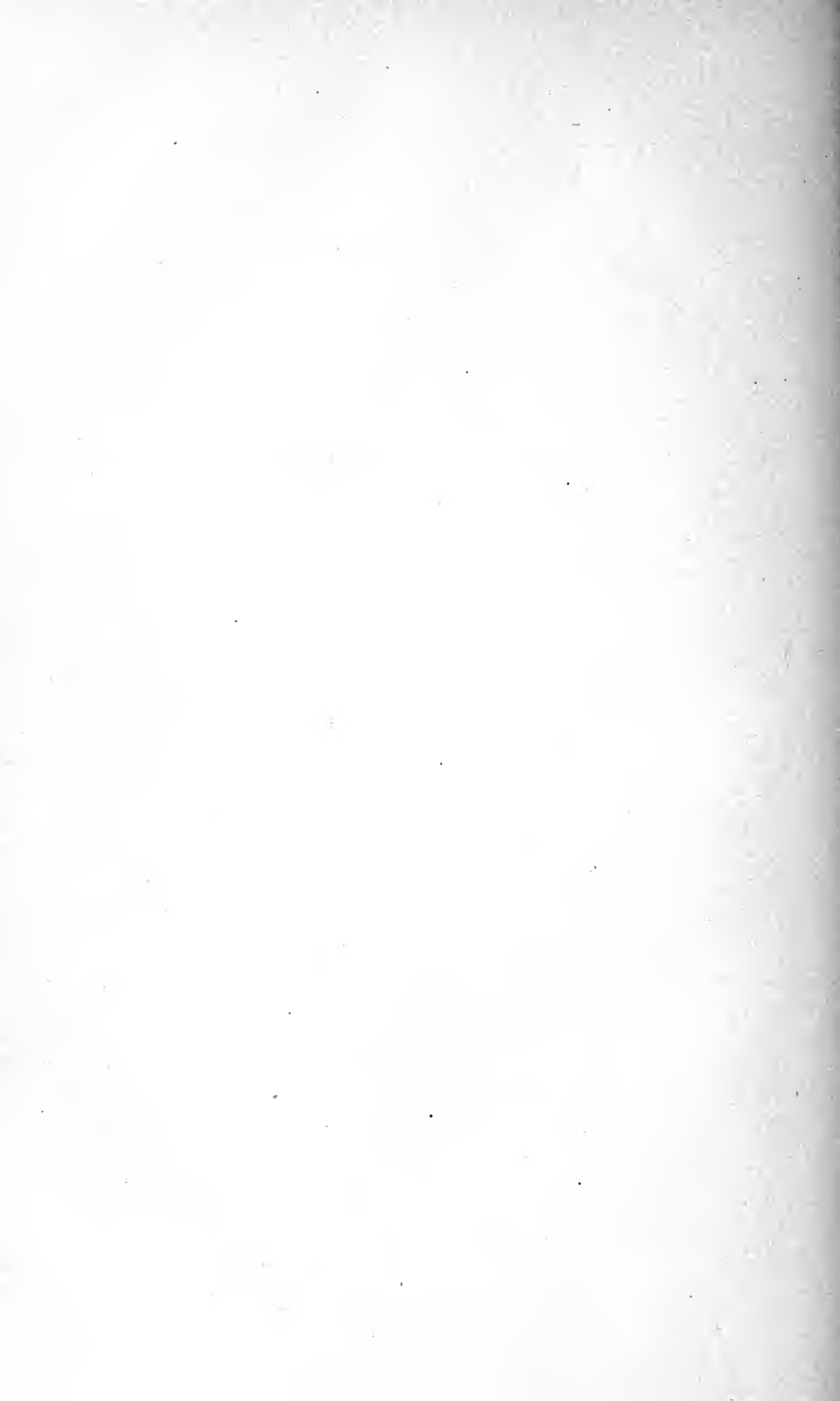












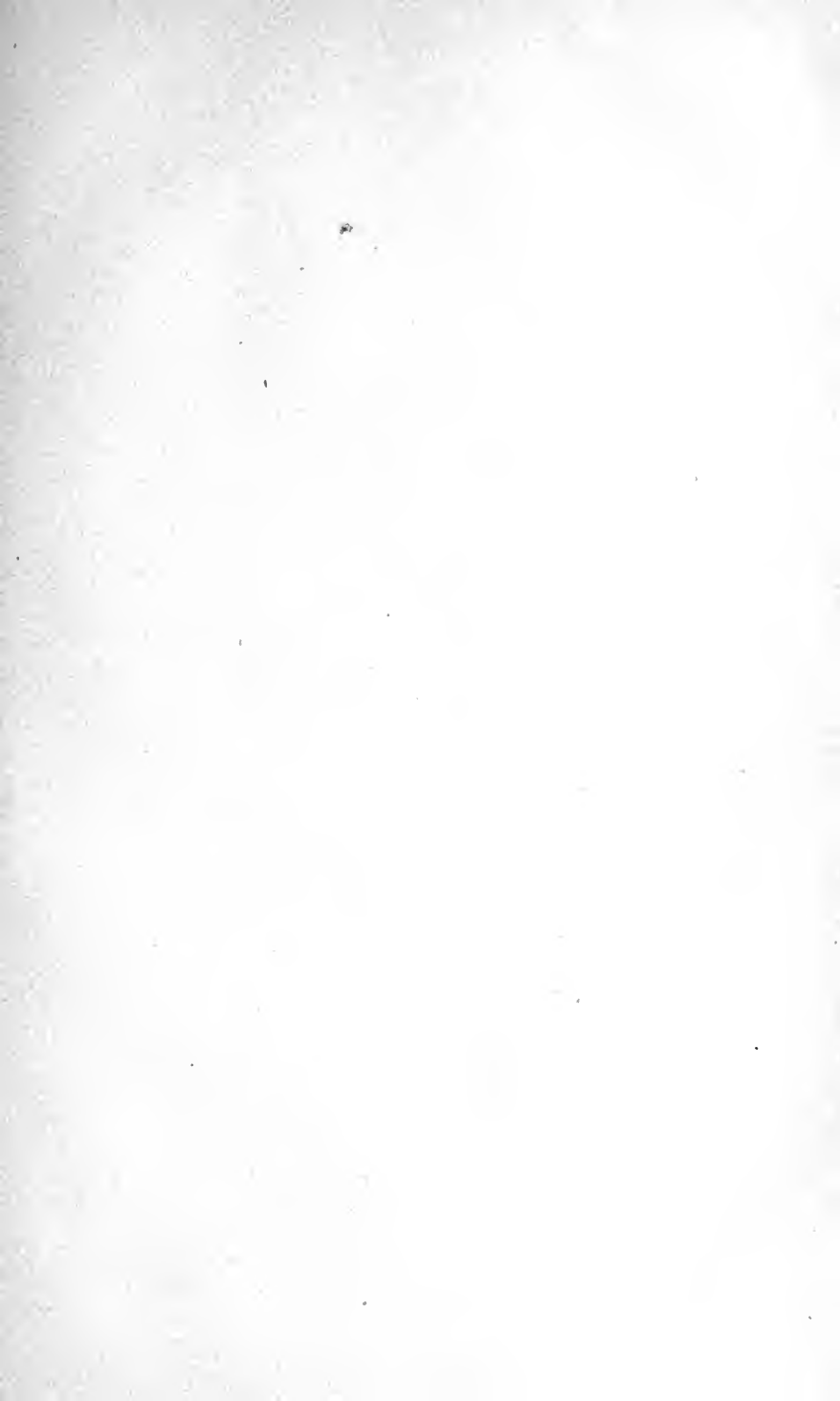




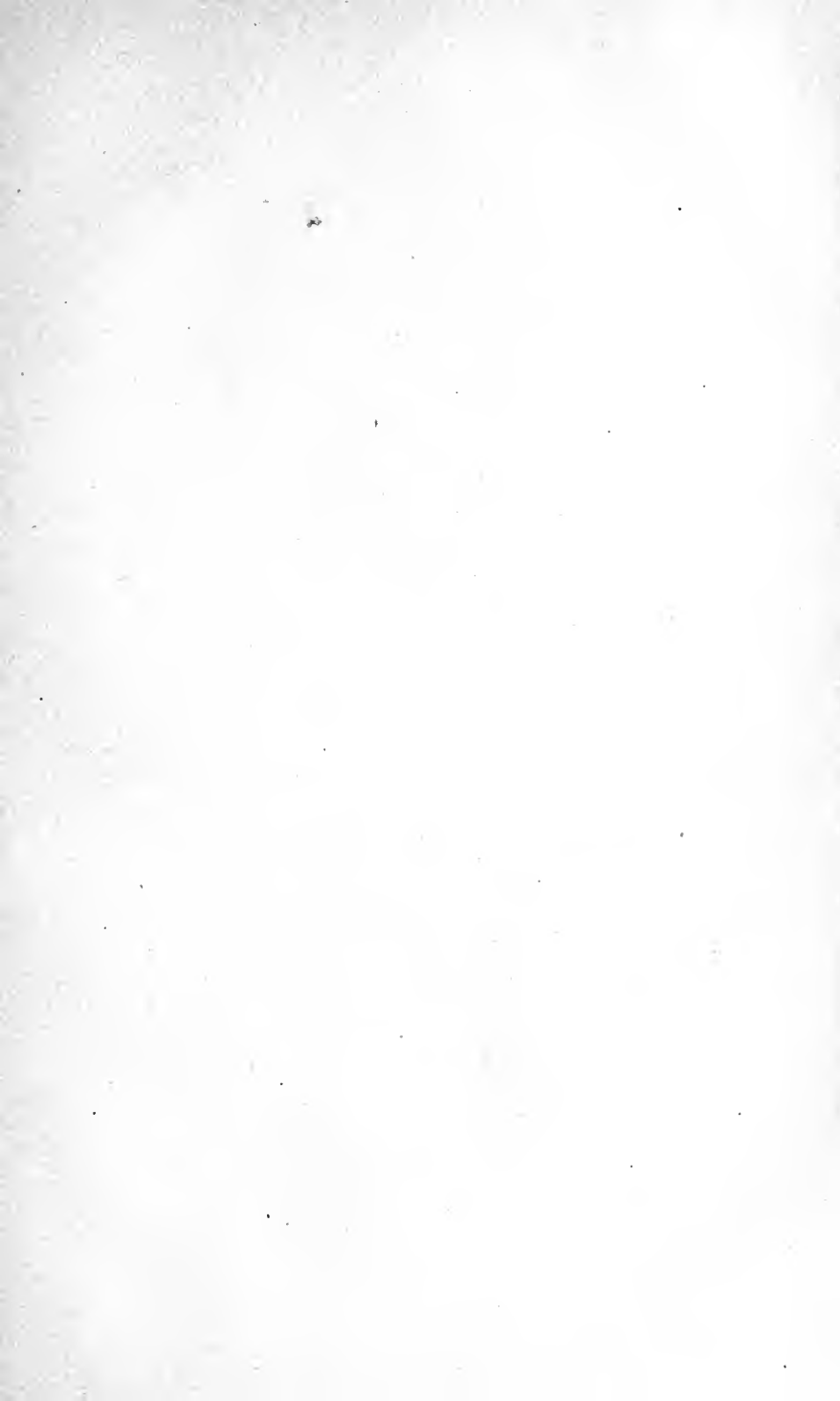




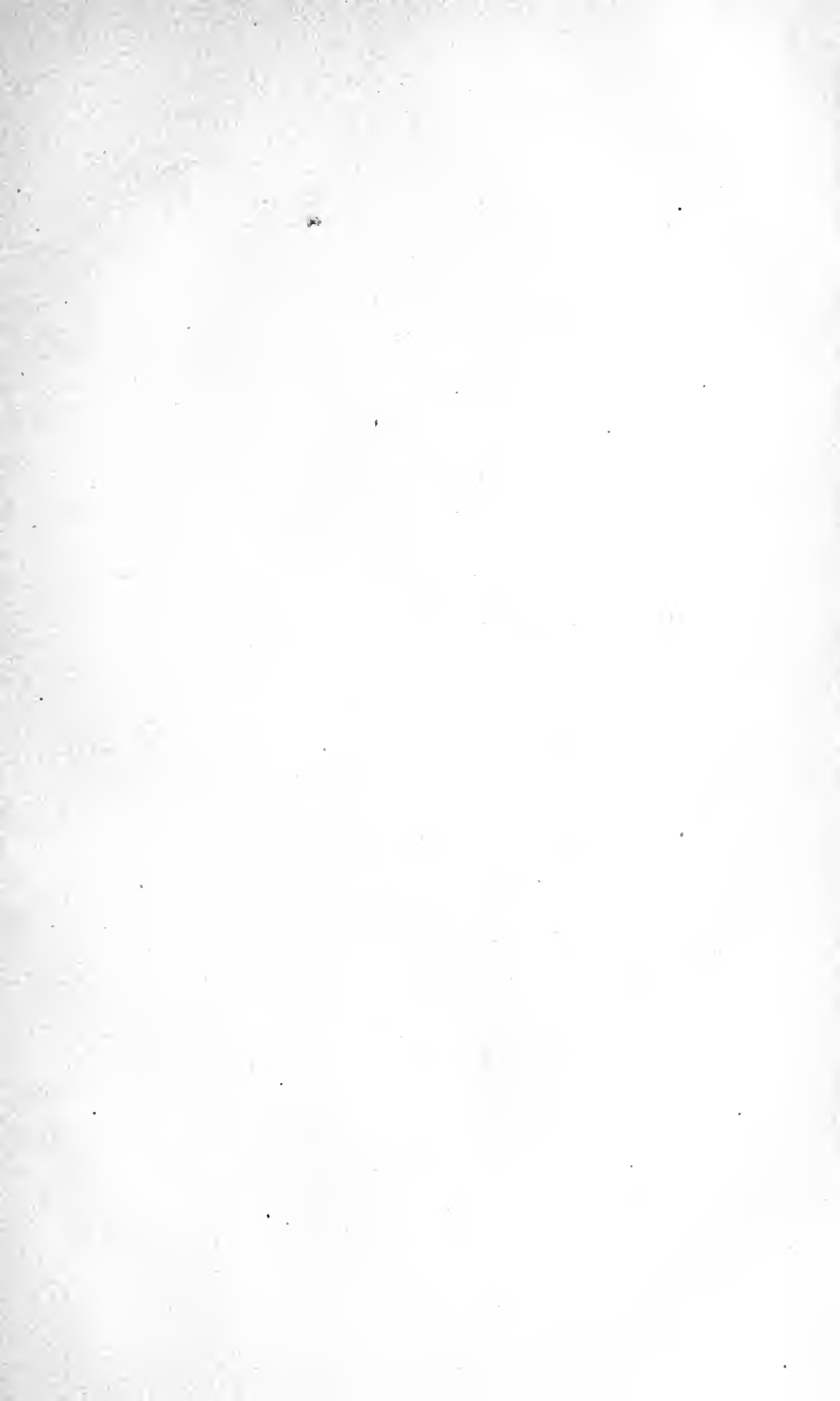














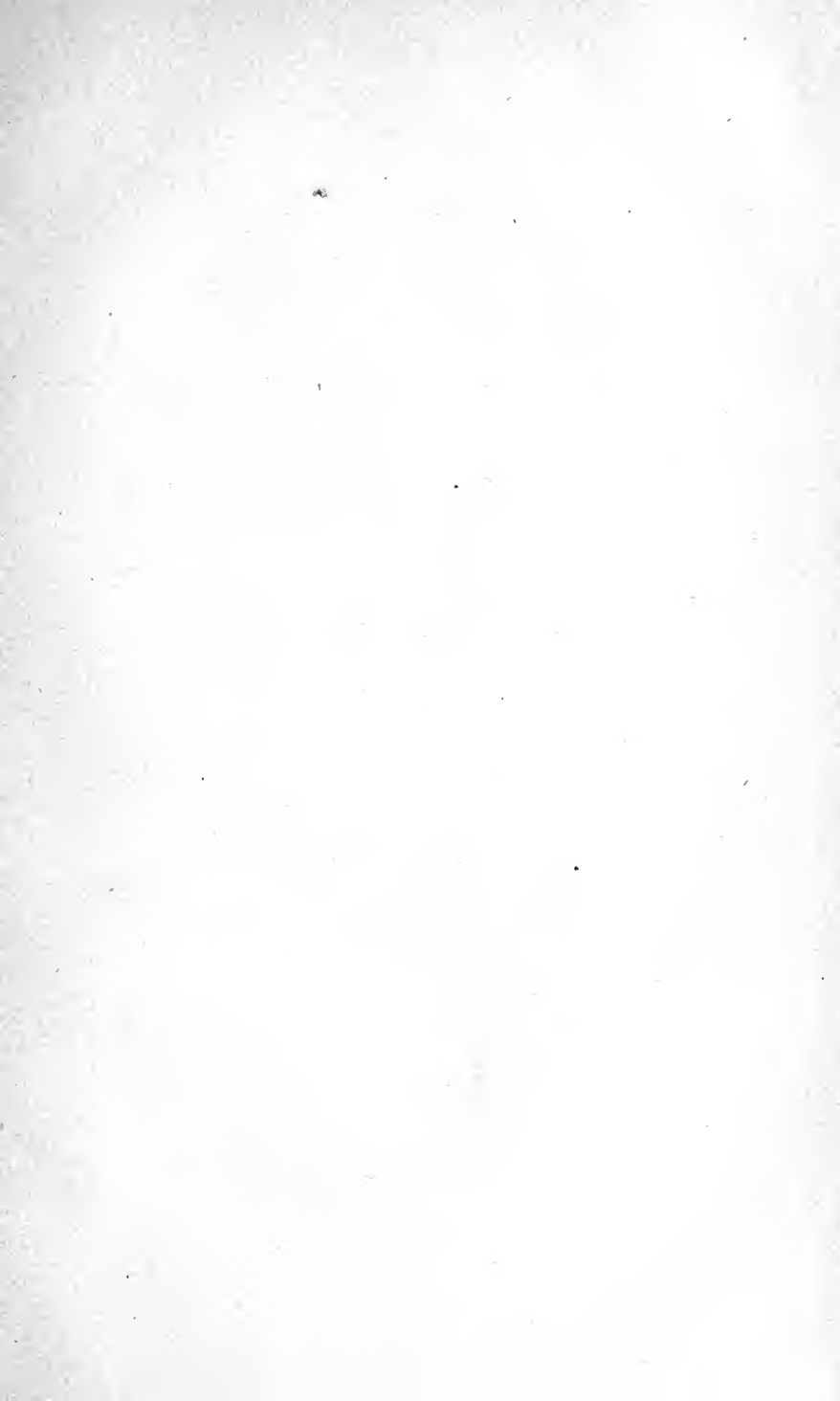




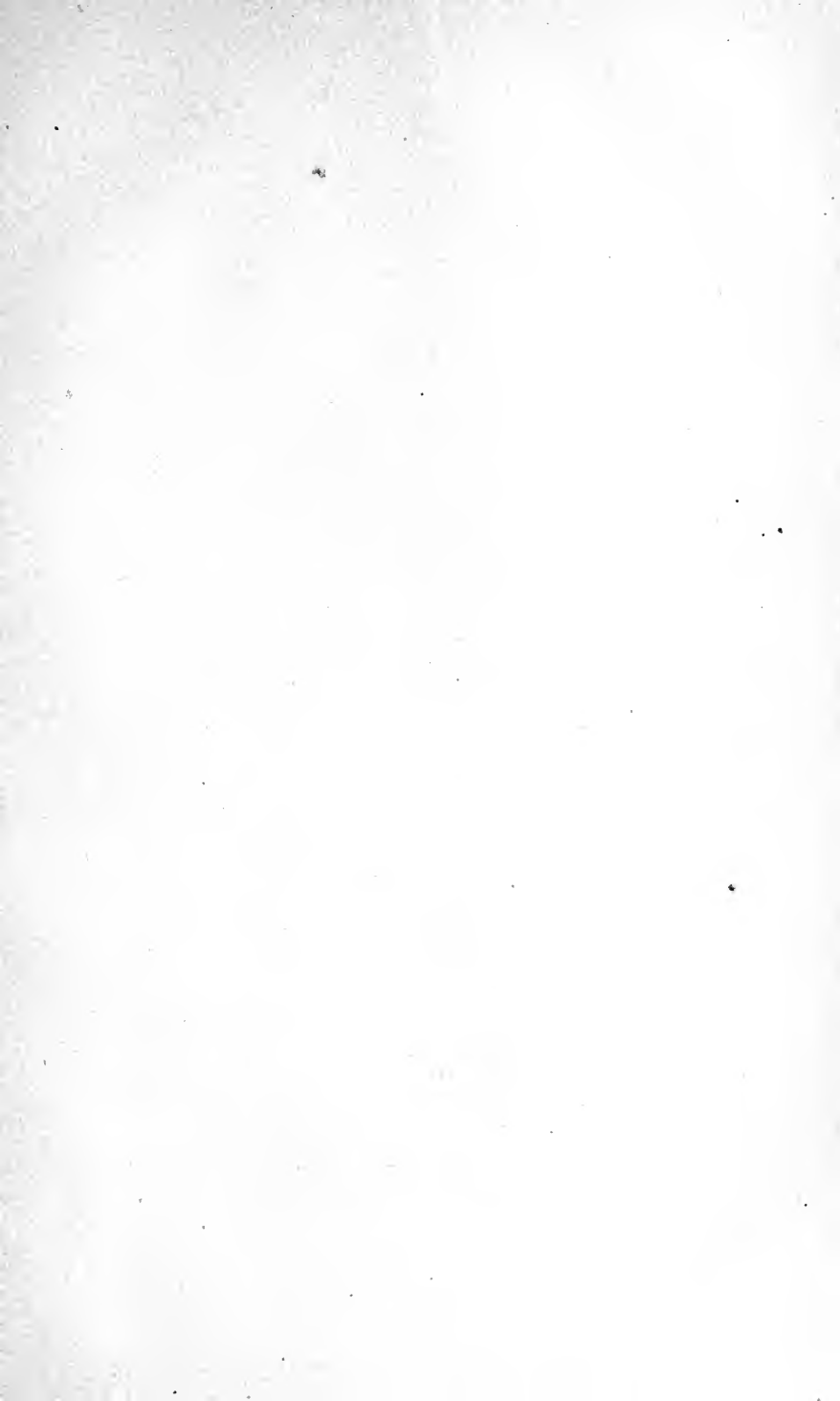




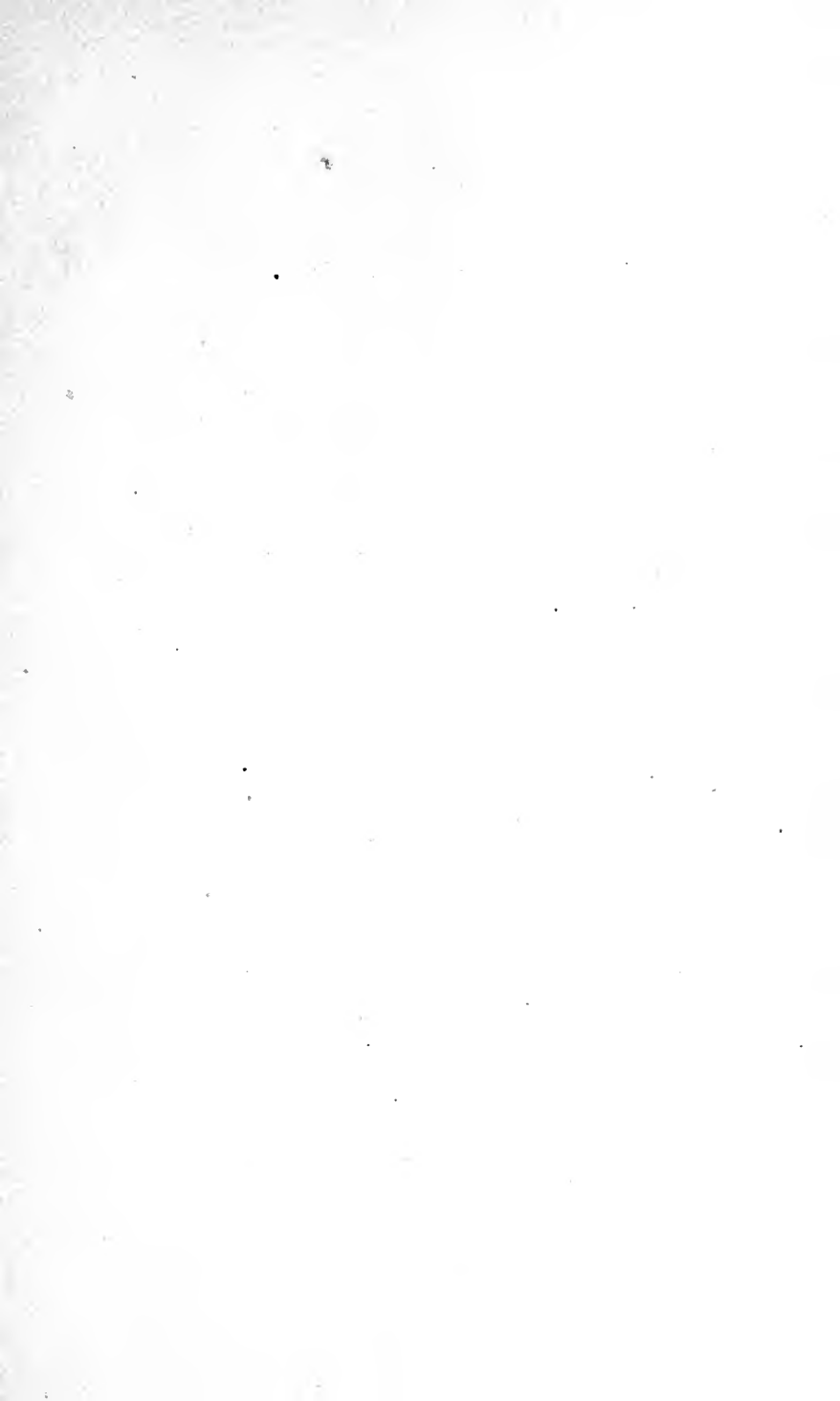








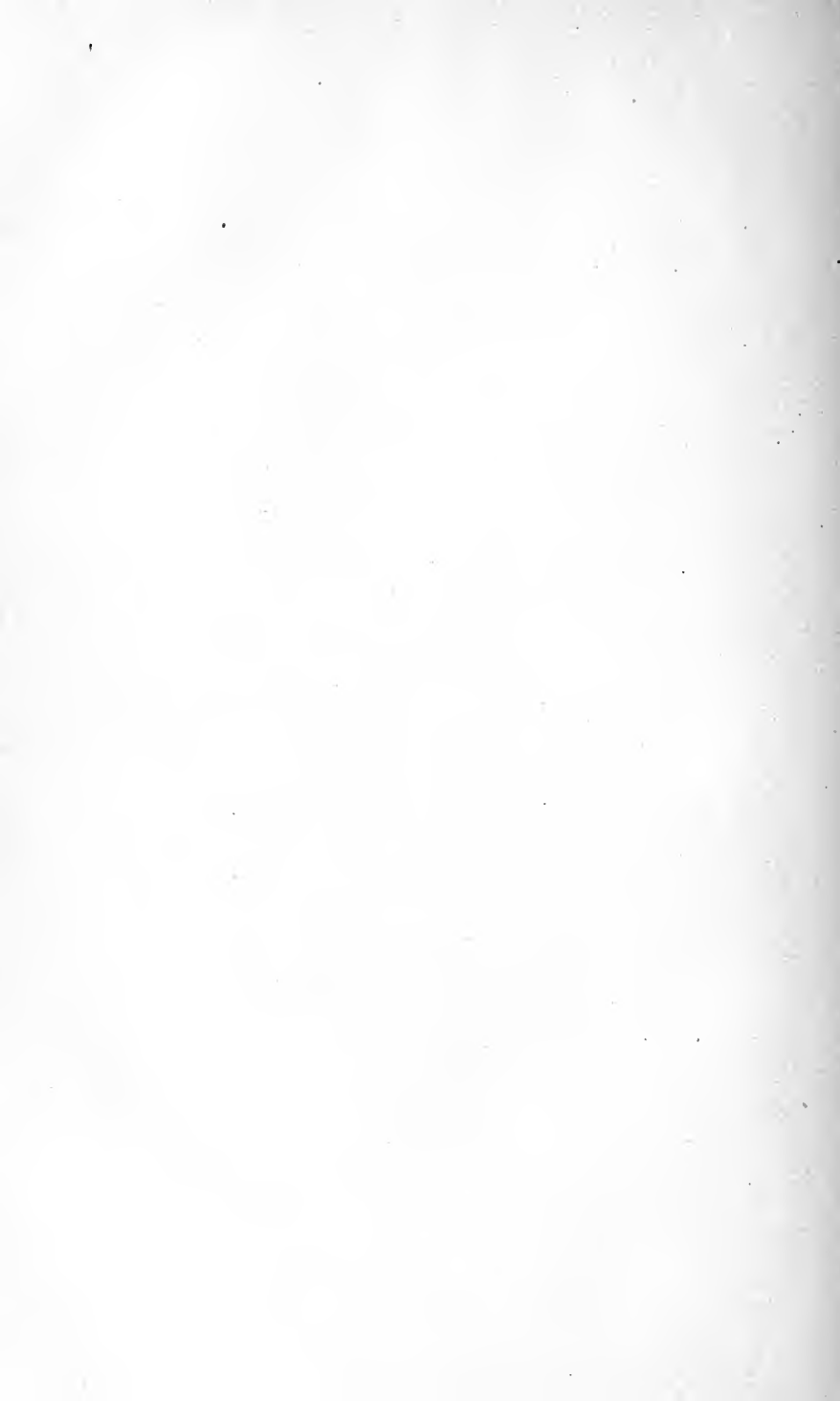






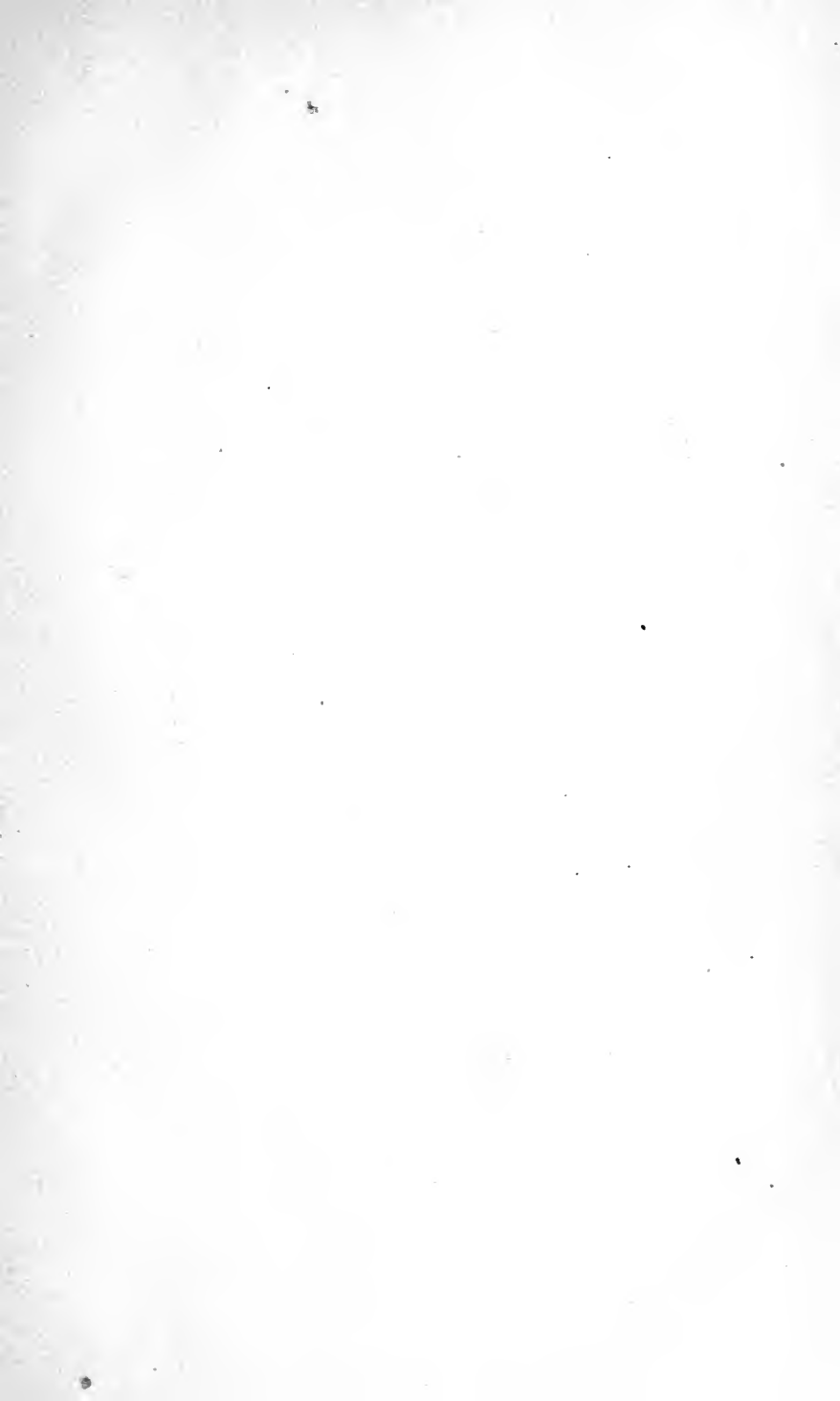




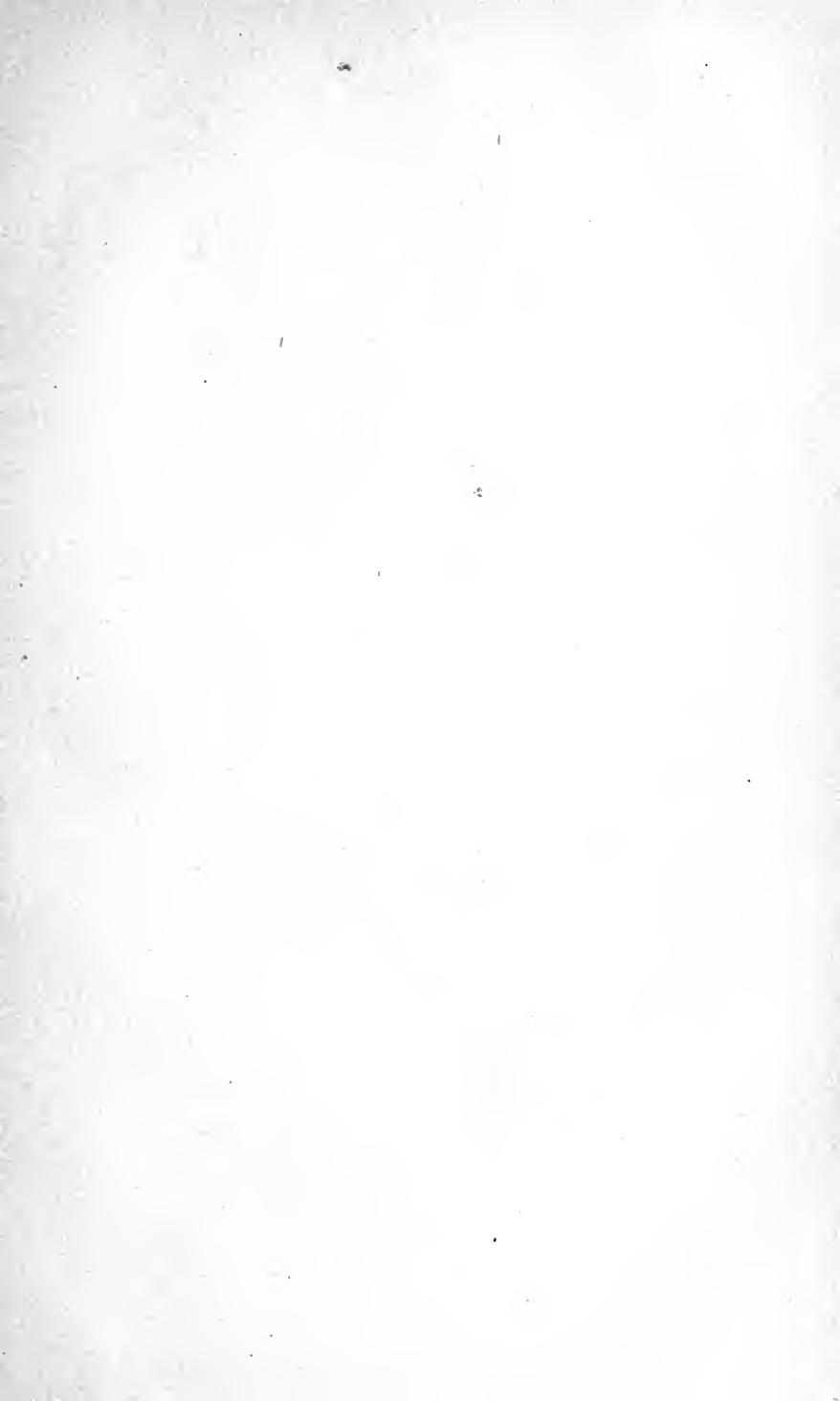
















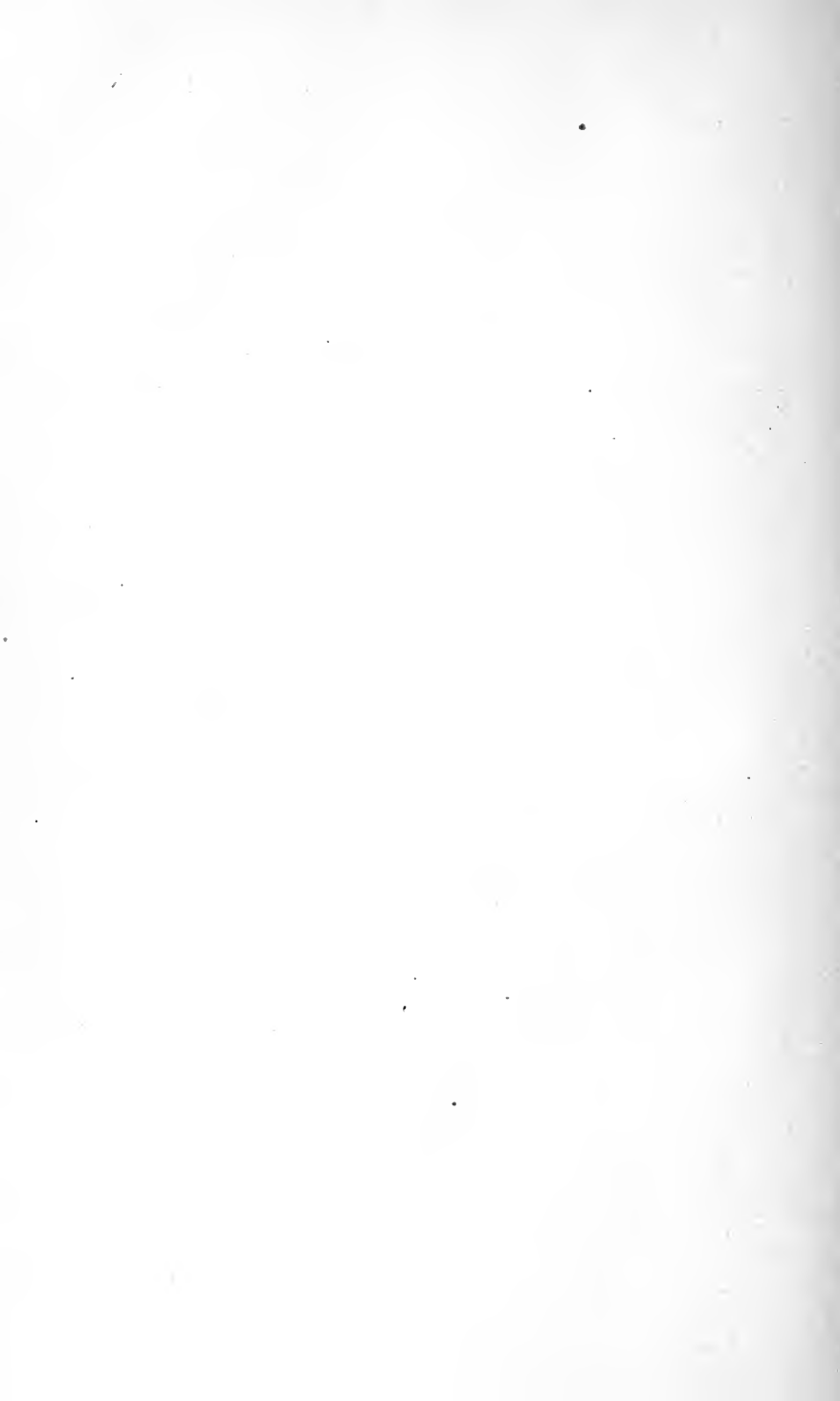


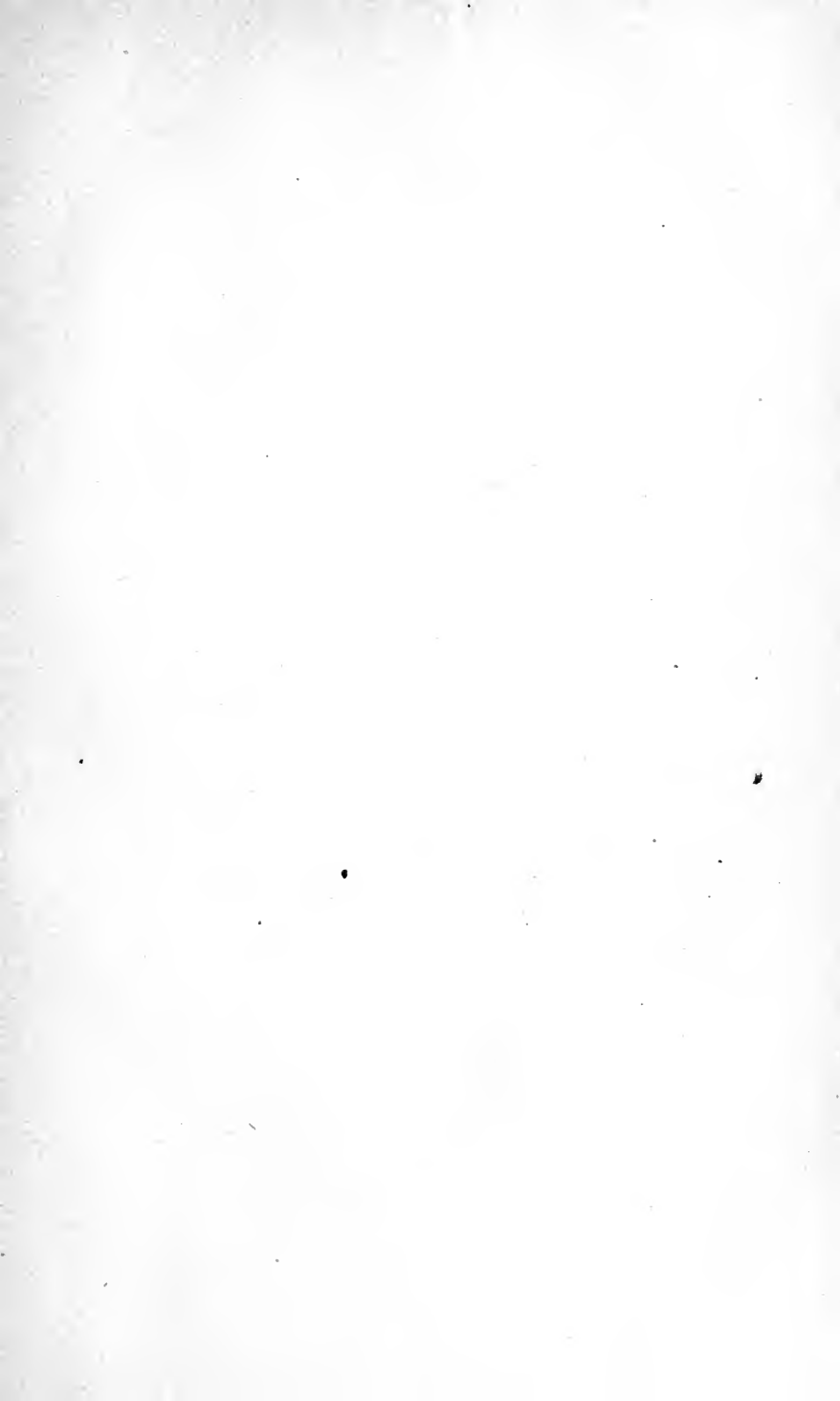












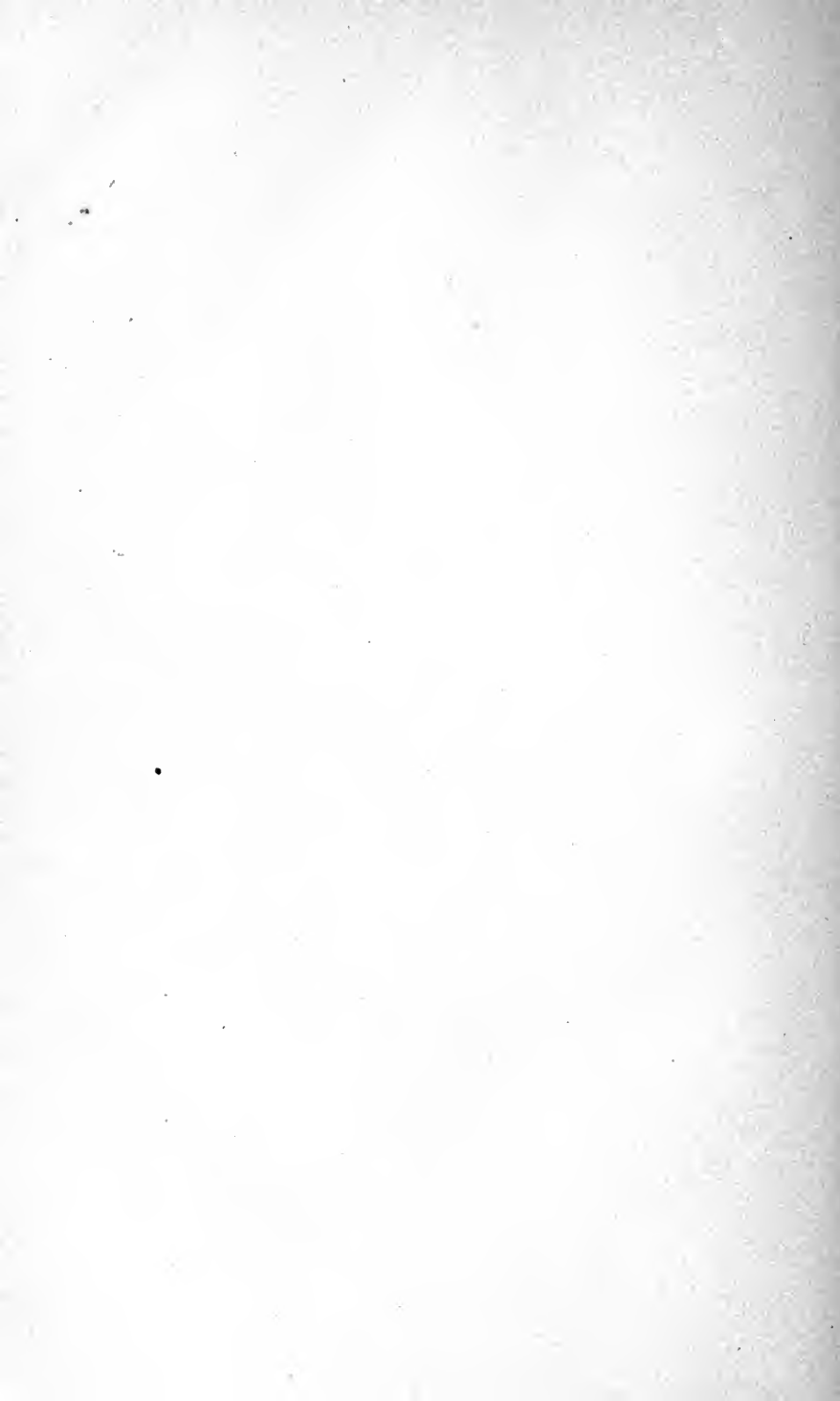


















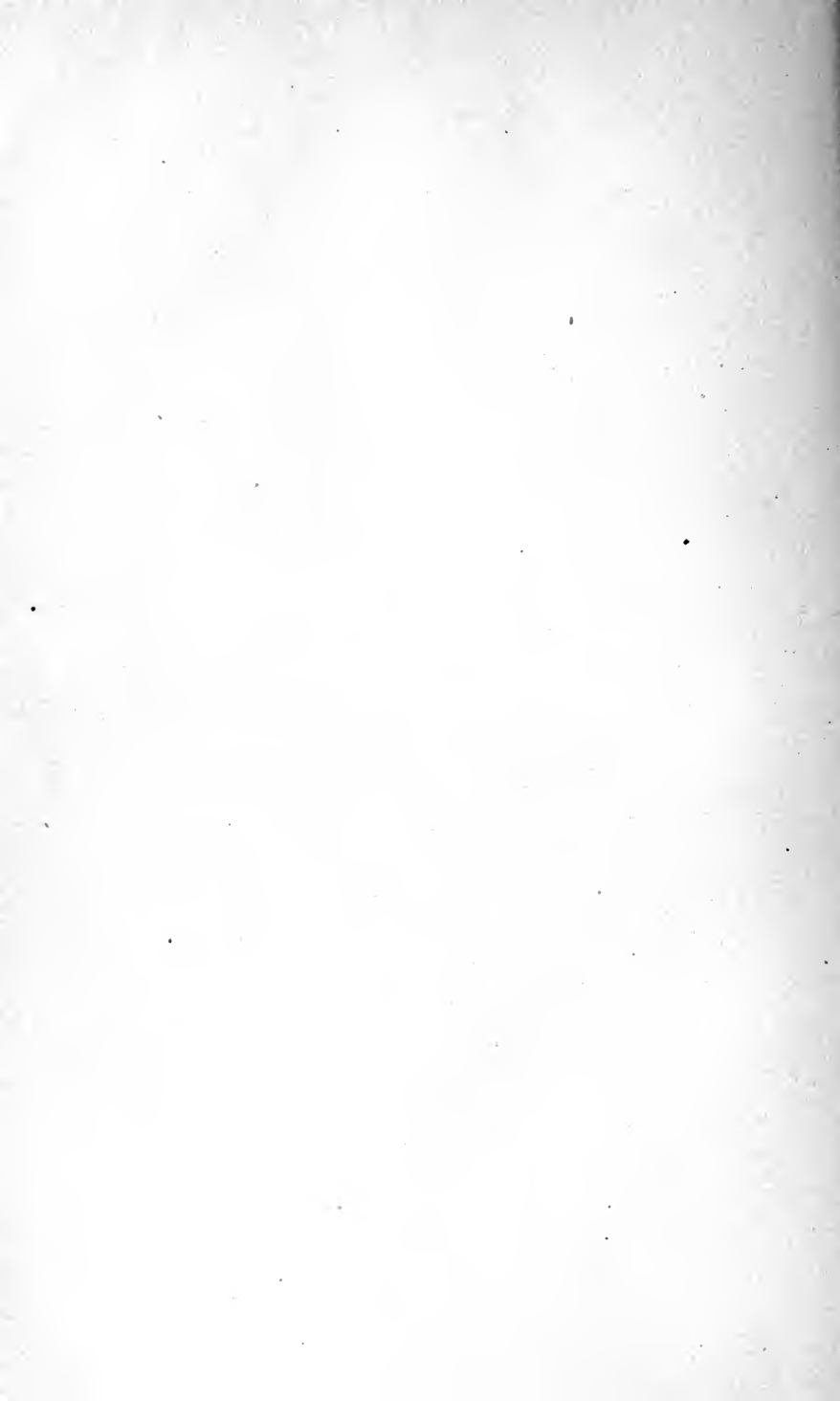




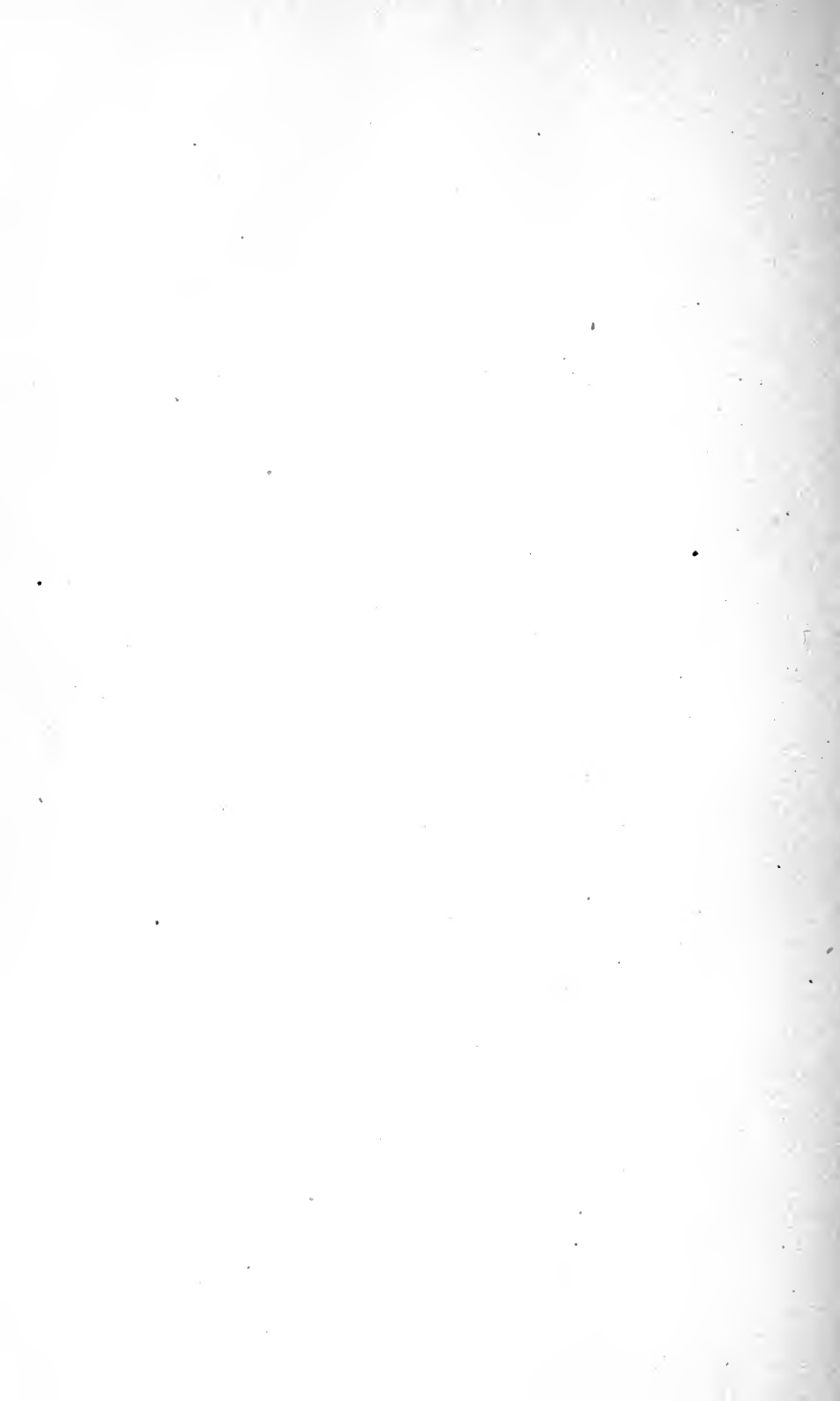












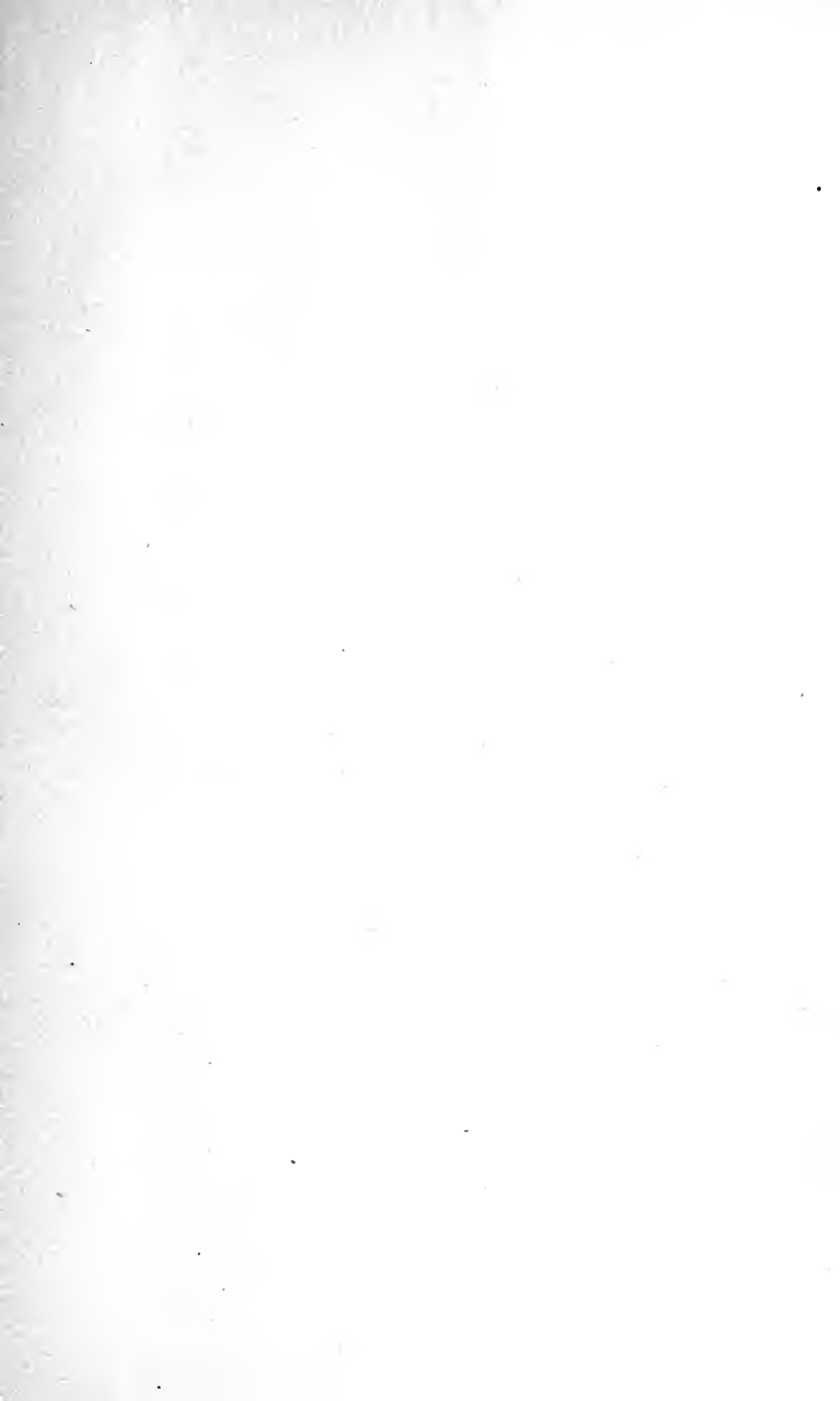
















































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