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The Pauline Gospel of the Infancy (Gal. iv. 4) was truly a Gospel, because while it spoke so clearly of a historical Christ it spoke also of a Divine Christ, and the witness and the work of St. Paul could only have been sustained in the strength of One who was for him in his earliest, as in his latest, Epistles his Saviour, his Judge, his Lord, with whom his life on earth was hidden, and with whom he would one day be manifested in glory :

“Yea, through life, death, through sorrow, and through sinning,  
He shall suffice me, for He hath sufficed :  
Christ is the end, for Christ was the beginning,  
Christ the beginning, for the end is Christ.”

They are the words of one whose death in the last year was probably marked by us all—an unexpected loss which adds pathos to the utterance—F. W. Myers in his “St. Paul.”

R. J. KNOWLING.

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ART. II.—TIGLATHPILESER, KING OF BABYLON—  
THE KEY TO ISAIAH XIII. 1 TO XIV. 27.—II.

THE accession of Shalmaneser in the same month in which his predecessor died suggests that the crown passed by succession from one to the other—in fact, that Shalmaneser was the son of Tiglathpileser. A further proof of this is obtainable as follows: On the Second Dynastic Tablet from Babylon<sup>1</sup> both Tiglathpileser and Shalmaneser are called by their private names, Pulu and Ululai respectively, a familiarity which argues some previous connection with Babylon. But whereas the name Pulu stands without any addition, Ululai is described as “of the dynasty of Tinu.” In the same way no dynasty is affixed to the name of the usurper Sargon, whilst his son Sennacherib is styled as “of the dynasty of Khabi the greater.”<sup>2</sup> If, then, it be granted that Shalmaneser was the son of Tiglathpileser, it follows that the dynasty of the usurper came to a close just five years after his death, when the great Sargon mounted the throne of Assyria, and became the founder of a fresh dynasty, embracing four great Kings, who reigned in direct succession—Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal.

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<sup>1</sup> “Records of the Past,” New Series, vol. i., p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> According to H. Winckler the above surmise is now an established fact. Shalmaneser is found styled the son of Tiglathpileser in a treaty made between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre. See Schrader’s “Keilinschriften,” third edition, part i., p. 62, footnote 2.

The annals of Tiglathpileser, written on the walls of his palace at Calah, were treated with scant courtesy by this new dynasty. Esarhaddon took the slabs, and, after half erasing the writing, turned them face inwards, and used them in the structure of his own palace. Of Shalmaneser, who followed Tiglathpileser on the throne, we have no remains, except a single lion-weight inscribed with his name. And yet it is evident, both from Scripture and from the brief, half-obliterated notices in the Assyrian Chronicle, that his reign was by no means an inglorious one.<sup>1</sup> What, then, was the grudge borne against these two Kings? Was it that they made Babylon the seat of empire at the expense of Nineveh, or that Tiglathpileser, the father, had in some way, as the prophet declares, "destroyed his land and slain his people?"<sup>2</sup> In any case, the shortness of the dynasty, coupled with its possible connection with Babylon, agrees well with the words, "I will rise up against them, saith the LORD of hosts, and cut off from Babylon name, and remnant, and son, and son's son, saith the LORD"; whilst the strange odium in which Tiglathpileser was held, even by a merciful monarch like Esarhaddon, is in harmony with the strong expressions of loathing and contempt for the tyrant contained in the latter part of Isaiah's parable.

But whatever loathing may have been felt for Tiglathpileser as an oppressive and unprincipled tyrant, there can be no doubt that, as a clever administrator and powerful empire-ruler, he forms a fit subject for the prophet's "parable." The following extract from the pen of Professor J. F. McCurdy will explain the greatness and genius of this gifted man:

"The middle of the eighth century B.C. found the Assyrian Empire almost reduced to its original limits, and struggling rather for existence than for supremacy among the nations. The loss of territory, wealth, and prestige, the decline in trade and commerce, the revolts and dissensions within the capital itself, the threatened incursions of border tribes, all pointed to the necessity of a change of rulers, which should result in restoring its accustomed power to the realm of Asshur. The man who responded to the demand, Tiglathpileser III., did a great deal more than merely restore the old order of things. His administration of eighteen years, B.C. 745 to 727, began a new era, not merely in the history of Assyria, but also in the history of the world. Several of his predecessors had made conquests equal, or nearly equal, to

<sup>1</sup> See 2 Kings xvii. 3, xviii. 9; also the notices in the Assyrian Canon for the years B.C. 725, 724, and 723, given in "Records of the Past," New Series, vol. ii., p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xiv. 20.

his; but he was the first who knew how to retain the possessions thus acquired—he was the first, indeed, who anywhere ruled over an empire in the true sense of this term. Before him the territory claimed by the rulers of Babylonia and Assyria was held for the most part on a very precarious tenure. The new King introduced new ideas of organization and administration, and these principles, steadily acted upon by himself and his successors, finally resulted in the establishment of a comparatively settled government throughout the North-Semitic world.”<sup>1</sup>

To the same effect is the testimony of Professor Sayce :

“Tiglathpileser was a man of great ability and force of character. He excelled as a commander, he equally excelled as an administrator and civil organizer. His campaigns were not mere raids carried on for the sake of plunder, like those of earlier Assyrian Sovereigns; they were all conceived with a definite object, and carried out according to a definite plan. Tiglathpileser determined to found an empire in Western Asia, which should embrace the whole of the civilized world, and the centre of which should be Nineveh (or Babylon?). It was a new idea in history. Hitherto a royal conqueror had been content with exacting tribute, which was paid by the conquered people as long as the foreign army was near them, and refused as soon as it was withdrawn. The conquered districts had to be reconquered again and again; they were never welded into one with the conquering power, and formed into a homogeneous empire. To found such an empire was the task undertaken by Tiglathpileser. Slowly, but surely, he extended the Assyrian sway, turning the conquered countries into Assyrian provinces under Assyrian satraps appointed by the supreme King himself. The taxes to be paid by the newly constituted satrapies were carefully apportioned, and a great civil bureaucracy was organized which had its centre and head in Nineveh. For the first time in the history of the world the conception of imperial centralization was formed, and an attempt was made to realize it in fact. The second Assyrian Empire, founded by Tiglathpileser, was thus a new experiment in political history. It marks the beginning of a new era.”<sup>2</sup> Tiglathpileser, then, was not merely a great warrior King, who had achieved the unheard-of success of uniting the two thrones of Assyria and Babylon, but he was also, as the above extracts show, a civil administrator, who had originated a new policy, by which he was able to hold

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<sup>1</sup> See “Prophecy, History, and the Monuments,” vol. i., p. 321—a remarkably able work.

<sup>2</sup> See “The Times of Isaiah,” pp. 40, 41.

together a vast empire. This new policy was a very drastic one, and very oppressive, but so far as the greatness of Assyria was concerned it was successful for over a century. Its main feature consisted in the transportation of conquered peoples, after a wholesale fashion, to other parts of the empire remote from their former homes, their places being filled by captives brought from places equally distant. The evident object of the conqueror was to denationalize the various races, and to fuse them by way of intermarriage.<sup>1</sup> Now, as the heathen gods were local, these forced removals were in the eyes of the religious Semitic peoples nothing less than a crowning disaster. The national gods must be left behind by the exiles, so that, as Professor McCurdy points out, to be forced from one's country meant to be forced to change one's religion. Accordingly, in the "parable" now before us, the new policy of the late all-powerful tyrant is spoken of with the deepest abhorrence. As his spirit enters the world of the departed, the spirits of the mighty dead rise from their thrones to meet him, lost in wonder and astonishment at his tragic downfall. This their wonder is shared by multitudes who had occupied less exalted stations: "They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, they shall consider thee, saying, Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms; that made the world as a wilderness, and overthrew the cities thereof; that *let not loose his prisoners to their home?*" This, his crowning act of oppression, the distinctive feature of his new policy, they mention last—he "*let not loose his prisoners to their home.*" So, then, captivity, expatriation, was the keynote of the new policy, and Israel felt it in common with other conquered peoples. It was in Tiglathpileser's days that Isaiah received his commission to prophesy: "Until cities be waste without inhabitant, and houses without man, and the land become utterly waste, and the LORD have removed men far away, and the forsaken places be many in the midst of the

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<sup>1</sup> In illustration of this, take the following half-obliterated extract from the Annals for the eighth year of the reign, B.C. 738-737: "Six hundred captives from the town of Amlati belonging to the Damuni, 5,400 captives from the town of Dur, I settled in the town of Kunalia . . . in the towns of Khutsarra, Tai, Tarmanazi, Kulmadara, Khatatirra, and Sagillu, belonging to the land of Unqu . . . the captives of the lands of Quti and Bit-Sangibuti; 1,200 of the Illilæans, 6,208 of the Nakriæans and Budæans. . . . I settled in the towns of Tsimirra (Zemar), Arqa, Usnu, Siann on the sea-coast (Gen. x. 17, 18); 588 Budæans and Duncæans . . . 252 Bilæans, 544 Banæans, 380 inhabitants of the town of Nergal-ilu-inamatati, 460 of the Sangillu . . . Illilæans; 457 captives of the lands Quti and Bit-Sangibuti I settled in the province of Tuhimmi; 555 captives of the lands of Quti and Bit-Sangibuti I settled in the town of Til-karmi, and reckoned them with the men of Assyria."

land."<sup>1</sup> In those same sad times the prophet portrays vividly the hopeless misery of the departing exiles: "They shall pass through it, hardly bestead and hungry, . . . they shall look unto the earth, and behold distress and darkness, the gloom of anguish; and into thick darkness they shall be driven away."<sup>2</sup> The historical books record the speedy fulfilment of these prophetic visions. "In the days of Pekah, King of Israel,"—viz., in B.C. 734—"came Tiglathpileser, King of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali; and he carried them captive to Assyria."<sup>3</sup> In the conqueror's own words: "The land of Beth-Omri . . . the whole of its inhabitants and their property I carried away to Assyria. Pekah, their King, I slew, Hoshea I appointed to rule over them."<sup>4</sup> A round statement like the above clearly cannot be taken literally, seeing that some were left behind under the rule of Hoshea. To estimate its force, it is best to glance at the more exact statistics of the treatment meted out by Tiglathpileser to the rebellious principalities of Chaldea. Thus from Bit-Silani he informs us that he led away 85,000 captives, and from Bit-Sahalli 54,000. We are to understand, then, that as a result of the campaigns undertaken during the years B.C. 734 to 732 there was a large, though not universal, deportation of the inhabitants of the Northern Kingdom, as well as of the neighbouring kingdom of Syria-Damascus, a deportation quite sufficient to fulfil the prophet's words to Ahaz: "Before the child (Immanuel) shall know to refuse the evil and to choose the good the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken."

Captivity and deportation being thus a main part of the policy of Tiglathpileser, King of Babylon, it is no matter for surprise that in the prophecy before us the population of Babylon and the empire is spoken of as of a very mixed nature. These, when the great disturbance arises and Babylon is overthrown, are pictured as turning "every man to his own people," and fleeing "every man to his own land." But that which is of most consequence, and to which I would now draw the close attention of my readers, is the wonderful promise of deliverance from captivity given at the close of the first part of the Burden of Babylon, and before we come to the parable: "For the LORD will have compassion upon Jacob, and will yet

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<sup>1</sup> Isa. vi., 11, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 21, 22.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings xv. 29. Note also the murder of Pekah by Hoshea in the following verse.

<sup>4</sup> See Schrader's "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament," vol. i., pp. 247, 248 of the English edition.

choose Israel, and set them in their own land; and the stranger shall join himself with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob. And the peoples shall take them and bring them to their place: and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the LORD for servants and for handmaids; and they shall take them captives whose captives they were; and they shall rule over their oppressors."<sup>1</sup> This striking passage contains, as observed at the outset, chaps. xlv. to lxvi. *in nuce*. Thus with xiv. 1, "The LORD *will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel,*" compare xlix. 10, 13, liv. 8, 10, lx. 10; also xli. 8, 9, and xlv. 1, 2. With the assurance of the voluntary association of strangers with the chosen people, as given in xiv. 1, compare lvi. 3. Again, the prediction of xiv. 2, that the Gentile "peoples" will be forward to bring Israel back is expanded in xlix. 22, lx. 9, and lxvi. 20; whilst the future supremacy of Israel, foretold in this same verse, is again predicted in lx. 14 and lxi. 5, 6. So that if these two verses be from the pen of Isaiah, we have an undoubted argument for the unity of authorship of the entire book. Now, it is said by Professor Driver that the prophecy of chap. xiv. 1, 2 is "*unrelated to Isaiah's own age,*" and that the promise of deliverance from captivity contained in it is based "*upon a condition of things not yet existent.*"<sup>2</sup> But as far as regards the captivity of Israel, *i.e.*, the ten tribes, this is not the case. Israel's captivity was a dire reality in B.C. 729, before the extinction of the Northern Kingdom. Further, on a close study of the terms employed in xiv. 1, 2, it will be found that, while the promised return from captivity is as truly a prophetic revelation as that of chap. xi. 11, 12, yet that the language in which the revelation is given is, as a matter of fact, in exact accordance with the then existing state of things—viz., the captivity in great measure of the kingdom of Israel while Judah remained still intact. This will be seen at once if a comparison be made between Isa. xiv. 1, 2 and the long prophecy against Babylon contained in Jer. i. to li. 58. Thus, in Jer. i. 20, we read of Israel *and Judah*, in l. 33 of their being oppressed *together*, in l. 4 of their *joint* repentance, in li. 5 that *neither of them* are forsaken of God, while in li. 24, 35, l. 5, 28, li. 10, mention is made of evil done *to Zion* by the Chaldean, and assurances are given of a return *to Zion*. But in Isaiah xiv. 1, 2, the passage before us, we note a very marked difference. Though captivity is a present reality, yet no express mention is made of Judah, nor is anything said

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xiv. 1, 2. Notice the break at the end of xiv. 2.

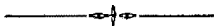
<sup>2</sup> See "Isaiah: his Life and Times," pp. 85, 86. The italics are his, not mine.

of a return to Zion. The captives are merely spoken of in such general terms as "Jacob" and "Israel," "house of Jacob," "house of Israel," which, while they do not exclude Judah, do not necessarily include it; so that in this respect xiv. 1, 2 would seem to be more closely related to the circumstances of Isaiah's own age than even xi. 12, where "the dispersed of Judah" are expressly mentioned. Again, in these two verses the return spoken of is not to Zion, but "to their own land," to "their place," to "the land of the LORD." The inference, then, is that when Isaiah xiv. 1, 2, was written Israel was in captivity, but *not* Judah; and this, speaking broadly, was the state of things in B.C. 729, when a considerable portion of the ten tribes had gone into captivity, while those who remained in the land of their fathers were under the sway of Hoshea, the nominee of Assyria.

In reviewing the above argument, it will be found that there is one point in which we lack confirmation. From Israel's captivity being mentioned in the Burden of Babylon, and in connection with a desolation presently to come upon Babylon, one might suppose that the captive Israelites were taken to Babylon, whereas the conqueror expressly tells us that he took them away to Assyria. To this seeming discrepancy it is sufficient to reply that Babylon is here regarded as the seat of empire, and that, as shown above, Tiglathpileser made it his second capital, and appears toward the close of his life to have given it the preference over Nineveh. Thus, being carried captive to Assyria and being carried captive to Babylon become equivalents.

C. BOUTFLOWER.

*(To be continued.)*



### ART. III.—THOUGHTS ON SOME SOCIAL QUESTIONS, PAST AND PRESENT.—I.

**T**HE close of the old century and the beginning of the new has given rise to many comparisons as regards social matters, some of the conclusions arrived at being unfavourable, while others are too flattering and generally optimistic. Those of us whose memories can go back through a long period of years are not inclined to agree entirely with either of these opinions and statements, but desire to discriminate between those matters which have without doubt improved, and others which have not done so, during the lapse of years.

As the younger members of the present generation are somewhat apt to believe that the present state of things is