

# **PARALLEL CORPORA “A”**

**SENNACHERIB’S THIRD CAMPAIGN:  
701 B.C.E. (PARALLEL ACCOUNTS)**

	B. Sanhedrin	2 Baruch	Josephus, Antiquities
November 702 B.C.E.	95b	63:2	10:1:4(20b) [Berosus]
	(95b) Rab Judah said in Rab's name: The wicked Sennacherib advanced against them with a force consisting of 45,000 princes, each enthroned in a golden chariot and accompanied by his ladies and harlots, 80,000 warriors in coat-of-mail, and 60,000 swordsmen of the front line, the rest cavalymen. A similar host attacked Abraham, and a like force will accompany Gog and Magog. In the Baraitha it was taught: The length of his army was 400 parasangs, the horses standing neck to neck formed a line 40 parasangs long, and the grand total of his army 2,600,000 less one. Abaye inquired: Less one ribbo [ten thousand], one thousand, one hundred, or one? The question stands over.	(2) For at that time Sennacherib was stirred up in order to destroy, and his wrath roused him, and also the multitude of the nations which were with him in order to destroy.	(20b) But Berosus, who wrote the <i>History of Chaldaea</i> , also mentions King Senacheirimos and tells how he ruled over the Assyrians and how he made an expedition against all Asia <sup>1</sup> and Egypt;

Taylor Prism <sup>2</sup>	(F1) Bull Inscription <sup>3</sup>	(F2) Bull Inscription <sup>4</sup>	Nebi Yunis Inscription <sup>5</sup>
2:37-49	ℓ. 18-19a	ℓ. 17-20a	ℓ. 13b-14
(37) In my third campaign I (Sennacherib) went against the Khatti-land. <sup>6</sup> (38) Luli (Elulæus), king of Sidon,—the terrifying splendor (lit., terrors of the splendors) (39) of my sovereignty overcame him and far off (40) into the midst of the sea he fled. (There) he died. (41) Great Sidon, Little Sidon, (42) Bit-Zitti, Zaribtu, Mahalliba, (43) Ushû, Akzib, Akkû, (44) his strong, walled cities, where there were supplies (lit., fodder and drinking-places) (45) for his garrisons,—the terrors of the weapon of Assur, (46) my lord, overpowered them and they bowed in submission at my feet. (47) Tuba'lu (Ethbaal, Ithobalus) I seated on the royal throne (48) over them, and tribute, gift(s) for my majesty, (49) I imposed upon him for all time, without ceasing.	(18) In my third campaign I (Sennacherib) went against the Khatti-land. Luli, king of Sidon,—my terrifying splendor overcame him, and from Tyre he fled to Iadnana (Cyprus) (19a) in the midst of the sea, and died. Tuba'lu I placed on his royal throne, (and) imposed my kingly tribute upon him.	(17) And Luli, king of Sidon, was afraid to fight me (lit., feared my battle) and fled to Iadnana (Cyprus), (18) which is in the midst of the sea, and (there) sought a refuge. In that land, (19) in terror of the weapons of Assur, my lord, he died. Tuba'lu I placed on (20a) the throne of his kingdom, and imposed upon him my royal tribute.	(13b) I (Sennacherib) deprived Luli, king of Sidon, of his kingdom. (14) Tuba'lu I set on his throne and imposed my royal tribute upon him.
2:50-60a	ℓ. 19b-20a		
(50) From Minhim-mu (Menahem), the Shamsimuruni, (51) Tuba'lu the Sidoni, (52) Abdi-liti, the Arvadi, (53) Uru-milki, the Gubli, (54) Mitinti, the Ashdodi, (55) Budu-ilu, the Beth-Ammoni, (56) Kammusu-nadbi, the Moabi, (57) Malikrammu, the Edomi,—(58) kings of Amurru, all of them, numerous	(19b) The kings of Amurru, <sup>7</sup> all of them, (20a) brought their heavy tribute before me in the neighborhood of the city of Ushû, <sup>8</sup>		

<sup>1</sup> By Asia is meant Syria, Phoenicia, Palestia, Judah, the Trans-Jordan, and neighboring countries.  
<sup>2</sup> AS, pp. 29-34, 2:37-3:49; ARAB, 2, §§239–240.  
<sup>3</sup> AS, pp. 68-70, ℓ.18-32; ARAB, 2, §§309–312.  
<sup>4</sup> AS, p. 77, ℓ.17-22a; ARAB, 2, §§326–327.

<sup>5</sup> AS, p. 86, ℓ.13b–15; ARAB, 2, §§347.  
<sup>6</sup> Khatti-land: the name of the West countries from Khatti in Asia Minor southward to Palestine.  
<sup>7</sup> Amurru represents Syria, Phoenicia, Samaria, Judah, Palestia, the Trans-Jordan, and Edomite states.  
<sup>8</sup> Ushû was located on the Phoenician mainland opposite the island city of Tyre.<sup>8</sup>

2 Kings	Isaiah	2 Chronicles	Josephus, Antiquities	Taylor Prism	(F1) Bull Inscription	Rabbi Eliezer	Severus Sacred History
				presents, (59) as their heavy tribute, (60) they brought before me for the fourth time, and kissed my feet.			
				2:68b-72 <sup>9</sup> (68b) In the course of my campaign, (69) Beth-Dagon, Joppa, (70) Banaibarka, Asuru, cit-ies (71) of Sidka, who had not speedily bowed in (72) submission at my feet, I conquered, I car-ried off their spoil.	ℓ. 22a <sup>10</sup> (22a) In the course of my campaign I captured his (Sidka's) cities, which had not submitted at my feet, I carried off their spoil.		
				2:60b-68a (60b) But Sidka, (61) king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted (62) to my yoke,—the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, (63) his sons his daugh-ters, his brothers, the seed of his father's house, (64) I tore away and brought to Assyria. (65) Sharru-lu-dâri, son of Rukibtî, their former king, (66) I set over the people of Ashkelon and (67) I imposed upon him the payment of tribute (in the form of) presents to my majesty. (68a) He accepted (lit., bore) my yoke.	ℓ. 20b-21 (20b) And Sidka, king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke,—the gods of his father's house, himself, together with [his] fami-ly, (21) I tore up and carried away to Assyria. Sharru-lu-dâri, son of Rukibtî, their [former] king, I placed [over the people of] Ashkelon, and imposed my royal tribute upon him.		
18:13a (13a) And in the four-teenth year of King Hez-ekiyahu, Sennacherib the king of Assyria came against all the fortified cities of Judah,	36:1a (1a) And it was, in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiyahu, Sen-nacherib king of Assyria came against all the for-tified cities of Judah,	32:1 (1) After these things and this faithful-ness, Sennacherib the king of Assyria came; and he came to Judah and camped against the fortified cities, and com-manded to break them open to himself.	10:1:1(1) (1) Now Hezekiah, the king of the two tribes, had occupied the throne for fourteen years when the king of Assyr-ia, named Senacheiri-mos, marched against him with a great arma-ment			44 (44) Rabbi Jose said: When Sennacherib came into the land of Israel, all the peoples round about the land of Israel saw the camp of Sennacherib, and feared greatly, and all men fled from his place.	1:50a (50a) . . . Sen-nacherim, king of the As-syrians, made war against him (Hezekiah), having entered his territories with a large army.

<sup>9</sup> The position of these cities, located near the coast between Ushû and Ashkelon, and the statement, “In the course of my campaign” against Ashkelon, prove that this verse belongs chronologically before the mentioning of the overthrow of Ashkelon and the exile of King Sidka.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

2 Kings	Isaiah	Isaiah	Josephus, Antiquities	Taylor Prism	(F1) Bull Inscription	(F2) Bull Inscription	Nebi Yunis Inscription
18:13b (13b) and he (Sennacherib) captured them.	36:1b (1b) and he captured them.	10:28–31 (28) He has entered into Aiath, passing over to Migron. At Michmash he has laid up his store supplies. (29) They have crossed over the passes, they have taken up their encampment at Geba. Ramah is afraid, Gibeah of Saul has fled. (30) Cry out with your voice, daughter of Gallim, cause it to be heard unto Laish, “Poor Anathoth.” (31) Madmenah retreats; the inhabitants of Gebim seek refuge.	10:1:1(1) (1) and took by storm all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin.	3:18-27a <sup>11</sup> (18) As for Hezekiyahu, the Yahudahi (Judahite), (19) who did not submit to my yoke, 46 of his strong, walled cities, and (20) the small cities in their neighborhood, (21) which were without number,—by leveling with battering-rams (?) (22) and by bringing up siege engines (?), by attacking and storming on foot, (23) by mines, tunnels and breaches (?), I besieged and took (those cities). (24) 200,150 people, great and small, male and female, (25) horses, mules, asses, camels, (26) cattle and sheep, without number, I brought away from them (27) and counted as spoil.	ℓ. 27b-28a <sup>12</sup> (27b) As for Hezekiyahu, the Yahudahi (Judahite), who did not submit (28a) to my yoke, 46 of his strong, walled cities and the small cities in their neighborhood, which were without number, I besieged, I captured. I plundered, as booty I counted them.	ℓ. 20b-21a (20b) I devastated (21a) the wide province of Judah,	ℓ. 15a (15a) I devastated the wide province of Judah.
2 Chronicles				Severus Sacred History			
32:2-8 (2) And Hezekiyahu saw that Sennacherib had come, and his face for battle against Jerusalem; (3) and he took counsel with his leaders and his valiant warriors, to stop the waters of the springs that were on the outside of the city; and they helped him. (4) And many people were				1:50c (50c) For Ezekias, being inferior in numbers, did not venture to come to an engagement with him, but kept himself safe within the walls (of Jerusalem).			

<sup>11</sup> In both the Taylor and F1 Bull inscriptions, the details of the war against Judah and King Hezekiah are found in the latter part of Sennacherib’s discussion of his third campaign. Nevertheless, the internal data from these records and the words of Josephus reveal that this expedition belongs chronologically between the victory over Ashkelon and the battle of Eltekeh (which was followed by the conquest of Ekron). First, Padi was returned to the throne of Ekron after Sennacherib took that city. Yet Padi had been held by Hezekiah in Jerusalem and was not released until after Hezekiah had submitted to the Assyrian king. Second, the expression “as for Hezekiah,” which begins the report of the victory over Judah, reflects that Sennacherib merely wrote of the Palestim region first and then backtracked to the discussion of Judah. Third, the route of the campaign shows that Sennacherib first attacked the coastal regions, striking at the Phoenician cities, moving south to the region around Joppa, and then invading the Palestim town of Ashkelon. He next

turned inland, invading Judah, making his own camp at the Judahite city of Lachish while other divisions moved against a number of other fortified cities in Judah. After sending troops to Jerusalem to blockade that city, Sennacherib turned north to Libnah (near Eltekeh) in the direction towards Ekron. Here he could take up a well-suited position for meeting the approaching Egyptian and Ethiopian forces who had been summoned by the people of Ekron. (The march of the Egyptian and Ethiopian forces would have been upon the “Palestim road,” stretching along the coast [cf. Exod., 13:17, “road of the Palestim land”]; then turning inland, they would go to Ekron, and then toward the Assyrian army at Libnah. See Map 1). Fourth, Josephus reports that Sennacherib set out to meet this Egyptian and Ethiopian army at the same time that he sent a large force under Rabshakeh to sack Jerusalem.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

2 Kings	2 Chronicles	Josephus, Antiquities	Taylor Prism	(F1) Bull Inscription	(F2) Bull Inscription
	<p>gathered, and they stopped all the springs, and the brook that was rushing through the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water? (5) And he made himself strong and built all the wall that was broken, and raised up on (it) the towers, and outside another wall, and strengthened Millo, the city of David, and made darts in abundance, and shields. (6) And he set captains of war over the people, and gathered them to him, to the street of the gate of the city, and spoke to their heart, saying, (7) Be strong and courageous; do not be afraid nor be cast down before the face of the king of Assyria, and before the face of all the multitude that is with him. (8) With him is an arm of flesh, and with us is Yahweh our <i>eloahi</i> to help us, and to fight our battles. And the people were supported by the words of Hezekiyahu the king of Judah.</p>				
<p><b>18:14a</b> (14a) And Hezekiyah the king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria, <b>to Lachish</b>, saying, I have offended, turn back from me; that which you put on me I will bear.</p>		<p><b>10:1:1(2a)</b> (2a) And he was about to lead his force against Jerusalem also, but, before he could do so, Hezekiah sent envoys to him and promised to submit to him and pay whatever tribute he should impose.</p>	<p><b>3:37-41a</b> (37) As for Hezekiyahu, (38) the terrifying splendor of my majesty overcame him, and (39) the <i>Urbi</i> (shock troops)<sup>13</sup> and his mercenary (?) troops which he had brought in to strengthen (40) Jerusalem, his royal city, (41a) deserted him (lit., took leave).</p>	<p><b>ℓ. 30b-31a</b> (30b) That Hezekiyahu,—the terrifying splendor of my royalty (31a) overcame him, and the <i>Urbi</i> (shock troops)<sup>14</sup> and his picked troops whom he had brought into Jerusalem, his royal city, ran away (took leave).</p>	<p><b>ℓ. 21b-22a</b> (21b) the strong, proud Hezekiyahia, its king, I brought in submission (22a) to my feet.</p>

<sup>13</sup> That *urbi* is an Aramaic and Hebrew term for shock troops, see AHJP, p. 142.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

2 Kings	Josephus, Antiquities	Taylor Prism	(F1) Bull Inscription	Rassam Cylinder <sup>16</sup>	Nebi Yunis Inscription
<p><b>18:14b-16</b></p> <p>(14b) And the king of Assyria laid on Hezekiyah the king of Judah three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold; (15) and Hezekiyah gave <b>all the silver that was found in the house of Yahweh</b>, and in the treasures of the house of the king<sup>15</sup> — (16) at that time Hezekiyah cut off the doors of the Temple of Yahweh, and the pillars that Hezekiyah the king of Judah had overlaid, and gave them to the king of Assyria.</p>	<p><b>10:1:1(2b-3)</b></p> <p>(2b) When Sena-cheirimos heard what the envoys had to say, he decided not to continue with the war, but acceded to the request and, on receiving three hundred talents of silver and thirty of gold, agreed to withdraw amicably, and gave sworn pledges to the envoys that he would do him no harm at all but would retire under these terms. (3) So Hezekiah, being persuaded by this offer emptied his treasuries and sent the money in the belief that he would be rid of the war and the struggle for his throne.</p>	<p><b>3:41b-49</b></p> <p>(41b) In addition to 30 talents of gold and (41) 800 talents of silver,<sup>17</sup> (there were) gems, antimony, (43) jewels (?), large <i>sandu</i>-stones, couches of ivory, (44) house chairs of ivory, elephant's hide, ivory (lit., elephant's "teeth"), (45) ebony (?), boxwood (?), all kinds of valuable (heavy) treasures, (46) as well as his daughters, his harem, his male and female (47) musicians, (which) he had (them) bring after me (48) to Nineveh, my royal city. To pay tribute (49) and to accept (lit., do) servitude, he dispatched his messengers.</p>	<p><b>ℓ. 31b-32</b></p> <p>(31b) With 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver<sup>18</sup> (32) and all kinds of treasure from his palace, he sent his daughters, his palace women, his male and female singers, to Nineveh, and he dispatched his messengers to pay the tribute.</p>	<p><b>ℓ. 56-60</b></p> <p>(56) (in addition to the) 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver,<sup>19</sup> (there were) gems (precious stones), antimony, jewels (?), great <i>sandu</i>-stones (carnelian?), ivory beds, house chairs of ivory, elephant's hides, ivory (elephant's tusks, teeth), maple, boxwood, colored (woolen) garments, garments of linen, violet and purple wool, (57) vessels of copper, iron, bronze and lead, iron chariots, shields, lances, armor, girdle daggers of iron, bows and arrows, spears, countless implements of war, (58) together with HIS DAUGHTERS, his palace women, his male and female musicians (which) he had (them) bring after me to Nineveh, my royal city. To pay tribute and to render servitude, he dispatched his messenger(s). (59) From the booty of those lands which I plundered, 10,000 bows, 10,000 shields I took therefrom and added them to my royal equipment. (60) The rest, the heavy spoil of the enemy (captives), I divided like sheep among my whole camp (army) as well as my governors and the inhabitants of my large cities.</p>	<p><b>ℓ. 15b</b></p> <p>(15b) On Hezekiyahu, its king, I laid my yoke.</p>

<sup>15</sup> The 300 talents of silver (2 Kings, 18:14b) plus all the silver found in the house of Yahweh (2 Kings, 18:15) represent the 800 talents of silver reported in the parallel Assyrian accounts.

<sup>16</sup> AS, pp. 60-61, ℓ.56-60; ARAB, 2, §§284-284a.

<sup>17</sup> See above n. 15.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

2 Kings	Isaiah	2 Chronicles	Josephus, Antiquities
			10:1:1(4a) (4a) But, when the Assyrian received the money, he paid no regard to the agreement he had made; <sup>21</sup>
18:17a (17a) And the king of Assyria sent the tartan ( <i>turtānu</i> ), and the chief of the eunuchs, and Rabshakeh (the chief cup-bearer) FROM LACHISH, to King Hezekiyahu, with a numerous army, to Jerusalem.	36:2a (2a) And the king of Assyria sent Rabshakeh FROM LACHISH to Jerusalem to King Hezekiyahu with a numerous army.	32:9a (9a) After this Sennacherib the king of Assyria sent his servants to Jerusalem— and he was BY LACHISH, and all his power with him— against Hezekiyahu the king of Judah, and AGAINST ALL JUDAH WHO WERE IN JERUSALEM,	10:1:1(4b) (4b) instead, while he himself took the field against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, <sup>22</sup> he left behind his general Rapsakēs with a large force, and also two other commanding officers, to sack Jerusalem. The names of these men were Tharata and Aracharis.
18:17b-18a (17b) And they went up and came to Jerusalem. And they went up and came in and he stood by the conduit of the upper pool that was on the highway of the Fuller's field. (18a) And they called to the king	36:2b (2b) And he stood by the conduit of the upper pool, on the highway of the Fuller's field.		10:1:2(5a) (5a) When they arrived, they encamped before the walls and sent to Hezekiah and asked him to parley with them.

<sup>20</sup> AS, p. 156, no. xxv, ℓ.1–4; ANET, p. 288 (4).

<sup>21</sup> With this verse, Josephus provides us with the important transition missing in our other texts. Here we easily see that we are not dealing with two invasions but with one. Sennacherib merely found it to his benefit to make Hezekiah believe that the war would be over. After bleeding Hezekiah of his wealth, the Assyrian monarch merely ignored his promise of peace and continued with his original plans: to sack the city of Jerusalem and to deport all of its rebellious inhabitants to another distant country.

<sup>22</sup> Josephus disregards the victories of Sennacherib at Lachish and Libnah and goes directly to the next and more important historical event, the upcoming battle against the Egyptian and Ethiopian forces

Josephus, Wars	3 Maccabees	Palace Inscription <sup>20</sup>
		ℓ. 1-4 (1) Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, (2) sat upon a <i>nīmedu</i> -throne (lit. standing-chair) (3) (while) the booty (taken) from Lachish ( <i>La-ki-su</i> ) (4) passed in review.
		Severus Sacred History
5:9:4(388a) (388a) When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, with all Asia following in his train, encamped around this city,	6:5a (5a) When Sennacherim, the grievous king of the Assyrians, glorying in his countless hosts, had subjected the whole land with his spear, and was lifting himself against your sacred city,	1:50b (50b) and then, when the country had been laid waste without any opposition, he laid siege to the city.

which occurred at Eltekeh, located near Libnah. His cursory statement is quite appropriate since it took only one day for Rabshakeh, sent from Lachish to nearby Jerusalem, to deliver his message to Hezekiah. Yet when he returned to Sennacherib a few days later, the Assyrian king was already fighting against Libnah, obviously to clear the region where he was to take his stand in preparation for his upcoming battle with the Egyptian and Kushite forces. This evidence shows that Sennacherib had already seized Lachish prior to receiving the tribute from Hezekiah. As Sennacherib was finishing with Lachish, he sent Rabshakeh with a large force against Jerusalem to sack the city and exile the population.

122aParallel Corpora A				Sennacherib's Third Campaign: 701 B.C.E.			122b
2 Kings	Isaiah	2 Chronicles	Josephus, Antiquities	Tertullian On Fasting	3 Maccabees	Severus Sacred History	
<b>18:18b</b> (18b) and Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, who was over the house, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah, the son of Asaph the recorder, came out to them.	<b>36:3</b> (3) and Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, who was over the house, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah, the son of Asaph the recorder, came out to him.		<b>10:1:2(5b-6a)</b> (5b) He, however, out of cowardice did not himself come out but sent out three of the friends who were closest to him, the steward of the kingdom, named Eliakias, and Sūbanaïos and Jōachos, who was in charge of the records. (6a) So these three came forward and stood facing the commanders of the Assyrian army;				
<b>18:19-23<sup>23</sup></b> (19) And Rabshakeh said to them,  Now say to Hezekiyahu, This says the great king, the king of Assyria, What is this trust which you have trusted? (20) Are you saying only a word of the lips is counsel and valor for war? Now, upon whom have you trusted that you have rebelled against me? (21) Now, behold, you trust for yourself upon the staff of this broken reed, upon Egypt which, if a man leans upon it, it goes into his palm and pierces it! So is Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to all those who trust upon him.	<b>36:4-8<sup>24</sup></b> (4) And Rabshakeh said to them,  Now say to Hezekiyahu, This says the great king, the king of Assyria, What is this trust which you have trusted? (5) Are you saying to me only a word of the lips is counsel and valor for war? Now, upon whom have you trusted that you have rebelled against me? (6) Behold, you trust upon the staff of this broken reed, upon Egypt, which, if a man leans upon it, it goes into his palm and pierces it! So is Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to all those who trust upon him.	<b>32:9b-12</b> (9b) saying,  (10) Thus says Sennacherib the king of Assyria, Upon what are you trusting that you sit under siege in Jerusalem?  (11) Is not Hezekiyahu misleading you, to give you up to die by famine, and by thirst, saying, Yahweh our	<b>10:1:2(6b-7a)</b> (6b) and, when the general Rapsakēs saw them, he told them, (6c) to go back to Hezekiah and say that the great king Senacherimos was inquiring of him on what he so confidently relied that he avoided his master and was unwilling to listen to him and would not admit his army into the city.  (6d) Was it perhaps, he asked, because of the Egyptians, and in the hope that the Assyrian army had been beaten by them? (7a) If this was what he expected, they should, he said, make clear to him that he was very foolish and like a man who leans upon a broken reed and not only falls but also has his hand pierced, and feels the hurt.	<b>7a</b> (7a) Similarly, as when Sennacherib, the king of the Assyrians, after the capture of several towns, was giving provocations and threats against Israel by means of Rhapsakes,	<b>6:5b</b> (5a) with boastings grievous to be endured,	<b>1:50d</b> (50d) The king of Assyria, thundering at the gates,	

<sup>23</sup> The form of delivery in this letter is very near parallel to that of *The Nimrud Letters*, Letter I, (Iraq, 17.1, pp. 23–31; IAC, pp. 80–82).

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.



2 Kings	Isaiah	2 Chronicles	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i>	Severus <i>Sacred History</i>
		<i>eloahi</i> will deliver us from the hand of the king of Assyria?		
(22) And when you say to me, We trust to Yahweh our <i>eloahi</i> , is it not he whose high places and his altars Hezekiyahu has removed, and he has said to Judah and to Jerusalem, Before this altar you shall bow down in Jerusalem?	(7) And when you say to me, We trust to Yahweh our <i>eloahi</i> , is it not he whose high places and his altars Hezekiyahu has removed, and he has said to Judah and to Jerusalem, Before this altar you shall bow down?	(12) Has not Hezekiyahu himself removed his high places, and his altars, and commanded Judah and Jerusalem, saying, Before one altar you shall bow down, and upon it you shall burn incense?		
(23) And, now, exchange pledges, I beg, with my sovereign, the king of Assyria, and I will give to you two thousand horses, if you are able to give for yourself riders upon them.	(8) And, now, exchange pledges with my sovereign, the king of Assyria, and I will give to you two thousand horses, if you are able to give for yourself riders upon them.			
<b>18:24-25</b>	<b>36:9-10</b>		<b>0:1:2(7b)</b>	<b>1:50e</b>
(24) And how will you turn back the face of one governor of the least of the servants of my sovereign, and trust for yourself upon Egypt for chariots and for horsemen? (25) Now, without Yahweh have I come upon this place to destroy it? Yahweh said to me, Go upon this land and destroy it.	(9) And how will you turn back the face of one governor of the least of the servants of my sovereign, and trust for yourself upon Egypt for chariots and for horsemen? (10) And now, without Yahweh have I come upon this land to destroy it? Yahweh said to me, Go upon this land and destroy it.		(7b) They should know, he said, that by the will of the deity, who had granted him to overthrow the kingdom of the Israelites also, he had made this expedition against Hezekiah in order that he might in the same way destroy those ruled by him.	(50e) threatened destruction,
<b>18:26</b>	<b>36:11</b>		<b>10:1:2(8a)</b>	
(26) And Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, and Shebna and Joah said to Rabshakeh, Please speak Aramaic to your servants, for we understand; and do not speak Judahite with us in the ears of the people who are upon the wall.	(11) Then Eliakim and Shebna and Joah said to Rabshakeh, Please speak Aramaic to your servants, for we understand; and do not speak Judahite to us in the ears of the people upon the wall.		(8a) As Rapsakēs spoke these words in Hebrew, with which language he was familiar, Eliakias was afraid that the people might overhear them and be thrown into consternation, and so asked him to speak in Syrian (Aramaic).	
<b>18:27-32a</b>	<b>36:12-17</b>		<b>10:1:2(8b-10)</b>	
(27) And Rabshakeh said to them, Has my sovereign sent me to speak these words to	(12) And Rabshakeh said, Has my sovereign sent me to speak these words to your sov-		(8b) But the general, perceiving what was in the back of his mind and the fear that held him,	

2 Kings	Isaiah	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i>	Severus <i>Sacred History</i>	Targ. Jon. <i>2 Kings</i>	Targ. Jon. <i>Isaiah</i>
<p>your sovereign and to you? Is it not upon the males who sit upon the walls, for (those) eating their own dung and drinking their own urine with you?</p> <p>(28) And Rabshakeh stood and called with a loud Judahite voice, and he spoke and he said, Hear the word of the great king, the king of Assyria.</p> <p>(29) Thus says the king, Do not let Hezekiyahu deceive you, for he is not able to deliver you out of his hand. (30) And do not let Hezekiyahu put your trust to Yahweh, saying, “Yahweh shall deliver us” and, “This city shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria.”</p>	<p>ereign and to you? Is it not upon the males who sit upon the walls, for (those) eating their own dung and drinking their own urine with you?</p> <p>(13) And Rabshakeh stood and cried with a loud Judahite voice, and he said, Hear the words of the great king, the king of Assyria.</p> <p>(14) Thus says the king, Do not let Hezekiyahu deceive you, for he is not able to deliver you. (15) And do not let Hezekiyahu put your trust to Yahweh, saying, “Yahweh shall deliver us. This city shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria.”</p>	<p>spoke in a very loud and clear voice and replied</p> <p>(8c) that he was speaking to him in Hebrew in order that all may hear the king's commands and choose a course to their advantage by surrendering to us.</p> <p>(9a) For it is clear that both you and the king are beguiling the people with vain hopes in persuading them to resist.</p> <p>(9b)<sup>25</sup> If, however, you are confident and think you can repulse our force, I am ready to furnish you with two thousand of the horses that are with me, in order that you could mount on them the same number of riders and so show your strength. But you cannot furnish riders whom you do not have.</p>	<p>1:50f (50f) and demanded surrender,</p>	<p>18:31–32a (31) Do not accept from Hezekiyah, for thus says the king of Assyria, Make peace with me, and come out to me; and the male eat of the fruits of his vines, and the male of his fig tree, and the male of the waters of his well,</p>	<p>36:16–17 (16) Do not listen to Hezekiyah, for thus says the king of Assyria, Make peace with me, and come out to me; and eat everyone the fruit of his own vine, and every-one the fruit of his fig trees, and everyone drink the waters of his</p>

<sup>25</sup> Josephus informs us (sect. 9b) that, after refusing to speak to the Judahites in Aramaic, Rabshakeh once again offered the challenge of providing the Judahites with 2,000 horses if they could provide riders

for them to do battle with the Assyrian army (cf. 2 Kings, 18:23; Isa., 36:9).

125aParallel Corpora A				Sennacherib's Third Campaign: 701 B.C.E.			125b
2 Kings	Isaiah	2 Chronicles	Josephus, Antiquities	Severus Sacred History	Targ. Jon. 2 Kings	Targ. Jon. Isaiah	
take you to a land like your own land, a land of grain and new wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of olive oil, and honey; and live, and do not die.	take you to a land like your own land, a land of grain and new wine, a land of bread and vineyards.		feat will prove to be dangerous and the cause of misfortunes.			(32a) until I come and take you to a good land like your own land, a good land of grain and new wine, a land of farms and vineyards, a land whose olive trees make oil, and it makes honey; and live, and do not die.	own well, (17) until I come and lead you to a good land like your own land, a land of grain and new wine, a land of fields and vineyards.
18:32b-35	36:18-20	32:13-15		1:50g-h			
(32b) And do not listen to Hezekiyahu, when he persuades you, saying, Yahweh shall deliver us.	(18a) Lest Hezekiyahu persuade you, by saying, Yahweh will deliver us.			(50g) exclaiming that in vain did Ezekias put his trust in the deity,			
(33) Have the <i>eloahi</i> of the nations at all delivered a male his land from the hand of the king of Assyria? (34) Where are the <i>eloahi</i> of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the <i>eloahi</i> of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Auah? When did they deliver Samaria from my hand?	(18b) Have the <i>eloahi</i> of the nations delivered a male his land from the hand of the king of Assyria? (19) Where are the <i>eloahi</i> of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the <i>eloahi</i> of Sepharvaim? And, when did they deliver Samaria from my hand?	(13) Do you not know what I have done, my fathers and I, to all the people of the lands? Were the <i>eloahi</i> of the nations of the lands at all able to deliver their land out of my hand?		(50h) for that he rather had taken up arms by the appointment of the deity; and that the conqueror of all nations, as well as the overthrower of Samaria, could not be escaped, unless the king secured his own safety by a speedy surrender.			
(35) Who among all the <i>eloahi</i> of the lands have delivered their land from my hand, that Yahweh should deliver Jerusalem from my hand?	(20) Who among all the <i>eloahi</i> of these lands has delivered his land from my hand, that Yahweh should keep Jerusalem from my hand?	(14) Who among all the <i>eloahi</i> of these nations who my fathers utterly destroyed has been able to deliver his people out of my hand, that your <i>eloahi</i> will be able to deliver you out of my hand? (15) And now, do not let Hezekiyahu deceive you, nor mislead you like this, nor trust him, for no <i>eloah</i> of any nation or kingdom has been able to deliver his people from my hand and the hand of my fathers. Truly, without a doubt, your <i>eloahi</i> shall not deliver you from my hand.					
18:36-37	36:21-22		10:1:3(11a-b)				
(36) And the people were quiet and did not answer him a word, for a command of the king it	(21) And they were quiet and did not answer him a word, for a command of the king it was,		(11a) When the people and the envoys had heard these words of the Assyrian general,				

2 Kings	Isaiah	Tertullian On Fasting	Josephus, Antiquities	2 Baruch
was, saying, Do not answer him. (37) And came Elia-kim, the son of Hilki-ah, who was over the house, and Shebna the scribe and Joah, the son of Asaph, the recorder, to Hezekiyahu, having torn (their) garments; and they reported to him the words of Rabshakeh.	saying, Do not answer him. (22) And came Elia-kim, the son of Hilki-ah, who was over the house, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah, the son of Asaph, the recorder, to Hezekiyahu, having torn (their) garments; and they reported to him the words of Rabshakeh.		(11b) they reported them to Hezekiah.	
19:1a (1a) And it was, when King Hezekiyahu heard,	37:1a (1a) And it was, when King Hezekiyahu heard,	7d (7d) If it is true, (as it is), that on hearing the announcement of the harshness of the foe,		63:3a (3a) When, moreover, Hezekiah the king heard those things which the king of Assyria was devising, (i.e.) to come and seize him and destroy his people, the two and a half tribes which remained: and more he wished to overthrow Zion,
19:1b (1b) he tore his garments and he covered himself with sackcloth,	37:1b (1b) he tore his garments and he covered himself with sackcloth,	7e (7e) he rent his garment, put on sackcloth, and bade the elders of the priests, similarly habited,	10:1:3(11c) (11c) And he thereupon took off his royal garments, put on sackcloth and assumed an attitude of humility;	63:3b (3b) then Hezekiah trusted in his works, and had hope in his righteousness,
19:1c (1c) and he entered the house of Yahweh.	37:1c (1b) and he entered the house of Yahweh.		10:1:3(11d) (11d) then, falling on his face in the manner of his country,  10:1:3(11e) (11e) he supplicated the deity and entreated him to help one who had no other hope of salvation.	63:3c-4 and spoke with the Mighty One and said: (4) "Behold, for lo! Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us, and he will be boastful and uplifted when he has destroyed Zion."

127aParallel Corpora A				Sennacherib's Third Campaign: 701 B.C.E.			127b
2 Kings	Isaiah	Tertullian On Fasting	Josephus, Antiquities	Isaiah	2 Baruch	Severus Sacred History	
19:2-5 (2) And he sent Eliakim, who was over the house, and Shebna the scribe, and the elders of the priests, covering them with sackcloth, to Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz. (3) And they said to him, Thus says Hezekiyahu, A day of trouble and reproach and contempt is this day! For the sons have come to the pains of childbirth, and there is no strength to bring forth. (4) Perhaps Yahweh your <i>eloahi</i> will hear the words of Rabshakeh, whom his sovereign, the king of Assyria, has sent to reproach the living <i>eloahim</i> , and (Yahweh) will rebuke against the words which Yahweh your <i>eloahi</i> has heard, and you shall lift up a prayer for the remnant that is found. (5) And the servants of King Hezekiyahu came to Isaiah.	37:2-5 (2) And he sent Eliakim, who was over the house, and Shebna the scribe, and the elders of the priests, covering them with sackcloth, to Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz. (3) And they said to him, Thus says Hezekiyahu, A day of trouble and reproach and contempt is this day! For the sons have come to the pains of childbirth, and there is no strength to bring forth. (4) Perhaps Yahweh your <i>eloahi</i> will hear the words of Rabshakeh, whom his sovereign, the king of Assyria, has sent to reproach the living <i>eloahim</i> , and (Yahweh) will rebuke against the words which Yahweh your <i>eloahi</i> has heard, and you shall lift up a prayer for the remnant that is found. (5) And the servants of King Hezekiyahu came to Isaiah.	10:1:3(12a-c) (12a) He also sent some of his friends and some of the priests to the prophet Isaiah  (12b) and asked him to pray to the deity and, when he had offered sacrifices for the common safety, to exhort him (Yahweh) to show his wrath at the hopes of the enemy,  (12c) but to take pity upon his own people.	10:1:3(12a-c) (12a) He also sent some of his friends and some of the priests to the prophet Isaiah  (12b) and asked him to pray to the deity and, when he had offered sacrifices for the common safety, to exhort him (Yahweh) to show his wrath at the hopes of the enemy,  (12c) but to take pity upon his own people.	Isaiah	63:5 (5) And the Mighty One heard him, for Hezekiah was wise. And he had respect unto his prayer, because he was righteous.	1:50i (50i) In this state of affairs, Ezekias, trusting in the deity, consulted with the prophet Isaiah,	
19:6-7 (6) And Isaiah said to them, Thus you shall say to your sovereign, Thus says Yahweh, Do not be afraid from the face of the words which you have heard, which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. (7) Behold, I will put in him a <i>ruach</i> ,	37:6-7 (6) And Isaiah said to them, Thus you shall say to your sovereign, Thus says Yahweh, Do not be afraid from the face of the words which you have heard, which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. (7) Behold, I will put in him a <i>ruach</i> ,	7f (7e) approach the deity through Isaiah—fasting being, of course, the escorting attendant of their prayers.	10:1:3(13-14) (13) And, when the prophet had done these things and received an oracle from the deity (Yahweh), he encouraged both the king himself and the friends who were with him by foretelling that the enemy would be defeated without a battle	10:24-27 (24) Therefore, thus says adonai Yahweh of host, Do not fear from Assur, my people who dwell in Zion. He shall strike with the rod, and his staff shall be lifted up against you on the road of Egypt. (25) Because very soon, upon their destruction, will be finished		1:50j (50j) and from his answer he learned that there would be no danger from the enemy, and that the divine assistance would not fail him.	

2 Kings	Isaiah	Josephus, Antiquities
and (he) shall hear a report and turn back to his land. And I will cause him to fall by the sword in his land.	and (he) shall hear a report and turn back to his land. And I will cause him to fall by the sword in his land.	and retire ignominiously, with none of the self-confidence which they now showed, (14) for the deity would see to it that they should be destroyed; and he also foretold that Senacheirimos, the king of Assyria, would himself fail in his attempt against Egypt and returning to his own land would perish by the sword. <sup>26</sup>
<div>10:1:1(4)<sup>27</sup> (4) instead, while he (Sennacherib) himself took the field against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left behind his general Rapsakēs with a large force, and also two other commanding officers, to sack Jerusalem. The names of these men were Tharata and Aracharis.</div>		
19:8 (8) And Rabshakeh returned and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah, for he had heard that he had set out from Lachish. <sup>30</sup>	37:8 (8) So Rabshakeh returned and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah, for he had heard that he had set out from Lachish. <sup>31</sup>	

<sup>26</sup> Josephus here testifies once again that the primary objective of Sennacherib was Egypt.  
<sup>27</sup> We repeat this verse from Josephus to remind our reader that the battle at Eltekeh was imminent and occurred shortly after the forces under Rabshakeh began their blockade of Jerusalem.  
<sup>28</sup> The Assyrian record at this point confirms the account from 2 Kings, 19:32–34, and Isa., 37:33–35, that the Assyrians never entered the city of Jerusalem, never built any siege mounds against it, nor made

Isaiah	(F1) Bull Inscription	Taylor Prism
my fury and anger. (26) And Yahweh of hosts shall stir up upon him a whip, as the striking of Midian at the rock of Oreb, and (as) his rod upon the sea. And he will lift it up on the road of Egypt [LXX “upon the road down to Egypt”]. (27) And it shall be on that day, his burden shall turn from upon your shoulder and his yoke from upon your neck and the yoke shall be destroyed from the face of the anointing olive oil.	ℓ. 28b-30a <sup>28</sup> (28b) Himself (Hezekiyahu), like a caged bird, in (29) Jerusalem, his royal city, I shut up. Earthworks I threw up about it. His cities which I plundered, I cut off from his land and gave to (30) the kings of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron and Gaza; I diminished his land. To the former tribute, I imposed and laid upon him the giving up of his land as a gift.	3:27b-36 <sup>29</sup> (27b) Himself (Hezekiyahu), like a caged bird, (28) in Jerusalem, his royal city, I shut up. (29) Earthworks I threw up against him,—(30) the one coming out of his city gate I turned back to his misery. (31) The cities of his, which I had spoiled, I cut off from his land and (32) to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, (33) Padi, king of Ekron, and Silli-bel, (34) king of Gaza, I gave (them). I diminished his land. (35) I added to the former tribute, (36) and laid upon him (var. them) the giving (up) of their land, (as well as) imposts—gifts for my majesty.

any assault upon it. Also see Chap. V, p. 71, n. 32.  
<sup>29</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>30</sup> See above ns. 22 & 27.  
<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

(F1) Bull  
Inscription

Taylor  
Prism

ℓ. 22a-25a

(22a) The governors and people of Amkaruna (Ekron), who had thrown Padi, their king, (23) bound by (lit. lord of) oath (i.e. treaty) to Assyria, into fetters of iron, and had given him over to Hezekiyahu, the Yahudahi (Judahite)—he kept him in confinement like an enemy,—they (lit., their heart) became afraid, and appealed (for aid) to the kings of Muzri (Lower Egypt), the bowmen, (24) the chariots and horses of the king of Meluhha (Upper Egypt), a countless host. In the plain of Altakû (Eltekeh) I fought with them, I defeated them. The charioteers (25a) and Muzri princes, together with the charioteers of the Meluhha (Upper Egypt) king, I captured alive with my (own) hand.

2:73-3:5

(73) The governors, nobles and people of Amkaruna (Ekron), (74) who had thrown Padi, their king, bound by (lit. lord of) oath and curse (i.e. treaty) to Assyria, (75) into fetters of iron and (76-77) had given him over to Hezekiyahu, the Yahudahi (Judahite),—he kept him in confinement like an enemy,—(78) they (lit., their heart) became afraid (79) and appealed (for aid) to the kings of Muzri (Lower Egypt), the bowmen, chariots and horses (80) of the king of Meluhha (Upper Egypt), a countless host, and (81) these came to their aid. (82) In the neighborhood of the city of Altakû (Eltekeh), (83) their ranks being drawn up before me, (3:1) they offered battle. (Trusting) in the aid of Assur, (2) my lord, I fought with them and (3) brought about their defeat. The charioteers and Muzri princes, (4) together with the charioteers of the Meluhha (Upper Egypt) king, (5) my hands took alive in the midst of the battle.

3:6-7

(6) Altakû (Eltekeh) (and) Timnah (7) I besieged, I captured and took away their spoil.

ℓ. 25b-27a

(25b) I drew near to Amkaruna (Ekron). The governors who had rebelled (committed sin) (26) I slew with the sword. The citizens who

3:8-17

(8) I drew near to Amkaruna (Ekron) and slew the governors and nobles (9) who had committed sin (that is, rebelled), and (10) hung

Herodotus  
Josephus,  
Antiquities

THE END OF THE RECORDS OF SENNACHERIB

2:141a

(141a) The next king was the priest of Hephaestus, whose name was Sethos. He despised and took no account of the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them; besides otherwise dishonouring them, he took away the chosen lands which had been given to them, twelve fields to each man, in the reign of former kings. So presently came king Sanacherib against Egypt, with a great host of Arabians and Assyrians; and the warrior Egyptians would not march against him.

2:141b

(141b) The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine and

10:1:4-5(20b)<sup>32</sup>  
[Berosus]  
(20b) But Berosus, who wrote the *History of Chaldaea*, also mentions King Senacheirimos and tells how he ruled over the Assyrians and how he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt;

<sup>32</sup> We repeat this passage dealing with the history from Berosus to remind our reader that the second

Josephus,  
Antiquities  
(F1) Bull  
Inscription  
Taylor  
Prism

had rebelled (sinned) I counted as spoil. The rest of them, who were not guilty (carriers) of sin, I pardoned. Padi, their king, (27a) I brought out of Jerusalem and placed on the throne over them. My royal tribute I imposed upon him. (11) The citizens (11) who had rebelled (sinned) and treated (As-syria) lightly, I counted as spoil. (12) The rest of them, who were not guilty (carriers) of sin (13) and contempt, who were without sin (blame, i.e. for whom there was no punishment),—(14) I spoke their pardon. Padi, their king, (15) I brought out of Jerusalem. (16) I set him on the royal throne over them and (17) imposed upon him my kingly tribute.

THE END OF THE RECORDS OF SENNACHERIB

10:1:4(18a)  
[Herodotus]

(18a) Concerning this Senacheirimos, Herodotus also tells us, in the second book of his History, that this king came against the king of Egypt, who was a priest of Hephaestus, and besieged

10:1:4(18b)

(18b) but he abandoned the siege for the following reason. The

part of Sennacherib's third campaign, his attack upon Egypt, begins now.



Herodotus

Josephus,  
*Antiquities*

there bewailed to the deity's image the peril which threatened him. In his lamentation he fell asleep, and bidding him take courage, for he should suffer no ill by encountering the host of Arabia: "Myself," said the deity, "will send you champions."

2:141c

(141c) So he trusted the vision, and encamped at Pelusium with such Egyptians as would follow him, for here is the road into Egypt; and none of the warriors would go with him, but only hucksters and artificers and traders. Their enemies too came here.

10:1:4(17a)

(17a) A little while after this the king of Assyria failed in his attack upon the Egyptians and returned home without accomplishing anything for the following reason. After he had spent a great deal of time on the siege of Pelusium, and the earthworks which he was raising against the walls on the point of attacking,

EVENTS OF ABIB 2<sup>33</sup>

2:141d

(141d) And one NIGHT a multitude of fieldmice swarmed over the Assyrian camp and

<sup>33</sup> The plague that struck the Assyrian army at Pelusium during the night was followed on the next day by the news that Tirhaqah, the king of Kush, was coming with an enormous army. With many of their weapons damaged and many soldiers beginning to die from the plague, it necessitated the abandonment of the siege of Pelusium. The distance from Pelusium to the city of Nob, north of Jerusalem, where Sennacherib would set up his camp, is approximately 198 miles. When Alexander the Great traversed the region from Gaza to Pelusium, a journey of 123.11 miles, he was able to make the journey in 7 days

Josephus,  
*Antiquities*

king of Egypt prayed to the deity, and the deity hearkened to his prayer

EVENTS OF ABIB 2

10:1:4(18c-19a)

(18c) and visited a plague upon the Arab— (19a) at just this point he (Herodotus) is in error,

(Arrian, 3:1:1; Curtius, 4:7). Using this rate of travel, it gives us a distance of about 17.58 miles per day. If we extrapolate these numbers on to Jerusalem, Sennacherib would have arrived at Nob just outside Jerusalem on the 12th day of his retreat. The Assyrian king is said to have left Pelusium during the daytime that followed the night during which the mice invaded his camp. He arrived in Nob during the daytime just before the night in which the plague destroyed his army outside of Jerusalem (i.e., the night of Passover, which occurs on the 14th of Abib). Therefore, it is highly probable that Sennacherib left

2 Kings	Isaiah	Herodotus	Josephus, Antiquities	Josephus, Antiquities	Severus Sacred History	Targ. Jon. 2 Kings	Targ. Jon. Isaiah	
		devoured their quivers and their bows and the handles of their shields likewise,			calling him king of the Arabs instead of king of the Assyrians—for, he says, in one NIGHT a host of mice ate through the bows and other weapons of the Assyrians,			
19:9a	37:9a		10:1:4(17b)			1:50k	19:9a	37:9a
(9a) And he (Sennacherib) heard about Tirhaqah, the king of Kush, saying, Behold, he has come out to fight with you,	(9a) And he (Sennacherib) heard about Tirhaqah, the king of Kush, saying, He has come out to fight with you.		(17b) he heard that Tharsikēn, the king of Ethiopia, was coming to the aid of the Egyptians with a large force and decided to make the journey through the desert and fall upon the Assyrians suddenly.			(50k) And, in fact, not long after, Tarraka, king of Ethiopia, invaded the kingdom of the Assyrians. <sup>34</sup>	(9a) And he (Sennacherib) heard about Tirhaq, the king of Kush, saying, Behold, he has come out to wage battle with you,	(9a) And he (Sennacherib) heard about Tirhaq, the king of Kush, saying, He has set out to wage war against you.
19:9	37:9b-13	2:141e	10:1:4(17c)		10:1:4(19b-20a)	1:51a		10:1:4(17a)
(9b) and he (Sennacherib) turned back,	(9b) And he (Sennacherib) heard, <sup>35</sup>	(141e) insomuch that they fled the next day unarmed and MANY FALLING DEAD. And at this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: "Look on me, and fear the deities."	(17c) And so, being alarmed at this news, King Senacheirimos left Pelusium and withdrew, as I said, without accomplishing anything.		(19b) and, as the king on that account had no bows, he withdrew his army from Pelusium. (20a) This, then, is the account which Herodotus gives.	(51a) By this news Sennacherim was led to return in order to defend his own territories, and he gave up the war, at the same time murmuring and crying out that victory was snatched from him the victor.		(17a) the king of Assyria failed in his attack upon the Egyptians and returned home without accomplishing anything <sup>36</sup>
19:9	37:9c-13		10:1:4(15)			1:51b		
(9c) and he sent messengers to Hezekiyahu, saying, (10) Thus shall you speak to Hezekiyahu the king of Judah, saying, Do not let your <i>eloahi</i> , in whom you trust deceive you, saying, Jerusalem shall not be delivered into the hand	(9c) and he sent messengers to Hezekiyahu, saying, (10) Thus shall you speak to Hezekiyahu the king of Judah, saying, Do not let your <i>eloahi</i> , in whom you trust, deceive you, saying, Jerusalem shall not be delivered into the		(15) Now it happened that about this time the king of Assyria had written a letter to Hezekiah, in which he said that he was foolish to suppose that he would escape being made his servant, since he had subdued many			(51b) He also sent letters to Ezekias, declaring, with many insulting words, that he, after settling his own affairs, would speedily return for the destruction of Judaea.		

Pelusium on Abib 2, arriving in Nob on the 13 of Abib, the very day that Hezekiah saw the sign whereby the sun returned 10 steps on the sundial of King Ahaz. In agreement with this detail, the B. Sanh., 95a, reports that the Assyrian soothsayers warned Sennacherib, "If you proceed (to attack) now, you will conquer it (Jerusalem); if not, you will not conquer it," while his astrologers in accord with this, advised him to "attack immediately."

<sup>34</sup> Strabo reports that Tearko the Ethiopian (i.e., Taharqa I Piye; Tirhaqah of Kush) made an expedition that advanced as far as Europe but that his exploits were not a matter of off-hand knowledge to everyone (Strabo, 1:3:21, 15:1:6).

<sup>35</sup> The LXX has, "καὶ ἀκούσας ἀπέστρεψε (*kai akousas apostrepse*; and hearing, turned aside)." The *Qumran Isaiah Scroll* reads, "and he heard and he turned back" (1QIsa.). These texts, when used in conjunction with our main sources, reveal that, at the time that Sennacherib heard of the advance of Tirhaqah, he turned his army around and abandoned his war against Pelusium and the Egyptians. When he turned back he was still intent upon taking Jerusalem. Accordingly, he sent messengers to Hezekiah ahead of his returning army hoping to intimidate the Jewish king into submission.

<sup>36</sup> We repeat this passage to remind our reader that it was at this point the Assyrians were defeated in their Egyptian and Ethiopian campaign.

2 Kings	Isaiah	2 Chronicles	Josephus, Antiquities	Hippolytus On Isaiah	Rabbi Eliezer	Seder Olam	Severus Sacred History
of the king of Assyria. (11) Behold, you have heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all the lands, by utterly destroying them; and shall you be delivered? (12) Have the nations delivered those whom my fathers have destroyed: Gozan and Harran and Rezeph, and the sons of Eden who were in Telassar? (13) Where is the king of Hamath and the king of Arpad and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, Hena and Auah?	hand of the king of Assyria. (11) Behold, you have heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all the lands, by utterly destroying them; and shall you be delivered? (12) Have the nations delivered those whom my fathers have destroyed: Gozan and Harran and Rezeph, and the sons of Eden who were in Telassar? (13) Where is the king of Hamath and the king of Arpad and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, Hena and Auah?		great nations, and he threatened to destroy him utterly and completely after capturing him, unless he opened the gates and willingly admitted his army into Jerusalem.				
EVENTS OF ABIB 11				EVENTS OF ABIB 11			
20:1a (1a) In those days Hezekiyahu was sick towards death, <sup>37</sup>	38:1a (1a) In those days Hezekiyahu was sick towards death, <sup>38</sup>	32:24a (24a) In those days Hezekiyahu was sick as far as towards death, <sup>39</sup>	10:2:1(25) (25) But, although he showed all zeal and devotion in the worship of the deity, he was smitten by a severe illness, <sup>40</sup> and all hope for him was given up by the physicians, nor did his friends have any expectation of a change for the better in his condition. And the illness was aggravated by the dreadful despair of the king himself when he considered his being without a son and that he was about to die leaving his house and his realm unprovided with a legitimate successor.	1a-b (1a) When Hezekiah, king of Judah, was still sick	52a (52a). . . Hezekiah, king of Judah, came and fell sick,	23 (ℓ 42) (42) Three days before Sennacherib's downfall Hezekiyahu became ill.	1:51h (51h) At the same time, Ezekias, sick in body, lay suffering from disease.
20:1b (1b) and Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, came to him and said to him, Thus says Yahweh, command your house, for you are dying, and you shall not live.	38:1b (1b) and Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, came to him and said to him, Thus says Yahweh, command your house, for you are dying, and you shall not live.						1:51i (51i) And when Isaiah had announced to him in the words of the sovereign that the end of his life was at hand,
<sup>37</sup> Cf. Chap. III, pp. 45–48. <sup>38</sup> Ibid.				<sup>39</sup> Ibid. <sup>40</sup> Ibid.			

134a	Parallel Corpora A			Sennacherib's Third Campaign: 701 B.C.E.				134b
2 Kings	Isaiah	2 Chronicles	Josephus, Antiquities	Hippolytus On Isaiah	Rabbi Eliezer	Targ. Jon. 2 Kings	Severus Sacred History	
20:2-3 (2) And he turned his face to the wall, and he prayed to Yahweh, saying, (3a) I beg you Yahweh, remember now that I have walked before you in truth and with a peaceable <i>lebab</i> , and I have done good in your eyes. (3b) And Hezekiyahu cried a great crying.	38:2-3 (2) And Hezekiyahu turned his face to the wall and he prayed to Yahweh, and he said, (3a) I beg you Yahweh, remember now that I have walked before you in truth and with a peaceable <i>leb</i> , and I have done good in your eyes. (3b) And Hezekiyahu cried a great crying.	32:24b (24b) and he prayed to Yahweh,	10:2:1(26) (26) And so, suffering chiefly from this thought and lamenting it, he supplicated the deity to give him a little longer time to live, until he should beget children, and not let him depart this life before becoming a father.		52c (52c) He (Hezekiah) began to pray before the sacred one, blessed be he, saying: Great one of all world-ages! Now Yahweh, remember, I beseech you, how I walked before you, etc. <sup>41</sup>			
			10:2:1(27a) (27a) Then the deity took pity on him and granted his request, since he bewailed the death of which he had a presentiment, and had prayed to him to give him yet a little while to live, not because he was about to be deprived of the benefits of the kingship, but because he wished sons to be born to him who should succeed to his royal power;	(1b) and weeping,			(51i) the king is related to have wept;	
			10:2:1(27b-c) (27b) and so he sent the prophet Isaiah					
20:4-6 (4) And it came to pass, Isaiah had not gone out of the middle court and the <i>debar</i> of Yahweh was to him for saying, (5a) "Return and you shall say to Hezekiyahu, the leader of my people, Thus says Yahweh the <i>eloahi</i> of your father David, I have heard your prayer; I have seen your tears";	38:4-6 (4) And the <i>debar</i> of Yahweh was to Isaiah, saying, (5a) Go and say to Hezekiyahu, Thus states Yahweh, the <i>eloahi</i> of your father David, I have heard your prayer; I have seen your tears.	32:24c (24c) and he spoke to him,		1c (1c) there came an angel, <sup>42</sup> and said to him: "I have seen your tears, and I have heard your voice."				
(5b) "Behold, I will heal you; ON THE	(5b) Behold,		(27c) and told him to inform the king that			20:5b-6 (5b) Behold, I will heal you; ON THE		

<sup>41</sup> 2 Kings, 20:3, i.e., "in truth and with a perfect *lebab*, and have done that which is good in your sight."

<sup>42</sup> In 2 Kings, 20:4f, the "*debar* (word) of Yahweh," also described as "Yahweh *eloahi*," is defined in Hippolytus as "an angel." This angel can be none other than the preexistent *logos*, Yahushua the messiah.

2 Kings	Isaiah	Josephus, Antiquities	Hippolytus On Isaiah	Rabbi Eliezer	Targ. Jon. 2 Kings	Severus Sacred History
THIRD DAY you shall go up to the house of Yahweh.”		within the THIRD DAY he should be rid of his illness			THIRD DAY you shall go up to the sacred house of Yahweh.	
(6) “And I will add to your days 15 years. And from the hand of the king of Assyria I shall deliver you and the city. And I shall defend over this city for my own sake, and for the sake of David, my servant.”	(5c) I will add to your days 15 years. (6) And from the hand of the king of Assyria I shall deliver you and this the city. And I shall defend over this city.	10:2:1(27d) (27d) and should live another 15 years, and that sons would be born to him.	1d (1d) “Behold, I add unto your time 15 years.”	52d (52d) and he was entreated of him, as it is said, “Behold, I will add unto your days 15 years.” <sup>43</sup>	(6) And I will add to your days 15 years. And from the hand of the king of Assyria I shall deliver you and this city. And I shall protect this city on account of my <i>memra</i> (Word) and on account of David my servant.	1:51j (51j) and thus he got 15 years added to his life.
20:7 (7) And Isaiah said, Take a cake of figs; and they took and laid it upon the boil; and he lived.	38:21 (21) And Isaiah said, Let them bear a cake of figs and rub it upon the boil, and he lived.	10:2:1(28a) (28a) When the prophet at the deity’s command told him these things, he would not believe him because of the severity of his illness and because the news brought to him surpassed belief,				
20:8 (8) And Hezekiyahu said to Isaiah, What is the sign that Yahweh will heal me and that I will go up to the house of Yahweh ON THE THIRD day?	38:22 (22) And Hezekiyahu said, What is the sign that I shall go up to the house of Yahweh?	10:2:1(28b) (28b) and so he asked Isaiah to perform some sign or miracle in order that he would trust in him when he said these things, as in one who came from the deity. For, he said, things that are beyond belief and surpass our hopes are made credible by acts of a like nature.		52e (52e) Hezekiah said before the sacred one, blessed be he: Great one of all world-ages! Give me a sign, as it is said, “And Hezekiah said unto Isaiah, What shall be the sign that Yahweh will heal me, and that I shall go up unto the house of Yahweh?”	20:8 (8) And Hezekiyah said to Isaiah, What is the sign that Yahweh will heal me and that I will go up to the sacred house of Yahweh ON THE THIRD DAY?	
20:9 (9) And Isaiah said, This is to you the sign from Yahweh, that Yahweh will do the word		10:2:1(29a) (29a) When the prophet inquired what sign he wished to have performed,		52f (52f) He answered him: Ahaz your father was subservient to the constellations. <sup>44</sup> And he	20:9 (9) And Isaiah said, This is to you the sign from before Yahweh, that Yahweh will do the	

<sup>43</sup> Cf., Isa., 38:5.

<sup>44</sup> There is some disagreement regarding the meaning of this verse. The present texts read, “Ahaz your father כִּבַּשׁ (*kobash*; compelled) the constellations.” It seems unlikely that a Jewish writer like Eliezer

believed that Ahaz compelled the sun to move (unless somehow it was by means of magic or through some power he held over the demons). Friedlander believes that it is possible that כִּבַּשׁ (*kobash*; compelled) was a scribal error for כִּשֵּׁב (*kosheb*; was calculating). If “compelled” is correct, he suggests, that “through spells”

2 Kings	Isaiah	B. Sanhedrin	Josephus, Antiquities	Hippolytus On Isaiah	Rabbi Eliezer	Targ. Jon. 2 Kings	Targ. Jon. Isaiah
that he has spoken: Shall the shadow go forward ten steps, or shall it turn back ten steps?				prostrated to the sun, and to the moon and to the stars. <sup>45</sup> And the sun fled before him and went down in the west 10 steps (on the sundial). If you desire, it shall go down ten steps, or it shall ascend ten steps.			
20:10 (10) And Hezekiyahu said, It would be easy for the shadow to extend ten steps; No, without a doubt, return the shadow back ten steps.			10:2:1(29b) (29b) he asked him to cause the sun, which in declining had already cast a shadow of ten steps in the house, to return to the same place and again cast one there.		52g (52g) Hezekiah spoke before the sacred one, blessed be he: Great one of all world-ages! No, but those ten steps which it had (previously) gone down, let it retrace and stand, as it is said, “No, without a doubt, return the shadow back 10 steps.”	20:10 (10) And Hezekiyah said, It would be easy for the shadow to extend ten hours; but a miracle that the shadow should return the shadow on the stone figure of the hours, on which the sun went down on the stairs of Ahaz, back 10 hours.	
38:7-8a (7) And this shall be the sign to you from Yahweh that Yahweh will do this word which he has spoken: (8a) Behold I will bring back the shadow of the steps, which has gone down on the steps of Ahaz with the sun, back ten steps.				1e (1e) “And this shall be a sign to you from the sovereign: Behold, I turn back the shadow of the degrees of the house of your father, by which the sun has gone down, the 10 degrees by which the shadow has gone down,” SO THAT DAY BE A DAY OF 32 HOURS.	52h (52h) And he was entreated of him, as it is said, “Behold, I will cause the shadow on the steps, which is gone down on the dial of Ahaz with the sun, to return backward 10 steps.”		38:7-8a (7) And this shall be the sign to you from Yahweh that Yahweh will do this word which he has spoken: (8a) Behold, I will make the shadow cast by the declining sun on the stone hours, on the steps of Ahaz, turn back 10 hours.
EVENTS OF ABIB 13, THE LONG DAY <sup>46</sup>				EVENTS OF ABIB 13, THE LONG DAY			
				Seder Olam			
				23 (ℓ. 42-43) (42) Rabbi Yose says: (43) The third day of Hezekiyahu’s illness was (the time of) Sennacherib’s downfall.			
95a-4 (95a-4) When Jerusalem was reached,		10:1:4-5(20c-21a) [Berosus] (20c) he (Berosus) writes as follows: (21a)					

might be added for clarification. Brode suggests, “paid respect to” or “honoured” (see Friedlander, *Eliezer*, pp. 425, n. 1, 423, n. 10). Yet a better explanation is that the scribes mistakenly allowed a ך to fall from the end of the original term כִּבְשָׁה (*kobashah*; subservient to, subject) in the text. In this case, the text would read,

“Ahaz your father was subservient to the constellations.”

<sup>45</sup> Friedlander, *Eliezer*, p. 425, n. 3, “The first editions add: ‘moon, stars, and constellations.’”

<sup>46</sup> See above n. 33.

2 Kings	Isaiah	B. Sanhedrin	Josephus, Antiquities	Ben Sirach	B. Sanhedrin	Targ. Jon. 2 Kings	Seder Olam
			And Senacheirimos returned to Jerusalem from his war with Egypt,				
	10:32a (32a) This very day, he (Sennacherib) takes a stand in Nob. <sup>47</sup>				95a-1 (95a-1) What is meant by, “Yet this very day, he takes a stand in Nob”? R. Huna said: that day was left for [the punishment of] the crime [committed] in Nob. <sup>48</sup>		
		95a-5 (95a-5) mattresses were piled up for him (Sennacherib) until, by ascending and sitting on the uppermost, he saw the whole of Jerusalem. On beholding it, it appeared small in his eyes. ‘Is this the city of Jerusalem,’ he exclaimed, ‘for which I set all my troops in motion, and conquered the whole country? Why, it is smaller and weaker than all the cities of the nations which I have subdued by the might of my hand!’					
	10:32b (32b) shaking his hand at the mountain of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.	95a-6 (95a-6) Then he arose and shook his head and waved his hand to and fro contemptuously toward the Temple in Zion, against the Court in Jerusalem.					
20:11a (11a) And Isaiah the prophet cried to Yahweh;			10:2:1(29c) (29c) And, when the prophet exhorted the deity (Yahweh) to show this sign to the king,			20:11a (11a) And Isaiah the prophet prayed before Yahweh;	

<sup>47</sup> The city of Nob, meaning “high place” (DB, p. 455), was located on a mountain between or near the cities of Anathoth and Ananiah on the north side of and near Jerusalem (Neh., 11:32). Although its exact location is debated (e.g., NBD, pp. 891f; DB, p. 455), the present day area called Mount Scopus, meaning “look out,” located just northeast of Jerusalem would be the ideal site. It’s position overlooking Jerusalem made it an ideal place for Sennacherib to observe the upcoming siege of the city of Jerusalem.

<sup>48</sup> This statement is a reference to the time when the priests of Nob were massacred (1 Sam. 22:17–20). The rabbis believed that there ensued a period of punishment for that crime. The day that Sennacherib set his camp in Nob was the last day of that term. Rabbi Epstein comments, “The verse is thus interpreted: ‘That day yet remained (of the fixed term) on which (Sennacherib) might stand (against Jerusalem) on account of Nob’” (SBT, *Sanh.*, 95a, n. 11). “Since the cessation of David’s seed was in expiation of the crime against the city of Nob, it was but just that as one had escaped on that occasion, so should one now too be saved” (SBT, *Sanh.*, 95b, n. 11).

138a	Parallel Corpora A				Sennacherib's Third Campaign: 701 B.C.E.				138b
2 Kings	2 Chronicles	B. Sanhedrin	Hippolytus On Isaiah		Ben Sirach	B. Sanedrin	Targ. Jon. 2 Kings	Seder Olam	
20:11b <sup>49</sup> (11b) and he turned back the shadow on the steps which had gone down on the steps of Ahaz,	32:24d (24d) and a sign he gave to him.		1e & h (1e) For when the sun had run its course to the 10th hour, it returned again . . . (1h) And in the time of Hezekiah the moon also turned back along with the sun, so that there might be no colli- sion between the two ele- mental bodies, by their bearing against each other in defiance of law.		48:23a (23a) In his time the sun went backward,		20:11b (11b) and he turned back the shadow on the stone figure of the hours, on which the sun went down on the stairs of Ahaz,	23 (l. 44) (44) The sun, which had descended for Ahaz his father, stood still for him, as it says, "Behold, I will turn back ten steps the shadow."	
		95a-2 (95a-2) So his sooth- sayers said to him (Sen- nacherib), 'If you proceed [to attack] now, you will conquer it (Jerusalem); if not, you will not conquer it.'				95a-5 (95a-5) They (the as- trologers) urged, 'Let us stretch forth a hand against it (i.e., attack im- mediately).'			
						95a-6 (95a-6) (Sennacherib responded) 'You are too worn out,' <sup>50</sup> he replied, 'but tomorrow let each of you bring me a stone, and we shall stone it.'			
	Isaiah		Cyril of Alex.					Targ. Jon. Isaiah	
20:11c (11c) back ten steps.	38:8b (8b) And the sun went back ten steps on the steps which it had gone down.	96a (96a) The day on which Ahaz died con- sisted of but two hours; and when Hezekiah sickened and recovered, the Holy One, blessed be He, restored those ten hours, as it is written, Behold, I will bring again the shadow of the degrees, which is gone down on the sundial of Ahaz, ten degrees backward. So the sun returned ten degrees, by which degrees it was gone down.	2 Ag. Theodore (13) What of the other miracles which were wrought through Moses and through Jesus the son of Nave who made the sun stand, which sun under king Ezechias even went back against nature?				20:11c (11c) backward ten hours.	38:8b (8b) So the sun went back ten hours on the stone hours by the marking of the stone hours where it had de- clined.	

<sup>49</sup> NCEP, *Isa.*, 2, p. 36, n. on Isa., 38:8, "Cyril of Alexandria and Jerome believed it was a stair-case so disposed, that the sun showed the hours on it by the shadow. This, as we have seen, was the opinion of Josephus; and this opinion has been followed by many others"; Cosmas, 3:176, 8:302, 304.

<sup>50</sup> This statement is a reference to the long and hard march that Sennacherib's army had just undertaken while retreating from Pelusium to find a defensive position in the city of Jerusalem.



Isaiah	Josephus, Antiquities	Ben Sirach	Rabbi Eliezer	Syncellus	Ascension of Isaiah
	10:2:1(29d) (29d) he saw what he wished,			237 (237) Now when Hezekiah the king fell sick unto death in the 15th year of his reign, and injunction against his life was decreed by Isaiah.	1:4 (4) . . . the words concerning trust in the beloved one (Yahu) which (words) <sup>51</sup> he (Hezekiah) himself had witnessed IN THE 15TH YEAR of his reign during his sickness.” <sup>52</sup>
38:9-20 (9) A writing belonging to Hezekiyahu king of Judah (the day) when he was sick and recovered from his sickness: (10) I said in the noontide of my days, I am going into the gates of <i>sheol</i> . I am deprived of the rest of my years. (11) I said, I shall not see Yahu Yahweh in the land of the living, <sup>53</sup> nor any longer look upon <i>adam</i> (mankind) with the dwellers in the death-rest. (12) My dwelling time is being plucked up and removed from me as a shepherd's tent. My life is rolled together as done by a weaver. He cuts me off from the loom. From day unto night, you will make an end of me. (13) I am laid out until <i>baqar</i> . As a lion, so he shatters all my bones. From day until night you make an end of me. (14) As a swallow, so I chattered. I moan as the dove. My eyes are weary looking to the heights. Yahweh, it presses me down. Be my surety. (15) What shall I say? For he speaks to me and he has acted. I shall go softly all my years	10:2:1(29e) (29e) and was at once freed from his illness;	48:23b (23b) and he (Yahweh) lengthened the king's (Hezekiah's) life.	52b (52b) and was recovered of his sickness.		

<sup>51</sup> The reference in this passage is to the promise (words) given by Yahweh and how Hezekiah saw them fulfilled. Also cf. Ascen. Isa., 1:2, “the words of righteousness which the king himself had witnessed.”  
<sup>52</sup> This statement confirms that the destruction of Sennacherib’s army occurred on Phasekh in the 15th year of Hezekiah.

<sup>53</sup> The form יה יה (Yah Yah) used at this point in the MT is a circumlocution for Yahu Yahweh (for a complete examination of this issue, see TNY); also cf. Isa., 12:2, 26:4; Ps., 118:5f; etc. The Targ. Isa. understood this phrasing to mean יי דהיה (the powerful yuy [Yahweh]), another circumlocution for Yahu Yahweh. The Vulgate gives “*dominu dominum*,” the *Qumran Isaiah Scroll*, notorious for removing the final ך (u) from the names ending in Yahu, leaves only Yah, and the LXX gives only “the deity.”

Parallel Corpora A

2 Kings                      Isaiah                      2 Chronicles

upon bitterness of my  
*nephesh*. (16) Adonai, by  
these things they (men)  
live. And in all these is  
the life of my *ruach*. And  
will you heal me and  
make me live? (17)  
Behold, for peace was  
great bitterness for me.  
And you desired my  
*nephesh* from the pit of  
destruction. You have  
cast behind your back all  
my sins. (18) Because  
*sheol* cannot thank you,  
death (cannot) praise  
you. Those going down  
into the grave cannot  
hope for your truth. (19)  
The living, the living, he  
is thanking you, as I do  
THIS DAY. A father  
makes known to sons  
about your truth. (20)  
Yahweh is salvation for  
me. And my songs we  
will play all the days of  
our lives upon the house  
of Yahweh.

32:16-19

(16) And again his  
(Sennacherib's) servants  
spoke against Yahweh,  
the *eloahim*, and against  
Hezekiyahu his servant.  
(17) And he had written  
letters to reproach Yah-  
weh *eloahi* of Israel, and  
to speak against him,  
saying, As the *eloahi* of  
the nations of the lands  
who have not delivered  
their people from my  
hand, so the *eloahi* of  
Hezekiyahu shall not  
deliver his people from  
my hand. (18) And they  
called in a great Judahite  
voice, against the people  
of Jerusalem who were  
on the wall, to frighten  
them and to terrify them,  
that they might capture  
the city. (19) And they  
spoke against the *eloahi*

Sennacherib's Third Campaign: 701 B.C.E.

141a	Parallel Corpora A				Sennacherib's Third Campaign: 701 B.C.E.		141b
2 Kings	Isaiah	2 Chronicles	Josephus, Antiquities		Josephus, Antiquities	Severus Sacred History	
			of Jerusalem as against the <i>eloahi</i> of the peoples of the earth, the work of the hands of man.				
19:14-19	37:14-20	32:20	10:1:4(16a)		10:2:1 (20f)	51c-d	
(14) And Hezekiyahu received the letters from the hand of the messengers, and he read them, and he went up to the house of Yahweh; and Hezekiyahu spread it before Yahweh. (15) And Hezekiyahu prayed before Yahweh, and he said, Yahweh <i>eloahi</i> of Israel, dwelling above the cherubim. You are he. You alone are the <i>eloahim</i> . For all the kingdoms of the earth; you have made the heavens and the earth.	(14) And Hezekiyahu received the letters from the hand of the messengers, and he read them, and he went up to the house of Yahweh; and Hezekiyahu spread it before Yahweh. (15) And Hezekiyahu prayed to Yahweh, saying, (16) Yahweh of hosts, <i>eloahi</i> of Israel, dwelling above the cherubim, You are he. You alone are the <i>eloahim</i> . For all the kingdoms of the earth; you have made the heavens and the earth.	(20) And Hezekiyahu the king, and Isaiah the son of Amoz, the prophet, prayed about this, and he cried to the heavens.	(16a) When Hezekiah read these words, he made light of them because of his confidence inspired by the deity, but he folded up the letter and laid it away within the temple. And, when he offered A SECOND PRAYER to the deity on behalf of the city and the safety of all,	(29f) then he went up to the temple and did obeisance to the deity (Yahweh) and offered prayers to him.	(51c) But Ezekias, in no wise disturbed by these threats, is said to have prayed to the deity		
(16) Yahweh, incline your ear and hear. Yahweh, open your eyes and see; and hear the words of Sennacherib who has sent it to reproach the living <i>eloahim</i> . (17) Truly, Yahweh, the kings of Assyria have laid waste the nations, and lands; (18) and have given their <i>eloahi</i> into the fire—because they are not <i>eloahim</i> , therefore only the work of men's hands, wood and stone; and they destroy them.	(17) Yahweh, incline your ear and hear. Yahweh, open your eye and see; and hear all the words of Sennacherib who has sent (it) to reproach the living <i>eloahim</i> . (18) Truly, Yahweh, the kings of Assyria have laid waste the countries and lands, (19) and have given their <i>eloahi</i> into the fire—because they are not <i>eloahim</i> , therefore only the work of men's hands, wood and stone; and they destroy them.					(51d) so that he would not allow the so great insolence of this man to pass unavenged.	
(19) And now, Yahweh our <i>eloahi</i> , deliver us, we beg, from his hand, and all the kingdoms of the earth shall know that you alone are Yahweh <i>eloahim</i> .	(20) And now, Yahweh our <i>eloahi</i> , deliver us from his hand, and all the kingdoms of the earth shall know that you alone are Yahweh.						
19:20-34	37:21-35		10:1:4(16b-c)				
(20) And Isaiah the son of Amoz sent to Hezekiyahu, saying, Thus says Yahweh <i>eloahi</i> of Israel, The prayer which	(21) And Isaiah the son of Amoz sent to Hezekiyahu, saying, Thus says Yahweh <i>eloahi</i> of Israel, The prayer		(16b) the prophet Isaiah told him that he (Yahweh) had hearkened to his prayer,				

## 2 Kings

## Isaiah

was to me, as to Sennacherib the king of Assyria, I have heard.

(21) This is the word that Yahweh spoke against him (Sennacherib): The virgin daughter of Zion has despised you and mocked you; the daughter of Jerusalem has shaken her head behind you. (22) Whom have you reproached and reviled? And against whom have you lifted up a voice? And you have lifted up your eyes on high against the sacred one of Israel!

(23) By the hand of your messengers you have reproached the *adonai*, and you said, With the multitude of my chariots I will be upon the sides of the spacious mountains of Lebanon, and I will cut down its tall cedars, from the best of its fir trees, and I will enter towards the furthest habitation, its densest forest.

(24) I shall dig and I shall drink foreign waters, and shall dry up with the sole of my feet all the rivers of Egypt.<sup>54</sup>

(25) Have you not heard from a distance? THESE ARE MY DESIGN FROM ANCIENT DAYS, AND I IMAGINED THEM. NOW I HAVE CAUSED IT TO COME, and you are a crashing storm, waves ruining fortified cities. (26) And their inhabitants were deficient of hand, afraid and

which was to me, as to Sennacherib the king of Assyria.

(22) This is the word that Yahweh spoke against him: The virgin daughter of Zion has despised you and mocked you; the daughter of Jerusalem has shaken her head behind you. (23) Whom have you reproached and reviled? And against whom have you lifted up a voice? And you have lifted up your eyes on high against the sacred one of Israel!

(24) By the hand of your servants you have reproached the *adonai*, and you said, With the multitude of my chariots I will be upon the sides of the spacious mountains of Lebanon, and I will cut down its tall cedars, from the best of its fir trees, and I will enter towards the furthest habitation, its densest forest.

(25) I shall dig and I shall drink waters and shall dry up with the sole of my feet all the rivers of Egypt.<sup>55</sup>

(26) Have you not heard from a distance? These are my design from ancient days, and I imagined them. Now I have caused it to come, and you are a crashing storm, waves ruining fortified cities. (27) And their inhabitants were deficient of hand, afraid and as the herbs of the field

<sup>54</sup> Here the verb is pointed to read future tense by the Masoretic Text, "I shall dry up," not "I have dried up" (HPM, 2, p. 301). Kemper Fullerton thinks that a future reading is against the context (BS, 63, p. 627, n. 62). Yet, there is no sound reason for this conclusion. Yahweh is merely informing Hezekiah of the

attitude of the king of Assyria: he had already conquered many nations and was next intending to overthrow Egypt. This passage demonstrates that the defeat of Egypt was Sennacherib's original and ultimate goal.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

2 Kings	Isaiah	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i>	Seder Olam	Targ. Jon. <i>2 Kings</i>	Targ. Jon. <i>Isaiah</i>
ashamed. They were as the herbs of the field and shoots of the new blades of grass. Grass of the roof tops, and scorched before being a stalk.	and shoots of the new blades of grass. Grass of the roof tops, and blighted before being a stalk.				
(27) And your sitting down and your going out and your coming in I know, and your rage towards me. (28) Paying attention, your rage towards me and your pride have come up in my ears. And I will put my hook in your nose and my bridle in your lips, and I will turn you back by the road on which you came in.	(28) And your sitting down and your going out and your coming in I know, and your rage towards me. (29) Paying attention, your rage towards me and your pride have come up in my ears. And I will put my hook in your nose and my bridle in your lips, and I will turn you back by the road on which you came in.				
(29) And this shall be a sign for you (Hezekiah): eat this year that which is sown of itself, and in the second year that which grows of the same, and in the third year you shall sow, and reap, and plant vineyards and eat their fruit. <sup>56</sup>	(30) And this shall be a sign for you: eat this year that which is sown of itself, and in the second year that which grows of the same, and in the third year you shall sow, and reap, and plant vineyards and eat their fruit.		23 (ℓ. 50-51) (50) Thus it was said, "And this shall be a sign for you: eat this year that which is sown of itself," because (the Assyrians) came up (51) in the time before Passover, and they were not able to plant, <sup>57</sup> and so they ate what grows of itself.	19:29-31 (29) And this shall be a sign for you: eat in one year that which is sown of itself, and in the second year the third crop, and in the third year you shall sow, and reap, and plant vineyards and eat their fruit.	37:30-32 (30) And this shall be a sign for you: in this year eat that which is sown of itself, and in the second year that which grows of that sown of itself, and in the third year you shall sow, and reap, and plant vineyards and eat their fruit.
(30) And the escaped of the house of Judah remaining shall accumulate, taking root downward, producing fruit upward. (31) For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and the escaped out of Mount Zion. The zeal of Yahweh of hosts shall do this.	(31) And the escaped of the house of Judah remaining shall accumulate, taking root downward, producing fruit upward. (32) For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and the escaped out of Mount Zion. The zeal of Yahweh of hosts shall do this.	10:1:4(16d) (16d) while in the future his subjects, relieved of all apprehension, would till their land in peace and look after their own possessions without fear of anything.		(30) And the escaped of the house of Judah shall continue like a tree that sends forth its roots below and raises up its branch above. (31) For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant of the just ones, and the escaped of those upholding the law out of Mount Zion. By the <i>memra</i> (Word) of Yahweh of hosts this shall be done.	(31) And the escaped of the house of Judah remaining shall continue, and will be left as a tree which sends its roots downward, and raises its top upward. (32) For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant of the righteous, and the escaped of those upholding the law out of Mount Zion. By the <i>memra</i> (Word) of Yahweh of hosts this shall be done.

<sup>56</sup> These instructions mark the Sabbath and Jubilee cycle, the Sabbath year falling in the 15th year of Hezekiah and the Jubilee falling in the 16th year of Hezekiah, cf., Exod., 23:10f; Lev., 25:4-7, 11f.

<sup>57</sup> The S.O., 23, errs in its chronology and, incorrectly, does not make this year a Sabbath year. Nevertheless, planting time in Judah began at mid-November and continued until mid-January. Late planting occurred in February and March (HBC, pp. 33f). Therefore, since the Sabbath year had begun, the true sign was established by the fact that the Judahites remained in their land to enjoy the Sabbath year, eating directly out of the field from that which grows of itself.

2 Kings	Isaiah	2 Chronicles	Josephus, Antiquities
(32) Therefore, thus says Yahweh to the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor shall he build up a siege mound against it. <sup>58</sup> (33) On the road which he came on, he shall return, and he shall not come into this city, declares Yahweh. (34) For I shall defend over this city, for its deliverance, for my sake and for the sake of David, my servant.	(33) Therefore, thus says Yahweh to the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor shall he build up a siege mound against it. <sup>59</sup> (34) On the road which he came on, he shall return, and he shall not come into this city, declares Yahweh. (35) For I shall defend over this city, for its deliverance, for my sake and for the sake of David, my servant.		<b>10:1:4(16c)</b> (16c) and that at the present time he would not be besieged by the Assyrian,

Hippolytus  
On Isaiah

**3**  
(3) We find in the commentaries, written by our predecessors, that that day had 32 hours. For when the sun had run its course, and reached the 10th hour, and the shadow had gone down by the 10 degrees in the house of the temple, the sun turned back again by the 10 degrees, according to the word of the sovereign, and there were thus 20 hours. And again, the sun accomplished its own proper course, according to the common law, and reached its setting. And thus there were 32 hours.

<sup>58</sup> The assault ramparts or siege mounds mentioned here must not be confused with the “earthworks” thrown up against Hezekiah which are reported in Sennacherib’s records (see above n. 28). In the Assyrian account, Hezekiah is shut up in Jerusalem like “a caged bird.” The earthworks are not thrown against the walls of the city but against the gates so that “the one coming out of the city gate” was “turned back to his misery.” The Assyrian account only discusses the blockade and never mentions either assault ramparts or an assault upon Jerusalem, which is in full accord with the report from Scriptures.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>60</sup> After discussing Egyptian dynasties from Menes, the pharaoh of Dynasty I, to the battle between

Rabbi Eliezer	Rabbi Eliezer
<b>52i</b> (52i) All the kings (var. “nations”) of the earth saw, and they were astonished, for there had been nothing like it from the day when the world was created. <sup>60</sup>	

Sennacherib and Sethos, Herodotus goes on to say, “Four times in this period, so they told me, the sun rose contrary to his wont; twice he rose where he now sets, and twice he sets where now he rises” (Herodotus, 2:141–142). This same view was expressed by Mela, 1:9 §59; Solinus, *Poly.*, 32:39. The story of Atreus and Thyestes appears to have occurred in the days of Ahaz (Sophocles, frag. 738; Euripides, *Electra*, 727ff. *Orestes*, 1001ff; Plato, *State.*, 268e–271c; Aristotle, *Heavens*, 2:2; S. Flaccus in Greek Anth., 9:98; Strabo, 1:2:15; Plutarch, *Isis*, 49; Ps.-Plutarch, *Philo.*, 2:10; Apollodorus, 2:11f; Lucian, *Astro.*, 12; Hyginus, *Fab.*, 88; Ovid, *Art Amator.*, 1:328ff, *Tristia*, 2:391ff; Seneca, *Thyestes*, 776–870; and numerous other pieces of data from all over the ancient world.

2 Kings	Isaiah	Josephus, Antiquities	Josephus, Wars	2 Baruch	Severus Sacred History	Mid. Rab. Exodus	Mid. Rab. Song	Targum 2 Chron.
EVENTS OF ABIB 14, NIGHTTIME <sup>61</sup>				EVENTS OF ABIB 14, NIGHTTIME				
19:35a (35a) And it was in THAT NIGHT, and the angel Yahweh went out and struck in the camp of Assyria 185,000.	37:36a (36a) And the angel Yahweh went out and struck in the camp of Assyria 185,000.	32:21a (21a) And Yahweh sent an angel, and cut off all the mighty ones of valor, both the leader and the head, in the camp of the king of Assyria.	5:9:4 (388b) (388b) . . . was it by human hands he fell? Were not those hands at rest from arms and raised in prayer, while an angel of the deity, in ONE NIGHT, destroyed that countless host?	63:6-8 (6) And there-upon the Mighty One commanded Ramiel, his angel who speaks with you.(7) And I went forth and destroyed their multitude, the number of whose chiefs only was 185,000, and each one of them had an equal number (at his command).(8) And at that time I burned their bodies within, but their raiment and arms I preserved outwardly, in order that the still more wonderful deeds of the Mighty One might appear, and so that thereby his name would be spoken of throughout the whole earth.	51e (51e) Accordingly, in THE SAME NIGHT, an angel attacking the camp of the Assyrians, caused the death of many thousand men.	18:5a (5a) Israel and Hezekiyah sat that night and recited the Hallel, for IT WAS PASSOVER, yet were in terror lest at any moment Jerusalem might fall into his (Sennacherib's) hand.	1:12:3 (3) Rabbi Judan said: While Hezekiyah and his followers were still eating their paschal lambs in Jerusalem, <i>eloa-him</i> had already wrought (their deliverance) in that night, as it says, And it was in THAT NIGHT, and the angel Yahweh went out and struck in the camp of Assyria.	32:21a (21a) And the word of Yahweh sent an angel, Gabriel, and he destroyed them in the night of Passover with fire pouring out. And he burnt the vital breath within their midst and destroyed all the valiant warriors, and officers, and princes in the camp of the king of Assyria.
EVENTS OF ABIB 14, DAYTIME				EVENTS OF ABIB 14, DAYTIME				
19:35b (35b) And they rose up in <i>baqar</i> (morning and twilight), and behold, all of them were dead corpses.	37:36b (36b) And they rose up early in <i>baqar</i> , and behold, all of them were dead corpses.	10:1:4-5(21b) [Berosus] (21b) there he found the force under Rapsakēs in danger FROM A PLAGUE, for the deity had visited a pestilential sickness upon his army, and ON THE FIRST NIGHT OF THE SIEGE 185,000 men had perished with their commanders and officers.	5:9:4(388c) (388c) And after that day the Assyrian rose up finding 185,000 corpses.	Tertullian <i>On Fasting</i>  7c (7c) After that, what else (except fasting) swept away a 184,000 from his army by the hand of the angel other than the humiliation of King Hezekiah?	Bar Hebraeus  3b (3b) and the angel of the the sovereign slew in the camp of Sennacherib 185,000 men.	18:5b (5b) When they arose in <i>baqar</i> to recite the <i>shema</i> and pray, they found their enemies' dead corpses.	3 Maccabees  6:5 (5) you, sovereign, did demolish him and did show forth your might to many nations.	

<sup>61</sup> That the Assyrian army was destroyed on the first night of Passover, also see Tosef.-Targ.,

2 Kings, 19:35–37; J. Pes., 9:36d.

2 Kings	Isaiah	Josephus, Antiquities	Josephus, Wars	2 Baruch	Bar Hebraeus	2 Chronicles	Severus Sacred History
<b>19:36</b> (36) And Sennacherib the king of Assyria set out, and went and returned, and he dwelt in Nineveh.	<b>37:37</b> (37) And Sennacherib the king of Assyria set out, and went and returned, and he dwelt in Nineveh.	<b>10:1:5(22)</b> (22) By this calamity he was thrown into a state of alarm and terrible anxiety, and, fearing for his entire army, he fled with the rest of his force to his own realm, <sup>62</sup> called the kingdom of Ninos.	<b>5:9:4(388d)</b> (388d) And with the remainder (of his army), he fled from the Hebrews who were neither armed nor pursuing.		<b>3c</b> (3c) And he heard that Tarhak, king of the Kushites, had come forth to fight with him, <sup>63</sup> and straightway he departed to Nineveh.	<b>32:21b</b> (21b) And he returned to his land with shame of face.	<b>51f</b> (51f) The king in terror fled to the town of Nineveh,

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

<b>10:2:1(24a)</b> (24a) Having been thus wonderfully delivered from the fate which he feared,	<b>63:9</b> (9) And Zion was saved and Jerusalem delivered: Israel also was freed from tribulation.	<b>32:22</b> (22) And Yahweh delivered Hezekiyahu and the inhabitants of Jerusalem from the hand of Sennacherib the king of Assyria, and from the hand of all; and he guided them on every side.
---	--	---

Syncellus

<b>237</b> (237) Now Marodach-Baladan was awe-struck by the sign of the sun's regression, and upon hearing what had happened in relation to Ezechias' affliction, he sent out envoys and gifts, rejoicing with him over his life.	<b>39:1</b> (1) At that time Merodach-Baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah. And he had heard that he was ill and had been made strong.	<b>10:2:1(24b)</b> (24b) King Hezekiah together with all the people offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to the deity, for the destruction of some of the enemy and the removal of the rest from Jerusalem <sup>64</sup> had had no other cause than the aid given by their ally, the deity (Yahweh).	<b>63:10</b> (10) And all those who were in the sacred land rejoiced, and the name of the Mighty One was glorified so that it was spoken of.	<b>32:23</b> (23) And many brought an offering to Yahweh, to Jerusalem, and precious gifts to Hezekiyahu the king of Judah; and he was exalted for the eyes of all the nations after this.
--	---	--	---	---

<sup>62</sup> This statement shows that the 185,000 destroyed at Jerusalem and the others who were destroyed at Pelusium were two different branches of the total army, and that what was left returned to Nineveh with Sennacherib.

<sup>63</sup> This statement demonstrates that Tirhaqah was now moving towards Jerusalem in pursuit of Sennacherib and his Assyrian army.

<sup>64</sup> See above n. 62.