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A table of contents for *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* can be found here:

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822ND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,  
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,  
WESTMINSTER, S.W.1, ON MONDAY, MAY 23RD, 1938,  
AT 4.30 P.M.

S. H. HOOKE, ESQ., M.A., B.D., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed.

The CHAIRMAN then called on the Rev. Charles W. Cooper, F.G.S., to read Mr. Chappelow's paper entitled "Biblical Sites in the Cuneiform Records of the later Assyrian Empire."

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*BIBLICAL SITES IN THE CUNEIFORM RECORDS OF  
THE LATER ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.*

By E. B. W. CHAPPELOW, ESQ., M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A.

THE period of my paper is that of the divided monarchy of Judah and Israel when the menace of Assyria, that rod of God's anger (Isaiah x, 5), was drawing ever nearer and nearer to both.

The term "Later Assyrian Empire" applies, strictly speaking, to Assyrian history from 745 B.C. onwards; whereas the first contact with Israel was in 854, but to gain a correct perspective it will be necessary to extend my period and briefly deal with the earlier contacts of both Babylonia and Assyria with the Holy Land.

The Mediterranean was reached by Lugalzaggisi, king of Erech (Ass. *Uruk*) (about 2720 B.C.), Sargon of Agade (2700 B.C.), and his third successor, Narâm-Sin, Gudea, priest-king of Lagash (about 2350), who cut cedar in the Amanus Mountains and the west, possibly, by Khammurabi (1950, that is if he be Amraphel).

There were, of course, other great influences at work, Egyptian in the Fourth, Sixth, Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties, and Hittite and Canaanite (late Eighteenth Dynasty). Yet this, the Amarna period, witnesses through the general use of cuneiform to the prevalence of Mesopotamian civilisation.

The first Assyrian king to cross the Euphrates (Ass. *Purattu*) was, so far as we know, Shalmaneser I (1280–1260), who subjugated Mutsri hard by the Amanus Mountains.

Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1103) overran Meshech (Ass. *Mushku*),\* Commagene (Ass. *Qummukh*), at the sources of the Euphrates, Melitene (Ass. *Melid*), the land of the Hittites (Ass. *Khatti*), whose capital was Carchemish (Ass. *Gargamish*), and Mutsri as far as the Bay of Issus, and, according to the Broken Obelisk of Ashur-natsir-pal II (I R. 28, ll. 2 and 3), went on board a ship of Arvad (Ass. *Aruadâya* or *Aruada*) and slew a dolphin (Ass. *nakhiru*) in the great sea (the Mediterranean).

The decline of Assyria after Tiglath-pileser's death and the contemporary stagnation in Babylonia coincided with the settlement and development of the Hebrews, the age of the Judges and the undivided monarchy, and also with the migration from Northern Arabia of the Aramæans who established settlements along the western bank of the Euphrates as far as Amid, among which was Pethor (Ass. *Pitru*), seized Hamath (Ass. *Amâtu*) and Damascus (Ass. *Dimashqi*), and dominated the Assyrian and Babylonian trade routes to the west. Nevertheless, Ashur-rabi II (c. 1012–995), according to Shalmaneser III (Balawat Inscription, col. ii, l. 3), appears to have penetrated to Phœnicia, whilst Tukulti-Enurta II (889–884) again reached Qummukh, thus precluding the wide and victorious activities of Ashur-natsir-pal II.

The importance of the reign of Ashur-natsir-pal II (883–859) for Assyrian relations with the Holy Land lies in the fact that by his conquests east, north and on the Euphrates, particularly of the Aramæan Bit-Adini (Biblical Beth-Eden) between the Balikh and the Euphrates, by his system of border fortresses and provincial organisation, he was able in 876 to reach the Mediterranean. In his Annals (I R., pl. 25, col. iii, ll. 84–90) Ashur-natsir-pal says:—

At that time I reached Lebanon and went up to the Great Sea of the Amorites ; in the Great Sea I washed my weapons and offered victims to the gods.

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\* The trade of Tyre with Javan, Tubal (Ass. *Tabdlu*), Meshech, Togarmah (Ass. *Tilgarimmu*) (the capital of Melid), is noticed in Ezekiel, xxvii, 13, 14.

In citations R. refers to Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, 1861–1891, and L. to Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, 1851.

The tribute of the kings of the sea-coast, from Tyre (Ass. *Tsurraî*), Sidon (Ass. *Tsidunâi*), Gebal (Ass. *Gubalai* : Byblos), Makhallatâi, Maitsâi, Kaitsâi, Amurri (Ass. *Amurraî*) and Arvad, which lieth in the midst of the sea . . . . I received . . . . and they clasped my feet. I went up to Mount Amanus (Ass. *Khamani*) and cut down beams of cedar (Ass. *itsu erinu*), cypress (Ass. *itsu shurminu*), juniper (Ass. *itsu dapranu*) and pine (Ass. *itsu burâshu*).

At this point a few words may be devoted to the various nations which inhabited or bordered on the eastern half of the Fertile Crescent.

I shall make no mention of Assyria and Babylonia themselves, the Biblical references to the former being almost entirely rhetorical or confined to her western campaigns, whilst, with the exception of Genesis, the Old Testament only deals with Babylonia after the fall of Nineveh.

Between Tilmun, the Paradise of the Babylonians,\* the modern Bahrein, in the Persian Gulf, which Sargon so picturesquely describes as lying "30 double hours in the sea of the sunrise like a fish" (*sha XXX kasbu ina qabal tâmtim nipikh ilu shamshi kima nîni shitkunât* : Winckler, pl. 23, No. 48, ll. 1 and 2), and the headwaters of the Euphrates lay the Sea Land or Kaldu, Babylonia, Assyria, and to the east of these Elam, the Medes, and south and east of Lake Urumiyah the Mannâi, the Scythians (Ass. *Ashguzâi*), and the Cimmerians (Ass. *Gimîrrâi*, Biblical *Gomer*), and north of Lake Van Urartu (*Ararat*).

The Persian Gulf was known as the Sea of the Rising Sun (Ass. *tâmtim tsît ilu shamshi* : IR, pl. 45, col. i, l. 32), and the country about its northern shore Kaldu (Chaldæa), Bit-Yakin, a province of which Sargon describes as being on the salt sea shore (*sha kishad nâr marrati* : Winckler, pl. 27, l. 25), which is possibly the Merathaim of Jeremiah 1, 21.

The Sea Land was formed into an independent state during the latter half of the Dynasty of Khammurabi. Assyria came into contact with Kaldu as early as the ninth century B.C. Sargon and Sennacherib had a long but eventually successful struggle with Kaldu under the Biblical Merodachbaladan, who at intervals held the throne of Babylonia. Esarhaddon adopted a conciliatory policy, but Ashur-bani-pal was again at war with Kaldu owing to the support it afforded to his rebellious brother Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, but with only temporary

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\* T. G. Pinches : *The Tablet of the Epic of the Golden Age*, Victoria Institute, 18/4/32.

success, as it was from Bît-Yakin that the Neo-Babylonian dynasty of Nebuchadrezzar sprang.

Herself ravaging or backing Babylonia against Assyria, was Elam (Ass. *Ēlamtu*) across the Tigris (Ass. *Idiglat*, Biblical *Hiddekel*), beyond the Uknû river, whose capital Susa (Ass. *Shushan*) was the Shushan, the palace, of Nehemiah I.

It was not until 644 B.C. that Ashur-bani-pal completely wiped Elam out, thus removing a valuable bulwark against the Medes and Persians.

In ch. xxiii, 23, Ezekiel mentions the Koa, the Shoa, and Pekod. The Koa are the Assyrian Qutu and the Shoa the Assyrian Suti, both of which lay east of the Tigris.

Pekod is the Assyrian Puqudu which probably lay south-west of Susa at the foot of the Elamite hills.

The Suti were among those whom Merodachbaladan seduced from their allegiance to Assyria and are called by Sargon "nomad folk" (Ass. *tsábe tsêri*: Winckler, pl. 19, No. 41, ll. 1-4) and "warriors of the bow" (Ass. *tsáb itsu qáshti*: Winckler, pl. 33, No. 69, l. 82).

Tiglathpileser III says that he overwhelmed the Puqudu "as with a net" (Ass. *kima sapâri*)\*.

The Medes are first mentioned by Adad-nirari III. Subdued by Tiglathpileser III, who calls them the "mighty Medes" (Ass. *Madâi dannute*), and Sargon, who also calls them the "distant (*ruquti*) Medes." Esarhaddon had to fight a series of strenuous campaigns against the Medes, who were allied with the Mannâi, hitherto a loyal Assyrian buffer state, and the Cimmerians (678-673). Chastised by Ashur-bani-pal in his fourth campaign (Cylinder B, col. iii, l. 102, and col iv, l. 1 ff.; Smith, pp. 97, 98), they soon took a leading part in the destruction of Nineveh.

The Mannâi are the Minni of Jeremiah li, 27, where they are summoned with Ararat (Urartu), and Ashkenaz (*Ashguzâi*, the Scythians) to the destruction of Babylon. The Cimmerians, to the east above Urartu in the days of Sargon, soon after split into two streams, west and south-east. The western stream was checked in 678 and deflected into Phrygia, whilst the south-eastern conquered or amalgamated with the Medes and formed the alliance with them and the Mannâi already referred to.

The Scythians (*Ashguzâi*) are possibly the people from the

\* Layard, pl. 17, l. 12, Rost, p. 48, ll. 6 ff., and II R., 67, l. 13.

north referred to by Jeremiah in I, 41, and towards the end of Ashur-bani-pal's reign swept over the Near East to the border of Egypt.

According to Ashur-bani-pal's Annals\* it was the Cimmerian raids which led Gyges (Ass. *Gugu*) of Lydia (Ass. *Lüddu*) to seek his alliance as the result of a dream sent by the god Ashur, but when his ambassador reached Nineveh,

"A master of his language there was not; his tongue . . . they could not understand." (Cylinder E., ll. 1-12: Smith, pp. 76-77.)

Gyges subsequently supported Psammetichus of Egypt in his repudiation of Assyria and is referred to by Ashur-bani-pal as having been slain by the Cimmerians in response to his own call for vengeance to his gods:

"Before his foes his corpse was thrown down, and his bones were carried away."

His son Ardys sent an embassy of submission to Nineveh in terms (of course according to Ashur-bani-pal) of the most exemplary humility (Annals, col. ii, lls. 95-125).

North of Lake Van was Assyria's great opponent, the kingdom of Urartu. Urartu was founded in the ninth century by a race movement from the north-east. Thither fled the murderers of Sennacherib (II Kings, xix, 37, and Isaiah xxxvii, 38). First referred to by Ashur-natsir-pal II,† Urartu in the ninth century B.C., a period of Assyrian decline, advanced as far as Melid and diminished Assyrian influence east of Lake Van and Lake Urumiyah, but allied with Mita (Midas) of Mushki, was effectively broken by Sargon.

South, south-west and west of Urartu were Nairi, Guzanu (Biblical Gozan), Melid, Meshech, Qummukh, Tubal, Bit-Adini (Biblical Beth-Eden), Khatte and Mutsri, and south of Khatte from north to south Arpad (Ass. *Arpadda*), Aleppo (Ass. *Khalab*, *Khalman*), Hamath (Ass. *Amātu*), Hadrach (Ass. *Khatarikka*), Damascus, and Israel with, in the ninth century, suzerainty over Judah, Moab (Ass. *Ma'ba*) and Edom (Ass. *Udumu*).

Nairi figures in the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I, Ashur-natsir-pal II,‡ and Tiglath-pileser III,§ and the latter also made Melid tributary.

\* K. 2675, rev. ll. 13-31 (Smith, pp. 73-76).

† Budge and King, Ashur-natsir-pa-III, No. IX col. ii, l. 15.

‡ Annals, col. ii, ll. 13-14, 97, 117 (Budge and King).

§ Rost, p. 24, l. 141; p. 32, l. 180; Layard, pl. 18, l. 36.

At the accession of Shalmaneser III (859–824) the three great powers in the west were Hamath, Damascus and Israel.

The policy of Aza of Judah in calling in Damascus against Baasha of Israel had made the latter subject to her suzerainty and both Omri and Ahab ruled under Damascene overlordship, while both Damascus and Hamath had trade alliances with Phœnicia; Judah, Edom and Moab revolved within the lesser orbit of Samaria.

In the cuneiform records general terms for the west are *mātu Martu*, "land of the west," *mātu Amurri*, "land of the Amorites," *mātu Khatti*, "land of the Hittites." According to Adad-nirari III (810–782) Amurri included Tyre, Sidon, Israel (Ass. *mātu Khumri*, "land of Omri"), Edom and Philistia to the Mediterranean, which latter is called by Ashur-natsir-pal II *tâmti rabiti sha mâtu amurri*, "the great sea of the land of the Amorites," but under Ashur-bani-pal the term had become restricted to Phœnicia and Palestine (Philistia), *i.e.*, coast region.

Philistia is represented in the inscriptions by *mātu Palastu\** and *mātu Pilishta*.†

Shalmaneser III's famous campaign to the west took place in 854.

Operations began with the revolt in 859 of Akhuni of Bit-Adini (Biblical Beth-Eden), who had built up an anti-Assyrian alliance. The crushing of this brought with it tribute from Carchemish, Sama'al and Patini. Colonising his conquests, Shalmaneser fixed his headquarters at Aleppo, and thence tried conclusions with Hamath, Damascus and Israel. The indecisive character of the ensuing battle of Qarqar led to anti-Assyrian revolts further north and the chastisement of Carchemish and Bit-Agusi south of it in 850. Further attacks on the Syrian confederacy in 849 and 846 were also inconclusive, whilst a successful campaign to the Amanus in 843 left the confederacy undisturbed. The murder of Adad-idri (Benhadad) of Damascus by Hazael and the extermination of the house of Omri by Jehu encouraged Shalmaneser to make a fresh effort. Leaving Aleppo, Hamath and Damascus on his left, he repulsed an attack of Hazael east of Mount Hermon but, unable to take Damascus, ravaged down to the Hauran. Tyre, Sidon, and Israel sent tribute.

\* Adad-nirari III, I R., pl. 35, l. 12.

† Tiglath-pileser III, II R., pl. 52, Obv. l. 40.



Another Assyrian invasion in 839 had like results, and Shalmaneser had to confine his conquests to North Syria where he subdued Cilicia (*mātu Qué*) and captured Tarsus (Ass. *Tarzi*, 840, 835, and 834), Tubal (838) and Melid (837), and through his *turtan* reduced a revolt in Patini (832), thus controlling the north-west route into Asia Minor. Shalmaneser III's campaign of 854 is described in the *Obelisk Inscription* (Layard, pls. 89-90, ll. 54-66) and in greater detail in the *Monolith Inscription* (III R., pl. 8, ll. 78-102).

According to the *Monolith Inscription*, he marched in the sixth year of his reign (the eponym of Dayan-Ashur), against the cities of the lands watered by the River Balikh, whose inhabitants at his approach murdered their prince Giammu, and, having crossed the Euphrates for the second time in sheepskin boats (*ina elippé<sup>pl</sup> mashak takhshie*) in flood (*ina méli-sha*), received the tribute of the kings beyond it, e.g., of Sângar of Carchemish, Kûndâshpi of Qummukh, Arame of Gusi (Bit-Agusi), Lalli of Melid, Khaiani of Gabar, Kalparuda of Patini, and Kalparuda of Gurgum, silver, gold, lead, copper, and copper vessels, in Pethor, whose Assyrian name was *Ashur-uttir-atsbat*. He then advanced on Aleppo, which submitted and to whose god he offered sacrifices.

He next proceeded against the kingdom of Irkhuleni of Hamath and took and plundered his royal city Arganá, and approached Qarqar, which he sent up in flames.

"At which time," he says, "Adad-idri, king of Damascus, Irkhulina of Hamath, and the kings of the Hittite country and the sea-shore (*akhât tâmti*) were leagued together (trusted in each other's might: *ana idâti akhaish itaklu*) and advanced against me to make war and strife. By the command of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, I fought with them and defeated them." (*Obel. Insc.* ll. 59-64; Layard, pl. 90.)

Shalmaneser tells us the names and armed strength of the confederates: 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry and 20,000 men of Benhadad of Damascus, 700 chariots, 700 cavalry and 10,000 men of Irkhuleni of Hamath, 2,000 chariots and 10,000 men of Ahab of Israel (Ass. *Akhâbbu mâtu Tsirlâi*), 500 men of the Guæans, 1,000 men of Mutsri (in the north-west), 10 chariots and 10,000 men of the Irqanatæans, 200 men of Mattan-Baal of Arvad, 200 men of the Usanatæans, 30 chariots and 10,000 men of Adonibaal the Shizanian,\* 1,000 camels of Gindibu, the

\* Usually read Shianian, but III R., pl. 8, l. 94, has plainly the sign for za  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$  and not that for a  $\text{𐎶}$ , unless this be a misprint.

Arabian, 1,000 men of Baasha, the son of Rukhubi of Ammon (Ass. *Amanâi*), a total of 3,940 chariots, 1,900 cavalry, 62,900 foot, and 1,000 camels. The king naturally claims a complete victory: "From Qarqar to Gilzau I accomplished their defeat; 14,000 of their troops I smote with the sword; like Adad (the storm-god) I rained a deluge upon them . . . with their bodies (lit. men) the Orontes (*nâru Arântu*) as with a dam I blocked."

In the *Bull Inscription* Shalmaneser says that after defeating the confederates, he took ship (like Tiglath-pileser I before him) and went out upon the sea (*ina elippé arkâb adi qabal tâmti allik*), i.e., the Mediterranean. The *Black Obelisk* and the *Bull Inscription*\* give the number of enemy slain at Qarqar as 20,500, the *Berlin Inscription*† 29,000 and the *Monolith Inscription* 14,000. Shalmaneser states that Benhadad forsook his land (abdicated) and that the throne was seized by Hazael (Ass. *Khaza'ilu*), the son of a nobody (*mâr lâ mamâna*), whereas the Bible says that Hazael assassinated Benhadad. Shalmaneser claims to have defeated Hazael and to have pursued him to Damascus.

The campaign of 850-49 is mentioned in the *Obelisk Inscription* (lines 85-89), and in the *Bull Inscription* (lines 84-96). Shalmaneser says that in his tenth year he captured the cities of Sângar of Carchemish and Arame of Bit-Agusi (850), "In the eleventh year of my reign," says the king, "I crossed the Euphrates for the ninth time and captured cities numberless. I marched to the cities of the Hittite country and of Hamath and captured eighty-nine cities. Adad-idri of Damascus and twelve kings of the Hittite country trusted to their arms; I accomplished their defeat."

The *Bull Inscription* gives the events of the tenth and eleventh years in slightly fuller detail, but in similar terms, and closes with an account of cedar-cutting on Mount Amanus.

In 846 Shalmaneser‡ called out the general levy of Assyria ("called out the land": *mâta adki*) and again invaded the west, successfully, he claims, defeating twelve kings of the Hittite country. Benhadad must have been murdered prior to 842, for in the *Obelisk Inscription*, lines 97-9, which gives an account of

\* Layard: Pls. 14-16, 46-7, ll. 67-74.

† Messerschmidt: *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, as quoted and translated in Rogers: *Cuneiform Parallels*.

‡ *Obelisk Inscription*, ll. 91-2, and *Bull Inscription*, ll. 99-102.

So the *Obelisk Inscription*, but the *Bull Inscription* has *mâtu rapashtu adki*: "I called out the broad land," and gives the total as 120,000 men.

the western campaign of 842, it is stated that "Hazael of Damascus marched out to battle; 1,121 of his chariots (and) 470 of his horsemen with his camp I took from him." Details of this campaign are given in the *Annalistic Fragment* (III R., 5, No. 6), where Shalmaneser says that Hazael took up his position on Mount Hermon (Ass. *Saniru*), where the Assyrian defeated him, slaying 16,000 of his troops and capturing chariots, horsemen and his camp as already narrated. Shalmaneser goes on to say: "He fled away to save his life: I pursued him and shut him up in Damascus, his royal city. I cut down his plantations and marched to the mountains of the Hauran (Ass. *Kha-urani*). Cities without number I wasted, destroyed and burnt with fire, and carried away booty uncounted. I marched to Mount Ba'lira'si, at the head of the sea, and there had my royal image cut. At that time I received the tribute of the Tyrians (*mātu Tsurâi*), the Sidonians (*mātu Tsidunâi*), and of Jehu of the Land of Omri (*Ia-u-a mâr Khumrî*: Jehu. son of Omri')." This tribute is depicted on one of the scenes of the Black Obelisk, the inscription referring to Jehu reading:

"Tribute of Jehu, son of Omri, silver, gold, a cup (or bowl) of gold, a vase of gold, goblets of gold, pitchers of gold, lead, sceptres for the hand of the king, bdellium, I received from him."

The *Obelisk Inscription*, lines 102-4 (Layard, pl. 92), describes a last western campaign of 839 against Hazael, in which four cities were captured, and as a result of which tribute was received from Tyre, Sidon and Byblos (Ass. *Gubalâi*).

Nevertheless, Damascus was unbroken and Assyria confined to North Syria.

The last years of Shalmaneser III were troubled by the revolt of his son Ashur-danin-pal, which was only quelled after six years of fighting by his successor, Shamshi-Adad VI. Assyrian power was maintained both by this latter and by Adad-nirari III (810-782), but after that a period of gradual decline, revolt and anarchy set in, which was only brought to an end by the usurpation of Tiglath-pileser III, the Biblical Pul.

Adad-nirari III claims that he subdued and taxed "from above the Euphrates, Khatti, Amurri, to its whole extent, Tyre, Sidon, the land of Omri, Edom, Palastu (Philistia) as far as the great sea of the setting sun" (I R., pl. 35, ll. 10 ff.). He invaded the kingdom of Damascus, besieged king Mari' in Damascus city and received from him an extensive tribute. This period

is immediately anterior to the resurgence of Israel under Jeroboam II, which was evidently due to the growing weakness of Damascus under the assaults of Assyria.

In his first expedition Tiglath-pileser III crushed the Aramæan tribes of the Euphrates including Pekod.

Checking the Medes, he next (743) broke the power of Urartu which had been steadily expanding west, reduced Qummukh and then Rezin of Damascus, Hiram of Tyre, Quê, Pisiris of Carchemish, and Gurgum to their former position of vassalage, concluding his labours with the conquest of Arpad (743-40), Kullani (Calno ?), and Hamath, North Syria being brought to submission under Panammu of Sama'al and Iaudi, a north-western state. Tribute was received from Arabia and Menahem of Israel. The year 735 saw the devastation of Urartu and 734 the attack on Judah from Pekah of Israel, Rezin of Damascus, Hanon of Gaza, Philistia and Edom. Tiglath-pileser answered the appeal of Ahaz of Judah and campaigned in the west from 734 to 732, two outstanding events of these campaigns being the assassination of Pekah and the succession of Hoshea, the fall of Damascus and the end of the Syrian kingdom.

II Kings, xv to xviii, relate the contacts with the west of Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V.

The annals of Tiglath-pileser III are defective owing to the fact that Esarhaddon partly defaced the slabs on which they were written for his own unfinished palace at Calah.

Beginning in the third year, Tiglath-pileser says in his Annals (Rost, lines 59 ff.) that he crushed a revolt of Urartu, Agusi, Melid, Gurgum and Qummukh and pursued Sarduri of Urartu to the bridge of the Euphrates (*ituri nâru Purattu*). Lines 83 ff. give a broken account of the tribute of the nearby states, Qummukh, Hiram (*Khirûmmu*) of Tyre, Quê, Pisiris of Carchemish, Tarkhulara of Gurgum, including three talents of gold from Rezin of Damascus (*Ratsunni mâtu Dimashqi*), which the Assyrian king received at Arpad (*Arpadda*), which had fallen after a three-years siege. The defeat of Tutammu of Unqi follows and then in line 104 there are several broken references to the campaign of 738, which mention tribute from Azriau of Jaudi, who may be Azariah of Judah. Next follow in lines 125 ff. the subjection of nineteen districts of Hamath on the coast of the western sea, in short North Syria, the allies of Azriau, a fact which militates against identification with Azariah of Judah.

In line 150 we have the payment of tribute by Qummukh, Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria (*Menikhîmme alu Samerînâi*), Hiram of Tyre, Sibittibi'li of Gebal (Byblos), Quê, Carchemish, Enilu of Hamath, Panâmmu of Sâma'al, Gurgum, Melid, Kask, Tabal, Tuna, Tukhan, Ishtûnda, Kushinma, and Zabibi, queen of Arabia. These records contain accounts of the system of deportation which Tiglath-pileser III introduced.

Lines 195 ff. deal with the fall of Damascus (733-2). The account opens with broken references to the defeat of Rezin's troops. Rezin himself fled and "entered the gate of his city like a mouse (?) (*aitsu*). To intimidate him prisoners were impaled in sight of the city, where he was shut up "like a bird in a cage" (*kima itstsâr qûppi*); the orchards around the city were completely destroyed. Khadara, the home-town of Rezin's father, was also taken. "Sixteen districts of Damascus," says Tiglath-pileser, "like a deluge I destroyed." The submission of Samsi, queen of Arabia, "which is in the land of Saba," followed, as well as that of, among others, the Hittites and Idiba'al "in the territory of the west, whose dwelling is afar off." The tribute of these regions included, it is interesting to note, spices (the "spices of Arabia").

From one of Tiglath-pileser's smaller inscriptions (Rost, p. 78, l. 8), it appears that Hanon of Gaza (*Khâzzâtu*), one of the confederates, fled to Egypt (*Mutsri*). The Assyrian king plundered Gaza and set up his royal couch in Hanon's palace. Among the cities taken at this time was Abilakka at the entrance of Israel (*shâ pâtu mâtu Bît-Khûmrîa*: "which is before the land of the house of Omri"), and in the next line to this, l. 6, Tiglath-pileser says that he "added the broad land of . . . li to the borders of Assyria," which Hommel restored as (*Nap-ta*)-li, i. e., Naphtali, and set his officials over it. In l. 16 the tribute of Israel and the deportation of the entirety of its people (*pukhur nîshe-shu*) are mentioned. Tiglath-pileser then goes on to say: "Pekah (*Paqakha*) they had deposed and Hoshea (*Ausi*) as king over them I set, ten talents of gold and silver I received from them." Another inscription (II R., pl. 67, ll. 57 ff.) contains the first definitely authenticated mention of Judah in the Assyrian records; the passage reads:—

"The tribute of Kûshtaspi of Qummukh . . . Matânbi'il (Mattan-baal) of Arvad, Sanipu of Beth-Ammon (*Bit-Ammanâi*), Salamanu of Moab (*Ma'bâi*), Mitinti of Ashkelon (*Asgalunâi*), Jehoahaz of Judah (*Iaukhazi mâtu Iaudâi*), Qaushmalaka of Edom (*Udumâi*), Mutsri . . . and Hanon (*Hânûnu*) of Gaza (I received)."

The Assyrian had penetrated almost to Egypt, had made Judah and Israel tributary, and had reduced the kingdom of Damascus to a province. Israel and Judah were being encompassed on all sides. It is not, therefore, surprising that in the next reign, that of Shalmaneser V (727-722), the siege of Samaria, which with its immediate environs was all that remained to the heirs of Jeroboam I, was formally begun. Israel and Tyre had refused tribute, relying on Egypt, and Shalmaneser apparently overran Phœnicia and then besieged Samaria.

From II Kings, xviii, it would appear that the siege began about 725. When the city fell in 722 Shalmaneser was no longer king of Assyria, but had been replaced by Sargon, the founder of the last and most brilliant of Assyrian dynasties.

II Kings, xviii, does not state the name of the king who took Samaria, and it is probable that its capture was effected by the *turtan*, Sargon himself being occupied with affairs in Babylonia, his opponent there, Merodachbaladan of Bit-Yakin being assisted by Elam. It was to Samaria that some of the Aramæan tribes of the Euphrates, who supported Merodachbaladan, were transported.

The first effort of Sargon in Babylonia met with failure, which had repercussions in the west due to the loss of prestige involved. Egypt, which had been the prey of disunion, had now recovered some of her ancient energy. The south was held by Ethiopia, and this fact compelled Bokenrenf of Sais, the only monarch of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, who held the north, to attempt to expand in Palestine, where he accordingly began to stir up anti-Assyrian feeling. Thus instigated, Ilubidi or Yaubidi, who had usurped the throne of Hamath, in alliance with Hanon of Gaza and the Bedouin, secured the adhesion of Arpad, Tsimirra, Damascus and Samaria, the last two of which had been so recently conquered, actively backed by Egypt. Ilubidi was defeated at Qarqar and Hanon and the Egyptians at Raphia (720). Tribute was received from Egypt, the Aribi (Arabs) and Saba, and Hanon was captured and sent to Nineveh in chains. It was at this time that the people of Samaria were deported. In the meantime the Ethiopian Shabaka (Biblical So?) had become king of all Egypt and renewed Bokenrenf's intrigues, particularly in Edom, Moab, Philistia, Ashdod, and Judah, where, however, Isaiah opposed the Egyptian alliance. A revolution in Ashdod led to open revolt, which was, however,

crushed by the Assyrians in 711, Ashdod becoming for a while an Assyrian province.

The middle years of Sargon's reign (719-708) were occupied with combating the alliance of Rusas of Urartu and the Phrygian Mita of Mushku, to which I have already referred. This struggle drew into its mesh some of the north-western tributary states, Quê, Tabal, Qummukh, Melid, Gurgum, and Carchemish, and all became Assyrian provinces, Melid being peopled by Suti (Shoa).

In 709 Mushku itself made peace and seven kings of Cyprus sent tribute, Sargon setting up a triumphal stela there. The state of Sama'al lost its liberty at this time, so that only Palestine and Phœnicia retained a limited independence.

The campaigns of 718 to 709 paralysed both Elam and Mero-dachbaladan, who had remained independent since Sargon's campaign in 722-1. So complete was the Assyrian king's success that the king of Tilmun sent tribute. The rest of the reign (708-705) was apparently spent in building the new palace-city of *Dûr-Sharrâkîn*. Soon after its completion the great king met a violent death, of what nature is unknown.

The Bible tells us that the king of Assyria transported Israel into Assyria and put them in Halah and Habor by the river of Gozan and in the cities of the Medes. Halah was probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of the river Habor (Ass. *Khabur*), which joined the Euphrates at Circesium, and Gozan (Ass. *Guzanu*) was the land embraced by the Habor's two main tributaries. The Bible further says that Assyria settled Samaria with Babylonians, Avvites, Hamathites and men from Cuthah and Sepharvaim. Cuthath is the Babylonian Kutû, the sacred city of Nergal, the god of pestilence and war. Sepharvaim was the two Sipparas of Babylonia, *Sippar sha Shamshi* (Sippara of Shamash, the sun-god) and *Sippar sha Anunitum* (Sippara of the goddess Anunit). Avva is unidentified.

The only Biblical mention of Sargon by name is in Isaiah xx, 1, the passage beginning "In the year that Tartan came to Ashdod, when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him."

The fall of Samaria is recounted in the Annals, lines 10-17 (Winckler, pl. I, ll. 11 and 14-7), e.g., "In the beginning of my government, I besieged and took Samaria [*alu Samerindî (alme akshud)*] . . . 27,290 of its inhabitants I carried away, 50 chariots I collected there as a royal force . . . I set (Samaria) up again and made (it) more populous than before; people from

lands which I had conquered, I settled therein ; my official as governor I set up over them ; tax and tribute like that of (imposed on) the Assyrians I laid on them."

Another passage (Winckler, pl. 30, No. 64, l. 24) states that after the restoration of Samaria Sargon allowed the remainder of the population to retain their property (*Sítúti inushunu ushakhíz*) and that the tribute which he imposed was that of the former king.

The campaign against Ilubidi of Hamath and Hanon of Gaza is recounted in the Annals, lines 23-31 (Winckler, pl. 2, No. 3) ; this states that in the second year of the reign Ilubidi of Hamath collected his numerous troops at Qarqar and made Arpad, Tsimirra, Damascus and Samaria rebel against Assyria. Sib'u (perhaps the Biblical So), his *turtan*, he called to his side and marched against Sargon to deliver battle and death. "In the name of Ashur, my lord, I defeated him and Sib'u fled alone like a shepherd whose sheep are stolen (*kî ré'u sha tsínashu khabta edânúshshu ipparshid*)." Sargon adds that he took Hanon (*Khanunu*) of Gaza and carried him in chains to his city of Ashshur. He also took and wasted the city of Raphia (*Rapikhu*) and deported 9,033 of its inhabitants with their goods. In Winckler, pl. 31, No. 65, l. 25, Sib'u is described as *turtan* of Egypt. He may be the Pharaoh Shaboka. These events took place in 720. In the *Cylinder Inscription* (Winckler, facing pl. 43, l. 19) Sargon describes himself as "conqueror of the broad land of Israel (*mātu Bit<sup>det</sup> Khâmria rapshi*) who defeated Mutsri at Raphia (*sha ina alu Rapikhi abiktu mátu Mútsri ishkuwu*) and took Hanon prisoner to Ashshur.

The Annals also tell us that Sargon overthrew the far-off tribes of Tamud, Ibádidi, Marsimanu, and Khaiapa of the Arab country, who dwelt in the desert and knew no learned man or scribe, settled those who were left in Samaria, and received the tribute of Pir'u of Mutsri (Pharaoh of Egypt?), Samsi, queen of Arabia, and It'amara of Saba, sovereigns of the sea-coast and desert (715 : Winckler, pl. 4, No. 8, ll. 94 ff.). We then have the battle of Qarqar against Ilubidi or Yaubidi of Hamath and his allies. Ilubidi, the record tells us, had usurped the throne of Hamath, *e.g.*, "Ilubidi of Hamath, a man of the people, who had no claim on the throne, a Hittite, a bad man, had set his mind on the kingdom of Hamath (*<sup>det</sup> ilu Yaubi'di mátu Amatái tsáb khubshi la bél itu kussi awélu khattú limnu ana sharrút mátu Amátti libbashu ikpád*)."



After the fall of Qarqar Sargon flayed Yaubidi alive (*shâshu mashakshu akuts*: "as for him, his skin I tore off"). 200 chariots and 600 horsemen were collected among the Hamathites and added to the Assyrian army (Winckler, pl. 31, Nos. 65-66, ll. 33 ff.).

The second revolt in the west was that of Ashdod, at the instigation of Shabaka of Egypt, in 711. Sargon says that Azuri of Ashdod planned in his heart to refuse tribute and stirred up enmity to Assyria among the neighbouring states. Sargon at once deposed him in favour of his twin brother Akhimiti, who was in turn deposed by the Hitties (*awêlu khâttê*, *i.e.*, westerners), in favour of Yamani who was not of royal birth ("had no claim to the throne") and who, like his supporters, had no reverence for authority (*palakh bêluti lâ idû*: "fear of lordship knew not"). Taking only his guard with him ("those who leave not the place of aiding my body": *awêlu quradi-ia sha ashar sâlme iddai lâ îpparkû*), Sargon advanced on Ashdod. Yamani, on the mere rumour of his approach, fled to the border of Egypt which is beside Melukhkha, and his place knew him no more ("his place was seen no more": *lâ innamir asharshu*). Ashdod and Gath fell and the household, people and treasures of Yamani were carried off as spoil. Ashdod and Gath were made into provinces under Assyrian governors and were settled with transportees from the east. The king of Melukhkha, in terror of Assyria, cast Yamani into chains and handed him over, and he was deported to Assyria (Winckler, pl. 33, No. 70, l. 90 ff., No. 71 and beginning of pl. 34, No. 72). It further appears from the same inscription that the Assyrians in besieging Ashdod dug a moat round the city more than 20 cubits deep. Thereafter Philistia, Judah, Edom and Moab, who were tributaries, repudiated allegiance and sent for help to Pharaoh of Egypt, "a prince who could not help them" (*maliku lâ mushezibishunu*) (the "bruised reed" of Kings II, xviii, 21). C. H. W. Johns (*Ancient Assyria*, p. 114) regards Yamani as meaning a Yemenite and identifies Melukhkha with Amalek, but H. R. Hall (*Ancient History of the Near East*), reading *ma* as *ua*, which is quite permissible, interprets the name as a Yavanite, *i.e.*, a Greek.

Sennacherib (705-681) is from the Biblical standpoint the best known of all Assyrian kings on account of his campaign against Judah.

The reign was distinguished by two centres of activity, Babylon, where claimant after claimant sought the throne and

where Chaldæan, Aramæan, and Elamite fished in the troubled waters of disorganisation, and the west, where Egypt under the Ethiopian was ever intriguing to recover her lost Palestinian hegemony. Both centres reacted on each other. Beyond this, Babylonia, where events culminated in Sennacherib's destruction of the capital in 689, does not really concern my subject, except that the intrigues of Merodachbaladan, who, it will be remembered, sent an embassy to Hezekiah, were a contributory cause of anti-Assyrian revolts. In the west Luli (Elulæus) of Sidon had obtained a position of predominance in Phœnicia, whilst Hezekiah was anxious to reverse the pro-Assyrian policy of his father Ahaz and the prophet Isaiah. Revolutions broke out in Ashkelon and Ekron, the Assyrian vassal king of which, Padi, was sent in chains to Hezekiah.

Sennacherib appeared in the west in 701, substituted Ethbaal for Luli, received the submission of Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Ashdod, took Ashkelon, Bethdagon and Joppa, and drew near to Egypt, whose army he defeated at Eltekeh, near Ekron, reduced Ekron, secured the liberation of Padi, and took Lachish. Hezekiah was isolated in Jerusalem and Judah ravaged. The siege of Jerusalem was then begun, but Sennacherib himself returned to Nineveh, leaving the conduct of affairs to three high officers, the *tartan*, *rabshakeh* (chief cup-bearer) and *rabsaris*.\* Deserted by his Arab mercenaries, Hezekiah at last bought Assyria off. Immediately after he received Merodachbaladan's embassy against the good sense of Isaiah. According to H. R. Hall (*Ancient History of the Near East*, 1932), on whom I have based my summary of the reign, the unrecorded years of Sennacherib's reign (689-681) are those probably in which he experienced that disaster to his arms which is recounted in II Kings. After Eltekeh, the new king of Egypt, Shabataka, signed a treaty with Assyria, but himself dying in 689, his successor Tirkakah again intrigued against Assyria, although Hezekiah seems to have stood aside, with the result that Sennacherib again appeared in the west in 687 or 686 and, taking Libnah, advanced to the siege of Pelusium, but his army being smitten with pestilence, returned to Nineveh. Other Assyrian campaigns during this reign were that to crush a revolt in Cilicia in 698, and to Tabal in 695 whose capital Tilgarimmu (Biblical Togarmah) was captured. The murder of Sennacherib was probably directly

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\* Chief of the eunuchs. The tartan was the commander-in-chief.

due to the supersession of the crown prince Ardibelit by a younger son Esarhaddon who was acting as viceroy of Babylon.

The Biblical account of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah is contained in II Kings, xviii, etc.

"In my third campaign," says Sennacherib,\* "I marched against the land of the Hittites. The fear of the splendour of my dominion overwhelmed Luli, king of Sidon, and he fled far away into the midst of the sea and met his death. Sidon the Great, Sidon the Less (*Tsidānu rabu u Tsidānu tsikhru*), Bitzitte, Sariptu (Zarephath), Makhalliba, Ushû (mainland Tyre), Ahzib (*Akzibi*), Acre (*Akkû*), his strong-walled cities, his places for pasturage and water, his garrison cities, the might of the arms of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them and they bowed at my feet. I placed Tuba'lu (Ithobaal) on the royal throne over them and fixed upon him yearly unchanging taxes and tribute for my dominion. Minkhimmu (Menahem) of Sham-simuruna, Tuba'lu of Sidon, Abdili'ti of Arvad, Urumilki of Gebal, Mitinti of Ashdod (*Azdudâi*), Puduilu of Bit-Ammanâi (Beth-Ammon), Kammûsunâdbi of Moab (*Ma'bai*), Airammu of Edom (*Uâmmâi*), the kings of the west land (*mātu Martu* <sup>kl</sup>), all of them, districts of great extent, brought their heavy tribute before me for the fourth time and kissed my feet. But Tsidqâ, king of Ashkelon (*Isqâlluna*), who had not submitted to my yoke, I carried away the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, his seed of his father's house, and I took him to Assyria, Shurruludari, son of Rukibtu, their former king, I set over the people of Ashkelon, and the payment of taxes, presents to my dominion, I laid upon him that he might bear my yoke. In the course of my campaign I besieged Beth-Dagon (*Bit-Daganna*), Joppa (*Iâppû*), Benebarqa (*Banâibarqa*), and Azuru, cities of Tsidqâ, which had not submitted quickly to my feet; I captured them and carried off their booty. The governors, princes and people of Ekron (*Amqarruna*), who had cast into fetters of iron Padi their king (who had been faithful to the commands and compact of Assyria), and had given him over to Hezekiah of Judah (<sup>det</sup> *Khazaqiyau mâtu Iaudâi*) as a foe, and shut him up in prison; their hearts were afraid. They summoned the kings of Egypt, the bowmen, chariots, and horses of the king of Melukhkha (Amalek?), forces numberless, and they came to their aid. In the neighbourhood of Eltekeh (*Altaqû*) their line of battle was drawn up against me, they clamoured for their arms. With the help of Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and accomplished their defeat. The commander of the chariots and the sons of the king of Egypt with the commander of the chariots of the king of Melukhkha my hands captured alive in the battle. I besieged and captured Eltekeh and Timnath (*Tâmma*) and carried off their spoil. I drew near to Ekron; the governors and princes who had committed sin, I slew and hung their bodies on stakes round the city; the townsfolk who had committed wickedness and offence I counted as spoil; to

\* Sennacherib's campaign against Judah is described in I R., pls. 38/39 (Col. ii, l. 34, to col. iii, l. 41) and in I R., pl. 43, ls. 13-19).

the rest of them, who had not committed sin and wickedness, in whom no guilt was found, I extended pardon. Padi, their king, I brought out of Jerusalem (*Urusalimmu*) and set him on the throne of dominion over them and the tribute of my dominion I laid upon him. And of Hezekiah, the Judæan, who had not submitted to my yoke, 46 strong cities with walls and the smaller cities which were around them, without number, by the battering of rams and the assault of engines, the attack of footsoldiers, mines, breaches, and axes, I besieged and captured. 20,150 people, young and old, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen and sheep without number I brought out from them and counted as spoil. Himself (Hezekiah) I shut up like a caged bird within Jerusalem, his royal city. I cast up entrenchments against him and whosoever came out from the gate of his city I turned back by command.\* His cities which I had plundered, I separated from his land and gave them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Tsilibeli, king of Gaza (*Khaziti*), and diminished his land. Over and above the former tax, their yearly tribute, I added the tribute and presents of my dominion and laid these upon them. As for Hezekiah, the fear of the majesty of my dominion overwhelmed him, and the Urbi (Arabian mercenaries ?) and his regular troops, whom he had brought to strengthen Jerusalem, his royal city, took their discharge. With 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, precious stones, rouge, *dakkasu*, *angugme*-stones, couches of ivory, state chairs of ivory, elephant hide, ivory, *ushu*- and *urkarinnu*-wood, diverse objects, a heavy treasure, and his daughters, palace women, male and female temple-singers, he despatched after me to Nineveh, my capital city. He sent his ambassadors to give tribute and make submission."

In I R., pl. 43, l. 15, Sennacherib says :—

"I destroyed the broad district of the land of Judah; I laid a yoke upon Hezekiah, the king (*ushalpit rapshu nagû mâtu Iaudi det Khazakiau sharrushu emid apshâni*)."

A famous bas-relief in the British Museum (Assyrian Saloon, No. 28) depicts Sennacherib on his throne at Lachish receiving that city's tribute. The slightly mutilated epigraph reads :—

"Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, seated himself upon a throne, and the spoil of Lachish passed before him (*det Sin-akhe-erba shar kishshati shar mâtu Ashshur ina itsu kussi nimédi ushibma shallât alu Lakisu makhârshu etiq*)."

At some time during the years 689–681 a final campaign drove into flight Telkhunu, queen of Arabia.

The magnificent passage in Isaiah x, 28, beginning "He is come up to Aiath," is thought to enshrine at least a memory of Sennacherib's advance on Jerusalem.

\* The exact interpretation of the Assyrian is problematical here.

With the death of Sennacherib Biblical references to Assyria practically cease. Thus Esarhaddon is only mentioned thrice, *i.e.*, his accession in II Kings, xix, 37, Isaiah xxxvii, 38, and Ezra iv, 2, and Ashur-bani-pal only once (Ezra iv, 9-10),\* yet both played an important part in Palestinian and Egyptian affairs.

Esarhaddon (681-669) reversed Sennacherib's Babylonian policy, rebuilt the capital and maintained his position there against both the Chaldæans and Elam.

Another important activity of his reign was his long struggle from 678 to 673 against the league of the Gimirraï, Man and the Medes, which has already been referred to.

However divergent may be the judgments which historians have passed on Sennacherib's reign, his campaign of 701 was followed by more than twenty years of peace in the west, and was not broken until the revolt of Sidon in 678.

The main activities of Esarhaddon and Ashur-bani-pal were devoted to the conquest of Egypt, but the space allowed me will not permit me to deal with them, interesting as they are.

It was not to be expected that wars and alarums in Egypt would leave the west unaffected, especially when they were succeeded in Ashur-bani-pal's case by a long war to the death with Elam (655-644), and in conjunction with it a four-years revolt in Babylonia (652-648), where his brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, rebelled. Even as early as 678, before the invasion of Egypt, Abdimilkutti of Sidon, which Sennacherib had favoured as a counterpoise to Tyre, relying on Egypt and in alliance with Cilicia, rose in a revolt whose only result was the destruction of Sidon and the erection nearby of a new city *Kâr-ashur-akh-iddina* ("Esarhaddon's Castle") (676) with the help of the kings of the Hittite country and the sea-coast (I R., pl. 45, ll. 29-30). *Esarhaddon's Castle* was peopled with colonists from the hill country and the eastern sea. The tributary rulers who contributed to the building of Esarhaddons' palace at Nineveh were those of Edom, Moab, Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron, Gebal, Arvad, Ba'al of Tyre, Manasseh of Judah, Samsimuruna, Beth-Ammon and Ashdod, and ten kings of Cyprus (III R., pl. 16, col. v, ll. 13-28).

The destruction of Sidon is described in Esarhaddon's *Cylinder Inscription*, col. i, ll. 9-12 ff. (I R., pl. 45). Esarhaddon says :

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\* Where the peoples whom he settled in Samaria are enumerated.

“ its (Sidon’s) walls and dwellings I tore down (*dûrushu u shubatsu assukh*); into the sea I cast it ” (*kirib tâmtim addîshu*). Abdimilkutti fled into the sea, but Esarhaddon drew him up therefrom like a fish and beheaded him (*kima nâni ultu kirib tâmtim abarshuma akkisa qaqqasu*). His ally, Sanduarri of Kundi (in Cilicia), met a like fate and the heads of both were hung round the necks of their great men and paraded through the public square of Nineveh [*ribit Ninua* <sup>kl</sup> (l. 53) : cf. Rehoboth Ir].

The year after the Assyrians were first expelled from Egypt (673), Baal of Tyre promptly revolted and apparently successfully resisted the Assyrian arms. The other states of Palestine remained loyal and hastened to pay tribute, when at the beginning of his reign the new king, Ashur-bani-pal advanced on Egypt. Tyre, still, however, remained defiant and against it Ashur-bani-pal directed his third campaign. He says : “ Siegeworks around him I erected ; I took control of his means of communication by land and sea ; their (the Tyrians’) lives I reduced to straits and made wretched ; to my yoke I subjected them (*khaltu* <sup>pl</sup> *elishu urrakis ina tâmtim u nabâli girriêtishunu utsabbit naphâtusunu usûq ukarri ana itsu nîri-ia ushahnîssunuti*.) Baal surrendered as hostage his son Iakhimilku “ who had never crossed the sea ” (*sha matêma tiâmat lâ ebira*). There had evidently been some unrest elsewhere at this time for submission was also received from Arvad, Tabal and Cilicia (here called *Khilakku* instead of *Quê*). Iakinlu of Arvad, however, was deposed in favour of his son Azibaal (V R., pl. 2, col. ii, lls. 49 ff.) ; Manasseh of Judah must also either have been plotting or causing trouble, for according to II Chron., xxxiii, 11. he was deposed and deported to Babylon.

It was only to be expected that Assyria should have had trouble with the Arabs, whose government was settled by Esarhaddon.

The Arabs responded to the invitation of Shamash-shum-ukin, who during the great revolt of 652-648 had, like Merodach-baladan before him, intrigued in the west, and besides sending contingents to his aid in Babylonia, had raided the Assyrian provinces and tributary states in Palestine and Syria.

Prominent among them were the Kedarenes (Ass. *Kîdrâi*) and the Nabatæans (*Nabâtîiai*).

The Arabian wars are recorded in columns vii-ix and the beginning of x of Ashur-bani-pal’s Annals (*Cylinder Inscription A* ; V R., pls. 7-10). The story is long and complicated and I

will merely note in passing that among the places in which Ashur-bani-pal fought the Arabs was *Tsubiti*, which has been identified with the Zobah of II Samuel, x, 6, 8, and I Kings, xi, 23-4. The Arab tents, which, of course, went up in flames, are called *bît tsêri*, "houses of the desert," and *zirtarâte*, "pavilions."

A point to be noticed is the constant appearance of queens of Arabia, reminding us irresistibly of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Thus under Tiglath-pileser III there is Zabibi, queen of Arabia, under Sargon Samsi, under Sennacherib Telkhunu and under Esarhaddon Tabûa.

History records a last victorious exploit of Assyrian troops in the west after the completion of the Arabian wars, the returning legions taking mainland Tyre (*Ushû*) and Acre (*Akkû*) (V R., pl. 9, col. ix, ll. 115-125).

The records of Ashur-bani-pal's reign fail us after 640. It is probable that from this time Assyrian power in the west, weakened by the Elamite wars, the revolt of Shamash-shum-ukin, and the incursions of the Scythians, began to fail, and in the next two reigns progressive weakness ended in catastrophe (612).

So in blood and fire ends the tale of Assyrian conquest.

The details of the final fall of the Assyrian empire are given in the Babylonian Chronicle, British Museum, No. 21,901, and it is interesting to note that the last glimpse we have of Assyria and her mighty men is before a city which occurs in the life of the father of the Hebrew nation.

Abraham went up out of Ur of the Chaldees, a centre of moon-worship, to Kharran where the same cult also obtained, and in lines 49 and 50 of the reverse of this new document we are told that after the sack of Nineveh "Ashur-uballit in the city of Kharran for the governing of Assyria sat on the throne (*ina alu Kharrânû ana sharrût mâtu Ashur Ashur-uballit ina kussi ittashab*).” The Scythians and Babylonians drove him out, however, and the last we see of him is attempting to retake it with the help of an Egyptian army (609).

FOOTNOTE.—In preparing this paper my leisure has only permitted me to consult such original sources as I have to hand in my own library, but wherever these have availed I have checked all statements and quotations made. The sources I have consulted are: Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, 1851, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vols. I, II, III and V, and both editions of Vol. IV (1861-91), the late Prof. Pinches' copies, with autograph emendations and marginalia, Rost, *Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III*, 1893, Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*,

1889, the late Prof. Langdon's copy with autograph emendations and marginalia, Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, 1902, Geo. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, 1871, Lau and Langdon, *Annals of Ashurbanipal*, 1903, and *The Fall of Nineveh* (Chronicle No. 21, 901), ed. C. J. Gadd, 1923. I have also consulted Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, 1885; Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light, etc.*, 1908; Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 1925; Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 1933; the histories of Goodspeed, Rogers and Olmstead; King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1916, and *History of Babylon*, 1919; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, ed. C. J. Gadd, 1932; *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III, 1925; Bezold, *Ninive und Babylon*, 1903; and Johns, *Ancient Assyria*, 1912. I have followed the British Museum *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, 1922, for the dates and sequence of the Assyrian kings.

It will be noticed that the spelling of the Assyrian place names varies. This is so in the inscriptions, and I have given them as in the inscriptions referred to or quoted from. The ending *âi* is gentilic. Thus: *mātu Amātu*, the country (of) Hamath, *mātu Amatâi*, the country (of) the Hamathites, *mātu Iaudu*, the country (of) Judah, *mātu Iaudâi*, the country (of) the Judæans.

#### ADDENDA.

Page 263. *Date of Sargon of Agade*.—I have used the British Museum date (1922); Dr. R. C. Thompson prefers *c.* 2400, and Sir Leonard Woolley (*Abraham*, 1936) *c.* 2528. Dr. Thompson admits that it is very uncertain.

Page 264. *Broken Obelisk*.—Prof. Weidner writes me that this is no longer ascribed to Ashurnatsirpal II, but either to Tiglathpileser I himself or his son Ashurbêlkala.

Page 265. *Tilmun*.—Dr. Thompson writes me that there is now a little doubt as to the exact location of this.

*Kasbu*, a double hour's journey; this, the older reading, is now superseded by *bêru*, which Dr. Thompson tells me is now held to be possibly the Greek  $\delta\rho\zeta$ .

Page 266. The *Suti*.—These were to the west not east of the Tigris. The older Assyriologists (Pinches: *Amherst Tablets*; Schrader, quoting Delitsch: *Paradies*) located them to the east of it.

*Elam*.—Dr. Thomson doubts whether Elam was really wiped out by Ashurbanipal, but Mr. S. A. Smith (*Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III, 1925, p. 126) maintains the traditional view that it was.

Page 267. *Urartu*.—Prof. Weidner draws my attention to the fact that Urartu is first mentioned by Shalmaneser under the form



*Uratru*, which Mr. S. A. Smith (*Early History of Assyria*, p. 278) reads as *Uruatri* or *Uratri*, and that *Patini* on page 7 is now read as *Khattini*: *pa* and *khat* are expressed by the same sign in cuneiform.

Page 269. *Sheepskin boats*.—Dr. Thompson reminds me that these are the modern *keleks* or skin rafts.

*Shianian*.—Dr. Thomson tells me that this is the correct reading, the  $\overline{\text{VV}}$  in III R being a misprint.

Page 277. *Yauani*.—Dr. Thompson confirms Dr. Hall's reading, an Ionian, not *Yamani* a Yemenite.

[It is regretted that, owing to his early departure abroad, the Chairman's interesting comments, which had not been previously committed to writing, could not be obtained. There was no other discussion.]