

# Contents

## Abbreviations — XI

### Chapter One: Introduction — 1

1. Preliminary remarks — 1
2. Past research — 3
- 2.1. Scholarly opinions — 3
- 2.2. Discussion — 9
3. Methodology — 11

### Part One: Sennacherib's Third Campaign within the Context of the Assyrian Inscriptions and Reliefs — 16

- Preliminary remarks — 16

### Chapter Two: Literary Reading of Sennacherib's Campaigns — 19

1. Introduction — 19
2. Preliminary considerations — 19
- 2.1. General notes about the campaigns — 19
- 2.2. Counting the campaigns — 21
- 2.3. Texts used in the investigation — 21
3. Presenting Sennacherib's campaigns — 22
- 3.1. The campaign against the Kulummeans — 23
- 3.2. The first campaign against Babylonia in 704 — 23
- 3.3. The campaign against Zagros in 702 — 25
- 3.4. The campaign against the west in 701 — 26
- 3.5. The second campaign against Babylonia in 700 — 28
- 3.6. The campaign against Urartu in 697 — 29
- 3.7. The campaign against Cilicia in 696 — 30
- 3.8. The campaign against Til-Garimme in 695 — 31
- 3.9. The campaign against Elam in 694–693 — 31
- 3.10. The second campaign against Elam in 693 — 32
- 3.11. The third campaign against Babylonia in 692 — 33
- 3.12. The campaign against the Arabs in 690 — 34
- 3.13. The fourth campaign against Babylonia in 689 — 35
4. Discussing the common motives and conventions of the campaigns — 35
- 4.1. Structure and minor themes — 36
- 4.1.1. Overall structure of the campaigns — 36

- 4.1.2. The motive of the campaign — **37**
- 4.1.3. The fate of the enemy king or ruler — **40**
- 4.2. The military strategy used in the war — **41**
- 4.3. Economic exploitation — **47**
- 4.3.1. Introduction — **47**
- 4.3.2. The occasions of plundering and receiving tribute — **48**
- 4.3.3. Booty — **53**
- 4.3.3.1. Booty taken from cities after their conquest — **54**
- 4.3.3.2. Booty taken after battle — **54**
- 4.3.3.3. Booty taken after the pursuit of the enemy — **55**
- 4.3.3.4. Booty taken by Sennacherib on his way to Assyria — **55**
- 4.3.4. Tribute — **55**
- 4.3.4.1. Spot tribute — **55**
- 4.3.4.2. Annual tribute — **57**
- 4.3.4.3. Hezekiah's tribute — **58**
- 4.3.5. Conclusion — **61**
- 5. Conclusion to chapter two — **64**

### **Chapter Three: Sennacherib's Conquest of Lachish in the Reliefs and the Archaeological Evidence — 67**

- 1. Introduction — **67**
- 2. Subject matter of the reliefs — **68**
- 2.1. The architecture of Lachish — **69**
- 2.2. Assyrian military strategy — **70**
- 2.3. The narrative progression — **72**
- 2.4. Conclusion on the subject matter of the reliefs — **74**
- 3. The absence of Lachish in the annals — **74**
- 4. Textual material and the reliefs — **83**
- 4.1. Consulting other reliefs — **84**
- 4.2. Archaeological data — **85**
- 5. Conclusion to chapter three — **87**

### **Chapter Four: The Blockade of Jerusalem in the Context of Other Blockaded Cities — 90**

- 1. Introduction — **90**
- 2. Identifying the problem — **91**
- 3. Scholarly opinions about what happened to Jerusalem — **93**
- 4. Discussion and observations — **95**
- 5. Terminological problem — **96**
- 6. What was the tactic of a blockade? — **99**

- 7. Discussion and conclusions about the blockade tactic — 103
- 8. Where are we to place the Jerusalem blockade? — 109
- 9. Conclusion to chapter four — 114

## **Conclusion to part one — 115**

## **Part Two: Reasons for Sennacherib's Withdrawal from Jerusalem within the Biblical Narratives — 117**

### **Preliminary remarks — 117**

## **Chapter Five: The Paying of Tribute to Sennacherib in 2 Kgs 18:13–16 — 119**

- 1. Introduction — 119
- 2. Literary analysis of the tribute episode — 121
- 2.1. The relationship between 2 Kgs 18:13–16 and 2 Kgs 18:17–19:37 — 121
- 2.2. The rhetoric of vv. 13–16 — 122
- 2.2.1. Seitz and the status of 2 Kgs 18:13–16 — 123
- 2.2.2. The status of v. 13 — 126
- 2.2.3. Questioning the archival origins of vv. 14–16 — 130
- 2.2.3.1. Connecting vv. 14–15 to v. 13 and v. 16 — 131
- 2.2.3.2. Redactional features in vv. 14–15 — 133
- 2.3. Conclusion of the rhetorical analysis of vv. 13–16 — 140
- 3. The ending of the tribute episode — 141
- 4. Implications for the historicity of the tribute episode — 143
- 5. Conclusion to chapter five — 147

## **Chapter Six: Three Different Reasons for Sennacherib's Return in the Prophetic Narrative in 2 Kgs 18:17–19:37 — 149**

- 1. Introduction — 149
- 2. Section One: The Note about the Rumour in 2 Kgs 19:6–7 — 152
- 2.1. Introduction — 152
- 2.2. The function of the oracle within the narrative — 155
- 2.3. The literary analysis of 2 Kgs 19:6–7 — 156
- 2.3.1. The form of the oracle in 2 Kgs 19:6–7 — 156
- 2.3.2. Syntax of the oracle — 157
- 2.3.3. The date and compositional nature of 2 Kgs 19:6–7 — 158
- 2.4. Historical reliability of 2 Kgs 19:6–7 — 162
- 2.5. The sign given by Isaiah in 2 Kgs 19: 29–31 — 163
- 2.5.1. Literary analysis of 2 Kings 19:29–31 — 165
- 2.5.1.1. Analysis of v. 29 — 165

- 2.5.1.2. Analysis of vv. 30–31 — **169**
- 2.5.2. Conclusion and dating of 2 Kgs 19:29–31 — **171**
- 2.6. Conclusion to section one — **172**
- 3. Section Two: The Role of Egyptian-Kushite Army in 701 — **173**
  - 3.1. Introduction — **173**
  - 3.2. The Egyptian-Kushite presence in the Assyrian and biblical sources — **174**
  - 3.3. Scholarly opinions — **175**
  - 3.4. Discussing the scholarly views — **177**
  - 3.5. The connection between 2 Kgs 19:7 and 2 Kgs 19:9a — **179**
    - 3.5.1. Literary analysis of 2 Kgs 19:9a — **179**
    - 3.5.2. The role of the Egyptian-Kushite aid in the wider context — **180**
  - 3.6. Conclusion to Section Two — **181**
- 4. Section Three: The Angel of the Lord in 2 Kgs 19:35 — **182**
  - 4.1. Introduction — **182**
  - 4.2. What does the note mean? — **183**
  - 4.4. Discussion and conclusion to section three — **186**
- 5. Conclusion to chapter six — **188**

## **Chapter Seven: Conclusion — 191**

## **Bibliography — 195**

## **Appendix**

### **Appendix — 205**

#### **Index of Names — 221**

#### **Index of Ancient places — 223**

#### **Index of Ancient people — 225**